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MOVEMENT

JULY 1969

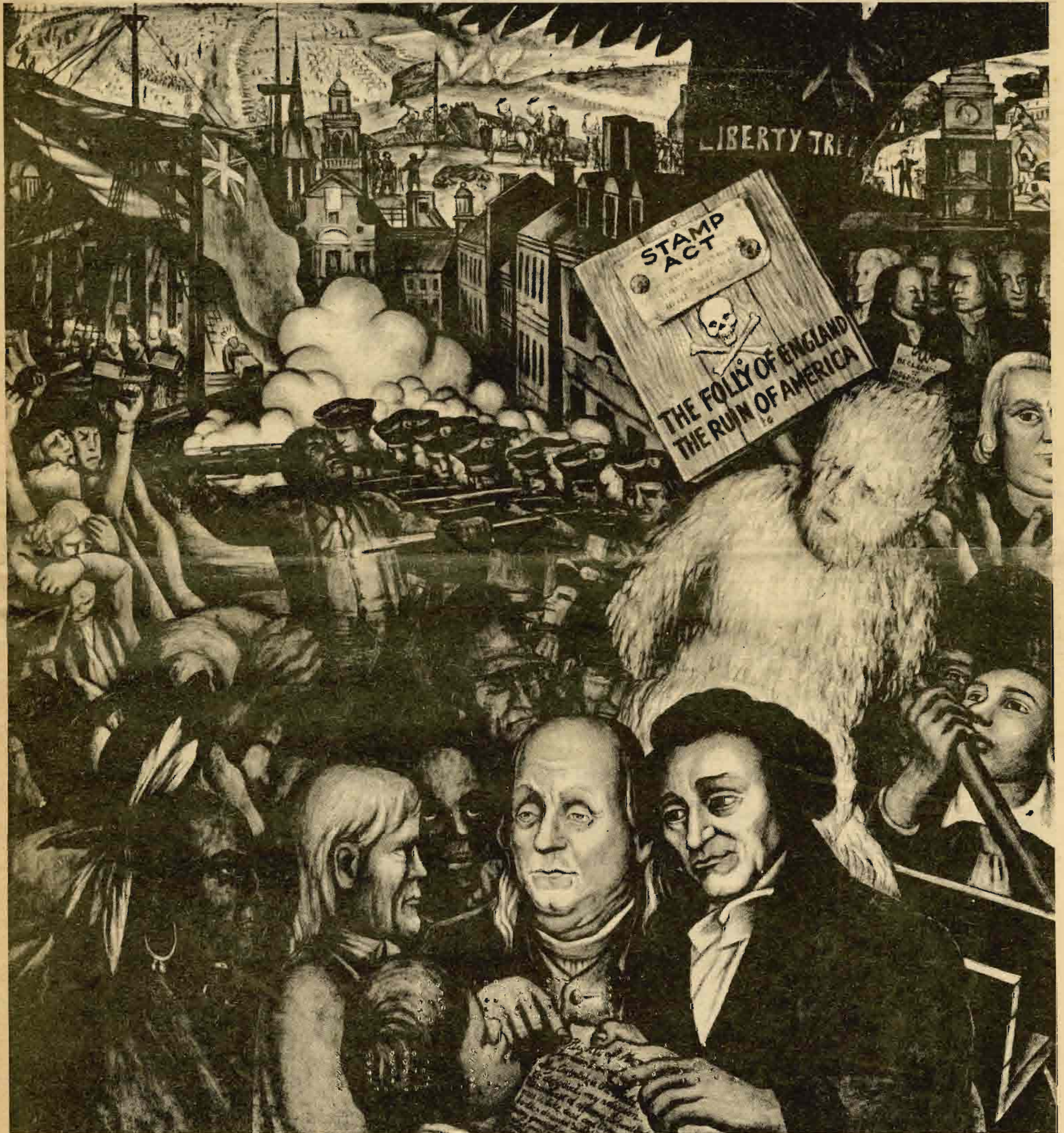


VOL. 5 NO. 6

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INTERVIEWS:

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SURVIVAL

a lesson on gas learned in berkeley

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

It is an outgrowth of the chemical warfare waged 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 groups in Berkeley and member of the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

There are five 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) nausea gas, 4) blister gas, and 5) mace.

Be aware that the police use some canisters that blow up in your hand when you try to pick them up . . . Do not use vaseline for any gas because gas adheres to vaseline and causes more severe burning; vaseline can be used for mace, which is a liquid (see below) . . . A rubber gas mask is an ideal protection against any gas except nausea gas (see below) . . . Wet paper towels can be used for breathing more easily with any of the gases . . . Surgical masks, which are good protection against the two tear gas (CS and CN), can be picked up from a medic . . . Do not rub your eyes after being gassed or maced but do carry and use eye drops . . . Do not try to get gas or mace off your face with soap because it might run and get in your eyes, irritating them further . . . The long-term effects of gas and mace 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, in addition to normal tear gas 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, tightness, 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 Murine), putting in the drops from the inside (i.e., the nose side) toward the outside.

3. Get the gas off your skin. The best way is 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 you don't have mineral oil and can't find a medic with any, immerse all exposed areas in water and then wipe the entire area except the eyes with isopropyl or rubbing alcohol. Alcohol sets up an evaporation process, cooling the stinging and subsiding 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 5-10 minutes.

Protection. A rubber tear gas mask is the best; in place of that, use wet towels or surgical masks.

CN TEAR GAS

Dispensing. CN is packaged the same as CS.

Properties: The mildest form of tear gas used, CN smells like apple blossoms and is water soluble.

Symptoms. Same as CS minus the nausea and 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 concentrated dose which can be lethal.

Treatment

Same as CS except for getting the gas off your skin. With CN, immersing the exposed area 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 dispensed 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's not.

Properties. Clear, colorless, odorless. It does not affect the tear ducts and is, therefore, not a tear gas.

Symptoms. Projective vomiting, in which the contents of the stomach are forcefully ejected several feet. (Projective vomiting could make a person tear his stomach or esophagus linings). Instant diarrhea (within 2-3 minutes) with severe stomach cramps. (Severe diarrhea could cause rectal hemorrhaging). Upsets mind balance—you have difficulty functioning which in battle is a bum trip. Pain and heat sensations in lungs — persons with upper respiratory difficulties (asthma, bronchitis, etc.) are the hardest hit.

Treatment

See a physician if symptoms do not disappear or if they become more pronounced (i.e., if breathing becomes labored or if diarrhea persists for, say, two days).

Protection. The only thing to do is run like hell in the opposite direction. Do not pick up the canister. Do not wear a rubber gas mask because you might choke on your own vomit (the gas is absorbed by the skin). If wearing a mask, rip it off and run.

photo by Johannes Messal



BLISTER GAS

Dispensing. Comes in a canister.

Properties. White powder which, like CS gas, is fat soluble.

Symptoms. Blistering — instant or within 48 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 (surgical mask isn't sufficient), gloves, cotton hose (nylon probably isn't enough), long pants, shoes, neck wrap — i.e., covering up as much as possible since whatever is exposed is liable

to be blistered. Anyone blistered is advised to stay off the streets since the pigs could conceivably pick you up for sporting blisters.

MACE

Mace differs from the chemical agents given above in that it's not a crowd control device — it's used more on person-to-person contacts with one blast felling maybe 4 out of 50-100 persons.

Dispensing. Mace is a direct-stream liquid dispensed in propellant canisters. Reportedly, the N.Y. Police Department is working on packaging mace in grenades, which would make mace a crowd control device.

Properties. Mace is a liquid composed of: 1) Approximately 10% CN tear gas which, in a direct stream, can do severe damage (temporary or permanent) to the eyes, 2) approxi-

mately 70% general propellant (whatever it is that makes it jet out), 3) approximately 10% kerosene (this causes the burning), and other things.

Symptoms. Severe pain in eyes (feels like hot poker stuck in eyes), watery eyes, temporary blindness, reddening and burning of exposed area. If sprayed into a person's mouth, it can cause convulsions.

Treatment

1. Heavy irrigation of eyes for period of 15-20 minutes with boric acid solution (see CS) or plain water, including all of affected area.

2. Wipe affected area except eyes with isopropyl or rubbing alcohol to dilute the kerosene and subside burning.

3. Apply eye drops.

Protection. Ski eye goggles. Also, vaseline can be applied prior to exposure and wiped off immediately afterwards.

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PRESIDIO MUTINY

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 before 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 mutineer who escaped, reached the North Country in March. All three men—though they're hurting for money—declined to sell their stories to the straight press until they could break it through LNS and other radical media. This reporter has been in touch with them over several months. The last time we talked we were joined by French Kight, the prisoner who bunked under Richard Bunch and retrieved his pathetic notes. Kight did not join the October 14th demonstration because he had five charges hanging over him from a more violent protest staged October 11th, immediately after Bunch was shot.

The four escapees are able to shed light on the "mutiny"—how it was planned, who took part, and why—more thoroughly than the prisoners now standing trial.

"When Bunch was killed that Friday morning," Pawlowski recalls, "the first word we got back at the stockade was that Walker had been shot. He was very well liked, and a lot of us knew he was going to try an escape. Bunch? It was hard to imagine him trying to cut out..."

As word filtered in, everybody in the stockade's main building gathered in cell block 4. "It was the best place to hold a meeting," according to Kight, "because we had jimmied the lock. The guards couldn't get in but we could get out... At that time it was called the Resisters' Cell, or the Instigators' Cell, because Woodring (the segeant who effectively ran the stockade) had put five guys in there who he especially hated."

RESISTER'S CELL

"Everybody was talking revenge," says Kight. "The feeling was we ought to take over the whole compound and lock the sergeants in the cell blocks. We could have done it, too."

As more and more men headed upstairs to the "Instigators' Cell," the meeting spilled across the catwalk to cell block 3. There, says Pawlowski, "People stared for a while at Bunch's bunk, then began breaking the iron rungs off the bunks to use as weapons. We broke windows, overturned bunks, threw things, a couple of people tried to get a good fire going... Sergeant Morales came up but he was afraid to try and break it up. He went and got Woodring and five or six more guards. Woodring stood by the door and yelled, 'I want you men to stop this right now.' Harrington, who was closest to the door, said, 'How come you killed Bunch?' Woodring took him and threw him down the stairs. They put him in the box (one of four tiny segregation cells) with a dislocated shoulder."

"I went up to Woodring next. He was ordering everyone to move back, stand by the bunks. He shoved me and said, 'Get back.' I pushed his hands off and said, 'Don't you touch me!' He grabbed me and pushed me down the stairs. I sort of caught my balance on the landing, but Sergeant Yamauchi pushed me the rest of the way."

Woodring then ordered the men to start cleaning up the debris. Joe Stephens, a black man from Oakland who knew and

admired Huey Newton, turned to his fellow prisoners and said: "You were right to tear this place up. You got a right to protest about a dude being shot. If you clean it all up now you're going back on yourselves." Stephens was immediately sent to the box for this remark. His detention there for the next few days deprived the 10 black prisoners of their most dynamic leader—and the only one who was on good terms with the whites.

Since there weren't enough boxes to lock up all the men involved in this outbreak, Woodring made a shrewd move to take the others out of action. He listed the violations they had committed—Kight, for instance, was told he had incited to riot, participated in a riot, destroyed government property, disobeyed a lawful order and showed disrespect to an NCO—but promised not to press charges if the men would cool it! This kept a number of activists—including Jack Ortex, a leader of the Chicano prisoners—from taking part in the subsequent protest.

The official announcement of Bunch's death was made by the stockade commander, Captain Robert Lamont, at a Friday afternoon formation. Lamont said a preliminary investigation showed that Bunch was trying to escape. The shooting, he said, was therefore justified. He also announced that the stockade chaplain would hold a memorial service the next day.

SUICIDE DETAIL

"Very few people went to this," Pawlowski says, "because we knew it was complete hypocrisy. At that very formation Woodring and Yamauchi had gone around ripping off the armbands some of us had dyed black with shoe polish as a way of mourning. And Woodring had made a joke about Bunch's death. He said, 'Well, one guy made it, one got zapped. That means you all have a 50-50 chance. There's the gate.' Cohen, a guard, said he wished HE'D shot Bunch so he could get transferred to Fort Dix. We heard that the guard had already been court-martialled and fined a dollar for the shell—so any other prosecution would be double jeopardy—and transferred to a post of his choice. And of course we know that the killing WASN'T justified, that the guard hadn't called 'Halt!' We also knew from the way Bunch always acted, talking to himself, that he belonged in a hospital to begin with. In fact, THAT MORNING he begged Raines (the employment NCO) not to send him out on a shotgun detail. I guess he felt this suicide impulse, and was afraid, you know..."

Mather adds, "Another reason we had to do something was that there were others in the stockade who seemed as bad off as Bunch. There was a kid named Ferris who used to lie on his bunk all the time brushing cobwebs from in front of his eyes. He said he was

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23

DIX REBELLION

On June 5th the Ft. Dix Stockade exploded in rebellion. One hundred and fifty prisoners burned mattresses, threw footlockers down stairs, wrecked furniture and smashed windows. They rose up against their tormentors as men will do when they have been driven to that point where they must fight back or lose every shred of their humanity. For on that day, June 5th, the prisoners had been made to stand in formation for five hours in the hot sun. They were then marched to the mess hall and made to stand in line for dinner an additional three hours. When the slop was finally served to them, almost half of the men were denied their water rations and a guy who demanded some was put in solitary confinement. After the men were returned to the barracks they found out that Chabot, the GI who had demanded the water, was being charged with inciting a riot.

Even as the guards padlocked Chabot's cell, fearing an attempt would be made to free him, smoke began to curl from the windows of cell blocks 66 and 67. The riot had begun, quickly spreading to other parts of the stockade. It lasted several hours and wasn't crushed until Maj. Casey brought in two hundred and fifty troops (MPs and green trainees easily used as scabs) armed with riot guns and firing tear gas. The pigs singled out members of the American Servicemen's Union for especially severe beatings. Bill Brakefield, an ASU organizer was knocked unconscious and subsequently indicted for mutiny as well as riot and arson.

The events of June 5th that led up to the insurrection ignited something that had been festering for a long time. The Ft. Dix Stockade has a maximum capacity for 250 prisoners. At the time of the riot there were 900 GIs imprisoned there. Prisoners had struck against rotten food and racism in the Dix stockade over the past several months. The brass has retaliated with torture as brutal and systematic as that used in Spanish, South African or Greek prisons. The ASU recently received the following letter smuggled from the stockade by friends of Robert Hight, a GI prisoner. Here are some excerpts from Hight's letter:

"I was fallen out of my cell block for a training formation. En route to the class room I was stopped by Lt. Flemming for having my hands in my pockets. So when I refused to kiss his ass because of his single silver bar, he took me to my orderly room and turned me over to the N.C.O.I.C.

"...I was then brought into what can accurately be described as a cage for a wild animal. I was taken down by six guards and then put into the "straps". The straps was put on so tight, I could not feel my hands. This resulted from the circulation being cut off. I had knots in my legs because of the position I was in. And to top it off I was THROWN into my cell...SP/4 Miller picked me up and dropped me on my face and stomach. I could not use my arms to break my fall because my hands were strapped to my feet behind my back. They kept picking me up and repeating this little procedure three or four times. They then took my sox and dipped them into the toilet and dripped them in my face. When chow time came I was fed by a spoon. The spoon was shoved into my gums. It was almost shoved down my throat...When I was finally let out of the straps it took thirty minutes for the circulation back into my hands and feet. I still have marks to the effect of the straps and it's been 14 days since I was put in the straps."

At the request of the ASU, the Medical Committee for Human Rights is looking into conditions at the Dix Stockade.

The most oppressed, and the most militant GIs are the 25,000 servicemen held in armed forces prisons. In the same way that Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver, Martin Sostre and countless other black militants were recruited from the prisons by the Muslim movement, the hard core of the American Servicemen's Union is being forged today within stockades in the U.S., Vietnam and Germany.

Inside "barb wire city" at Ft. Dix, Terry Klug, John Lewis, Bill Brakefield, Gene Sylvester, Tom Tuck, Henry Mills, Bob North, Robert Ferris and other imprisoned ASU activists are leading the struggle which will end until all the pentagon's prisons have been torn down and the Imperialist army of the ruling class has been transformed into a peoples' army.

Andy Stapp



"It's a free country and you're fighting to keep it free -- whatsa matter don't you believe in freedom?"

BOND

workers' take power in appalachia



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.

A few of the women who used to work for Levi Co. have set up their own factory. It took months of hard work and many setbacks but they are succeeding. Appalachian Enterprises, Inc. is located just off the main street in Mineral Bluffs, a small town just a few miles from Blue Ridge. The factory occupies the back half of a single story building about half the size of a city block. It is well lighted and spacious, the new modern sewing machines contrast with the tables and shelves built by the women and their husbands. In many respects it seems like any other small factory. It's not.

The thing that makes their factory so different is that they run it. They make the decisions, not some big shot stuck off in an office somewhere passing down orders. How many times has a guy on the line had to follow some fool order passed down from the top that he knew wasn't right? The women at Appalachian Enterprises do the work, and they know how the plant should be run, what production rates are reasonable, what machines are best, and when and how to expand. No one's work is considered more valuable than another's; they all get the same pay, they all take part in making decisions. That only makes sense. Just because a guy wears a white shirt and works with paper instead of machines doesn't mean his work is worth more than the next guy's.

Brenda Mull, a young mother who had picketted Levi Co., told us about Appalachian Enterprises and how they got started.

"Well, when the union was voted out we quit the picket line because that was the quitting place for us. We knew after a year of struggle and going hungry that we'd better start thinking of a way for people to earn a living. We talked things over and decided to start a community program. We held meetings pretty regular

at the court house up at Blue Ridge and we'd have discussions of ways we could go. We began to think that we could set up our own factory and run it the way we wanted it. We talked to some people from the Southern Christian Educational Fund, a Civil Rights organization that helps both black and white, and they loaned us four thousand dollars. We started renovating and working on the building in September with about 17 or 18 women. By January we had nearly 60 members working on the machines.

LEARNING NEW THINGS

We all had to learn new things, all most people had ever done was work on pants at Levi. We've learned to change patterns and how to put dresses together. We didn't know how to ship out, so we got a man to come and tell us how.

Our first contract was set up by a man by the name of Van Bible. We worked for 2 or 3 months before we realized that we had been taken, somebody was taking a cut out. We were getting seven dollars per dozen dresses and they were giving eight and a half at a place in Murphy. Then we found out that Van Bible did not own the machines he was selling us.

We had to shut down and pile out his machines and start trying to get the money up to make a down payment for the machines we have now. We had to hunt another contract by ourselves this time. Meanwhile everybody was out of work, we were paying our overhead with the money we'd gotten and hoped to pay salaries with. Instead, because of these people taking us like they did, we just barely managed to pay the overhead and keep things going. We kept working without pay for the three months we were closed down. Since we've come back we've had plenty of work but we don't have near as many people

this time. There's lots of women that left simply because they didn't have the money. There wasn't anything else to do, they had to leave.

Things look real good for us now, we're making our payments and meeting our payroll. We've paid off an awful lot of bills that built up while we were trying to learn on the dresses. We've not had to have any help recently from anybody. We've got less than a year's working days put in, and I think any business would do well to be where we're at."

PROBLEMS

A young blonde woman who was snipping 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 on us about working overtime without pay. We told them that was the only way we had to get these dresses out so 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 woman working next to her commented that the Labor Board only sticks to the rules when it chooses. We asked her to explain. "The Labor Board didn't stand behind us when we tried to draw our unemployment, they let Levi knock us out of it. They've not stood behind us on any of our cases we've had with Levi or anyone."

We walked around the factory for a while, just talking to people and watching them work. The atmosphere is friendly and casual, the women talked and moved about but the work never stopped. We asked some of the women what it was like working there.

A middle-aged woman who used to sew for the Levi Co. told us how different it was to work at a factory like Appalachian Enterprises. "It's a lot easier working here and I think you do your work a lot better without somebody breathing down your neck all the time, wanting you to do more...more every day."

"I worked once in Greenwood, Miss. for a piano company," Brenda told us. "They had a fairly decent union, reasonable rates and so forth. It was much better than Levi, but you still...you still had a certain way to go and that you'd better do this, this way or don't do it at all."

YOUR OWN BOSS

"Here you're your own boss. We each own a part of it and we all help decide how it should be run. We have a board of nine people elected by the women on the line, but they don't get anything special and they work on the machines too. They make decisions but if we don't like them we can change them. We have a manager and a supervisor but they make the same amount we make, \$1.60 an hour. They just oversee the whole thing and help out whenever a bottleneck develops."

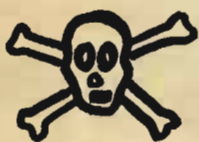
Later that evening we were talking with some of the women who had come back after supper to work. We got to talking about what their factory meant and why companies like Levi or any other are allowed to treat their workers as they do. Brenda Mull had some ideas. "People have been taught to do what they can for themselves and it doesn't matter what you have to do to somebody else to get what you want, just so you get it. It's really rough, that's what big business uses now—that way they don't have anybody combining together to fight them. We're too busy fighting each other, so big business just sits back and makes the profits off of us."

At Appalachian Enterprises at least, that doesn't happen. The profits are going to the women who do the work. One of the women hit the nail on the head when she said, "If we sew, we get it. If we don't, we won't."

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

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CAUTION



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 by lung diseases in industry after industry.*

In the steel industry, foundry workers have a staggering rate of lung disease. This is particularly true of moulders and grinders. The metal dust and toxic fumes concentrated in sections of the mills are almost as deadly (and less merciful) as if the company used a machine-gun.

In many plants the company is introducing MIG welding, a new high-speed continuous welding process. This means more production for the company, but dangerous exposure to ozone gas for workers.

Cotton mills are another example. In many of the mills conditions are no different than they were at the turn of the century. While your eye is caught by the obvious hazards from exposed belt drives and such, the ever-present lint in the air is slowly destroying the ability to breathe.

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 from the combination of both.

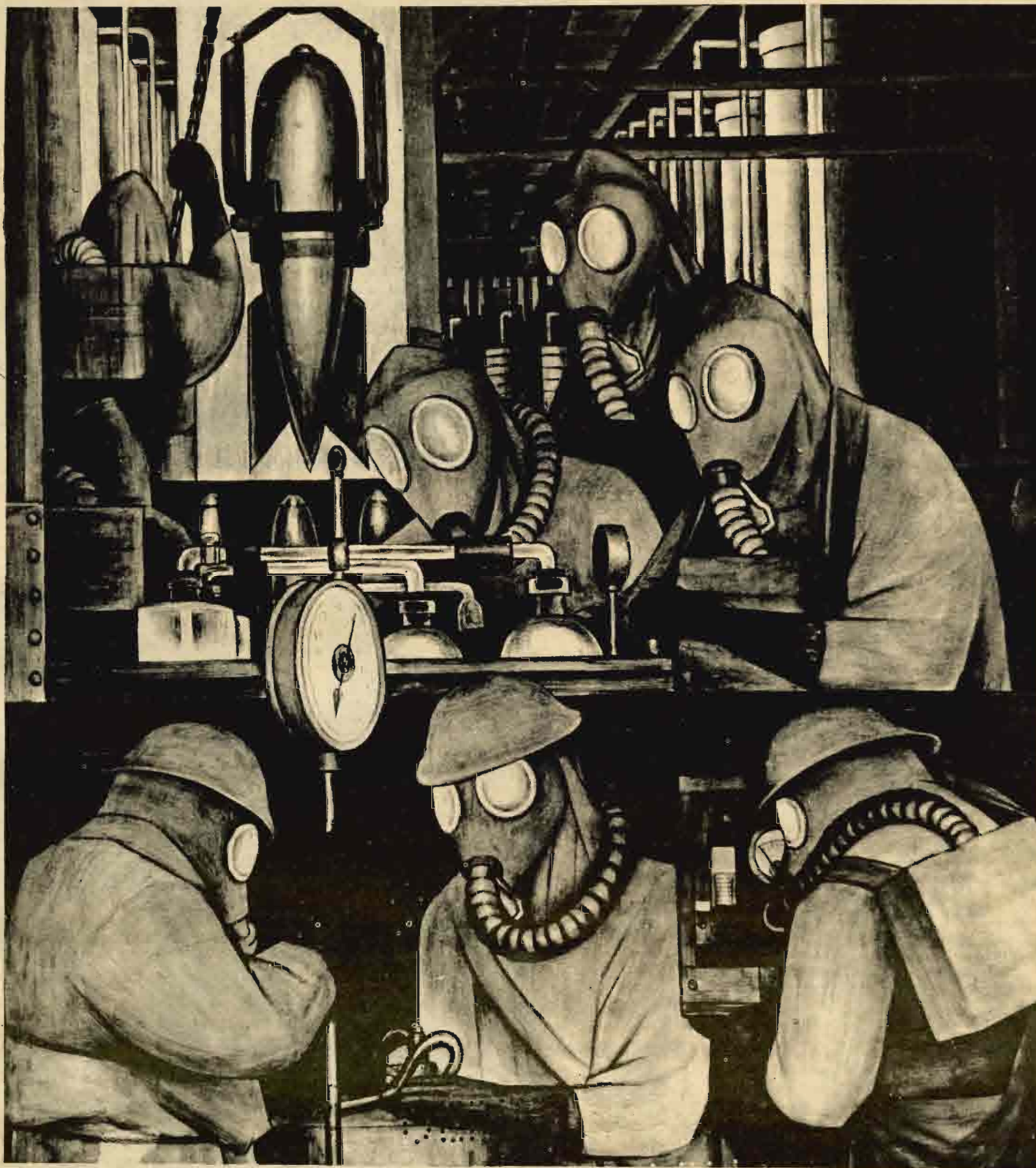
Emphysema is the eating away of the lining of the lungs, leaving scar tissues which gradually throttle off the supply of oxygen. Starting with feeling "short of breath", Emphysema slowly progresses until the patient is an invalid, fighting for just enough oxygen to stay alive. Unless caught early, this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



WORKING MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH!

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* 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 any 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

by La Simpatica

At the end of last 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 "Mejicano," 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 open 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, as 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 lightening 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 farmer-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 vestige of the bartering, communal economy (primitive communism) are still there. Each summer and fall, farmers sell chili, apples, corn and other produce in town or from door to door from the backs of ancient, weathered pickup trucks. In their lifetimes, many of them have seen the change from self-subsistence to degradation. Their communal 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



photo by Karl Kernberger

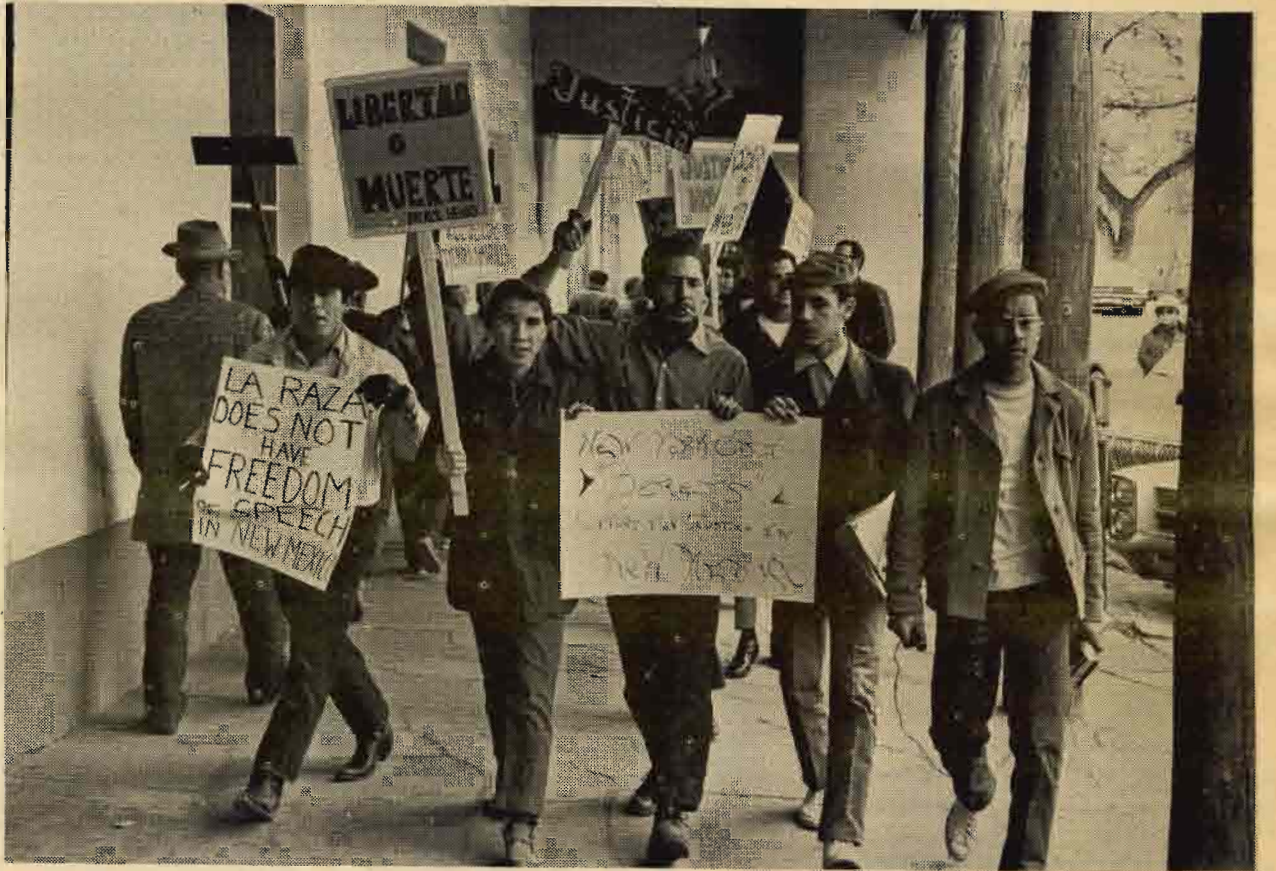


photo by Karl Kernberger



VIVA LA RAZA!

their throats. Until 20 years ago, it was the assumption of the rural people that they could make a living off the land. Now they are neither able to make a living off the land, nor participate in the U.S. economy--there are few jobs in the countryside. During the past 20 years, about half of the population has fled these rural areas, going to the larger towns in the Southwest or to the big cities, especially on the West Coast. With the rising costs of living and the advent of agribusiness, they could no longer afford to hold on to their small farms and communal grazing areas. Many small farms have been split into smaller and smaller parcels as the land is divided up among heirs. The people who are left are consciously clinging to their land because they do not want to leave their home, and because they believe that the land will ultimately be worth more to them than welfare or a job in the city.

The ones who are left live by bare subsistence farming, usually supplemented by construction or service jobs that only last part of the year. Sometimes the father of a family is forced to go out of the state to work part of the year, leaving his family in New Mexico. The aged and others unable to work must sell their land in order to receive welfare. Essentially, the rural people of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado are farmer-peasants--going in debt part or all of the year (to loan companies and country stores) and trying to make it up when there is work. They are a proud, warm people, whose traditional culture binds them closely together. The average family is large and closely knit, and may include several generations under one roof as part of the extended family system.

This is one of the areas recently nationally publicized by Government reports as having widespread malnutrition. Meals consist mostly of starch and fat, especially in the winter when there are no fresh vegetables to eat. In Rio Arriba County, the only doctor for 90 miles was drafted and sent to Vietnam! Other counties in southern Colorado have no doctor at all.

The current land movement is an outgrowth of the robbery of land that has been taking place for 100 years and still goes on today. (See the MOVEMENT Aug. 1967 and Feb. 1969). The Alianza Federal de los Pueblos Libres (Federal Alliance of Free City-States) was originally formed by Reies Tijerina and others in hopes of getting back land from the forest Service, and forming "free City-States" like the Pueblo of San Joaquin on this land. They hoped to do this legally, using the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo as a basis. For years they drew up petitions and worked out a vague legal case based on ancient documents, to no avail. Then they staged a couple of events--which aroused people. The first was a simple confrontation with Forest Rangers at a campground. The second was the famous Courthouse Raid.

COURTHOUSE RAID

What became the Courthouse Raid was originally to have been a perfectly legal citizen's arrest of Alfonso Sanchez, a much-hated D.A. who was out to break the Alianza. Ironically, it turned out that he was not there at the time. For a couple of days before the raid, Sanchez' harassment of the Alianza had been building up. Alianza members had been blocked from meeting at Coyote, and fourteen people connected with the Alianza were arrested when they tried to protest this violation of their rights. The courthouse raiders also wanted to free these people, who were imprisoned there.

Tierra Amarilla is a small, very isolated town. It is the county seat of Rio Arriba, which reaches to the Colorado border. Rio Arriba contains several small towns like Tierra Amarilla which were initially pretty solidly pro-Alianza, or at least anti-Forest Service and pro-land movement.

A group of Alianza members headed by Tijerina moved in on the courthouse. Several members were carrying rifles, but not Tijerina. When they could not find D.A. Sanchez, what followed evidently was not planned. There was a scuffle between an Alianza member and a deputy. The deputy was shot and severely wounded. Other courthouse officials were rounded up and held at gunpoint until the raiders could find a hostage and make an escape. They slipped away into the forests and mountains of the north, and a panicked liberal Republican administration called in the National Guard.

Within a few hours, an incredible scene ensued. The raiders had completely disappeared. Small, peaceful villages like Coyote and Gallina were suddenly garrisoned by hundreds of soldiers with fixed bayonets. Tanks lumbered down dirt roads, stared at by wide-eyed children. Helicopters hovered overhead. The administration had evidently underestimated the popularity of the land movement in the north. They not only didn't find the raiders right away, they didn't find some of them for several weeks. Almost all of them voluntarily gave themselves up, one so that his own impoverished mother could collect the reward. Tijerina remained hidden for a couple of weeks, until turned in by a service station attendant and captured at a road block.

What had begun as a search operation for the Guard turned into an intimidating operation. The local population became the target of the attack.

One small settlement had its entire populace rounded up and put into a sheep corral overnight with no food, water or sanitary facilities, just to make sure they wouldn't harbor any of the suspects. Strategic hamlet?

As can be seen from this, the Alianza has supporters in the rural north. Most of the active members and supporters are old men, grizzled men who have lived on the land all their lives. The Alianza itself does virtually no organizing, although sporadic attempts were made in this direction when Tijerina ran for governor. There are indications that Tijerina seeks to exclude younger, more militant local people from the Alianza. Tijerina's popularity seems to be on the wane in the North. Some activists charge that Tijerina runs the Alianza more as a personality than as an ideological force. Ideologically, he wavers from anti-communism in New Mexico to support of the Panthers on the West Coast. (though not recently).

LAND TO THE PEOPLE

On the positive side, the land grant movement was the first crystallization of anti-government feeling in New Mexico in many years, and initially it set a positive example by its armed anti-Forest Service activities. The Alianza raised a demand which is basic to rural poor, a demand which has gone beyond the narrow legal confines of land grant descendants. The demand is WE WANT OUR LAND! Tijerina had a positive effect on the land movement he helped get started. This positive effect has now diminished. Until the last few weeks, Reies was spending most of his time away from the rural areas--he has been travelling around the country speaking or staying in Albuquerque.

The Alianza as it is now is essentially a primitive spontaneous rebel organization, like the early Peasants' Leagues in China. The membership is absolutely sincere and genuine. The role of the Alianza and of Tijerina in northern New Mexico is undergoing a rapid change, and the next year or so should determine its outcome. The initial enthusiasm around the land grant movement has died. It doesn't relate to the VATOS on the streets, who are an important new political force. Many new, young leaders are privately critical of Tijerina himself and consider him an opportunist. They are critical of him for not putting forward a better program, one that more people could relate to.

PEOPLE'S CO-OPS

The Alianza is not the only force in the north. For some time, other local people have been quietly organizing. The Tierra Amarilla Co-op, which began operation this summer, is one result of this organizing. Its aim is to be a real people's co-op and not one of the fake agricultural co-ops that abound all over the country. Real co-ops of this type would be a boon to this area, in which the individual farmer is too small to be able to make a living, but all the small farmers in an area could pool their resources and machinery and begin to be self-sufficient. They want to recapture the practical elements of their old communal culture, while moving into the future with the development of political power.

Other contradictions have arisen in the area which may prompt a resurgence of the local tradition of resistance. Texas money is buying up much land in the mountains. The land is cheap, because the poor cannot afford to hold onto it; the state legislature also gives these outsiders considerable tax breaks. They have bought up land around Truchas and El Rito, two mountain villages in which there is considerable pro-land movement feeling. Ski resorts and condominiums for the wealthy would be built here. In El Rito, when the announcement was made that a large amount of land was to be developed, at the same time came the "mysterious" development that the town high school and vocational school had run out of funds and would be closed! It was all too obvious to the townspeople that the developers simply wanted to remove their town, import anglo laborers, and create a new settlement of their own. The local Chicano vendidos are working for the state, which wants to let the town die. Their influence is very strong, and the forces that want to save the town are having a hard time rallying support. While there is not much direct organizing going on, there is a rapid psychological change going on among the people of the north. Any movement activity is subject to overreaction by the pigs, and there is a general upswing of spontaneous, sporadic activity on both sides.

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

Many hippies are moving into northern New Mexico. Some live in "communes" or other groups, while others live among the local people in the villages and towns. By and large, they keep to themselves and do not mix with the local people. This has caused some friction to arise between them and the local people. Some of the hippies are parasites, while others work hard and support themselves. The sincere groups who want to work the land must eventually unite with the local Chicanos and learn from them, in order to succeed. Standing in the way of this now is the fact that many of the hippies come from middle or upper

class backgrounds--in fact, many are coupon clippers--and embrace philosophies of anarchism, idealism, and mysticism.

The present influx of influences also includes that of Cuba. Anyone with a cheap shortwave radio can get Radio Havana loud and clear, in English and Spanish, seven days a week. Many listen to it. Recently, several local movement activists have travelled to Cuba. The Cuban influence turns people on to the idea of socialism, being built by fellow Latinos. It shows them that when the people take things into their own hands, quick progress can be made. This is strongly positive. There may be some negative aspects to the "Cuban mystique", a mystique of "Debrayism", which stresses the forming of a small tough band of fighters or engaging in adventurist activities, and neglects getting people organized and raising consciousness in day-to-day work--preparing the people for struggle.

There are also U.S. Communist Party-types who have been working in the area for years, and are still active. Their influence cannot be underestimated. Mainly, they are disruptive; drawing militant groups into alliances with reformist groups and then sabotaging the militancy. This goes on mostly in the towns, but its effect has been felt in the countryside.

Ever since the Courthouse Raid, there have been rumors that Cuban guerrillas were training in the mountains, that "Reds" were arming the people. Evidently these rumors were started by the local ruling class. Cuban influence is there, although Cubans aren't. The truth--much harder for the local pigs to face--is that an indigenous, militant, and (to a certain extent) ARMED local movement is growing very rapidly, led and organized by LOCAL people. These are country people who have always had guns and have always known how to use them. These are people who know how to fight and are not afraid to. And these people are becoming politically conscious. That is what their oppressors are afraid of. Even though in an industrial country like the U.S. most of the population and power lies in the cities, the countryside may still prove to be one of the weakest links for 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 as much as possible in writing stories and criticizing the paper. At first, EL GRITO was centered on news of Tijerina and the Alianza, and Tijerina's campaign for governor, but has now broadened to include reportage of struggles both in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, and in the countryside. There are articles about Latin America, especially Mexico, and news of the movement in the U.S.

The paper started out with the idea of serving the people, and it has been a success. The staff has moved to Espanola, a small farming town north of Santa Fe in Rio Arriba County. The influence of a paper like this in Santa Fe and in rural areas cannot be underestimated. New Mexico is fairly isolated; it does not have the extensive news coverage that big cities have. The local press, radio and T.V. are reactionary, and keep news of protests out of the news "so as not to spread unrest".

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BULLETIN

The Alianza, Brown Berets and SNCC were attending a four-day "San Joaquin Liberation Seminar" in early June to celebrate the second anniversary of the Tierra Amarilla Courthouse Incident. The seminar was located near the San Joaquin land grant (600,000 acres), now occupied by the U.S. Forest Service.

The seminar had decided to attempt a citizens arrest of the Governor of New Mexico, Cargo. He escaped, but pig arrest came anyway. The confrontation came when Patsy Tijerina (Reies' wife) set fire to a large redwood sign in the Santa Fe National Forest. As she lit the fire, she said, "The land belongs to the people. I feel signs have to go down. If I don't do it someone else will. All signs have to go down and all fences."

At that point the Rangers moved to arrest her. Chief Evans held a gun on her and when Reies attempted to make a citizens' arrest of Evans, a scuffle ensued. Tijerina went to his car for a rifle and 15 armed Rangers appeared on the scene. Finally, Reies and 6 others were arrested for interference, and, in some cases, assault and resisting arrest. Later, several SNCC people were also busted for "conspiracy to commit a crime" (driving without a license). All are now out on bail.

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 continuing to organize in Santa Fe. His route takes him all over northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, and puts him in touch with other organizers who are working in the rural areas. He is working to make EL GRITO a community newspaper, not just a "movement" newspaper. Many small grocery stores, barber shops, cleaners, and other small businesses carry the paper and sell 35-50 copies a week. The paper has been instrumental in 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 45,000 people, and is the state capitol. It is 66 miles from a large town--Albuquerque--and is fairly isolated in some respects, having a "small town" feeling. Everybody knows everybody else and what he's doing. In some ways, it also has the feeling of a "metropolis". It is seventh in the nation in per capita income, because of the large number of millionaires living there. Many of these are liberal coupon clippers who dabble in the arts. New Mexico has long been a refuge for oddball artists and retired "radicals" of one kind or another. It is also a haven for national socialites, in the league with Scottsdale, Arizona and Aspen, Colorado. All this results in a fairly great number of wealthy 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: wealthy liberals move to block them, so that "their" air won't get polluted. They also control and run Santa Fe's unusually large number of museums, most of which are tied in to the state government.

Santa Fe also shares many features with towns of its size all over the southwest: a large impoverished Chicano population, almost complete lack of industry, low salaries, almost no union representation. All in all, it is two towns: one of the rich and one of the poor. It is new state capitol buildings surrounded by ancient barrio. It is wealthy artists making a living as cultural parasites by painting pictures of the quaint and picturesque slums, of the quaint and picturesque Indians. It is rich Indian traders and poor Indians. It is dirt roads in the barrios that freeze into tire-slashing ruts in the winter, melt into mires in the summer. It is many families within city limits living in crumbling adobe shacks with wood stoves as the only heating and cooking facility, only cold water to wash in, and no indoor plumbing.

CONTRADICTIONS RIPENING

When I came to Santa Fe in 1966, there was no movement of any kind there, except for a very mild "Vigil for Peace" once a week. The Alianza was busy, but its impact was not directly felt in Santa Fe; it was still narrowly limited to the land grant issue. People talked about it, though; most people seemed to think that the Alianza did not represent them because they were not land grant descendants. On the surface, the town seemed as it had for a hundred years: adobe, sunwashed and tranquil. The white liberals and artists liked being there; it was their haven away from the strife of the "Big City". It was where they came to escape. I got a distinctly different impression, however, talking to Chicanos. I had to look for a job, and jobs are very hard to come by there. My job-hunting treks put me in contact with many people. For most Chicanos, the town was not a haven, but

a prison: no jobs, no opportunities, nothing to do. The concerts and gallery openings of the rich Anglos did not interest the poor Chicanos.

This impression was strengthened when I moved out to a small farming valley near Santa Fe for the summer. The most commonly expressed sentiments were of despair about lack of jobs and opportunity, coupled with an intense political interest and desire to do something. Even the inhabitants of a small nearby pueblo, who were pretty sharp about managing their collective financial affairs, seemed to have no hope for their future in the valley. All their sons--the only heirs who could work the land--were leaving for the city, the army, and a more promising way of life.

It wasn't apparent on the surface, but contradictions were ripening. There is a contradiction between the poor people and the state: state and federal government are supposed to be the second largest economic factor in New Mexico, after tourism. The state government represents the ruling class which keeps people out of jobs and then tries to keep them pacified with Welfare. In Northern New Mexico, Chicanos are judges, local cops, politicians and other representatives of the ruling class. Here, Chicanos are oppressed by members of their own "Raza" in lower-echelon positions of power, with the Anglos at the very top. This is good, because it makes the class nature of the state more apparent.

Since there is very little industry anywhere in New Mexico, there is no large "middle class" of relatively well-paid workers and technocrats, except in certain concentrated areas of federal government work like Los Alamos or Sandia Base near Albuquerque. Poor and working class whites, who live mostly in the towns, live pretty much like poor Chicanos: most hold service industry jobs. The average wage for even unionized workers is \$200-\$350 a month. At that, one is lucky to have a job at all. In northern New Mexico, Anglos and Chicanos intermingle fairly freely. But in Southern New Mexico -- "Little Texas" -- there is more overt prejudice. Many bars and restaurants have "No Indians or Mexicans" signs. (One Chicano from Northern New Mexico told me that he first became aware that he was "different" from other "Americans" when he left the area and joined the army.)

And who controls the state? In northern New Mexico, there is a contradiction between out-of-state interests and in-state interests, as there is in any semi-colony within the U.S. In general the out-of-state interests want no development to take place, such as new factories or anything that would raise the wages and taxes. The in-state interests want to encourage new industries, because they would benefit by it. Many working people also favor attracting industry, as they want to stay in New Mexico and be able to make a living. Out-of-state interests are those such as insurance companies, which control or own large amounts of land and mineral rights; mineral concerns like Anaconda, Phelps-Dodge, El Paso Natural Gas, MolyCorp. "Texas money" is also in this group: it controls land, cattle, mineral rights, resort development, and various tax-write-off businesses. Dallas is the financial center of the Southwest, and its influence is felt everywhere.

These are arrayed against a variety of in-state businesses and light industries (like lumber companies) that want to build small plants to exploit cheap labor.

Within the state government, some of the politicians are on the side of national money interests, while many others want to attract industry by means of cheap labor and low taxes to develop the state. Many pages of the local paper are taken up with the squabble in the legislature between these two factions. National money interests still have the upper hand, as they have had for some time, and "Texas money" continues to buy more land. Meanwhile,

the economy of the state stagnates, population declines, and conditions get worse. Even in a time of "boom", New Mexico is economically depressed. The parts of the economy that are booming are doing so at the expense of poor rural communities all over the country, which are being drained. These drained areas are like colonies within the U.S. An economic recession now, as called for in business and administration plans, would hurt people in areas like New Mexico most.

STREET LIFE

With these worsening conditions as background, I began to meet and hang around with some young Chicanos. I learned of the life of the streets, and many of the poor of Santa Fe. Here, as in other oppressed areas, hustling is an accepted way of life--legal and illegal hustling. It just means that every day you have to find something to do to make a couple of dollars. If you have a pickup truck, you go into the hills to chop pinon and cedar wood to sell to the Anglos for their fireplaces for \$10-\$15 a load--a load that may have taken you a day or two to gather and half a day to split. You go out to the pueblos to sell booze, trade beat-up furniture for blankets or jewelry.

The cost of living is as much as, or even more than, that of California. In the Bay Area, a half gallon of milk cost 47¢; in Santa Fe it is 62¢. In Santa Fe, a truck driver makes \$1.80 an hour--he'd be making \$3.50 or more in the Bay Area.

The federal government, to apply a Band-Aid, has large Poverty Programs in northern New Mexico. For a couple of years, Headstart, Model Cities, VISTA Volunteers, and CAP programs have taken a large, active role in the community. Northern New Mexico was one of the original "target areas"--areas recognized by the federal government as having such bad poverty that if they didn't pour in some money immediately, they'd soon have an insurrection on their hands. As usual, these programs attracted all the worst opportunists in town--and, as everywhere, scandals developed about misuse of funds. These programs were supposed to buy off militant local leaders, attract slave labor "volunteers" for Model Cities and Urban Renewal land grabs, cause factionalism among poor people, and generally be palliative for the horrible poverty of the area.

While somewhat limited success was made in achieving these goals, the programs have made many sincere people who naively participated in them aware of the fiasco of government aid. The "slaves" became aware that they were being used. The younger brothers of the militant leaders who were bought off became aware of the bribe, and swore never to take it. Some VISTAS who started out as liberals soon became radicals after a year or two of living with the people and discovering the futility of trying to help them within the system. Actually, the poverty programs have moved many people to the left.

TEATRO DE LA CALLE

Last summer, some radical VISTAs started a project called "Teatro de la Calle" It was street theater and they were looking for local people to participate in it. A friend of mine--a truck driver who was soon to develop into an excellent organizer--became part of it, and, as one of the most dynamic members of the group, soon dominated it with his ideas and energetic acting style. Soon we (independent leftists, militant Chicanos, radical VISTAs, and the people) managed to take it over. All summer we brought anti-war, anti-establishment, anti-mayor plays to poor neighborhoods all over the city. Our audiences usually consisted mostly of children and teenagers, who took great delight in the slapstick comedy and exaggerated gestures of the skits. The plays were all written collectively by the participants. Local Chicano musicians and dancers also participated, and the program usually ended with everyone dancing in the streets. By the end of the summer, we had gotten respect and popularity in the barrios.

Our skits especially attacked the mayor, a Chicano who was elected by Chicanos on a program of "helping the poor", but who showed his true colors soon after taking office. Although he got blue in the face--after all, it was a VISTA program!--not one line of a skit was ever changed. Later in the year, we were indignantly told by a poverty program official, "Theatre in the Streets has been cancelled for next summer!" "Good", coolly responded my friend. "We've already planned to go ahead on our own. Government money would ruin us."

The Santa Fe local ruling class consists of medium-size businessmen --Jaycee types, and local representatives of national firms who exercise a lot of local power. It is a mixture of anglos and Chicanos. The Chicanos are mostly small or middle businessmen who have become politicians or who exercise political power through the Democratic machine (which elected the mayor). These Chicanos are known as "vendido" and "lambes", or "sell-outs" and "brown-noses".

Even the lowliest of state jobs are handed out as direct political favors. This is how the state political machine works. In this aspect of corruption, New Mexico resembles Old Mexico. In an area of such poverty, these secure jobs are eagerly sought. In the north, most of these jobs go to Chicanos--even bus drivers and janitors get their jobs because they have "friends". Even though they may only make \$250 a month, they are often the highest-paid workers in their villages, if they live in the countryside. In return for their jobs, they owe their political allegiance to the local ruling class and exercise their clout, wherever they are, to keep Chicanos divided. There is a strata of



photo by Karl Kemberger



photo by Karl Kernberger

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 Raza. We attacked the national ruling class mostly through the war in Vietnam, and also by portraying rich Texans and tourists who sightsee in quaint New Mexico while helping to oppress it. We also made a great deal of fun of the government poverty programs and their pompous officials. But we did not attack the majority of the small businessmen--we wanted to try to win them over to our side. Many of them had donated materials and money to the Teatro.

By the end of the summer, my truck driver friend had developed into a good public speaker through his experience in the Teatro. He saw the futility of trying to work for change within the system, and now wanted to organize. But how? The only community groups that then existed in Santa Fe were funded by poverty programs. There was much discontent, but as yet none of it had crystallized around specific issues. Should he try to work within one of these existing groups to recruit people, or should he immediately form another group? As it turned out, he was to do both at once. He had become so popular within the poverty program that it now tried to buy him off. At this time, contradictions were coming to a head within the programs; Urban Renewal and Model Cities were becoming increasingly unpopular. Using his leverage within the programs, we put out a couple of leaflets. The first urged the public to participate in an "open" Urban Renewal meeting. The local bureaucrats quickly cancelled the meeting--the last thing they really wanted was public participation. We had shown people in the target neighborhood that they were being manipulated. People began to show interest in what we were doing.

BROWN BERETS

We decided that it was time to completely sever our relations with the programs, and came 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 were 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 11 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 Tijerina 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 Justice, and for the leaders of La Raza. Even though many at the meeting did not support Tijerina or the Alianza, they felt that demonstrations were necessary to keep him and the others from being railroaded. (Tijerina 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.)

The 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 Chairman Mao says, "It is good 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 bi-lingual 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 capitol, had three days 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 by the community. A house has been donated for the summer for the use of Theater in the Streets--in exchange for rent, repairs will be done on it. Cops are now commonly called "el perro"--"the dog" in Spanish. This change has come about in just 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 town, and people respect them: they come from the barrios. They appear to be on the verge of building a solid community organization on the basis of their present program--day care centers, bi-lingual education, welfare rights, police brutality. They are in the

process of expanding their program and including more of the people's demands in it: community control of schools, etc. And they are becoming aware of the the shortcomings in 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 in New Mexico. 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 hampered 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 small 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 reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself"

Mao Tse-Tung

Contributions of money and goods are needed at the Tierra Amarilla Co-op. Things needed are: large pressure cookers for canning; a Jaar-type canner; jars; a canner for cans and cans to go with it; welding equipment; cutting torch; shoe sewing machine; heavy sewing machine for work clothes; saw mill equipment; a mill to grind grain 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
Parkview, New Mexico

VENCEREMOS BRIGADEfor ten million tons!



"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 so overextend the forces of imperialism that those forces would eventually be defeated decisively.

We inside the monster have an important role to play in this process. The struggles of the peoples of the world against imperialism weaken the domestic position of monopoly capitalism, enabling our struggle to advance. Likewise, whatever we accomplish against the monster from the inside creates more favorable conditions for the struggles outside the monster, that is, our struggles are complementary. In addition to building our own movement on domestic issues, our movement gets a tremendous thrust from our brothers overseas. In turn, we must support revolution in the rest of the world in whatever way we can.

Cuba is the most important bastion against imperialism in our hemisphere. The Cuban revolution seriously weakened U.S. imperialism when it kicked out American enterprise, and later repelled the U.S. invasion of the Bay

of Pigs. The Cuban revolution continues to serve as an example to all people in the Americas. The Cuban revolution is a continuous process in which the Cuban people must persistently struggle to maintain their achievements and press them further.

THE ZAFRA

The Cuban people, in order to further their revolution, must continue to defend themselves against the imperialist economic blockade and threats of invasion. They must conquer 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. (Zafra) They have promised to produce 10 million tons of sugar--twice the normal harvest and much more sugar than circulates in

a year on the "free world market". The 10 million tons is of decisive importance because with 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 molasses to feed the cattle and chickens--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 advanced 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 are their example. If 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 300 Americans who spend 2 months in Cuba helping with the 1970 sugar harvest.

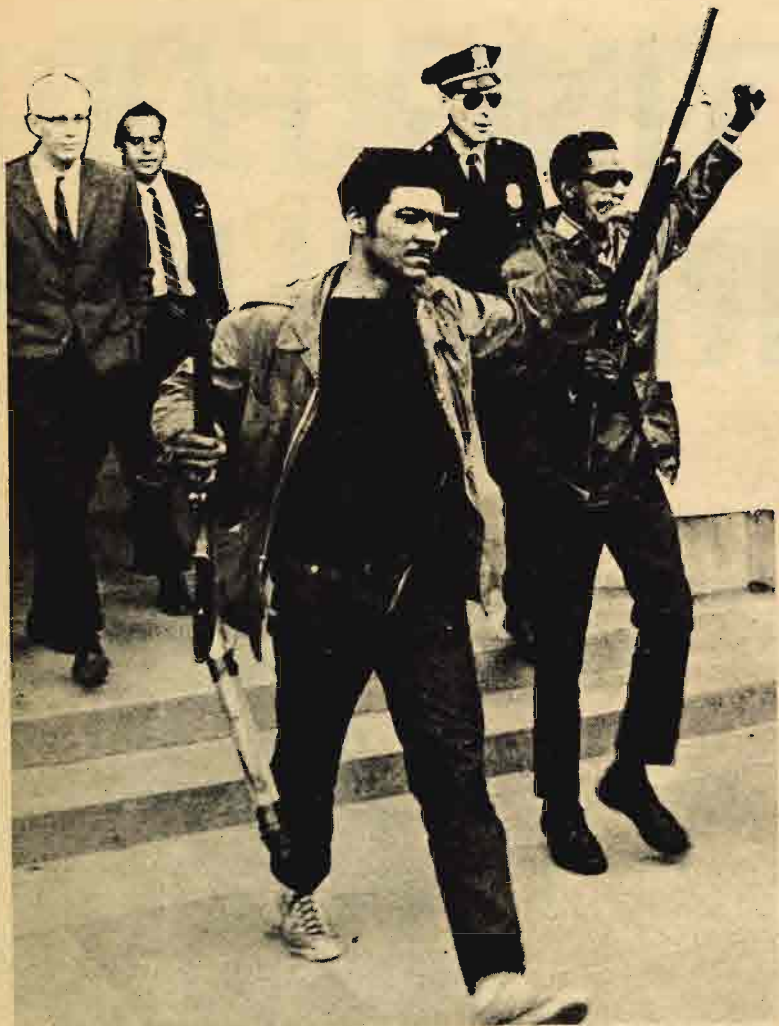
This trip to Cuba will not be like

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, New University Conference, High School Student Union, Committee 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, brown and white 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 experience.

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 10025. Applications are due September 20.



CORNELL—

ASHES OR BLAZE

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 armed 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 between the black and white movements at the school over the past several years. The Afro-American Society (now known as the Black Liberation Front) became visibly 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 groups program.

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 in Ithaca. The AAS was active in organizing high school students and worked closely with adult black groups in trying to secure better housing for the community. On the campus the AAS strategy was not one of "making" the university a better place" but rather was one of trying to use the school.

BACKGROUND TO STRUGGLE

Following this line the AAS began to design detailed plans for a black college which would fit them with the skills they would need to organize the ghettos. This strategy was almost contradictory to SDS' which was almost completely campus centered. With few exceptions, the chapter was heavily influenced by a RESISTANCE mentality, leaning heavily on pacifism and individualistic moral pleas. The militant blacks, although they opposed the war and took part in an ad hoc sit-in against marine recruiters during the fall, saw little in SDS to attract them, feeling that most of the chapter members were into martyrdom.

However, in the wake of the King assassination the SDS chapter broke out of its exclusive anti-war mentality and began to question the university's relationship to racism. Demands were raised that the school divest itself of stock in banks which supported the South African regime and that University President James Perkins resign from the Board of Directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Although the South Africa campaign began to raise questions about cap-

italism and imperialism the dominant appeal was still a liberal one--"the university shouldn't be complicit with immorality." As the campaign came to a head the AAS pledged support

working with high school kids and raising a demand that the university, which runs Ithaca like a company town, fund 1000 units of low and middle income housing, the money to come from the sale of the Cornell Aeronautics Lab, a counter-insurgency specialist. While SDS moved into the community this fall the AAS, although still working with Ithaca's black youth, placed more and more emphasis on working towards the establishment of the black college.

The AAS rhetoric became increasingly separatist. SDS did little to try and deal with this other than to note the tendency with some scorn. The more isolated the blacks felt, the more they retreated to the separatist position. Thus, when the black college question came to a head in December, the AAS went it alone.

They staged a number of guerilla demonstrations aimed at dramatizing their demands. (checking out thousands of books at the library because none were relevant to black people etc.) The demonstrations accomplished their aim. Fearful that he would lose his reputation as a leader in handling campus race problems President Perkins agreed to set up the college. However, the university also began judicial proceedings against six blacks involved in the demonstrations. It was both the university's insistence on pushing the cases and the AAS' refusal to admit the jurisdiction of the judicial body over political acts which led to the Spring blowup. SDS, then completely immersed in its housing program, ignored the whole thing.

However, at about this time the issue of South Africa surfaced again and served to begin 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 Africa campaign of the previous spring as an "appropriate means of discussing this vital issue." 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 morning panel, and all the bally-hoo about understanding "this delicate problem" couldn't disguise 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 as 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 cosponsored the demonstration with six marshalls 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 the December demonstrations and they were dubious about SDS' willingness to risk anything. If a move was made SDS was going to have to go first. It did. The doors and the cops guarding them went and so did 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 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 reprimands were handed out against the blacks they moved on the student union.

ARMED TAKEOVER

The takeover was brilliant tactically. It was Parents' Weekend and the union 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 to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



for the SDS demands and actions. But nothing happened. The chapter was stalled until the end of the year by a number of "high level" committees. SDS' failure to act isolated it further from the AAS, most of whose members felt that white radicals were all talk and no action. SDS people tended to disregard the AAS as being without politics--strange logic for a group which generally objected to phrases like imperialism as being too heavy.

BLF-SDS SPLIT

The split between the two groups continued over the summer with almost no interplay, although large numbers of both stayed in Ithaca to work for the movement full-time. The summer did some good for SDS. For the first time chapter members began to discuss politics. The resistance mentality began to fade, and groupings around the N.Y.-Philly Labor Committee and the Anti-Imperialists began to develop. The chapter also became involved with the community for the first time,



"WE'RE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM TOGETHER... THERE IS NO OTHER WAY."

Cha Cha Jimenez is the chairman of the Young Lords Organization. In the last two issues of the MOVEMENT we carried articles on the history of the Young Lords, which began as a street gang in a Puerto Rican community of Chicago and developed into a revolutionary organization which has initiated many struggles in support of the needs of people in their community, and an article on the repression that has come down against the group, including the murder of Manuel Ramos by an off-duty, drunk Chicago pig. Recently we talked with Cha Cha . . . he told us about the history of the organization and the murder of Manuel Ramos.

MOVEMENT: What does that button mean-Tengo Puerto Rico en mi Corazon?

CHA CHA: It says, I have Puerto Rico in my heart. Understand that we're still a colony, controlled by the United States. A governor was allowed to be elected by the people in 1947...1898 to 1947, that's a long time. And the governor now, to us, is nothing but an uncle tom, a person that advocates statehood. We've been fucked over for so long, as a colony.

In 1962 a delegation from Puerto Rico went to the United Nations to ask the people of the world whether they thought Puerto Rico should be free or not. Everyone voted that it should be free and independent but the United States. That same year they sucked 601 million dollars out of Puerto Rico. We know what it's all about...they're fucking us over in Puerto Rico and over here. They call us citizens only when we get sent to war or something like that, when they want to use us. But we're not citizens of the United States, and we're going to fight. We want Puerto Rico to be free. We remember all the things that have been done to us. We won't forget them. That's what this button means.

MOVEMENT: How do the Young Lords relate to groups struggling inside Puerto Rico?

CHA CHA: The Cubans have this poster...saying we will destroy it from the outside, you from the inside. This is the same way we put it. We feel that we should stimulate revolution here in the mother country, as well as in the colony. There's organizations out there in Puerto Rico now, FUPI, MPI, that are fighting for liberation. We're just helping them. There's a nationalist party there, an Independent party. The movement is growing in Puerto Rico.

MOVEMENT: Do you relate that nationalist struggle to the class struggle?

CHA CHA: People consider Puerto Ricans as passive...but as recently as 1950 there was a revolution in Puerto Rico. It's not known by the people, the mass media covers up everything. Lots of revolutionaries have come out of Puerto Rico. We relate to the class struggle because there's Puerto Ricans that are real black, then there's Puerto Ricans that are light skinned like myself. We have to relate to poor people. We see it's some of our so called own people that are fucking over us too, helping to keep us down. The ones that think they know everything, that want to talk for us. They want to say that they're our leaders. The ones appointed by the Mayors and the President. These are the ones keeping us down. So we have to relate to the class struggle.

A lot of people come over here, looking for a land of opportunity, for

this dream. A lot of them come over to work on farms. There's a lot of Puerto Ricans working for \$1.45 an hour right now. On farms. They're brought over there as slaves, even by their own people. People don't notice that. They don't speak the language...just put on the farm.

Puerto Ricans are a proud race, they don't like to admit that they're poor. They come over here and save two or three hundred dollars, and then go back to visit Puerto Rico on the plane, usually buying the ticket on credit. Go to Puerto Rico, spend the 2 or 3 hundred dollars in about a week and then come back and leave the impression that they're living here a happy life and they're really not. They're just pretending. We have a lot of pretenders. It's basically pride. If we would just be sincere and let the people in Puerto Rico know what's happening, maybe we would get some changes.

Then there are the people who work for the city. Who want to organize this or that. Appointed by the mayor, the uncle toms, the bootlickers who've been sucking ass all their lives. They always want to be in the papers, want to put their face in everything.

MOVEMENT: What about the Church?

CHA CHA: The church has really fucked us over a lot. Saying it's a separate entity...when it's part of the United States...how beautiful the United States is, how wonderful it is. They're helping it. Poor people grasp on to religion. They have to grasp on to something cause they're not free, not living a happy life, have to grab hold of something. People have been brainwashed by the church.

SEMINARY OCCUPATION

MOVEMENT: Is that why you attacked the Seminary?

CHA CHA: McCormick Theological Seminary is in our community. They got together with Children's Memorial Hospital and said we're gonna make the community better for people to live here. Only when they said 'people' they were talking about THEIR kind of people, people with money who can make their institution grow.

Seminaries who make ministers are supposed to serve the people. We feel they're brainwashing our people. This is why we went over there to take over the place. We demanded that they help us with urban renewal. We wanted them, since they kicked out a lot of Puerto Rican people, to start buying some homes and property for poor people, some low income housing. They didn't want to do it. We had to show them we meant it.

So we took over the building. They figured it was like a picnic. Some people said we would leave by Friday at 5 o'clock. Friday evening came and we said, we ain't going. They



were worried. They said we would have to leave by ten the next morning or else. So we barricaded everyplace. The press was there outside, the pigs were there and we grabbed a microphone and told them...you come in here we're going to have a barbecue. We're not playing games and we're not leaving 'til all our demands are met.

So the head of the seminary came to talk to us, and I told him that by using the injunction he was acting like Hitler or Daley, and other oppressors. I talked to him like that for three or four hours. On Sunday he held a press conference and called the injunction off. And he told us he would meet all the demands. We called a press conference and said we could stay as long as we wanted to, but since all the demands had been granted we would leave of our own free will.

MOVEMENT: Do you consider their meeting of the demands a victory?

CHA CHA: I don't consider it a victory. We were surprised when our demands were met but I don't consider it a victory. It's not a revolutionary victory. It's something to help the people now, though, for the time being. Our demands were met because they knew the Lords were growing in numbers and in community support. We didn't give any ground. We said half of us will fight the pigs while the other half goes out to educate the community. This is what they were afraid of. We had more than 200 people there.

We've been trying to get things together. The Young Lords are like the first street gang in the city of Chicago, maybe even in some of the other big cities, that started realizing we were getting fucked over by the system. Trying to get others together instead of fighting among each other. This system can't afford for other street gangs to do that. The street gangs are the people who, when its time for something to happen, they're going to do it. It won't be, should we do it, or not...I mean, they're there and they're ready to do it anytime.

EDUCATION VS OPPORTUNISM

Movement: What is the Young Lords' strategy for the future?

CHA CHA: The Young Lords are going to try to get a little more ideology. We have to do this to educate the Latin community, not just Puerto Ricans, but also Chicanos, Cubans, South Americans, the whole Latin scene. We're trying to educate the people...we have to get more ideology. We're working with the Black Panther Party and other groups.

We look at the United States and we see lots of divisions. I see the Uncle Toms getting stronger every day. In the Southwest some of them yelling Chicano power and not knowing what it's all about.

We're not so politically educated, from books or anything, but we're educated from the streets, from being Puerto Ricans, from being different shades of skin.

And we see phony revolutionaries as a threat to the movement. If we don't get hip to which is the enemy and which is the friend, the movement is gonna be destroyed. And it's happening all over where there's people who say they're for revolution, say they want to stop this exploitation, but when it really gets down to the nitty gritty, when you say, would you give up your house, or this or that, they never want to give it up.

So they're really not for it...they just say it. They read all these books to prove they're so advanced. They're turning the revolution into some kind of new dance, or new car. Like on television they talk about revolutionary detergents, revolutionary soap, revolutionary toilet paper that explodes when you put it up to your ass. They're really not serious, not sincere when they talk about it.

Our people are poor, a lot of them are illiterate. There's opportunists who are out for themselves. This is why we need a vanguard Latin party, that can educate the people, the poor people, not just the Chicanos who have so called made it in the system. They've become pretty capitalistic, don't want to give up what they got.

RAINBOW COALITION

Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party talk about observation and participation. We have to use this for our people. When they see us out in the streets and we talk about the pigs. Before some people were lovey dovey with the pigs, all they wanted was more Puerto Rican pigs...before you had a white dude kicking your ass...now they have 'Puerto Rican power' and a Puerto Rican pig kicks your ass. We showed people what was happening. Look at Manuel...look at some other people they've beat up. We show them, and they see it, and understand about the pigs.

MOVEMENT: Do you have any specific programs in mind?

CHA CHA: We're talking about having a cultural center, a Puerto Rican cultural center. We got to include some black culture cause we got some blacks, we want to include some Chicano culture too cause we want to include all Latins. We want to invite the people from the white community. We'll educate them by giving them talks, by rapping to them, by showing films. We're trying to set up as many programs as we can to educate the people.

MOVEMENT: What's the Rainbow Coalition?

CHA CHA: We have a rainbow coalition within the Young Lords (we're all different colors). But there's another rainbow coalition that came about with a Black Panther working in our area who dug what we did at the pig station. We got together with the Panthers and at the same time with the Young Patriots from Uptown. We started rapping about some of our problems and what was happening on the street and with our people and found that we had a common enemy and understood what was happening.

So...we said let's get together and see if we can get Chicago organized. Every group works separately in their community and we come together every so often and rap about what's happening. We try to keep close contact with each other. We feel that we're revolutionaries and revolutionaries have no race. The system is the one that's using the tool to divide us. Revolutionaries are just revolutionaries. In Puerto Rico they have revolutionary nationalists who are fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico. We're poor and oppressed people here and we're fighting for the independence of the U.S. We're fighting for freedom together...there's no other way to fight for it.

drawing from Young Lords Organization



to the point... of production

Editors' Note: John Watson, editor of the Wayne State University South End, 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 previous 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 moneyed forces.

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.

PLANT CONDITIONS

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 industry in general, but especially in the auto 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 lines.

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 on 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 have to work 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 this point those

attempts had been pretty futile, although they had given us a lot of experience into the things that are necessary to successfully organize.

OUTSIDE SUPPORT

One of the things that we find is that it is absolutely essential that the workers have some sort of support from outside of the factory. When we carry out strikes at any of the plants, we usually have a large number of people come down from the community to man the picket lines. They often bring drums, huge congo drums. This helps to raise the morale of the workers in those actions.

Anyone who works in a plant who participates in a wild-cat strike can be fired, if the company can prove that he actually participated in it. So by having people from the community man the picket lines we 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 kinds of problems which they are facing in the plant; second, an ability to articulate those needs and to set forth demands which can begin to solve those problems and third, the establishing of a mechanism, an organizational structure which can effectively mobilize the workers to resist the pressures of the company and the union. This organizational mechanism generally requires that we produce a publication for the plant.

This publication is an organizing tool in and of itself in 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 producing 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 concerned with 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 publication is at the gates being passed out every Tuesday on the nose without deviation they begin to recognize that this is a very serious organization which they're dealing with.

The production of the publications, the publication 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 an automobile plant killing themselves for ten hours a day, working six and sometimes seven days a week, are generally too tired to do all the work which is necessary to tie together membership meetings, produce publications, get in contact with community groups for support, raise funds and so on and so forth. Therefore, it is necessary to have some group of supporters outside the factory who can carry out all these services to the workers.

In terms of providing this support, providing the print shops, printing facilities, community support, raising money, the League is very important because through the League, workers in a number of plants throughout the city can combine their resources together so that they can be serviced by the same administrative staff. This prevents duplication of a lot of activities which would be necessary if we didn't have this kind of broad federation.

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 understanding of the dynamics of American capitalist society and we're acting on the results of our analysis. This doesn't mean that we're against those people who are involved in community organization. Our analysis tells us that the basic power of black people lies at the point of production, that the basic power we have is the power as workers.

As workers, as black workers, we have historically been and are now an essential element in the American economic sense. Without black slaves to pick the cotton on the Southern plantations, the primitive accumulation of capital which was necessary to develop industry in both Europe and America would never have been accomplished. Without black

workers slaving on the assembly lines in automobile plants in the city of Detroit, the automobile companies would not be able to produce cars in the first place, and therefore, wouldn't be able to make the tremendous profits which they have been making.

Therefore, we feel that the best way to organize black people into a powerful unit is to organize them in the factories in which they are working. We feel that black workers, especially, have the power to completely close down the American economic system. In order to implement that power, we have to become organized.

In one factory you have 10,000 people who are faced with the same brutal conditions under the same system from the same bastards every day, eight hours a day, ten hours a day, six or seven days a week. When you go out into the community, the interests of the people, let's say in a particular neighborhood, more than likely are going to be much more greatly dispersed than the interests of the workers are. That is, people have different landlords, they are exploited by a number of different shop-keepers, they are faced with a number of different kinds of problems through-



out the community, and they don't represent the same sort of homologous mass as 10,000 people in a factory do. Therefore, just in terms of expediency there are greater possibilities in the organization of the plant.

And when you consider even farther than that, when you do organize significant sectors of the community, the kinds of actions which can be taken are not as effectively damaging to the ruling class as the kinds of actions which can be taken in the plant. For instance, when you close down Hamtramck Assembly Plant, you do a number of things automatically. If you close it down for a day you cost Chrysler Corporation 1,000 cars. That, considered in relationship to their investment, means the loss of a sizeable sum of money.

Also, when you close down a large automobile plant, you automatically can mobilize the people in the streets, 5,000 or 10,000 people at a single blow. Whereas when you attempt to organize the community especially if you go from house to house or block to block, it is much more difficult to gather together that many of the people at the same time.

Finally, we feel that in conjunction with the organization of workers in plants you automatically have the development of community organization and community support. After all, workers are not people who live in factories 24 hours a day. They all go home and live somewhere in the community. We have found that it's almost an inevitable and simul-

taneous development that as factory workers begin to get organized, support elements within the community are also organized. We feel that it is necessary to have broad community support in order to be able to effectively organize within the plant and effectively close down significant sectors of the economy.

Therefore, we have an overall analysis which sees the point of production as the major and primary sector of the society which has to be organized and that the community should be organized in conjunction with that development. This is probably different from these kinds of analysis which say where it's at is to go out and organize the community and to organize the so-called "brother on the street." It's not that we're opposed to this type of organization; but without a more solid base such as the working class represents, this type of organization, that is, community-based organization, is generally a pretty long and stretched out and futile development.

BLACK MOVEMENT & WHITE WORKERS

FE: What generally has been the relationship between the black union movement and white workers? For example, recently out at the Chrysler Sterling Stamping Plant there was a wild-cat strike, led mainly by white workers, who called on the League of Revolutionary Black Workers to come out and help them with their organizing. Is this kind of thing happening more frequently?

JW: This kind of support between black and white workers in militant actions is in its beginning stages of development now. Our position vis a vis white workers has been distorted by the ruling class, the UAW and by various white radical organizations which are opposed to us for some reason or other.

Basically, we have organized an all black revolutionary union movement, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, because of the fact of racism existing in American society, because of the fact that the working class is already divided between the races, and because it is necessary for black workers to be able to act independently of white workers. We have learned historically that in too many instances white workers have been willing to sell us out because of their own racist misunderstandings of the dynamics of struggle.

Since the beginning we've had relationships with white workers at the plants that we've organized. For instance, at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant there has been the formation of an organization among white workers which hopes to begin to organize them to struggle against the company and against 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 on positive struggle against capitalism, these people tend to be opposed to us because of purely academic arguments. They got 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 between 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 extremely dogmatic and incapable of working out any kind of alliance or coalition with other organizations.

In recent history, however, there have been some 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 (NEWNUM) among black workers. And this organization has attempted since its very inception to encourage the development of militant revolutionary organizations among the white workers at 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 understood the exploitative nature of the company and the exploitative nature of the system, they had very little experience in organizing to fight oppression and exploitation. As a result of their lack of experience, the white workers' organization has been moving at a very slow pace. It seems to be necessary that the leadership of the League begin to provide some sort of theoretical or practical guidance to those whites who are attempting to move to organize in this particular situation.

In other plants such as the Sterling Plant, for the first time militant whites have called for us to support their action. Our position on this is that we, of

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

course, support any progressive action on the part of any workers, white or black, who are moving to resolutely confront this racist capitalist system.

I think that there's going to have to be an awful lot of discussion over the next few months over the relationship between the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the various white organizations which are beginning to organize among white workers. The National Organizing Committee (NOC) has begun to implement a very positive program in this city among the white working class, and all indications are that it is going to be a fairly successful effort. Our relationship with that organization at this time, although unofficial, is very good in that both of us understand the positions which we're coming from and we both understand who the enemy is and what the nature of the enemy is. Therefore, we're not 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 conception 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. As political animals, we have to realize that it is necessary for us to provide them with the kind of leadership which they lack at this moment and to begin to do all that we can to help them to develop that leadership to the point where it can be self sufficient.

PL CRITICISM

FE: Speaking about the white radical organizations, recently there has been criticism from the Progressive Labor Party on the basis that there should not be separate unions for black and white workers, as this splits the working class. The accusation is that separate black unions are a form of nationalism, which has to be considered reactionary in all its forms. What is the League's outlook on the question of nationalism? Does it recognize a distinction be-

tween revolutionary and reactionary nationalism and if so, what is that distinction?

JW: On this question of the Progressive Labor Party, and the criticism which it has leveled at us, in the first place our activities are based upon reality. They are based on an analysis of the real world, not some sort of subjective wishes about how we would like the world to be.

The real facts of the matter are that this is a racist society, it is a monopoly capitalist society, the entire society is divided up according to class and according to caste. This is a fact. Black people don't unite with the white working class simply because Progressive Labor says that that might be a good thing. White workers don't eliminate their racism simply because Progressive Labor says that this might be a good thing.

If you look at the history of the black liberation movement over the last 200 years, you'll find that there have been numerous coalitions, alliances, mergers, between black and white workers. Almost every time that this type of organization has developed and moved to the point where it was actually threatening the system, the system resorted by attacking the movement through racist campaigns.

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 monopolies 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 invented most of the Amos'n'Andy and Sambo type stereotypes which you have towards black people.

This type of massive propaganda campaign had a telling effect upon the mentality of the white farmers who were aligned with the black workers. Essentially what happened was that the whites who were originally directing their hostility towards the ruling class were convinced that the ruling class wasn't really their enemy, that black people were really their enemy. And you had the formation out of movements like the Populist Movement of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan which instead of moving towards the liberation of all people directed its efforts toward the further subjugation of black people.

Therefore, we have learned time and time again that when 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

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. What we're going to do is fight 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 Progressive Labor Party 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 any other existing white organization because none of them are doing anything which shows us that they're capable of organizing a mass revolutionary struggle in this country, among blacks or whites.

As far as the question of black nationalism is concerned, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers recognizes that black nationalism in and of itself represents a broad political spectrum from left to right. There are black nationalists who are essentially black fascists, and you have other black nationalists who are essentially black Marxist-Leninist Communist revolutionaries.

We understand that there are black nationalists who simply feel that they as individuals have not been getting a big enough piece of the pie of black exploitation and who are not moving in the interests of black people. We oppose the idea that the solution to our problem is the establishment of a new economy in which you have black capitalists, black factory owners, exploiting black workers the way the white people have. We see the solution to the problem not simply as one of establishing a nationalist organization or a nationalist community, but one in which all forms of exploitation and oppression are



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 which of course the first and 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 which so far most of them have been quite hesitant to do. There's a great need 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 who want to become 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 multilith and mimeograph machines, letterset 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.

We are in bad need of photographic equipment. The League would like to begin to move into the production of films so we can have more vehicles for the reeducation of black people to the true nature of the system. However, at the moment we don't have the resources, and the administrative staff doesn't have the time to put into that kind of project. White radicals who are really interested in doing something could get together and figure out how to beg, borrow or steal these kinds of photographic equipment.

We could go on and on and on and talk about all the kinds of inputs which we need on that level.

Second, of course, I think that white radicals who want to support DRUM and the League should politically support us every chance they get. For instance, they should not tolerate organizations like the Progressive Labor Party or anybody else denigrating the kinds of political positions we take. There has been an awful lot of talk not only among PL but within organizations like SDS which have distorted both the history and the positions of DRUM. I think that some of the things which SDS said were said in a paternal light.

They misconstrued the political sophistication of our movement, in terms of us having a clear understanding of racism, monopoly capitalism and imperialism and also having an understanding of how to move to attack these evils. I think that white radicals who want to do something for us should do all they can, for instance, to let people who they have connections with know about the existence of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, what our program is, what we're doing in practice and the kinds of needs we have.

Of course, the major role of white radicals should be to organize the white workers. A lot of the same sorts of inputs which are needed in terms of organizing black workers are needed in terms of organizing white workers, i.e., print shops, photographic equipment, other types of communication networks, funds, etc.

There is a developing need for organizers to actually go into the plants to mobilize people. The reason that I sort of shy away from emphasizing that particular point, however, is that no workers need simply missionary people to come into the plants who think they got to do missionary work. If you've got five students who want to work in the plant it would probably be best if two of them went inside and three of them stayed outside to support those two who are in there.

If students consider themselves sufficiently sophisticated and aware of the problems and conditions in the plants and decide to move into the factory, they should push to educate the white workers along a certain political line. That line, and this is very important, is the position that black workers are the vanguard of the revolutionary movement.

Now I know that many white radicals have espoused this position as a slogan, but it is more than a slogan — it's true. Therefore, white workers should prepare to accept leadership from the most advanced section of the proletariat.

White students who intend to enter organizing work in the plants should think that position through very rationally and carefully. If they expect to do any serious political work in the plants they must explain the concept of the black vanguard. We believe



that 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 great progress 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 wolf 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. Emil Mazey, the Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW called us a greater threat to unionism than the Communists were in the 30's and 40's. 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 the Detroit area branding us as segregationist 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 to 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. Many of the union leaders find it impossible to openly oppose us because their membership would go against them. Most of these union leaders are just 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.

I think that 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

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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 has had to struggle for survival since its earliest days, had to defend itself, but the last few months have seen a shift to an all out and many fronted attempt by the U.S. government and its various agencies to totally destroy the Black Panther Party. An attempt to kill and imprison leaders, the raiding of offices across the country on any pretext and usually with no excuse at all. Possible Smith Act prosecutions, Grand Jury investigations, Congressional "investigations". Trumped up bullshit charges involving murder, kidnapping, sabotage, robbery. Pig infiltration. One can engage in academic debates about what Fascism is 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 educate people to the shit that's coming down, and learn to resist it.

Bobby Seale, the Chairman of the Black Panther Party faces a possible five year sentence...he along with seven white leaders is charged in Chicago with conspiracy to cross state lines to incite a riot at the Democratic Convention last August.

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 \$71 worth of Good Humor ice cream. Two years ago some brothers on the block were out playing basketball...they wanted some 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 who 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 rapping 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. They forced their way in under the pretext that they were looking for George Sams, a Panther wanted by authorities in Connecticut. The FBI admitted

that George Sams was not found in the office. Nevertheless they charged 8 Panthers who were there with harboring a federal fugitive. They stole a strongbox that had \$3000 in cash to be used for a free medical clinic, stole petitions with 15,000 signatures demanding the release of Fred Hampton, stole lists of financial contributors and lawyers, and 13 firearms, several typewriters, thousands of newspapers, leaflets, and pamphlets. Charges of possession of unregistered firearms were later dropped when the gestapo raiders were forced to admit that they had no search warrant.

Bobby Rush said that the Chicago bust and raid was only one of a coordinated series of raids on the Panthers. Similar busts with similar pretexts took place in Detroit, New York, Connecticut, Indianapolis, Des Moines, and Denver in a space of two days.

In New Haven, Connecticut Brother Alex Rackley who was a Panther member in good standing, was found murdered. Subsequently 8 Panthers, including Erica Huggins (the wife of murdered John Huggins) were charged with kidnapping their brother Panther and also with conspiracy to commit murder and kidnapping. The racist news media said there was a "direct link" between the murder in New Haven and the arrests of the Panther 21 in New York. There is. The same pigs that murdered Brother Alex conspired to frame the Panther 21 and are currently conspiring and attempting to annihilate the Black Panther Party throughout the United States.

Twenty of the Panther 21 remain in jail in New York. The ransom is over 2 million dollars. (See MOVEMENT, March 1969). The 21 are being held in cells spread out across the five boroughs of New York to make it impossible for them to see their lawyers together to make a collective defense. The trumped up charges of conspiracy to blow up department stores and botanical gardens are patently ridiculous. Yet so far the pigs have gotten away with effectively removing 21 Panthers from political activity, and with whipping up as much hysteria in the city as possible. The trial has begun and has so far dealt with defense pre-trial motions including motions to suppress wiretapped "evidence", a motion to dismiss the entire case because of prejudicial publicity, motions on the condition of the jailed Panthers, and a motion that the Grand Jury which imagined the indictment is not composed of the peers of the accused. A demonstration and rally by about 350 Panthers and supporters took place at the courthouse on the first day of proceedings.

In Sacramento pigs moved on the Oak Park ghetto allegedly to quiet groups of black youths who had gathered in a park in the area as they had on many previous weekends. More than 150 pigs came to the area, harassed people in the community and people responded with rocks. Then...police said they thought someone fired at them from the Black Panther Party office. They used tear gas on the groups of people in the street...and massive doses of tear gas on the Panther office. They found no one inside and confiscated money, records,

and some firearms from the office. There was shooting throughout the night and about 8 pigs were wounded, though none seriously. Some people were injured and about 40 people were busted.

OREGON-The Deputy Minister of Information of the Oregon chapter was busted for draft evasion. Bail was set at 10,000 dollars.

SAN DIEGO-A Panther Lieutenant, John Savage, was murdered by Tambuzi, a member of the US organization which works for the pigs.

LOS ANGELES--Within one month 42 Panthers were arrested 56 times. The total bail for these busts was over \$100,000.

KANSAS CITY-Deputy Minister of Labor, Tommy Robinson, was framed on charges of extortion and two counts of robbery.

INDIANA-Deputy Chairman of the Indiana Chapter, Fred Crawford, is in jail on another frame-up, supposedly for assault and battery.

DENVER-Panthers, Landon Robert Williams and Rory Hythe were busted for "unlawful flight to avoid persecution". They were supposedly fleeing from Connecticut and were said by the FBI to be connected with the murder of Alex Rackley, but no charges were pending against them in Connecticut.

And so it has gone. And one wakes up and rubs his eyes and more than likely looks in the paper and finds another new frameup, another injustice, another attack on the Panthers. Throughout the country...in the many cities and towns where the Black Panthers have established offices and support...there local and Federal pigs are moving. Deal with some of the recent charges in your mind...the murders and the long prison terms. For a long time now people have been talking about repression, and as many of our ideas have taken root, so has repression increased. Now the bars and guns and jangling keys are on our doorsteps.

The Black Panther Party has called a Conference for a United Front Against Fascism for July (see Registration form on facing page). At the time of this writing much of the meaning of this conference remains to be worked out. Some people have raised questions about the conference: What would a United Front be? Are we facing fascism? What are the concrete methods of the enemy? How best to combat repression?

No one could argue with the hard facts of massive planned attacks on the black movement and the Black Panther Party and the repression against the white movement--all the way to shotguns in Berkeley. The conference may initiate some answers, or it may not, but it will certainly spur debate and put these questions out in the open.

One thing remains clear. The government has spearheaded its current attack on the entire movement with a brutal attack on the Black Panther Party. We who seek to defend and expand this movement must understand this and work as hard as we know how with whatever organizational and educational tools we can develop to help protect and aid the Black Panther Party. ◆

PEOPLE'S TRIAL FOR FRED HAMPTON

Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, Fred Hampton was tried by a jury of his peers in Maywood during a people's trial at the Village Hall, May 24 and 25. The Saturday and Sunday sessions were complete with judge, jury, attorneys, witnesses and, of course, Fred Hampton himself. At least 150 spectators were on hand at each of the sessions that lasted about 2 hours each.

Following the selection of 12 jury members opening statements were made by the "state" and by Fred Hampton acting as his own defense attorney.

The first person called by the prosecution was John Robert Jones, played by William Derringer, Jr. As in the establishment trial of Fred Hampton, the prosecutor attempted to establish the alleged fact that a robbery had occurred on July 10, 1968, in Maywood. Mr. Jones at the time was

driving a Good Humor ice cream truck and the alleged robbery resulted in the loss of 710 cold and tasty ice cream bars with a wholesale value of \$71.

Jones testified that Fred Hampton held him down by the neck with one hand while other blacks proceeded to take the ice cream. Jones' testimony was to the effect that he finally forced Hampton off by putting his foot on Hampton's chest and pushing.

Charles Duffy, playing the part of Patrolman Duff ("pig duff") of the Maywood Police Department, testified and contradicted what the "victim" had stated happened. Pig Duff stated they went past approximately 40 teenagers on the playground near where the truck was parked and observed all persons in the area were eating ice cream, and picked out Fred Hampton as the leader and assailant of Jones.

Fred Hampton acting as his own

attorney, proceeded to point out differences in the testimony when he cross examined pig Duff. Hampton wanted to know why if in fact there had been a foot print on his shirt the police didn't confiscate the shirt and preserve the foot print.

Hampton also wanted to know why, with all those people eating ice cream on the playground, only he was arrested.

Defense witnesses called by the accused were Mrs. Florence Black, Secretary to the summer program of "Operation Headstart" at the school where the incident occurred; Murphy Wade, in charge of recreation inside the school building; and Gene Moore, an acquaintance of Fred Hampton's who rode with him just prior to the time of the alleged theft. Moore was still in Fred's Volkswagen at the time the police dragged Fred off to jail. All witnesses testified they did not see Fred commit the alleged crime. (All the wit-

nesses above testified in the establishment trial as well.)

One discrepancy in the testimony of Jones and pig Duff was established by Mrs. Black and relates to the ages of the children on the playground who were between 8 and 13 not 15 to 19 as they had testified.

Fred summed up his case stating the aims of ending political repression and the freeing of all people from the capitalist tyranny. The case was then turned over to the jury, which deliberated and found Chairman Fred not guilty.

The proceedings were proclaimed a victory for the people by Fred, and by Maywood's newly elected 5th district village trustee, Tom Streiter. Streiter then asked for donations to the Political Prisoners Fund and over \$230 was collected. Donations continue to be accepted for this fund by Bob Walker, 1518 St. Charles Road, Maywood; Tom Streiter, 1600 S. 14th Ave., Maywood; or at the Panther Headquarters, 2350 W. Madison, Chicago.

Reprinted from the BLACK PANTHER

OFFICIAL REGISTRATION FORM

B.P.P. AND I.L.S.

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STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE

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 interviewer was 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?

MR. 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 unable to develop the economy in the countries they control has to ask people who are skillful to come to those areas. We have Americans who have been asked by the Portuguese government to come and exploit resources, such as oil, in our country.

We have a whole complex of oil companies in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea which are really American owned companies. For instance, the Mozambiquan Gulf Oil Co., Hunt International Petroleum Co., Texaco, Mobil, Caltext; all American companies. You know they give the name Mozambiquan but they are all American.

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?

MR. 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 1963, Portugal has been waging war on Angola and Guinea-Bissau, and since 1964, 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 to Portugal including military help. And you have to realize that Portugal is a member of NATO. They are helping Portugal mostly because of economic interests within our country.

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

END EXPLOITATION

JIM: So they fear that if the African Nationalists won their independence that their economic interests would be lost?

MR. VILANCULUS: Yes, because if you look at the history of Africa coming to independence the imperialists thought that they would still be able to exploit as they did before, but that exploitation must end. That is why the colonialists want to maintain that part of Southern Africa because it is one of the richest areas of the continent. They know if we get independence they will lose lots of 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 businesspeople go and take from those countries and ignore the development of those areas.

We don't want to make the same mistake as has been in Latin America, in which some countries have been more than 100 years independent and they are 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 the end of exploitation and we must develop our economy. The businessmen can continue to do their business but they must realize that they cannot take things out; that they must help the 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?

MR. VILANCULUS: We have to realize that when I say the businessmen can be in some areas it does not mean they can be 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 major industries and the main resources of income within the country.

But we must be very careful not to run so fast 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 just kick out the businessmen 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 stay forever. They have to get out because we won't continue capitalism in our country because capitalism means exploitation of our people.

FRELIMO

JIM: How did FRELIMO come into being?

MR. VILANCULUS: FRELIMO was formed in 1962 out of three major political parties of Mozambique. These three political parties were formed by Mozambiquans who were working in Tanzania, in Malawi, in Zambia and Zimbabwe. But after Tanzania got independence in 1962 we decided to form one political party and because of that we had our first conference in June, 1962 to form one front, the Mozambiquan Liberation Front.

This part was formed in Tanzania, in Dar-Es-Salaam. The reason why we had to have FRELIMO in Dar-Es-Salaam as well as in Mozambique is because the Portuguese don't allow political activity. Anything that smacks of politics in Mozambique as well as in Portugal itself is a crime. Therefore we had to organize in Dar-Es-Salaam.

JIM: What are the objectives of the party?

MR. 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 Mozambique.

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

MR. VILANCULUS: First of all we had to mobilize the masses of Mozambique and therefore we had to send, in a hidden way, our nationalists to go inside Mozambique to explain to the people about the party and its goal, so the people can be ready by the time we start to fight for independence. We told the people what we were trying to do, to first speak out in the world organizations like the U.N., and that we have African states in favor of our independence.

But more important, and this depends on the masses, they had to be ready for struggle because by trying through the U.N. does not mean that we will get our independence that way. The masses had to be ready, 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 which of course they know about and therefore they must prepare themselves to join in the struggle and to inform the militants when they start to fight where the enemy is and try to hide as much as they can the movement 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 power and get independence. This is a primary goal, as we started the revolution; to be free from colonial oppression.

JIM: What form is armed struggle taking in Mozambique?

MR. 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 colonialists who have mostly inhumane devices, and guerrilla war is resistant to this. We started our war in 1964 with only 250 well equipped nationalists, but because of the help of the masses 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.

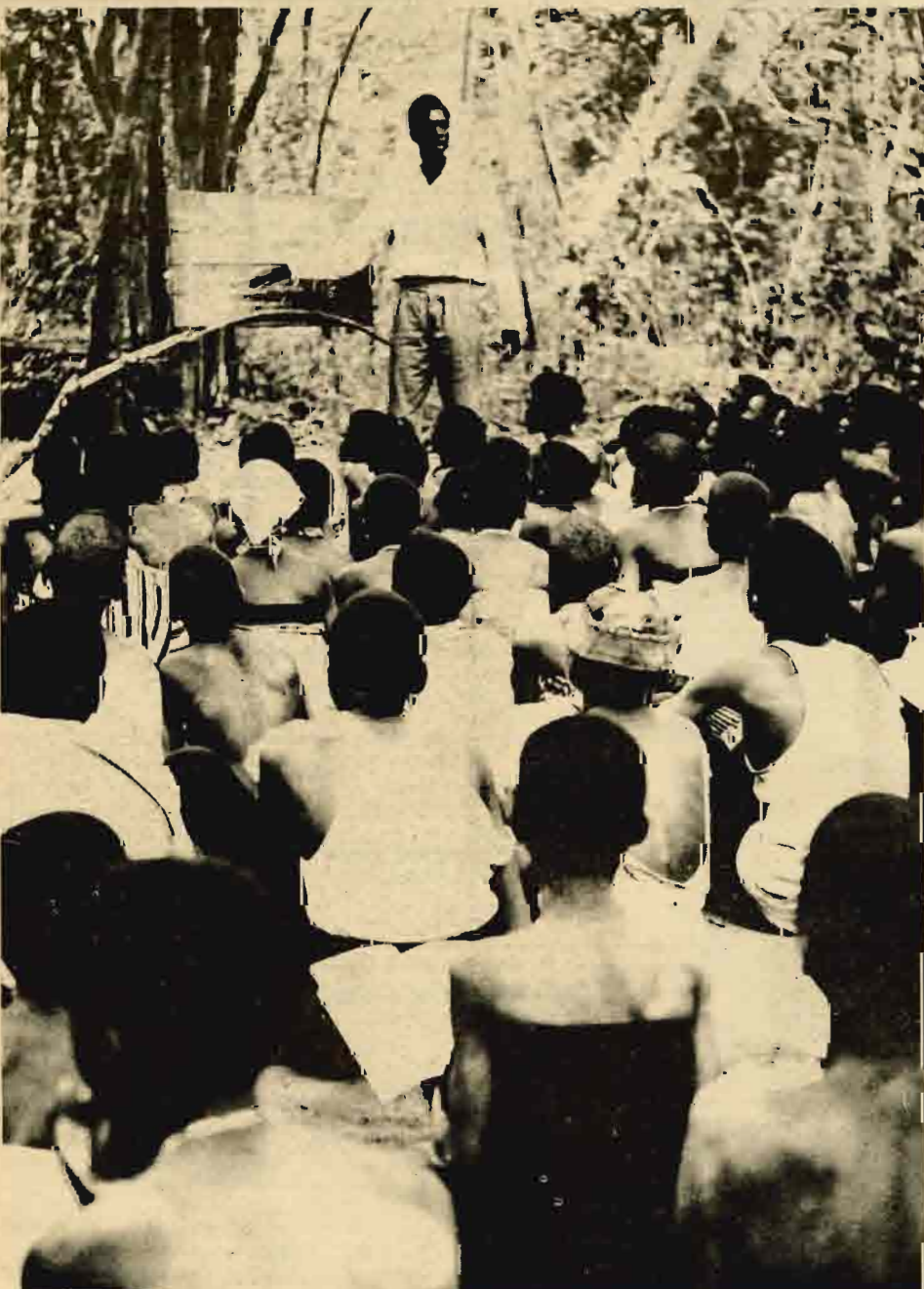
Today we control one fifth of the country and the system is going very well because it is not only the guerrillas, the masses have realized that the war is for all of us Mozambiquans who have been oppressed. And therefore everyone is willing to have guns and fight and this includes women. The women in 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 a people's war. 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 Mozambiquan, but people from outside who have come to invade Mozambique. We have to work hard to explain to more people. That was my job on the radio and of course many people knew me 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 direct military help from 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?

VILANCULUS: Yes, in Guinea-



A school in the liberated zone

Bissau Africans now control two thirds of the country and the Portuguese can't do anything. In Mozambique we now control one fifth of the country. The Portuguese can't touch these areas. And we are marching south. We started from the northern part of Mozambique which shares a border with Tanzania and we are marching ahead--the Portuguese each time go back, toward the south, where there is a border with South Africa. In Angola also, there has been a very good fight. So it is progressing. That is why the Portuguese are asking direct help from the U.S.

JIM: Do you think that part of the resistance of the counter-revolutionary forces is because, if the Portuguese colonies become independent, they fear that other areas of Southern Africa will come under the control of Africans?

MR. VILANCULUS: Yes, in Zimbabwe which Ian Smith control and South Africa and of course the Portuguese--these people are a common enemy for the independence of Africa.

In 1965 the government of Ian Smith sent troops into 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 from 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 us and work with the western imperialists in controlling that area because 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 nationalists to go from one place to another.

There are difficulties in communication; radios, walkie-talkies are needed for our nationalists to communicate with each other from wherever they are. And we have to provide clothing and we are still fighting so how can we provide this in the areas we control, but we need more to prepare our people for education and we need financial help to provide more what we call bush schools--we have to have books, pencils, ink, chalk. We have to have clothing and medicine because we have our own clinics. These are 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 life of the people?

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 more 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 regions. 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 may be one reason the African people have been the last to get their independence is that traditionally we are more humanitarian and this is a bad thing to some extent when you go into a revolution. Although it's also good. It's been rather difficult to convince somebody to take a gun and kill somebody.

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.

SOCIALISM

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 not only benefit the European and Asian children, but also the African 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 nation. It must open its hands to assist any peoples who are trying to free themselves from any kind of oppression. This of 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 sacrifice ourselves. Independence of Mozambique means the beginning of a struggle in which we help other people.

JIM: And in your own country?

MR. VILANCULUS: Of course you have to raise the standard of living. And of course education. We started the Mozambiquan 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 Mozambiquan university graduate.

And this leadership, within our party today--any student who finishes undergraduate studies goes back to work within the Mozambiquan 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.

First of all 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 Mozambiquan 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.



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wasn't just because there weren't blacks on it. SDS people pointed out the impossibility of a just judicial system under capitalism, but most of the time was spent discussing tactics and the politics of the situation never became too clear. Still the hours of talk exposed many people to the movement for the first time and in the struggle context they were much more open to discussions of imperialism and racism than they would normally have been.

At this point a theoretical split in the chapter came to the fore. The labor committee faction began to argue the supposedly apolitical nature of the "black" demands and urged the broadening of the struggle. Others pointed out that the phrase "black" demand was phony in this context because what the blacks were fighting for--the refusal of revolutionaries to accept bourgeois justice--was in the interests not only of revolutionary students but of all working people; white as well as black. After sharp debate the idea of expanding the demands was defeated.

SDS, which had taken over the university chapel as a base of operations, continued to picket and agitate throughout the campus in support of the blacks. That evening as hundreds prepared to spend the night in order to keep picketing shifts going, the news broke that the blacks had armed. Considering the nature of the group the response to this news was very good. Most of the new people recognized the need for self-defense and felt that under the circumstances there was little else the blacks could do--a far cry from the reaction this sort of thing would have produced in the chapter a year before.

The following morning a rally and march to a faculty meeting drew a thousand people who demanded the immediate dropping of the charges. The combination of the guns and the growing white support convinced the administration that it had to settle quickly. They agreed to drop the charges and the blacks marched out of the union.

PRESSURE ON FACULTY

The next day the faculty reversed the decision. An SDS meeting called that evening and attended by 2500 people voted overwhelmingly to take militant action if the faculty didn't change its mind. Plans for seizing another building were begun. The following day the faculty began to reassess its position. Under the threat of more building seizures faculty of several colleges changed their positions. President Perkins, also fearful of more action, declared a state of emergency on campus saying that any groups engaging in further disruption would be disbanded and individuals immediately suspended. 350 state and local cops from several counties moved into Ithaca in preparation for further trouble. At the same time, thousands of leaflets appeared on campus urging everyone to come to the SDS meeting that night to vote down action.

The meeting was set for 7:30. By 7 there were over 2000 people there and by the time it got underway in Barton Hall there were between 5-6000 people present, about half of whom were in sympathy with the black demands. The situation was chaotic. Most of the SDS regulars were prepared to take the administration building but they were scattered throughout the huge crowd, and when a young professor with a history of sympathy for the left, announced that the faculty was obviously changing its mind and that if they didn't he would take part in a seizure himself the mood of the crowd was tempered. They felt they could wait one day. Instead of taking the administration building, several thousand decided to stay in Barton Hall, defy the state of emergency, and wait for the faculty to change its decision.

In short term, this strategy worked. With several thousand students ready to take militant action the faculty reversed itself. The charges were dropped. But bad things began to develop. As soon as the faculty announced its decision most people seemed re-

lieved--now everything would be all right again.

STUDENT POWER ORGY

Yet the average student still felt that something more could be accomplished. He had learned a lesson during the past few days; the lesson that by banding together he had power. What followed was a student power orgy. Students began to feel they should have a say in everything. Very little talk about changing anything, just a piece of the action. Discussions of the relationship of the university to capitalism and racism--the issues which sparked the crisis--were shunted aside. What they wanted was restructuring. Plans for a mammoth Constituent Assembly were drawn up. When it was pointed out that the CA would have no power to change things fundamentally they paid little attention. The majority of the students weren't interested in fundamental change; they felt that the university was essentially a good place.

The administration was quick to see the possibilities of stopping dissent through the assembly. The Ford Foundation gave \$25,000, while liberals in the faculty hailed the CA as a way of stopping violence on the campus once and for all.

Both the BLF and SDS were in a state of confusion. As soon as it became obvious that the mass of students were now more interested in student power than attacking racism the BLF withdrew into semi-isolation. Leaders were upset that the motion they had created had begun to go astray, but they were at a loss as to how they should proceed. They had already used their maximum tactic, and now other people were using them for their own selfish ends. And they had to deal with repression. The local DA began an investigation. McClellan subpoenaed records and eventually 21 indictments came down.

SDS regrouped and raised demands for open admissions and an end to ROTC on campus. They pointed out that allowing in working class youth to a school which at present has less than 3% of its student body from laboring backgrounds and ending ROTC would do more to "restructure" the university than worrying about the size of the professor-student ratios.

Many agreed. Tired of the student-powerites bullshit hundreds of new people began to look to SDS for direction. Meanwhile, the "non-political" BLF came out with a program of its own denouncing the university as an arm of imperialism, and demanding an end to ROTC and military research which was used to oppress black and brown people at home and throughout the third world. The BLF, sensing that more should be gained from their struggle than the annulment of several reprimands, was anxious to act on ROTC. But SDS would have to make the first move. As with the Chase demonstration the BLF was waiting to see if white radicals were serious. The BLF was already in a tough position, but they were willing to go farther-- if they weren't alone.

FACTIONS VS ACTIONS

But SDS was deeply divided. The labor committee faction argued that ROTC was a false issue and that moving around it would only alienate the working class. The anti-imperialists pointed out the fact that an anti-ROTC struggle was in fact pro-working class because ROTC is used not only in the oppression of thirdworld people but that increasingly the army will be used to put down the growing revolt of black and white workers. They further argued that the labor committees' non-struggle attitude ignored the growing movement in working class high schools and community colleges. It was also pointed out that the experience of the Standard Oil Strike in California showed that there was a possibility of organizing workers around anti-imperialist politics.

Because of the split the chapter decided on a semi-militant action around ROTC. 300 people marched to a ROTC review, moved into a restricted area which housed a naval cannon, held a rally on the gun and

moved on. In response, the university cracked down hard, arresting ten of the demonstrators for criminal trespass. The next day 400 people marched through the administration building demanding the dropping of the charges and an immediate end to ROTC. The BLF pledged full support for the SDS demands--a measure of how far things had progressed in a matter of months. But the SDS chapter fragmented even further. Along with the labor committee faction, large numbers of people who said they felt ROTC was an important issue argued that this wasn't the right time to move, that the campus was exhausted, and that action now would isolate and crush the movement.

The struggle faction wondered how the chapter could support the blacks on their reprimands and then fail to support their own people busted on criminal trespass. They pointed out that even liberal groups on campus were condemning ROTC and the arrests, and that the size of demonstrations and meetings showed that once SDS moved they would be able to galvanize a huge following. At an early morning meeting the vote went 2 to 1 against militant action. The BLF was incredulous and angry after having gotten its whole membership up at 5:30 in the morning. The plan had been for SDS to take a building and for the BLF to picket and mobilize support outside--the reverse of the earlier seizure. The fact that this kind of support action by a black group on a clearly anti-imperialist issue would have been unprecedented and would have served as a cue to other black groups in the country who now look to the BLF as one of the campus vanguards was overlooked by most people. SDS again settled on a semi-militant tactic, another march through the administration building. The futility of the march changed many people's minds about the need for serious action but at another meeting that night militant action was again voted down, this time by a very narrow margin.

The failure of SDS to act over ROTC and political suppression has put a strain on its relations with the BLF. Throughout the year the BLF has shown a willingness to listen to SDS politics, as long as they think it is serious. The BLF has proved its seriousness and has shown that it is quite capable of rapid political development. The white movement at Cornell is still on trial. It was new and inexperienced and the events of the Spring would have tried any group. Many gains were registered. The movement grew in size and sophistication but there is still something lacking. For those who argued that the timing was wrong there will be a chance this fall when the trials of the BLF and SDS people again refocus the issue. As one leader of the BLF noted "We started a fire and now it's only smoldering. Its up to you whether it turns into ashes or a blaze."

Student power in China

The Cultural Revolution began at Peking University. Why? How did it start and how did it develop? In one of the most detailed accounts yet to appear, Victor Nee describes China's educational system and the student campaign to revolutionize it. Prior to book publication, "The Cultural Revolution at Peking University" appears in full as this summer's double issue. Send for your sample copy now.

MONTHLY REVIEW

Edited by Paul M. Sweezy and Harry Magdoff

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\$7 a year students \$5 (foreign add \$1)

do but wander around bitching about how the university was being ruined. SDS, having been alerted the day before the seizure, immediately began a protective picket in front of the union. The number of supporters grew steadily throughout the occupation, reaching over a thousand by the next day.

The right wing was almost as quick to mobilize. Usually dormant, they were incensed that the parents had to see such a "disgrace". Within two hours 30 of them made an assault on a back door of the union. Half of them got in before the SDS kids could stop them, but they soon got their asses handed to them by the blacks inside and they split. As they left they shouted that the next time they came they were going to "burn the place down". As could be expected, the campus cops did nothing to stop the whole thing except threaten to arrest a couple of the SDS kids.

Tension increased throughout the day. The fraternity people held several stormy meetings. The leadership tended to be liberal and wanted to cool the whole thing, but among the rank-and-file there was a lot of talk about revenge. Their mood was further inflamed by one professor who continually referred to the "bravery" of those who attempted to get into the union. Inside the building, the blacks were being deluged with threatening phone calls running the gambit from bombs to fire. These threats seemed more credible in the wake of a cross-burning on the lawn of the black co-op several days before the takeover.

In the light of the attack by the jocks, the threats, and the cops' indifference to it all, the blacks decided to bring guns into the building. They had gone in unarmed and early in the morning to avoid violence, but they were serious about winning their demands and about protecting their people. They made it clear from the start that the guns were only for self-defense, but it was also pointed out that all revolutionary violence is defensive in that it is protecting the rights of the people from the oppressor.

INCREASED SUPPORT

While the right wing stayed mad, general student sentiment began swinging towards the blacks. The basis of their support was not always the best. Many felt that the judicial system

WATSON continued

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.

The AFL-CIO has also been selling us some tremendous wolf tickets in regards to the attempts of blacks to organize, especially among the skilled trades and construction workers. As you know, it's been a historical fact that the construction and building trade unions have been some of the most segregated and racist unions in the country. We're beginning to move to organize black workers into unions which can begin to take some of these high-paying jobs which we've been continually denied.

The AFL-CIO in this area has also stated that they will attempt to crush us. In the long run it will be impossible for the union bureaucracies to crush our movement. But we recognize that there's a long and bitter struggle ahead of us in dealing with these enemies of the revolution.

LONG RANGE PERSPECTIVE

FE: In terms of a long range perspective, has your experience with League organizing given you some insight or ideas into where the general revolutionary process is moving in this country and the kinds of things that it will ultimately culminate in?

JW: We have some definite conceptions of how the revolution is going to be accomplished in this country. In the first place we're organizing in automobile plants on the basis of the local struggles which black workers are faced with in the industries in which they are working. But we find that any time we carry out a strike at a particular plant the company doesn't simply rely on the resources which it has at that particular plant to suppress our strike but moves to bring in outside police, moves to bring in the courts, moves to use the mass media, moves to use a number of resources which are available to the ruling class to suppress the struggle. Therefore, at a particular plant sometimes we find that in the struggle against the company the workers are overwhelmed by the amount of strength which the company can bring to bear against us.

If you consider this in a theoretical sense it's no different from the kinds of struggles which are taking place on an international level where American imperialism is allowed to concentrate superior forces in a small area of the world in order to suppress a liberation movement. For instance, look at the

struggle which went down in Santo Domingo. Che Guevara has told us that the response to this kind of tactic of the ruling class is to spread their forces thin throughout the world by the opening up of "two, three, many Vietnams," so that each local guerilla movement can deal more effectively with their local situation.

You can relate this to the situation as it exists in this country. We have found that in the future when a particular plant goes down and the ruling class brings in the police and courts and all the rest of that stuff, we're going to have to respond in some sort of fashion in which we can bring equal force against them. By and large this is one of the reasons for the organization of the League, so that workers in different industries and different plants could support one another in these struggles.

Given a protracted and intensive struggle, this kind of development would inevitably lead to a general strike in which it would be necessary for all the workers in a particular city or a particular geographic area to close down the industries in support of any particular struggle. A general strike on a local level, of course, can be met by the ruling class on a national level, that is, they can bring in the national guard, the state police, the FBI, the army and whatever else might be necessary to suppress this particular kind of struggle.

However, I think the development of a general strike here in a city like Detroit over the next two or three years would be a very positive development in terms of concretely demonstrating to masses of people their ability to mobilize themselves and bring immense power and pressure against the system.

In the long run because of the contradictions in capitalist society, capitalism can't make any kinds of really significant reforms with American industry or within the society at large. The process of increasing productivity standards within the plant isn't just a simple accident. It has to do with the necessity of the expansion of capitalism in an attempt to constantly increase profit in relation to overall capital investment. This simply goes to say that given the context of any kind of general strike or 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 being able to have national general strike.

If a national general strike reaches the point of absolute confrontation between us and the system and if the ruling class refuses to capitulate to the demands which we lay on it, it would probably resort to the type of tactics which were used to suppress the unorganized general strike which was held in July of 1967 in Detroit. That is, it would probably try to garrison off the community and starve us out.

A revolutionary organization and revolutionary leaders simply cannot tolerate the starvation of our community and facing that kind of position we would have no choice but to call for the workers to go back into the factories and assume control of the means of production and distribution in order to feed ourselves and feed the community.

Assuming control of the means of production essentially means that you are at the first stage of assuming state power. It is from the escalation of this type of struggle and from the reaction of the ruling class to it that we see the development of an overall revolutionary movement which will forever overthrow capitalism and imperialism and racism.

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

JW: At the moment we are tightening up the organization on the local level and expanding to new plants and new memberships on a local level. Our interim medium-range plans are of course to begin to expand outside of this immediate geographic area to organize black workers wherever they might exist.

Our ultimate intention is to organize black workers as a whole, as a class throughout the country and proceeding from that basic mass organization to extend a revolutionary black organization throughout the black community.

Persons interested in supporting the work of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers may send contributions to the organization at 9049 Oakland, Detroit, Michigan.

PRESIDIO CONTINUED

brushing the cobwebs away so he could see. The FBI brought him to the stockade with a note from his doctor saying he had to have his thorazine. Woodring refused to give it to him because the prescription on the bottle was from a civilian, it wasn't an Army prescription... There were a lot of sick people: Fields, Lee, Reidel all slashed themselves to ribbons. Heaston, too. Oszczepinski kept talking about cutting out his eyes with a razor blade."

On Sunday, a young, forceful civil liberties lawyer, came to the stockade to visit his client, Randy Rowland, a conscientious objector who had gone AWOL from Fort Lewis, Washington and had turned himself over to Military Police after the October 12 GI's and Veterans March for Peace in San Francisco.

A long line of prisoners formed to see Hallinan--and from this episode stemmed the Army's charge that he was the outside agitator who in fact incited the mutiny.

"What happened," Pawloski recalls, "is that Hallinan said a group of lawyers in the Bay Area were willing to handle GI's cases. This news had a magic effect--but it had absolutely nothing to do with the sit-down, which had been discussed for days.

"You see, there'd been a vicious circle that kept you from getting a lawyer. You couldn't write to anyone but family (a violation of Army rules), yet a lawyer couldn't come unless he had a letter from you, requesting him. That night I went around asking people if they wanted a civilian lawyer. Everyone said yes. You felt--everybody did--that a civilian lawyer was the key to getting out, a miracle worker."

GRIEVANCES

"Because everybody wanted a lawyer, because almost 100 guys had signed a letter Rupert was sending to his Congressman, because the blacks were talking very tough, we thought just about everybody was going to take part in whatever we decided on. We held a sort of meeting in cell block 3 Sunday night. It wasn't a real meeting with a chairman or anything, just a bunch of people sitting around on the bunks, on the

floor, leaning against the wall, trying to figure out what to do. We weren't allowed to see the regulations on stockades, but we had a contraband copy and X (a prisoner yet to be sentenced) went through it, marking off the ways in which the Presidio stockade broke the Army's own rules. Everybody would get up and tell about the things that had happened to them. Finally I started writing some down. That's how I got to be spokesman," he laughed.

"I wrote down the grievances and an example after every one. First, of course, we wanted an investigation of the Bunch killing and a psychological test for the guards. Man, they had some sick guards there. Raines took tranquilizers all the time. He was so high strung, he used to scream instead of talk. Damaged his throat. He was transferred to stockade duty straight from Vietnam, no rest. Woodring drank a lot and he was a mean drunk. I smelled alcohol on his breath that day he pushed me down the stairs. Cohen told us he dreamed he was an SS trooper. The psychiatrist gave him a compassionate leave. Whether or not he really dreamed that, he DID break one guy's back.

"We wanted an end to shotgun work details. We wanted the stockade brought up to the Army's own regulations. We wanted adequate time and facilities for visits. We wanted an end to discrimination--two guards, Myer and Lunchi, really hated the blacks. And of course we wanted our constitutional rights."

How come the blacks didn't join?

"There were a couple of reasons," Mather thinks. "First, we had decided to be non-violent and they weren't exactly into non-violence. Second, they figured if they were in the group, when the MPs came it wouldn't be just a peaceful arrest; it would be gas or billy-clubs or something. They also figured they'd get punished worse."

Blake adds, "I know some of them wanted to, but they had decided that whatever they did, they'd do it all together. Maybe a few were just chicken-shit. Some whites were certainly chicken-shit."

He turns to punch Kight on the arm. Kight's arm says, "Born to raise hell." He's a biker, very tough and very to-

gether. He asks about the fighting over People's Park in Berkeley. "Is this it, man? There are ten thousand of us up here. Is it time for us to righteously return?"

"Even so," Mather concludes about the blacks, "they left it tentative till the last minute. If most of the white prisoners were going out, they would have, too."

NOT LONG BINH

As the list of complaints was being compiled Sunday night, the exact form of the demonstration was still undecided. A few men still wanted to take the compound. (Several black veterans of the Long Binh Jail uprising had come through the Presidio stockade, and their story was retold now as a possible plan of action.)

At the other extreme was Pawlowski, who thought everybody should take off their clothes and refuse to cooperate with stockade officials in any way till the grievances were acted on. The idea of sitting in a circle and singing "We Shall Overcome" had been in the air all week-end. "That's the classical way you have a demonstration," Mather observes. "We had all seen it on TV. No one had to suggest it."

When the course of action was finally settled--long after many of the participants had drifted back to their own cell blocks--Mather snuck across the compound to building 1212, the low security barracks, to relay the news. "It's ironic," he says, "that the guys in 1212 decided not to take part because Dounis and Jones argued against it. They were resisters and highly respected. They thought it just wasn't worth the risk; and since they were political, lots of people took their word. Of course I was in for the same thing..." (Mather, George Dounis and Chuck Jones were among the "Nine for Peace"--nine members of the Armed Forces who chained themselves inside a Haight Street church in June, 1968 to protest the war.)

It may have been ironic that two of the highly political prisoners argued against the sit-down--but of course the phenomenon of street people taking political initiative against the restraining advice of more experienced movement

hands is the story of our times. "Yes," Lindy Blake said, "We WERE street people. That was our identity in the stockade. Some of us in the 27 had even known each other when we were AWOL in the Haight."

The plan was for people to answer "Here" en masse when the first name was called at work formation; then they would all move out and sit down in a circle.

Many of the prisoners had stayed up all night, and tension hung thick at breakfast; there was a vicious fight in which one man's jaw was broken.

Mather and Pawlowski had reason to hope, until the last minute, that about 100 men--80%--would join the demonstration.

"But only eight or nine people yelled 'Here', Mather remembers in anguish. "It was terrible: 'Here'... 'Here'... I moved out, and then I looked behind me and there were about 20 men starting to move. Wow! I felt better... But I still feel that the first bad moment, when everybody wavered, convinced the majority not to take part."

"When we sat down," says Pawlowski, "it was really a beautiful instant. People were finally resisting, were finally getting together and accomplishing something. For me, it was a moment of liberation. We'd been so impotent, so uptight. Now we weren't just going along with everything, we were RESISTING. It was a wonderful feeling, singing. Woodring was shouting, 'Get back in line! Get back in line! But we were louder.'"

Did they expect to be charged with mutiny?

"No," says Mather. "We figured the stockade was such a scandal they'd want to hush it up. 'Go back to your barracks, things'll be improved...'"

Kight adds, "Hell, if I knew it was going to be such a big thing I would have joined--even with all that time hanging over me. Yeah, I definitely would have gone out there if I knew it was going to be a MUTINY!"

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A chance at any other time
Is perhaps to waste a life,

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And a revolutionary
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Or give away a confidence
Or speak of who you saw with who?

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If you tell us
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What is necessary for success.
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And the work hardened muscle of history.

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So our cautions
Do not come from fear.

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Divisions and despairs
We have not acquiesced
We have begun to learn resistance.

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Do not be afraid to learn
Ways to speak to the needs of the people.

