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MOVEMENT

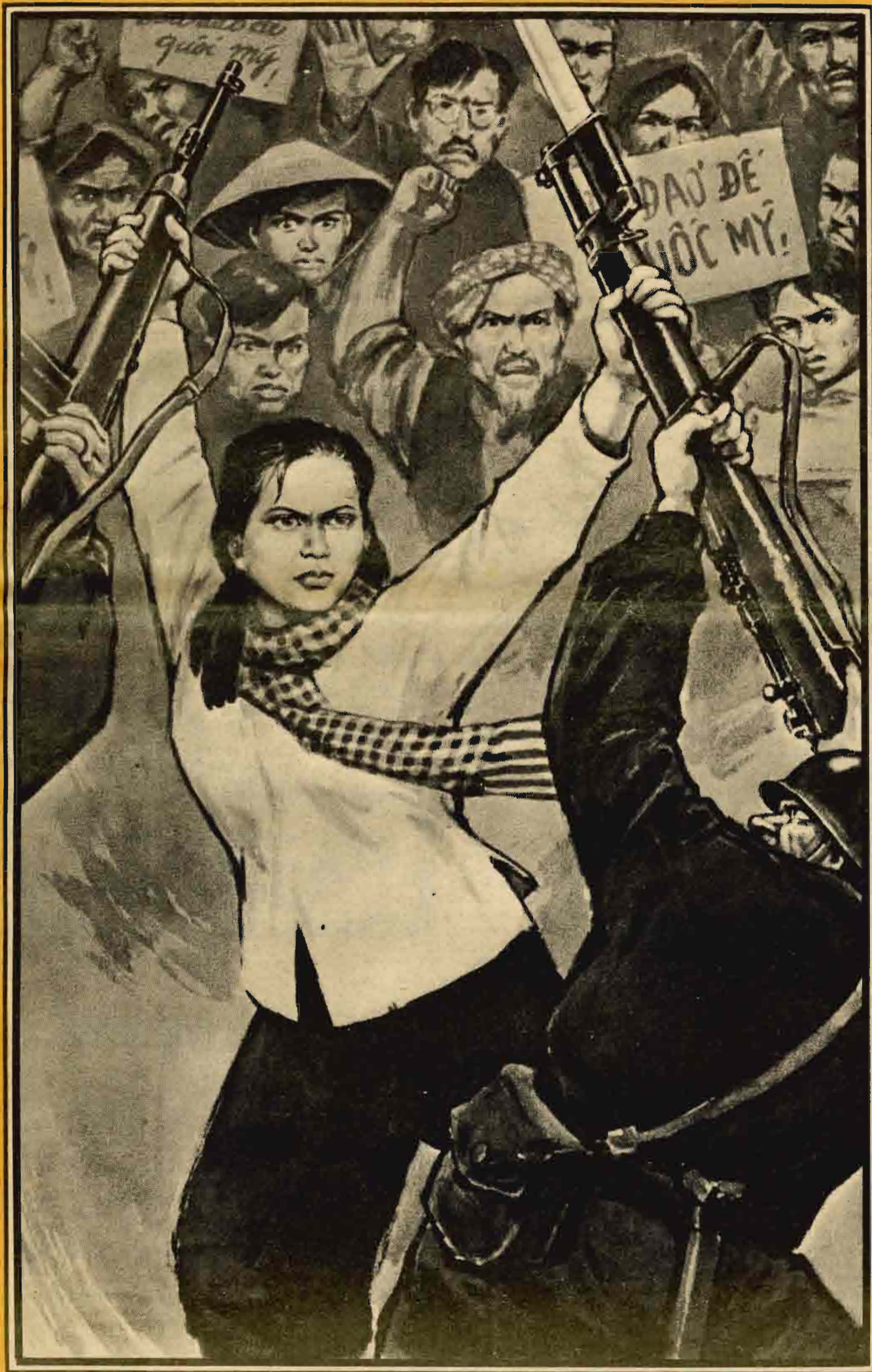
AUGUST 1969

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VOL. 5 NO. 7

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FRAMED



You may be somewhat aware that I am engaged in a distressful attempt to obtain justice and regain my liberty. I could not begin to correlate in a letter all the activities that led to my present situation. To be brief, I'm a "POLITICAL PRISONER", victimized for none other than my organizing influential and effective Human Rights activities to cure the conspicuous and detestable ills of this society. During a 6-month period I was arrested numerous times on trumped-up charges. I am now in jail, having been unjustly convicted of an alleged Sale of Marijuana. The conviction was based solely on the false evidence of one Houston City policeman who testified that I "gave him one marijuana cigarette." As a result of this conviction I was sentenced to 30 YEARS in the State Penitentiary.

The conviction and sentence are pending, upon my appeal to the State Court of Appeal at Austin, Texas and I am advised that it would take "1 or 2 YEARS" or more before the appellate court can annote a decision in my case; meanwhile I remain in jail. To this date the courts have failed to set bail, which would allow me to remain at liberty while my appeal is pending. I should be permitted to make bail in accord with the 8th Amendment. "EXCESSIVE BAIL SHALL NOT BE REQUIRED; NOR EXCESSIVE FINES IMPOSED; NOR CRUEL AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT INFLICTED"

A 'motion for a new jury panel' then was filed, again stating it was impossible for the defense to obtain a fair and impartial jury with 14 or more of the jurors of the present panel being biased (by self admission) and having only 10 challenges; again the motion was denied.

The jury heard only one direct accusation made by Officer Billy Williams, who testified that the defendant gave him one marijuana cigarette (there was no corroborating witness). The "Guilty of Possession, Guilty of Sales, or Not Guilty", as what cited on a "MULTIPLE CHOICE VERDICT SHEET." They returned their sole finding, "GUILTY OF SALES", and had no finding as to Possession. (Such implied finding should have functioned as an acquittal; in that possession is essential to DELIVERY. Under the law, verdict as a conviction and the same jury gave proof of their bias and prejudice by sentencing me to 30 years in the State Penitentiary.

On October 10, 1968, at a hearing for a new trial, the defense submitted over 30 newspaper accounts of publicity and 12 TV film strips all of which were within a 16-month period preceding my trial, in accord with "MOTION FOR NEW TRIAL"; said motion was based on denial of pretrial "MOTION for CHANGE OF VENUE". The State ex rel Carol Vance presented argument in objection to a new trial, and asked that the court does accept the defense presentation of publicity into evidence. Judge Wendell Odem sustained the objection to refuse acceptance of the publicity into evidence.

The defense had to resort to "rule of acception" to force the submission of the evidence in support of motion for new trial. The judge stated that he would have to deliberate over the evidence of the hearing and adjourned to court over until a later date (I contend his reason for this was that the court was crowded with people of the black community).

On Monday, October 14th, I was secretly called back to court, when the judge handed down his decision to the defense in an empty courtroom. "Motion for New Trial Denied." The defense stated that notice of Appeal would be filed within 10 days in Austin, Texas.

I am reminded of the 6th Amendment which say, "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an IMPARTIAL JURY OF THE STATE AND DISTRICT WHEREIN THE CRIMES SHALL HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY ASCERTAINED BY LAW; and to be informed of NATURE and CAUSE of the accusation; to be CONFRONTED WITH THE WITNESSES AGAINST HIM; to have COMPULSORY PROCESS FOR OBTAINING WITNESSES IN HIS FAVOR, and to have assistance of counsel for his defense."

The action we propose will not only promptly benefit my present crisis, but may also result in constituting legal precedents to alleviate future injustices in cases similar to mine.

Presently, I am trying to arrange an all-out concerted effort to require the courts to set an "Appeal Bond", but as matters now stand, I am without funds to finance such an effort, which will involve exhausting all remedies of relief in State courts and proceeding to litigate through Federal courts to the U.S. Supreme, if necessary. All funds and money available to me have been exhausted in the defense of this case and the numerous other charges that were filed against me. If I am to continue the struggle to Human Rights and Freedom, I really must call on friends who feel that THEY CAN AND WILL aid me in this matter.

If you are in a position to offer financial assistance to secure the further defense of my conviction and sentence, and the expenses incurred in the efforts incidental thereto, please do so truly needed; the fact is, I do need assistance in obtaining funds and I need it very badly and very urgently. Without such aid, the prospect of Justice prevailing in the end result seems most remote.

Grant me the privilege of extending in advance my most gratifying "THANKS" for our past and continued support; thus I remain; In the continuous Struggle,

Brother Lee Otis Johnson

FUNDS SHOULD BE MAILED AND MADE PAYABLE TO:
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LETTER FROM FORT DIX

Friends:

To introduce myself, I shall only say that I am one of the prisoners that is being charged with the charges that started taking place in the Ft. Dix stockade on the 5th of June, 1969. I am referring, of course, to the riot that took place in cell blocks 66, 67, and 84. The military is trying its utmost to keep this happening out of the press and away from the eyes of the people by saying that what happened was only a "minor disturbance" and that they now have everything well under control. The facts that I wish to present are that it was not a minor disturbance and the Machine does not now nor will it ever have us under their control. The riot itself proved that the conditions in the stockade were humanly unbearable. Riots do not happen because they are fun to be in; they happen because people, real people and sensitive people, react to inhuman and insensitive treatment. Therefore I hold it to be the law-makers themselves who are responsible for instigating this riot! If the Machine wishes to press charges let them charge those who are truly guilty; the stockade officials themselves! In other words the Machine should clean its own house because it's filthy!

I will not at this time attempt to fill in the blanks by elaborating on the riot itself-it could prove detrimental to our case. I wish only to use this opportunity to expose the Military for the illegalities that they have used against us since the riot, and ask for your support on this.

So far as I know 8 prisoners are going to be tried by general court martial for their (participation?) 6 of us will be facing general court for AGGRAVATED ARSON, DESTRUCTION OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY, PARTICIPATING IN A RIOT and CONSPIRACY TO RIOT! These prisoners are Thomas Catlow, William Miller, Allen Farrell, Jeff Russell, Bill Brakefield and Terry Klug. They are facing 40 years and six months as a maximum penalty for the charges against them. (The other two will not be facing the conspiracy charge). About 22 others will be court martialed by special court--maximum penalty is 6 months confinement.

Those of us facing "trial" by general court are all in maximum security cells now. We are strong and our morale is at its highest. We CAN and WILL win! -with your help! We need you, all of you, to stand up on the outside with those of

us standing tall on the inside. We need the publicity and strength you can give us. We want to expose all of this!

After the first day of investigation about 12 or 13 of us were thrown into maximum security cells. The first night we were denied mattresses, blankets, sheets or pillows. For two days we were placed on DS (disciplinary restriction) and were not allowed out to exercise, shave or shower, to smoke, to read and our visitors were turned away at the gates that Sunday. Also we were not allowed to attend religious services. But the main fault lies in the fact that for the first 2 days we were openly refused the right to notify our lawyers, congressmen, senators or even President or loved ones. After 2 days the Machine realized that we had a beautiful case against them and quickly gave us back most of our privileges. But in the days to come we found out (and we have proof) that the stockade commander himself was going through our privileged correspondence to our lawyers, etc., opening them up, reading them and then returning them to us saying that they were not addressed properly or some such nonsense. Those letters he read were pertinent to our cases! Also he would hold up our personal mail for periods often exceeding one week and then return them to us with some off-the-wall excuse. He did this because he wanted to keep the news off the streets-he wanted to deny the public of the truth!

Now, as I said, we are to be court-martialed. Eight of us are risking the possibility of spending the rest of our lives in a military prison, while the Machine grows constantly stronger and goes on to commit more and more illegalities against the people. We have put our foot down and raised our hands in a clenched fist. Will you stand with us against this? Can we expect your help in writing letters of support to Senators, congressmen, the President and the Department of the Army? Will you spread the word for us so that the masses will come to learn of these things?

The military is trying to rush this through and send us off to Leavenworth as quickly as possible-there is not much time left for us to act. PLEASE DO YOUR THING NOW!

In solidarity,

Terry G. Klug
RA16884493
Ft. Dix, N. J.

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Joseph A. Blum and Arlene Eisen Bergman, Editors

Staff: Lincoln Bergman, Renee Blum, Gary Grimshaw, Frank Cieciora, Jerry Densch, Comalana Smith, Terry Cannon. POW: Jeff Segal

Chicago Staff: Room 204, 162 N. Clinton, Chicago, Illinois 60606--(312) 327-3681.

Los Angeles Staff: Ken Cloke, Bob Niemann, Mike Davis, Judy Davis. 1657 Federal Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90025 -- (213) 478-9509

New York Staff: SDS Regional Staff, 131 Prince Street, New York, New York 10012 -- (212) 674-8310.

Detroit Staff: NOC, Box 9571 North End Station, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

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Los Siete de la Raza are seven young Latinos from the Mission District in San Francisco who are charged with murdering a cop and wounding another on May Day. The Seven--Nelson Rodriguez, Mario and Tony Martinez, Jose Rios, Gary Lescallet, George Lopez, and Bibi Melendez--are active in the leadership of COBRA (Confederation of Brown Race for Action) at the College of San Mateo, where they were deeply involved in the Third World strike last fall. They participated actively in the strikes at San Francisco State and at Mission High this Spring. Organizationally, they were among the strongest organizers in COBRA, the Mission Rebels, and the Brown Berets! They were heavy brothers on the block.

The ruling class has acted swiftly in repressing the work of these brothers. In doing so, they are developing the history of the oppression of Brown people to a new stage. From the earliest days of American imperialism, in the seizure of Indian lands on the western frontier, in the conquest of the southwest in the Mexican-American war, in the drive for hemispheric supremacy with the Spanish American war, and in the plunder of the Americas during this century, the capitalist class has increasingly depended on the oppression of the Brown nations to maintain a sizable margin of profits.

IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA AND SAN FRANCISCO

As American Imperialism has continued the forced underdevelopment of the nations to our south through brutal exploitation for profit, the people of those nations have sought to relieve their oppression through migration to the United States, widely touted as the "Land of Opportunity." Once here, they have found that their oppression as colonial subjects remains the same. While 50% of the production workers in California are black and brown, these are concentrated in unskilled categories. While 40% of the workers in San Francisco commute from the suburbs, 18% of the Chicano and Latino workers in the Mission District are unemployed. In the Bay Area, public transportation for the Latin community has been curtailed, and \$1 million allocated for public parks in the Mission District has mysteriously disappeared under the local Alioto regime. Nearly 40% of the income of Latin workers returns to the oppressive state through direct and indirect taxes. In the Mission district, rents have nearly doubled in the last three years. Urban "redevelopment", designed to make San Francisco Wall Street West, is attempting to disperse the Latin nation once again. All attempts to bring the educational resources to the service of the Latin community--at the College of San Mateo, at San Francisco State, at UC Berkeley, at Mission High School--have

been viciously opposed by the ruling class.

It is no accident that the interests of American Imperialism throughout the Americas are maintained by brutal military regimes. While the exploitation, for a while, is veiled in the priestly countenance of the AID director, the Peace Corps volunteer, the Poverty War porkbarrel organizer, the AFL-CIA trade-union organizer, and the "progressive" ass licking of phony leftists, the nature of the oppression soon requires that the robbery of the people be armed. Military suppression of all democratic illusions grows into counter-insurgency as the natives grow restless in their exploitation. The repression against the new revolutionary leadership broadens into a massive military occupation of the entire community as the masses grow in political consciousness and as even the reform leaders are forced to the left. The probability of fascism is realized as the police and military forces begin preparations for genocide against all potentially rebel communities. This is as true in the Mission District of San Francisco as it is in the homelands of the people of the Mission District.

DOMESTIC COUNTER-INSURGENCY

Before the strikes at San Francisco State, the College of San Mateo, and Mission High School, the ruling class control of the Mission district was maintained by massive infusions of federal "poverty war" money. Daily police harassment was the extent of military operations.

With the strikes grew a pattern of repression against the leading revolutionary leadership in the Mission. But as the "reform" leaders were pressured to support the strikes, and as the community visibly developed a brown-national, working-class consciousness, the police occupation of the community multiplied its size and intensified its viciousness.

On April 25, the San Francisco Chronicle told a horror story about a gang of "hoodlums and punks" who were bothering people on the street and disrupting businesses near the corner of 20th and Mission. Even the Mission merchants were so disturbed by this story that they called a press conference and denied the account as blatant lies; they even sought out Nelson Rodriguez, one of Los Siete, and apologized to him. Nevertheless, Mayor Joseph Alioto announced the formation of a new "150-man emergency police squad" to deal with the growing problem of hoodlums and punks in San Francisco.

Officers Brodnik (and his 2-foot rubber hose) and McGoran were notorious in the Mission for their harassment of brothers on the block. They were among the most vicious cops during the State strike, and were well known for the beatings they gave in the course of scores of arrests during the rebellions at Mission High. The night before May

1, they broke into the home of a Latino organizer in the Mission and threatened him and his family.

On May 1, dressed in plainclothes and driving a beat-up old car, McGoran and Brodnik stopped several brothers on the street. In the course of brutalizing and harassing these brothers, Brodnik was killed and McGoran shot in the jaw, both by the gun McGoran was carrying. The brothers involved escaped, but the police hatred of the community was expressed anyway. Over 150 rounds were fired into the home of Jose Rios--his younger sister, baby-sitting at the time, was shot in the hip--and the house was teargassed repeatedly. In the days that followed, Jose's mother was fired from her job at Mary's Help hospital, 300 students at Everett Junior High and 500 at Mission High were interrogated by the local specialists in corporal punishment, dozens of homes were broken into without search warrants. The Old Bayshore Freeway had a 24-hour blockade up for two weeks, and the 150-man Alioto police squad went into action against the community, frisking and beating people in bars and pool halls. Nightly, they have performed sweeps down all the major streets of the Mission district, stopping, frisking, and busting on any excuse any group of 3 or more who are on the street.

Six of the seven charged--several were definitely not at the scene at the time--were captured five days after Brodnik's death, and charged with felony murder. Charles Garry has agreed to lead the defense. The defense of Los Siete is the defense of the Brown Liberation Movement.

DEFEND LOS SIETE

Early in May there was a large meeting, mostly of other Latinos who had worked with Los Siete. It was decided that a mass political campaign would be put into action in defense of the seven. Some resisted the political aspect of the defense but most had learned important lessons from Huey's case. "The brothers aren't criminals, they are political prisoners", had to be explained. So a new organization, Los Siete De La Raza, (The Seven of the Race) was formed to do the job. The main work is to politically educate the Mission people so that they will come to the brothers' defense. To Los Siete de la Raza, the defense of the seven is synonymous with the defense of La Raza across this country and in Latin America.

The defense committee is carrying on and developing the work of Los Siete in community organizing. Most of the members are inexperienced and a concrete strategy for this work hasn't yet been fully developed. There is much concentration on immediate daily tasks and not much time to sit down and make broad plans. But because the people in Los Siete are doing a lot of daily work, as plans do develop, they will be based on concrete experience.

Their newspaper, Basta Ya! (Enough!) came out in late June, aimed at the broad Mission community. It demands "Free Los Siete!" and describes the work of the Seven in serving the people as opposed to a description of cops Brodnik and McGoran as enemies of the community.

The parents of Los Siete asked the Panthers to lend their experience in this kind of campaign. Huey Newton sent a tape to them pledging "100% support" from the Panthers. Since then the parents and the defense committee have been meeting with the Panthers, developing a working alliance. The next step will be to expand the Panther paper to represent the Brown community.

Also, the national convention of SDS unanimously passed a resolution in support of Los Siete, and the Young Lords from Chicago have come to meetings in San Francisco to offer their assistance. Contacts are developing with other Latino organizations, especially in the Southwest. International awareness of the case is the aim.

PROGRAMS FOR UNITY

Right now the sorts of things the organization is working on are, first of all, getting some unity between all the various gangs in the Mission. Young blacks and browns, Philipinos, Indians and Samoans are moving on each other over such immediate issues as who's going to get the few jobs Alioto has thrown out for the summer. The key to organizing the young people in the Mission is seen as building an awareness of the need for unified action against the real enemy. The committee comes up against arguments like "You want the Blacks to control everything" from the younger Latinos. This will be a major struggle in the Mission, a struggle for multi-national, Third World consciousness.

Los Siete De La Raza is also working now with La Raza on their breakfast for children program. The main problem with this kind of service will be to present the program in a way that links it up with a political perspective. Also a medical clinic is getting together, a legal defense service is operating, and a day-care center is planned. Again, these programs come from, and their success depends on, the strong identification of Latino youths with the overwhelming problems of family survival in the Mission.

Involvement of community people in carrying out these programs will be effective in building a working unity and sense of community among the people in the Mission. Once Los Siete De La Raza gets the community moving with them on such programs, the next step will be to direct that momentum to other struggles and freeing Los Siete.

FREE LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA!

BENEFITS for LOS SIETE de la RAZA
Rock Bands, Food, Speakers

July 26, 1249 Alabama St. S.F.
8:00 PM 50¢

Aug. 9, LONGSHOREMENS HALL
400 NORTH POINT - S.F.
8:00 PM 2.50



COMPLETE SATISFACTION!

SPEECH BY FRED HAMPTON APRIL 27, 1967

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

What we are basically going to be talking about today is what the pig is doing to the Panthers all around the country. We are going to have to talk about what we are going to have to do about the repression that they are putting on the Black Panther Party. We are not worried about getting off it--let's try to deal with it.

We got to talk first of all about the main man. The main man in the Black Panther Party, the main man in the struggle today--in the United States, in Chicago, in Cuba and anywhere else--the main man in the liberation struggle is our Minister of Defense, and yours too, Huey P. Newton. He's the main man because the head of the imperialist octopus lies right in this country and whoever is dealing with the head of the octopus in this country is the main man. He's in jail now. We must tell the world that Huey P. Newton was tried by the pigs and they found him guilty. He was tried by the people, who found him not guilty, and we say let him go, let him free, because we find him not guilty. This is our relentless demand. We will not let up one day, we will not give up the struggle to liberate our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton and we will continue to exert pressure on the power structure and constantly bombard them with the people's demand that Huey P. Newton be set free.

It was Huey P. Newton who taught us how the people learn. You learn by participation. When Huey P. Newton started out what did he do? He got a gun and he got Bobby and Bobby got a gun. They had a problem in the community because people was being run over--kids were being run over--at a certain intersection. What did the people do? The people went down to the government to redress their grievances and the government told them to go to hell: "We are not going to put no stoplights down there UNTIL WE SEE FIT." What did Huey P. Newton do? Did he go out and tell the people about the laws and write letters and try to propagandize 'em all the time? NO! Some of that's good, but the masses of the people don't read--that's what I heard Huey say--they learn through observation and participation. Did he just say this? NO! So what did he do? He got him a shotgun, he got Bobby and he got him a hammer and went down to the corner. He gave Bobby the shotgun and told him if any pig motherfuckers come by blow his mother fuckin brains out. What did he do? He went to the corner and nailed up a stop sign. No more accidents, no more trouble. And then he went back--another situation like that. What'd the people do? They looked at it, they observed; they didn't get a chance to participate in it. Next time what'd they do? Same kind of problem came up. The PEOPLE got THEIR shotguns, got THEIR nine millimeters, got THEIR hammers. How'd they learn? They learned by observation and participation. They learned one thing. When there is a fire you gather round the fire. Huey got a shotgun and everybody gathered round him and Bobby. They saw what was going on and they had a chance to participate in it. As the vanguard leader he taught the people about the power structure; he led the people down the correct road of revolution. What are we doing?

BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

Our Breakfast for Children program is feeding a lot of children and the people understand our Breakfast for Children program. We sayin' something like this--we saying that theory's cool, but theory with no practice ain't shit. You got to have both of them--the two go together. We have a theory about feeding kids free. What'd we do? We put it into practice. That's how people learn. A lot of people don't know how serious the thing is. They think the children we feed ain't really hungry. I don't know five year old kids that can act well, but I know that if they not hungry we sure got some actors. We got five year old actors that could take the academy award. Last week they had

a whole week dedicated to the hungry in Chicago. Talking 'bout the starvation rate here that went up 15%. Over here where everybody should be eating. Why? Because of capitalism.

What are we doing? The Breakfast for Children program. We are running it in a

from the Black Panther, June 28, 1969

16 CHICAGO PANTHERS FACE CHAIR

Sixteen members of the Black Panther Party including the chairman, minister of education and the minister of culture were indicted Tuesday by the county grand jury on charges of conspiracy, aggravated kidnapping, aggravated battery, burglary and unlawful use of weapons. The aggravated kidnapping charge carries a maximum penalty of death. The states attorney's office leaked to the press on June 5 the story that the May grand jury was planning extensive indictments against the Panther leadership as part of the city's war on "gangs". The case which was chosen for use in attacking the Panthers was the arrest last April of a half-dozen Panthers who were charged with holding and torturing a couple in Suburban Summit in an alleged attempt to recover a stolen gun. Threetimes the defendants appeared in court in Oaklawn and three times the state refused to produce any witnesses and asked for a continuance of the pretrial hearing. Then Tuesday it was learned why--the state was extending the case to include all the Panthers they wanted to put in jail.

Named in the indictment are Fred Hampton, deputy chairman for Illinois; Richard Powell, section leader; James White, section leader; David Valentine, information lieutenant; Wilmer Angram, deputy minister of education; William O'Neal, deputy minister of de-

socialistic manner. People came and took our program, saw it in a socialistic fashion not even knowing it was socialism. People are gonna take our program and tell us to go on to a higher level. They gonna take that program and work it in a socialistic manner. What'd the pig say? He say, "nigger--you like communism?" "no sir, I'm scared of it." "You like socialism?" "No Sir, I'm scared of it." "You like the breakfast for children program?" "Yes sir, I'd die for it". Pig said, "Nigger, that program is a socialistic program." "I don't give a fuck if it's Communism. You put your hands on that program motherfucker and I'll blow your motherfucking brains out." And he knew it. We been educating him, not by reading matter, but through observation and participation. By letting him come in and work our program. Not theory and theory alone, but theory and practice. The two go together. We no only thought about the Marxist-Leninist theory--we put it into practice. This is what the Black Panther Party is about.

SUBVERSIVES

Some people talk a lot about communism, but the people can't understand and progress to the stage of communism right away or because of abstract arguments.

They say you got to crawl before you can walk. And the Black Panther Party, as the vanguard party, thought that the Breakfast for Children Program was the best technique of crawling that any vanguard party could follow. And we got a whole lot of folks that's going to be walking. And then a whole lot of folks that's gonna be running. And when you got that, what you got? You got a whole lot of PIGS that's gonna be running. That's what our programs about.

The Black Panther Party is about the complete revolution. We not gonna go out there and half do a thing. And you can let the pigs know it. They come here and hide--they so uncomfortable they

fense; Robert Bruce, captain; Merrill Harvey, captain; Nathaniel Junior, field secretary; Yvonne King, field secretary; Chuckles May, minister of education; Charles Martis, Harlon Walton, and Willie Ivory. Ransom was set by the grand jury on most defendants at \$100,000. At the time the indictments were handed down, Hampton, White and Powell were already in jail. White has been in jail since April 28, unable to make ransom on the original arrest. Arrested were Valentine, Angram, O'Neal and Harlan Walton. The other 9 are still at large after a series of early morning raids by the GIU in suburban Summit, Argo and Maywood failed to find them.

At their arraignment Wednesday morning, White, Valentine, Angram, and Powell succeeded in getting ransom reduced from \$100,000 to \$10,000. O'Neal's ransom was kept at its original \$10,000.

Although the indictments came only 24 hours after States Attorney Hanrahan and Mayor Daley had called a press conference to announce a special grand jury would be used to "smash the gang structure" in Chicago, Hanrahan denied the indictments were an attack on the Panthers. "This is not an indictment of the party itself, but is against certain members for specific crimes." But then he added, "I believe the character of the organization can be determined by the crimes of its members."

sitting on a taperecorder, they got their gun in their hair--they got to hide all this shit and they come here and do all this weird action. All they got to do is come up to 2350 West Madison any day of the week and anybody up there'll let them know, let the motherfucker know: Yes, we subversive. Yes, we subversive with the bullshit we are confronted with today. Just as subversive as anybody can be subversive. And we think them motherfuckers is the criminals. They the ones always hiding. We the ones up in front. We're out in the open, these motherfuckers should start wearing uniforms. They want to know if the Panthers are goin' underground--these motherfuckers IS underground. You can't find 'em. People calls the pigs but nobody knows where they at. They're out chasing us. They hiding--can't nobody even see 'em.

When people got a problem they come to the Black Panther Party for help and that's good. Because, like Mao says, we are supposed to be ridden by the people and Huey says we're going to be ridden down the path of social revolution and that's for the people. The people ought to know that the Black Panther Party is one thousand percent for the People. They write a lot of articles, you know, niggers'll run up to you in a minute--when I say niggers I mean white niggers and black niggers



alike--niggers'll run up to you and talk that shit about, Man, I read in the Tribune today. Well you say, Man, fuck it right there. If you didn't read it in the BLACK PANTHER paper, in the MOVEMENT--then you ain't read shit.

MICKEY WHITE

We in the Black Panther Party have another brother I want to take some time to rap about. This brother is constantly on our mind. This brother's name is Michael White--Mickey White. This brother is beautiful. He's being held now in jail for one hundred thousand dollars bail. Some of you who listen to the radio might have heard about brothers in the state chapter, our field secretary of Defense Captain, brother Nathaniel Junior and brother Merrill Harvey being laid up on some phoney gun charge. We don't say the Panthers don't want guns, but we already got guns and we don't have to go and try and steal or connive to buy any guns from anybody. What they are trying to do is to squash out the Black Panther Party--they're trying to squash out the leadership. Trying to squash out Bobby Rush, the Deputy Minister of Defense. Trying to squash out Chaka and Che, the Deputy Minister of Education.

Mickey White was in that bullshit with Nathaniel Junior and Merrill Harvey. Last week when they went to court even the judge in court said, you all gonna get a fair trial whether you deserve it or not. These are the types of actions we are confronted with. Mickey White is in solitary confinement and doesn't get to come out of his cell for anything at any time. And he might be in that cell for the rest of his life. His bond is \$100,000. That's \$10,000 cash.

Mickey White is a proven revolutionary. He's not nobody we THINK is going to be a revolutionary. He's not nobody we trying to make a revolutionary. He's a proven revolutionary. All of you have to understand that Micky White is a Panther in ideology, he's a Panther in word and he's a Panther in deed. He's a Panther that understands it's a class struggle--not a race question. You have to understand the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through saying this. You can see the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through by making a coalition with whites.

You can see that we had a group in California who committed their first acts of violence on the Black Panther Party. Ron Karenga and US never shot nothing but dope until they shot them brothers. They been an organization longer than the Black Panther Party. When the Black Panther Party stood up and said we not going to fight racism with racism US said "NO, we can't do that because it's a race question and if you make it a class question then the revolution might come sooner. We in US ain't prepared for no revolution because we think that "power grows from the sleeve of a Dashiki." They are armed with rhetoric and rhetoric alone. And we found that when you're armed with rhetoric and rhetoric alone a lot of times you get yourself hurt. Eldridge Cleaver told them, even though you say you fight fire with fire best, we think you fight fire with water. You can do either one, but we choose to fight with water. He said, we're not going to fight racism with racism, we're going to fight racism with solidarity. Even though you think you ought to fight capitalism with black capitalism, we're going to fight capitalism with socialism.

We got a whole lot of people being busted and you don't even know about all these people. There's one here you

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Prison, Where Is Thy Victory?

Huey P. Newton

When a person studies mathematics, he learns that there are many mathematical laws which determine the approach he must take to solving the problems presented to him. In the study of geometry, one of the first laws a person learns is that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts". This means simply that one cannot have a geometrical figure such as a circle or a square which in its totality, contains more than it does when broken down into smaller parts. Therefore, if all the smaller parts add up to a certain amount, the entire figure cannot add up to a larger amount. The prison cannot have a victory over the prisoner, because those in charge take the same kind of approach to the prisoner and assume if they have the whole body in a cell that they have there all that makes up the person. But a prisoner is not a geometrical figure, and an approach which is successful in mathematics, is wholly unsuccessful when dealing with human beings.

In the case of the human, we are not dealing only with the single individual, we are also dealing with the ideas and beliefs which have motivated him and which sustain him, even when his body is confined. In the case of humanity the whole is much greater than its parts, because the whole includes the body which is measurable and confineable, and also the ideas which cannot be measured and which cannot be confined. The ideas are not only within the mind of the prisoner where they cannot be seen nor controlled, the ideas are also within the people. The ideas which can and will sustain our movement for total freedom and dignity of the people, cannot be imprisoned, for they are to be found in the people, all the people, wherever they are. As long as the people live by the ideas of freedom and dignity there will be no prison which can hold our movement down. Ideas move from one person to another in the association of brothers and sisters who recognize that a most evil system of capitalism has set us against each other, when our real enemy is the exploiter who profits from our poverty. When we realize such an idea then we come to love and appreciate our brothers and

sisters who we may have seen as enemies, and those exploiters who we may have seen as friends are revealed for what they truly are to all oppressed people. The people are the idea, the respect and dignity of the people, as they move toward their freedom is the sustaining force which reaches into and out of the prison. The walls, the bars, the guns and the guards can never encircle or hold down the idea of the people. And the people must always carry forward the idea which is their dignity and their beauty.

The prison operates with the idea that when it has a person's body it has his entire being--since the whole cannot be greater than the sum of its parts. They put the body in a cell, and seem to get some sense of relief and security from that fact. The idea of prison victory then, is that when the person in jail begins to act, think, and believe the way they want him to, then they have won the battle and the person is then "rehabilitated". But this cannot be the case, because those who operate the prisons, have failed to examine their own beliefs thoroughly, and they fail to understand the types of people they attempt to control. Therefore, even when the prison thinks it has won the victory, there is no victory.

There are two types of prisoners. The largest number are those who accept the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. They wish to acquire the same goals as everybody else, money, power, greed, and conspicuous consumption. In order to do so, however, they adopt techniques and methods which the society has defined as illegitimate. When this is discovered such people are put in jail. They may be called "illegitimate capitalists" since their aim is to acquire everything this capitalist society defines as legitimate. The second type of prisoner, is the one who rejects the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. He argues that the people at the bottom of the society are exploited for the profit and advantage of those at the top. Thus, the oppressed exist, and will always be used to maintain the privileged status of the exploiters. There is no sacredness, there is no dignity in either

exploiting or being exploited. Although this system may make the society function at a high level of technological efficiency, it is an illegitimate system, since it rests upon the suffering of humans who are as worthy and as dignified as those who do not suffer. Thus, the second type of prisoner says that the society is corrupt and illegitimate and must be overthrown. This second type of prisoner is the political prisoner. They do not accept the legitimacy of the society and cannot participate in its corrupting exploitation, whether they are in the prison or on the block.

The prison cannot gain a victory over either type of prisoner no matter how hard it tries. The "illegitimate capitalist" recognizes that if he plays the game the prison wants him to play, he will have his time reduced and be released to continue his activities. Therefore, he is willing to go through the prison programs and do the things he is told. He is willing to say the things the prison authorities want to hear. The prisoner assumes he is "rehabilitated" and ready for the society. The prisoner has really played the prison's game so that he can be released to resume pursuit of his capitalistic goals. There is no victory, for the prisoner from the get-go accepted the idea of the society. He pretends to accept the idea of the prison as a part of the game he has always played.

The prison cannot gain a victory over the political prisoner because he has nothing to be rehabilitated from or to. He refuses to accept the legitimacy of the system and refuses to participate. To participate is to admit that the society is legitimate because of its exploitation of the oppressed. This is the idea which the political prisoner does not accept, this is the idea for which he has been imprisoned, and this is the reason why he cannot cooperate with the system. The political prisoner will, in fact, serve his time just as will the "illegitimate capitalist". Yet the idea which motivated and sustained the political prisoner rests in the people, all the prison has, is a body.

The dignity and beauty of man rests in the human spirit which makes him more than simply a



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physical being. This spirit must never be suppressed for exploitation by others. As long as the people recognize the beauty of their human spirits and move against suppression and exploitation, they will be carrying out one of the most beautiful ideas of all time. Because the human whole is much greater than the sum of its parts, the ideas will always be among the people. The prison cannot be victorious because walls, bars and guards cannot conquer or hold down an idea.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK POWER TO
BLACK PEOPLE,

PANTHER POWER TO
THE VANGUARD.

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

definitely have to know about and that's our Deputy Minister of Defense--Bobby Rush. Our Deputy Minister Bobby Rush was busted on some bullshit with a gun thing. He's got three gun charges. He's been convicted of one with a six month lead. He's out on appeal now. I know a lot of you people say, well goddamn, you got a Mickey White defense fund, an Eldridge Cleaver defense fund, a Merrill Harvey defense fund, a Nathaniel Junior defense fund, a Huey Newton defense fund, a Fred Hampton, Jule, Che, and Chaka defense fund--and I just can't keep up with all these defense funds. But since we the vanguard party we try to do things right, so we got one defense fund so you don't get mixed up on what name to send it to. We'll decide who it goes to. You can just send it to Political Defense Fund, 2350 West Madison. If you want to send something to Breakfast for Children, you can send it to 2350 West Madison also, and you can earmark that money to go to the Breakfast for Children program.

We got Mickey on our mind tonight--and everybody knows we got Huey P. Newton on our mind tonight. We got every political prisoner in jail on our mind tonight. Let's talk about it. We understand that Mickey White, Huey P. Newton and Dennis Mora; people like Bobby Hutton and Eldridge Cleaver--all of these people either dead, or in exile or in jail. A lot of people understanding this will lose real faith in the vanguard by not understanding what we're talking about.

A lot of these people will go up to you in a minute and say, "Why all these

people being taken, why haven't they shot it out with some pigs." Well, what do we say? If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing 'em all and getting complete satisfaction.

GO WITH THE PEOPLE

So what should we do if we're the vanguard? What is it right to do? Is it right for the leadership of that struggle to go faster than the followers of that struggle can go? NO! We're not going to be dealing in commandism, we're not going to be dealing in no tailism. We say that just as fast as the people can possibly go, that's just as fast as we can take it.

While we take it we must be sure that we are not missing the people in the valley. In the valley we know that we can learn to understand the life of the people. We know that with all the bullshit out there, you can come to consider yourself on the mountain top. I may even consider myself one day on the mountaintop. I may have already. But I know that in the valley there are people like Benny and there are people like me, people like Mickey White and people like Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. And that below the valley are people like Bobby Hutton, people like Eldridge Cleaver. We know that going into the valley is a dangerous thing. We know that when you go out to the valley you got

to make a commitment.

A lot of people think the revolution is bullshit, but it's not. A lot of us think that when you get in the revolution you can talk your way out of things, but that's not true. Ask Bobby Hutton, ask Huey Newton, ask Eldridge Cleaver, Mickey White and Dennis Mora. Ask these people whether it's a game. If you get yourself involved in a revolutionary struggle then you've got to be serious. You got to know what you're doing. You got to already have practiced some type of theory. That's the reason we ask people to follow the leadership of the vanguard party. Because we all theorizing and we all practicing. We make mistakes, but we're always correcting them and we're always getting better.

We used to run around yellin' 'bout Panther Power--the Panthers run it. We admit we made mistakes. Our ten point program is in the midst of being changed right now, because we used the word 'white' when we should have used the word 'capitalist'. We're the first to admit our mistakes. We no longer say 'Panther Power' because we don't believe the Panthers should have all the power. We are not for the dictatorship of the Panthers. We are not for the dictatorship of Black people. We are for the dictatorship of the people.

The difference between the people and the vanguard is very important. You got to understand that the people follow the vanguard. You got to understand that the Black Panther Party IS the vanguard. If you are about going to the people you got to understand that the vanguard leads the people. After the social revolution, the vanguard party, through our education--

al programs--and that program is overwhelming--the people are educated to the point that they can run things themselves. That's what you call educating the people, organizing the people, arming the people and bringing them revolutionary political power. That means people's power. That means the people's revolution. And if you're not about being involved in a people's revolution then you got to do something. You got to support the people's revolution.

COMPLETE SATISFACTION

The Black Panther Party is the vanguard party. You better get on the Black Panther Party. If you can't get on, goddamit you better get behind. If you can't get behind goddamit, you better get behind somebody else so you'll at least be able to follow indirectly, motherfucker. We ain't asking you to go out and ask no pig to leave us alone. We know that the pigs fuck with us cause they know we're doing something.

Cause a lot of dudes walk around and write articles about it. I know some revolutionary groups say these riggers are running around saying these things--the PL motherfuckers talking that bullshit, couldn't even find things to criticize. They was so far in the ground. What was they doing? Organizing groundhogs, educating groundhogs, arming groundhogs and teaching groundhogs revolutionary political power.

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"How could we demand of people outside the organization what we could not demand of people inside?"

—Bernardine Dohrn

The 1969 convention of SDS marks a turning point in its history. For the first time SDS adopted certain Marxist political principles. For the first time SDS expelled members of the organization who opposed these principles.

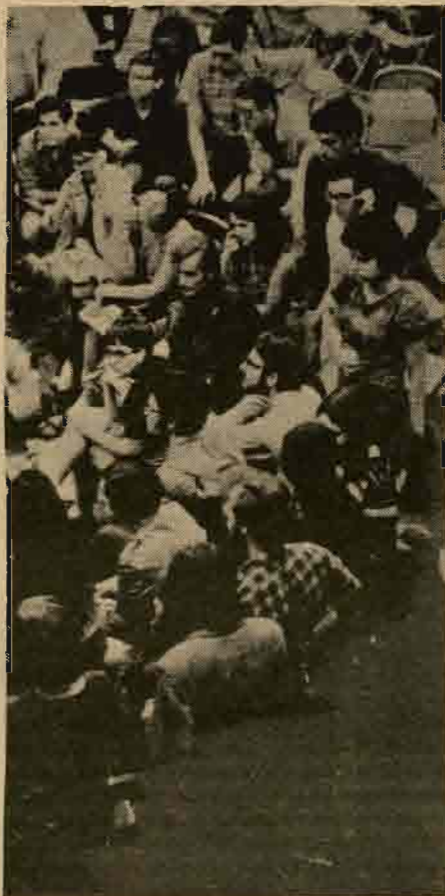
The expulsion of PL and its supporters must be understood in the context of the historical development of the movement and the position of SDS in the national (even international) political arena. Since its beginning in 1962 as a left-liberal student organization, and especially in the last two years, SDS has grown into the largest national political organization of revolutionary white youth. No other organization has anywhere near its mass base and reputation. Therefore its actions and policies set the tone for the white movement in general.

Although the organization has been extremely loose and decentralized, with affiliation being more often a matter of affinity than formal membership, SDS has been the only mass organization to assert leadership over that amorphous body called the "New Left". This fact makes the organization an arena for every conceivable political viewpoint competing for national circulation. Such ideological competition has a double edge. It has been healthy for the organization in exposing the membership to many political ideas and allowing them to sort out those which served best in practice. At the same time it has often crippled SDS's ability to act, as competing sect groups have been more concerned with pushing their line than in taking care of business.

Nevertheless, under the leading influence of third world struggles (especially those of the Vietnamese and the Blacks) SDS has been developing a revolutionary perspective. The basis of this perspective has been the understanding that the principle contradiction in the world today is between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed nations of the world. SDS has tried to forge an alliance with these oppressed peoples by building an anti-imperialist student movement on campuses throughout the country in support of the struggles for self-determination. SDS sees these struggles as part of an international class struggle which implies the necessity to link up with the working class.

Along with this ideological development has come increased militance in struggles and an attempt to spread the movement to sectors previously untouched by SDS—namely, working class youth. In short, SDS has begun to take its politics more seriously, which, in turn, has meant that the ruling class takes SDS more seriously. This spells increased repression.

Although repression was not explicitly discussed at the convention, this issue was omnipresent. Pigs outside taking pictures, spies and provocateurs inside, the need for tight security measures served as constant reminders of the murders of our Panther allies and threats of long prison sentences for all



of us. People at the convention understood that the political stakes have been raised—that the political scene in this country has become increasingly polarized. Either you're for the NLF or you're for imperialism; you're for black liberation or you're for racism. "Either you're part of the solution or you're part of the problem".

WHY THE EXPULSION

Before the main business ever really got underway people were talking about how PL and its supporters were, indeed, part of the problem. Since PL began participating in SDS about two years ago they have incurred the hostility of many SDS people.

Until recently, many people opposed PL for the wrong reasons. Much of the hostility was based on a mistrust of a strongly disciplined outside cadre (that is, on anti-communism). Also some people rejected PL's heavy working class orientation. They didn't criticize PL for being reformist or economist in its approach to the working class, they just rejected approaching the working class altogether. While most people in SDS have abandoned their anti-communist and anti-working class attitudes in the course of the struggle (eg. anti-war movement supporting the NLF or Black liberation struggle urging white radicals to organize white poor and working people), PL does deserve some credit for pushing these ideas inside SDS.

As the reasons for the hostility to PL changed and the antagonisms became more bitter. More and more SDS people have formed collectives based on principles of Marxism-Leninism: democratic centralism, class line, criticism and self-criticism. The objection to PL came to be based on PL's incorrect ideology and practice rather than on anti-communism. Chapters and collectives all over the country learned in practice that the application of PL's ideology meant the subversion of revolutionary struggles for open admissions of black and brown students; for black studies; for people's parks. Even when PL didn't have a chance to explicitly oppose an ongoing struggle they effectively subverted the development of any kind of struggle by bogging chapters down in endless sectarian debates. Many SDS people found themselves becoming dogmatic and forgetting practice in the course of their struggle against PL. In many places at the chapter level splits or attempts at expulsion had already

"You're either part of the part of the

occured (RSU, Cal; Columbia expulsion of the expansion committee), and de facto splits existed in many other places.

On the national level the antagonisms were clear way before the split. At the NC in Ann Arbor last fall PL actively opposed a "Solidarity With Cuba Week". People understood that a rejection of the Cuban revolution and refusal to hold educational and agitational activities in support of Cuba could only help the imperialists.

At the NC in Austin there was bitter debate over support for the Panthers. People understood that PL's position that the Panthers are racist and reactionary could only aid the ruling class in the attempts to smash the Panthers. ("Despite the frequent waving of the Quotations of Mao-Tse-tung", it is quite apparent that the Panthers have no class outlook and believe they are out to fight a war against white people in general".

--PL Magazine, February, 1969) Also in Austin people understood that they had to strongly reject PL's criticism of the Vietnamese leadership if they were to effectively struggle against imperialism. ("NLF-type liberation programs will take radicals right to the graveyard."--PL Magazine, August 1969) The harm that PL was doing to the Vietnamese struggle was spelled out by Le Phuong, an NLF representative in Sweden in a letter to the GUARDIAN on April 5, 1969: "They (PL) defame the political program of the NLF, they defame it flagrantly. While progressive people throughout the world support the NLF and its political program, these people wrongly criticize the political program. While the U.S. imperialists slander our front, they slander our front too. That is aiming at deceiving public opinion, including American public opinion. That is aiming at harming the antiwar move-

been plotted by the National Office for months in advance. The blundering way in which the final split occurred proves PL's claim a lie. If the expulsion had been carefully pre-mediated the strength of SDS would have been immediately apparent, but it wasn't.

On its face, the walkout seemed to be an act of frustration. A little less than half of the people walked out, apparently because they felt challenged by the Panthers to do so and because they found it impossible to be heard above the thunderous chanting of PL.

The Panthers definitely did take the lead in the expulsion of P L. They read a statement to the convention that stated: "If the PLP continues its egocentric policies and revisionist behavior they will be considered as counter-revolutionary traitors and will be dealt with as such. SDS will be judged by the company they keep and the efficiency and effectiveness with which they deal with bourgeois factions in their organization." The statement was also signed by the Young Lords, the Brown Berets, and the Young Patriots.

The walkout was spontaneous. Only after 24 hours of discussion (without PL) did people clearly understand the necessity for the expulsion and the reasons for it.

Some accused SDS of walking out in fear of losing the organization on the basis of votes to PL. Aside from the fact that credentials counters claimed that SDS had a slight margin over PL (and that the meeting after the walkout grew from some 600 to over 1000) most people were clear that working with PL was untenable, whether PL be majority or minority. Most people thought that if allowed to speak, SDS would win a slight margin over PL in a vote over expulsion. That vote was never taken. The reason was not because people feared the vote, but because people felt very strongly about their political principles and didn't want to have them bogged down in parliamentary procedure and constitutional debates which would legitimize PL. Yes, SDS dropped its own constitution. They felt that the constitution was irrelevant and were sick and tired of phoney votes with PL.

CLASS STRUGGLE

In the 24 hours following the walkout, people made a serious attempt to analyze what had happened and to map out a program for the future of SDS. At first people were elated and confused. As the debate wore on, however, the various forces at the convention became clear. The decision to expel PL on a principled basis reflected a class analysis of the various political positions taken.

Although SDS includes people from many different class backgrounds, and, although many groups within SDS differ in their definition of the working class, everyone gives lip service to the fact that the working class (black and white) will make the revolution. So in making a class analysis of the forces at the Convention, we must look at which class

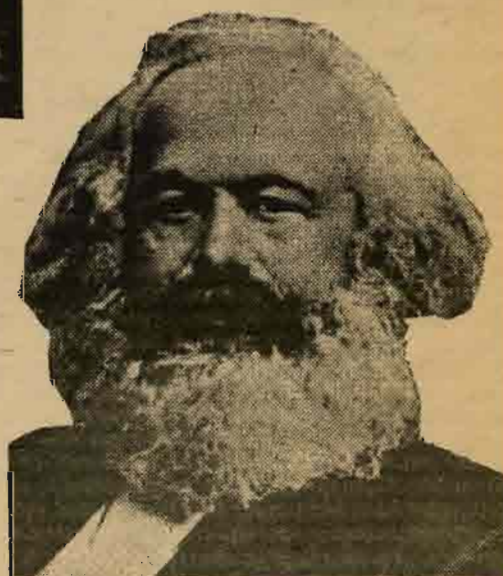


ment in the U.S."

So, in a certain sense, the expulsion of PL was inevitable; a split was already an accomplished fact before the convention. The actual expulsion awaited a catalyst. The catalyst came after two days of Roman circus when PL's disruption made rational political discussion impossible. The Panthers were booed, thunderous PL chants would not allow the National Secretary to address the Convention and PL took over the stage. Rudd, Klonsky, and Dohrn led a walkout.

TACTICS OF THE EXPULSION

PL claimed that their expulsion had



PROBLEM or SOLUTION? --eldridge cleaver



interests the various positions taken objectively serve and how they are served.

PL/WSA

PL/WSA inevitably label all those who disagree with them as anti-working class. They challenge the slogan "Power to the People" with their own slogan "Power to the Workers". (As if workers' interests were different than the interests of the people). But after the chants die down, and people have a chance to evaluate practice, it appears that it is PL who is really anti-working class since it is PL that takes positions which support the ruling class.

In addition to opposing revolutionary struggles (NLF, Ho, Panthers, League of Revolutionary Black Workers etc), the arguments PL has been using to expand the ranks of the WSA, have the familiar ring of bourgeois liberalism.

It was no accident that time after time before the walkout ISC "on the basis of principles" was consistently able to support PL in votes and chants. Both presented a liberal "free speech" argument in opposition to the national office and their supporters (revolutionary youth movement). PL recruited many people, not on the basis of the political content of their position, but on the basis of the fact that PL hadn't been given equal time in New Left Notes. They ushered many WSA supporters into chartered busses and planes to prevent an "anti-communist ouster" of PL from SDS. Their arguments were reminiscent of the recruitment of Peace and Freedom Party signatures "you don't have to be for PFP you only have to be for our right to be on the ballot."

The effect of these liberal arguments was evident in the composition of the WSA cheering galleries. Most seemed very young, just out of middle class suburban high schools. Siding with PL gave them a chance to seem hip by mouthing revolutionary rhetoric, and at the same time, not supporting revolutionary struggle which they feared. (Their parents told them the Panthers were racist and so did PL)

This is not to say that all PL supporters were wimpy middle class kids. Some were sincere supporters of revolution, new to the movement, whose only source of information was PL cadres. One insisted, "How can you say PL is counter-revolutionary? They're responsible for the success of the struggle at SF State, the vanguard struggle of the year." His PL teachers apparently didn't feel it necessary to mention that struggle was led by the TWLF which not only publically condemned PL, but also expelled two black PL's from its ranks.

No doubt PL also attracted many supporters by claiming to be "Maoist". The Chinese revolution has tremendous prestige around the world. As long as P.L. fashioned itself to be Mao's heir in the U.S., some of China's prestige rubbed off on P.L. Now other groups are actively challenging PL's monopoly of Maoism and pointing out how PL, in fact, contradicts Mao and the experience of the Chinese revolution.

So this factor may become less significant in attracting people to PL in the future.

The lies and distortions PL uses to organize would not be effective at all were it not for the fact that SDS organizers have largely abdicated the hard job of organizing in such places as the Bay Area.

ISC

The Independent Socialist Club is a small trotskyite group which condemns all existing socialist governments as bureaucratic and undemocratic, but claims it's for socialism. The ISC had been politically irrelevant in SDS until convention time. (At Austin NC, they had 9 votes, the 9 ISC members present) At the Convention, they had an estimated 100 votes.

The domestic application of their anti-communist international position is rejection of all forms of "stalinism" within SDS. Although the final vote of RYM was delayed hours because they were allowed to speak, they maintained that RYM and PL shared equally in the same sin: "stalinism". They never made a principled stand against the position adopted in support of the NLF, DRV, Cuba, China, Korea, Albania. Rather they accused the supporters of that principle of being elitist, manipulative, Stalinist, etc. This is the same kind of argument that liberal academics and politicians make against the left in general. It has been traditionally used to smash revolutionaries by depriving them of potential supporters.

While the motives for ISC's criticism were opportunist: "We're independent, if you don't like them, join us", many people who supported the "Independent" position had good reason to be turned



ideological struggle apart from the rank and file and then carries this rhetoric to the floor of its convention without adequate explanation. The gulf that exists between SDS membership and leadership is partially explained as the result of the limited number of sophisticated cadre needed to both run the organization and do mass work. Faced with the necessity of ideologically defeating counter-revolutionaries like PL, the cadre turned in upon itself instead of going to the masses in the organization to teach them and learn from them.

Many of the rank and file failed to advance their understanding of revolutionary theory on the basis of concrete struggles on the local level. They failed to form collectives and engage in study, criticism and self criticism. The gulf thus created between the leadership and the rank and file was manifested at the convention in many people being turned off by the rhetoric of the "NO".

Another problem is that some people who are still hung up on high school memories of being excluded from the "group" or on the super anarchist days of SDS, reject the notion that people should caucus and work out political positions before mass meetings. They call this manipulative and elitist. When ISC says this, they're being hypocritical, since ISC has its caucuses before meetings all the time. But other people, with no collective or caucus to attend have a legitimate gripe. Collectives are a positive and necessary form of political action, far superior to having isolated individuals just doing their thing. The problem is not that people belonging to collectives were manipulative, rather that SDS people hadn't done the hard job of organizing regional collectives where none exist or incorporating new people into already existing collectives.

The upshot of the ISC's opportunism and the vulnerability of RYM was that a substantial minority of people were won to an anti-communist line in the name of "anti-Stalinism". This, in effect, was playing into the hands of the ruling class, even though these "independent" forces never won a vote.

RYM

The Revolutionary Youth Movement is split between two forces: the Weather bureau and RYM II (the names coming from the titles of their respective position papers). Although the tension between these two groups was always pre-

sent at the convention, they joined forces on principled grounds to expel PL. There are also some people who dig the Revolutionary Youth Movement, but who remain unattached to either Weather-bureau or RYM II. The Revolutionary Youth Movement is tied together by a common recognition of the black liberation struggle as the leading force in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The RYM is by no means a monolithic group. There are plenty of disagreements among various groups within RYM. That's natural and healthy. What gives that group some degree of unity is the agreement on important basic principles that at this stage in the struggle divide them off from the counter-revolutionaries. Different collectives with different experiences, and different ideas are attempting to deal with the American reality. Eventually through theory and practice some will find new directions which will again divide revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries. At this point in the struggle both our practice and theory have not reached this point.

At times however, there is a disturbing tendency among many groups that think they have already reached this point. They tend to label disagreements with allies the same way one labels an enemy. Personal, cliquish and political preferences intersect and the thing can become downright immature and dangerous. Arrogance and dogmatism tend to blossom... and they are poisonous weeds.

We are not against comradesly ideological struggle, but we are against struggling with comrades as if they were the enemy. When a hundred flowers bloom they all bloom in the same soil, where differences between comrades are dealt with on the level of persuasion, honesty, non-subjectivity and working together whenever possible. This qualitative change in the relationship between groups and individuals has to accompany the ideological advancement that has pushed SDS from Port Huron to Chicago, from exclusion of Communists to becoming Communists.

"To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the stand of the enemy". Mao

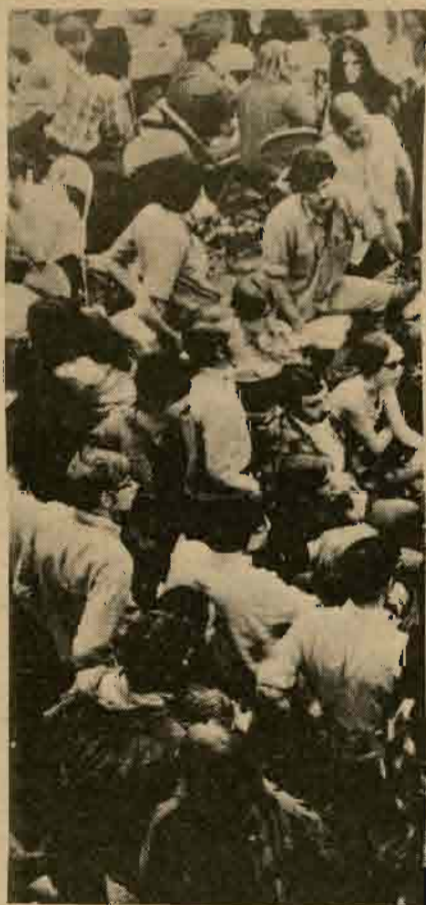
The RYM, which includes Klonsky and Dohrn, and all the new national officers, pressed for the expulsion of PL, but tried to make clear that PL was being expelled on the basis of certain political principles. They maintained that PL was the real anti-communist force because they opposed the following position:

1.) We support the struggles of the Black and Latin colonies within the U.S. for national liberation, and we recognize those nations' rights to self-determination (including the right to political secession, if they desire it.)

2.) We support the struggle for national liberation of the people of South Vietnam, led by the NLF and the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government. We also support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, led by President Ho Chi Minh, as well as the People's Republic of China, Korea and Albania. And the Republic of Cuba, all waging fierce struggles against US imperialism. We support their right to pick up the gun to free themselves from the brutal rule of US imperialism.

These principles were passed and all those who couldn't support them were excluded from the organization. (ISC, while it doesn't support the 2nd point, did not force expulsion of itself by keeping quiet on its international politics.)

RYM people tried to spell out what these principles meant in practice: active support of all third world struggles; eg. black studies, community control of



off by RYM (and, of course PL). RYM people have spent a lot of time in the last few months in "sharp ideological struggle" with PL and among themselves. In the course of this struggle positions tend to harden before they are tested in practice. People become dogmatic.

In the course of these ideological struggles certain phrases (which the ISC labels "Stalinist rhetoric") became understood for more complex ideas. This is fine for discussion within a small collective that has been working together for a long time but it causes severe problems when the leadership of a mass organization engages in this



BLACK BROTHERS HAVE A BETTER IDEA

By Kathy McAfee

The insurgencies of young and black workers in basic industry are among the most important political developments the movement has seen. They are beginning to break through the carefully constructed barrier between bread and butter issues and questions of politics and control which has prevented workers from understanding and challenging the basis of their exploitation. Militant black caucuses are attacking the white supremacist practices that have kept workers divided and powerless. At the same time, through the example of their determination to strike a blow at the companies, they are beginning to build the basis of unity. The actions of these workers have shown that even while it is reproduced in the institutions of the superstructure, the class struggle is still very much alive around the point of production.

Increasingly, especially among blacks, these insurgencies are seen by the workers themselves as part of a broader political movement. During the recent black wildcat at Ford's Mahwah, N.J. assembly plant, the strikers were aware of the actions taken by black workers at other plants throughout the country. They also saw in the militancy of the struggles of black students in the high schools and colleges an example they should follow, and they asked both SDS and the Black Panthers to come and give them support.

The importance of building strong ties between these workers and the movement--or rather, of making these struggles part of the same movement, can hardly be overstated. But because of our lack of experience, and often because of political confusion, most movement people are not very clear about what our specific role in relation to workers' movements should be. This was very apparent at Mahwah.

Ford Mahwah is a huge complex employing 4,200 workers. Since it is an assembly plant, few skilled workers are needed, and about a third of the workers are black. Most of the whites live in the surrounding suburbs, but the blacks commute from the cities, including Newark and New York, about 50 miles away.

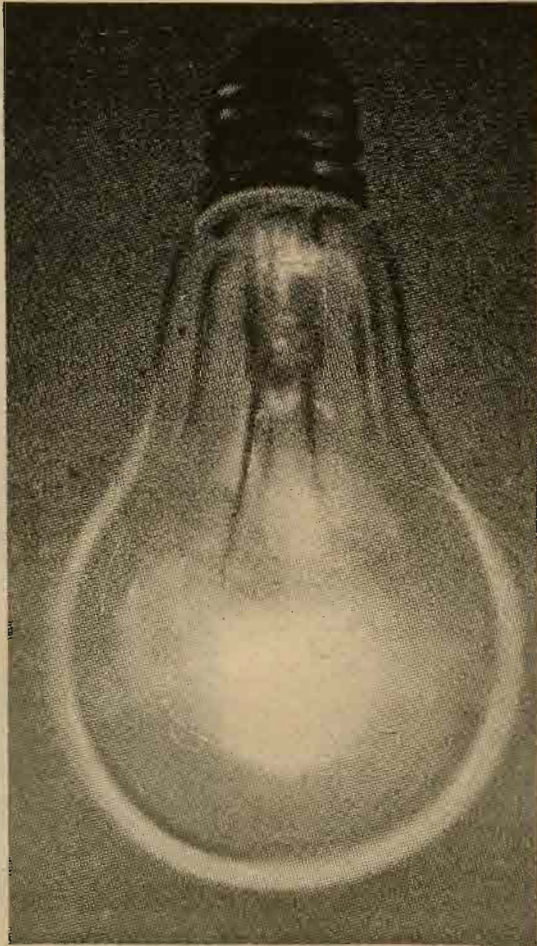
As is true everywhere, black workers have the least seniority rights, and are systematically prevented from getting them. (They are most often fired, harassed into quitting, or let go before the end of the 90-day probationary period, after which they are supposed to get their rights as union members.) As at most places, blacks have the worst jobs, like in the body shop, and are concentrated on the night shift, which is worse in terms of both hours and work load. This way most of the black workers are separated from the whites. Needless to say, the white controlled union does nothing to right the imbalance.

SPEED-UP

But conditions are bad and growing worse for all the workers, black and white. The already exhausting pace of the assembly line is speeded up whenever the company can get away with it. Fork lifts and other machines are made to carry loads well beyond their safe operating limit. The stifling heat of the plant during summer has often caused workers to collapse on the line. Meanwhile, air-conditioning equipment sits on the roof of the plant--uninstalled. Instead, there are bottles of salt pellets. Breakdowns in equipment and floors covered with water and grease make jobs dangerous, but an injured man has to wait for permission from a foreman to leave the line. Speed-up pressure forces workers to ignore safety standards not only for themselves but also for the cars they produce. Mahwah's production policy was summed up by one worker: "When a part doesn't fit, get a hammer. If it still doesn't fit, get a bigger hammer."

Blacks are hurt worse, but everybody is harassed, and all new workers are threatened with probationary firings. The union lets Ford get away with all this, and fails to fight over individual grievances as well; 2,000 unprocessed grievances were left standing at the end of last year.

In January, 1968, racial harassment provoked a spontaneous walkout of black workers. The walkout lasted four days until union officials talked the men into returning with promises they never kept, and several men were suspended. Then last fall, a group of black workers formed a caucus called the



United Black Brothers (UBB). "UBB" buttons began to appear in the plant, especially on the night shift.

This spring, on the April 23 night shift, a black worker from the body shop went to the office of supervisor Ray Eskew, well-known as a racist, to ask about a work assignment. When Eskew ordered the man back on the line, the worker told Eskew to stop treating him "like an animal". Eskew's response: "You're fired, you black motherfucker".

The worker went back to the line and told the other men what had happened, and a meeting was held over dinner break in the locker room. Some of the workers were ready to walk off right away, but it was agreed to go to the union committeeman and the company labor relations department first. When the union man and the labor relations rep said they could do nothing but write out another grievance, the men were ready for action, and this time the action would be organized.

THE DEMANDS

The next day the UBB called a meeting of black workers only and adopted a list of demands including (1) removal of Ray Eskew as foreman, (2) transfer of all racist foremen from Ford Mahwah, (3) re-hiring of all workers fired by these racists, and (4) an end to the kangaroo court grievance procedures used by the company, with the union's cooperation, whenever a man is fired.

As the word spread, production was slowed on the April 24 night shift, and many black workers failed to report. UBB demands were not met, and the Brothers began to organize workers to stay off the job. They took over the union hall, about a mile from the plant, and they called on SDS and the Panthers for support.

On the morning of Friday, April 25, about 50 SDS people showed up at the plant. We milled around the gates with the black workers, helped pass out leaflets, and shook our heads in sympathy when black workers' cars conveniently "stalled" right where they blocked the plant entrances. Not enough workers stayed out that day to shut down production, but the night shift, which is about 70% black, was shut down completely.

As soon as it was clear that no cars would be produced at Mahwah that night, we all gathered for an open meeting in the union hall. Close to 300 workers were there, mostly black, some Puerto Rican, and a very few white. One by one, black workers got up and described conditions in the plant and their treatment there. The main theme which emerged was the denial to blacks of "human dignity", and their determination to fight back. Many workers, in talking about the strike, used analogies with the struggles on the campuses. They clearly felt that their strike and the students' fights were in some way part of the same struggle. One black worker from the paint shop day shift said, "For years I've put up with this shit. Now my son's in high school and he's not taking it anymore. If I don't do something, I'm not really a man."

The SDS people who were invited to speak talked mainly about the common fight against racism on the

campuses and in the factories. They explained that we were not there to organize the workers or to lead them, but to learn from them and to give them every kind of support we could. The SDS speakers received long and loud applause, and there was a strong feeling of unity and determination. The next time the Brothers came to open the hall, they found that the lock had been changed by the Union.

As pig harassment made the blocking of entrances more difficult, the tactic changed on Monday to students and some workers standing out on the roads leading to the plant and waving workers on to the reopened union hall instead of to work. This pattern continued through the week, with the UBB holding meetings during each shift to discuss grievances and strategy. (After a couple of days, the union hall was reopened) Anywhere from 50 to 150 workers usually attended. New demands were added, including recognition of the UBB as spokesman for the black workers, more representation of blacks in grievance procedures, and protection of all striking workers from firing and other reprisals.

SDS ON PICKET LINE

Through most of the week, from 25 to 50 SDS people from different chapters left New York and north Jersey each day at 4 AM and 1 PM to join the picket lines at shift change. Most of the time we drove to the union hall where we met briefly with a few of the Brothers to discuss tactics. Then we went out onto the roads leading to the plant. Some of us talked with the black workers who were with us, but very few of us made any attempts to approach white workers. And, except for a few small caucuses, we held no general meetings among ourselves to discuss strategy.

We were tremendously elated by the initial success of the strike, and by the feeling that we were finally involved in something "real". Our presence did seem to have some effect in boosting the moral of the strikers and in encouraging other workers not to go in. Especially in the beginning, not all of the striking workers were enthusiastic about us. A few of the older workers in particular resented the presence of students, and especially students from SDS, but the majority seemed to feel that they needed and wanted our support.

But because for most of us, this was our first experience with an industrial strike, we weren't sure of how to evaluate the strike and our role in it, and we made a number of mistakes which will be discussed later.

That week production was slowed on all shifts and shut down on the night shift on three occasions. Especially in the beginning, a large proportion of the black workers, and many whites as well, stayed off the job. For a wildcat, and especially one led by workers who are in the minority in the plant, this was extremely successful.

But it became apparent by the middle of the week that the strike was no longer gaining momentum. The number of workers on the lines and at the meetings was not increasing--if anything, there were fewer. The company was making no concessions. In a wildcat, this kind of stalemate can be fatal. Especially for older workers with debts to pay and families to feed, every day's loss of pay causes a hardship, and every day off the job makes firing more likely. As soon as it appears as if substantial concessions cannot be won, the pressure on a man to return to work is tremendous.

FORD POWER

Ford's power was greater than the power of the wildcat. In the first place, the experience of working for Ford robs workers of the ability to control their own lives. The physical plant itself and the authority structure within the plant separates workers and prevents them from working cooperatively and from using their own minds and wills.

The existence of the union does nothing to overcome this fragmentation; it does not give workers the experience of organizing themselves, or a sense of their own power. The problem with the union is not so much a lack of formal democracy--the UBB was able to influence the election of a sympathetic (white) president of the local, only to find that after a few weeks in office, the new officer acted just like the old one. Rather, the problem with the union is its pro-capitalist ideology, the whole series of practical accommodations it has made with the company over the years, and most importantly, its systematic denial of information to the workers.

During the strike Ford didn't hesitate to use all the resources it had to attack the workers. For example, every 15 minutes the company sponsored an announcement on Newark's black radio station telling the lie that production was back to normal and that all workers were returning to their jobs. Ford sent telegrams to striking workers, urging them to return, and threatened to fire anyone automatically

who missed five days. It forced those who worked to stay overtime and report early so that the picket lines would be less effective. Finally, when the company saw that it was safe to do so, it began firing the strike leaders one by one.

Ford could never have succeeded in this if it were not for the collaboration of the UAW. First, when it became clear that the wildcat was serious and had a lot of support among black workers, the union tried to take credit for what the UBB had achieved. Early in the week, the racist supervisor who caused the original incident was "transferred", and the union claimed it was responsible for this. It told workers to stay on the job--"We're taking care of everything"--and boasted that a high "Negro" union official had come all the way from Detroit just to sit on a committee to discuss Mahwah grievances! The union lied to the workers about what was actually happening, and wasn't above playing on racism to keep the workers divided: "There's no meeting today, and anyway, they won't let whites into it." The union red-baited SDS and told workers that outside agitators were leading the UBB by the nose. Toward the end of the strike, it issued a press release stating that "Black militants using Hitler-like tactics and SDS hippies will not dictate to the UAW."

This baiting by the union did seem to have an effect on many of the workers, who became much less willing to admit publically that they had invited us, and certainly it intimidated many of our own people.

The misleading radio announcements and union statements, the firings and threatened firings began to have their intended effect, and gradually people began returning to work. By the middle of the second week, the strike had ended without the remaining demands (after the transfer of Eskew) being met, and without the rehiring of the fired men.

UNITED BLACK BROTHERS

Although several of the leaders have been fired, the UBB still has a solid core of workers in the plant. Many members and supporters were gained during the strike, which indicated to workers that the UBB is serious. The brothers say they have gone back into the plant to organize, and will come out again, stronger than ever. A group of Puerto Rican workers has organized in coalition with the UBB, and there is a growing number of white contacts. (UBB membership is officially open to whites.)

Since the strike there have been several unexplained fires, a breakdown on the assembly line because someone jammed a metal block into the machinery, and a short, spontaneous walkout over the heat in the plant. A UBB member said the Brothers were not connected with these incidents: "They're doing on their own now, and that's revolutionary." Another brother said, "The seeds are definitely planted in the workers' minds--from here you can develop class consciousness."

The Mahwah experience raised a lot of questions in the minds of SDS people about the relation of race to class demands--a problem that has divided the white movement and that is causing tensions within the revolutionary black movement as well.

It is clear that white supremacist practices and attitudes are an extremely important factor in keeping industrial workers divided and preventing the development of class consciousness. The basis of unity is a strong black movement that attacks those privileges at the same time that it fights the boss and the oppression off all workers. In fact, the development of any strong workers' movement depends now on the momentum and the consciousness of the black workers in the vanguard.

In the case of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and other black workers' movements, it has been the identification of the workers with the black liberation movement--their "national consciousness"--that has given them the determination to stand up

against the boss, even when this has meant defying the white workers. Once black workers have achieved this unity and strength, then black and white workers can unite without whites dominating.

During the strike many of us were confused about how Mahwah fit into this analysis. The tactics of the UBB are different in many respects from those of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit, with which we were more familiar. This seemed to us to imply that their strategy was different, too. For example, except for the first meeting, all the UBB meetings were open to white workers as well as blacks. A special leaflet was handed out asking for support from white workers and the UBB emphasized in the leaflet and in speeches at the meetings that ALL workers were affected by the issues of the strike--lousy working conditions, harassment, probationary firings, the sell-out union, etc.

Some of us privately criticized the UBB for not putting their explicit emphasis on racism. We felt that they were not appealing to the consciousness of the black workers, and the fact that even on the night shifts quite a few black workers stayed on the job seemed to confirm this. We understood that conditions in Detroit and Mahwah are different--at Mahwah, black workers are in the minority, and the plant is surrounded by conservative, white, suburban Jersey--and we thought that the UBB had changed their line after the first day, when they saw that white support would be needed in order for the strike to succeed.

RACE AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

However, conversations which some of us have had with leaders of the UBB since the strike have revealed that the Brothers had a more subtle and probably a more realistic understanding of the relation of race to class consciousness than we did.

In the first place, the Brothers explained, nobody had to explain to workers that the basic issue was racism--"We were talking about racism even if we said 'oppression', and every black worker knew it. On the level of black consciousness, black workers are already together. The problem is to convince them you're not bullshitting, that you're really serious about going out. We've already got their minds; we just have to get their bodies to move, and this is a process that takes time." This is why the UBB felt it was essential to meet with the blacks alone FIRST and convince them to vote in favor of the strike before going on. "This way it was a black thing from the beginning."

The ultimate goal, the UBB says, is class consciousness. "But class consciousness has to develop in stages. We wanted to appeal to the white workers because eventually everybody is going to walk out of that plant together. White workers have their privileges--an easy job on the day shift, a house in the suburbs, and they go on vacations with their brownie cameras--but they also know they're oppressed. They bitch in the lunch room just like we do, and they know that if a white worker steps out of line, he can get "The way we look at it," a UBB leader said, "is that the door is always open for the white workers--we're just not going to wait for them. I'm not going to spend my energies organizing white workers, but eventually they're going to come along. We encourage this, and it's already beginning to happen at Mahwah. But white workers are going to have to accept justifiable black demands, and they're going to have to accept black leadership."

"The thing that scared the union most during the strike was that white workers would walk out, too. Some of them wanted to come out, but the union did everything possible to sabotage it. One thing we need now is some good white organizers in that plant."

SUPPORTERS CONFUSED

In retrospect, we can recognize a lot of mistakes

that we movement people made in relating to the strike. In the first place, our lack of familiarity with wildcats or with strikes of any kind led to some strange attitudes. There were some people who, when it became clear that the UBB wasn't going to bring down Ford in a day, lost enthusiasm very quickly. There were others who, when we saw that the blacks didn't always know what to do made statements like, "If they can't even get themselves together, why should we be out here supporting them?", revealing the racist assumption that blacks are incapable of organizing without our advice.

On the whole, however, people were willing to come to the plant regularly, respect UBB leadership, and support the strike in any way they could. The trouble was that, outside of standing on the picket lines, we weren't sure what to do, and very few of us spent much time talking with the workers, black or white.

We didn't familiarize ourselves with the workers' grievances and conditions inside the plant. We stood on the sidelines speculating about the consciousness of the workers and the effect of the strike on them instead of finding out from the people involved. Despite all our rhetoric in the movement about the need to communicate our anti-racist and anti-imperialist politics, we did almost nothing to explain even to the strikers who we were, and why we as SDS supported the strike. Thus we not only failed to project our politics and to arm the workers with political ideas, but we did nothing to combat the baiting of us as outside agitators and hippies bent on disruption.

It became clear after a while that the reason we were not talking to workers was that we ourselves were not really sure why we were supporting the strike and what our relation was to black and white workers. In fairness it should be said that a couple of our LEADERS explained very well at the early strike meetings that we were there because we and the workers were fighting a common enemy--racism, and we were there to learn. But ALL of us should have been much more clear, at least to the black workers, that (1) we were there to support the strikers and learn from them, and not to organize or lead them, as the media were claiming; (2) we saw the anti-racist aspect of the strike as part of the same struggle we are engaged in around the schools; (3) we believe that we and the strikers are fighting a common enemy in the system run by and for the owners of Ford and other corporations, that divides and channels us in the schools so that it can better divide and exploit us in the factories; and (4) we were there not as a student power interest group, but as part of a revolutionary POLITICAL MOVEMENT organized to fight that system.

Some SDS people were disturbed about our presence on the line because they felt we were "alienating white workers." No doubt we did cause resentment among many white workers, especially since we never explained to them why we were there, at the same time that we helped encourage the strikers and persuaded other workers to stay out. Sometimes a white worker would respond angrily to a student with a leaflet, saying or implying, "Who are YOU to tell ME to strike?" Other times workers were friendly, took the leaflets, and sometimes decided not to go to work.

WHITE WORKER RESPONSE

Very few white workers ever came to UBB meetings and it is difficult to evaluate their response to the strike. Many stayed off the job for at least a day, and there was reportedly a great deal of sentiment in support of the demands among those who did go to work. But with the union actively working to undermine the strike, and without organizers in the plant to mobilize sympathetic white workers, it is hard to judge

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CAPITAL COUNTERS CREEPS

Business's counterattack on the radical students' summer "work-in" moved into high gear yesterday with the announcement by the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) of a nation-wide "moratorium on hiring." No NAM member will hire anyone under thirty

until means are found for discriminating between radicals and "garden variety American workers willing to put up with the inequities that make this country great."

At the New York press conference announcing the moratorium, an NAM spokesman confessed that "tried and true" methods of weeding out agitators have proven of no use this summer against the young. "The nihilistic party discipline of these anarcho-communist hippie freaks has forced them to look like, dress like, talk like, and act like normal good Americans," the spokesman said. "Their threat to the American way of life has never been greater than now, when they have decided to cut their hair and go to work."

Recent weeks have seen the hiring policy of whole industries thrown into

complete confusion by the influx of trained competent radical students into the summer workforce. "First we refused to hire anybody with long hair," one personnel manager said. "Then we found out that the radicals had cut it off and that the boys with long hair were actually clean-cut Americans."

At plant gates in Ingleside, New Jersey, last week, agitators from the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) handed out copies of a 1965 yearbook from the local high school which, they said, contained the names and photographs of "at least 35 known communists and hundreds of their classmates, friends, and fellow travellers."

"We are checking the yearbook against our personnel files," the manager of the plant told newsmen. "If any of our workers can be shown to have attended Ingleside High School in 1965, they will be immediately discharged."

Coincident with the announcement on the NAM moratorium on hiring, the Department announced a \$1.3 million contract to the Stanford Research Institute to do basic research on a technology for "sniffing out the bearers of an alien philosophy."

"This nation needs a machine at the plant gate to tell if a worker is thinking," a Defense Department official told newsmen. "If he's thinking, he's a threat

to national security."

Meanwhile a Dayton, Ohio firm called Agitator Detection, Inc., claimed in a letter sent to the nation's top one hundred corporations that it already has available a "sure-fire method for keeping radical America out of work."

"We have complete, computerized files on every known American dissident," the company wrote, "30 million of them. And all 160 million of their friends, relatives and fellow travellers."

"We can make it easy for you to be sure of employees who are good, pure, honest, capitalist tools," the letter told the corporations. "They will help you shut down your plant and retire," it explained, pointing out that a successful strategy for weeding out "potential revolutionaries" will mean a severe labor shortage.

But apparently American workers won't let the influx of radical students shut their factories down. In Detroit, where automakers closed down their plants last week rather than hire young people or militant blacks, loyal workers showed up for work yesterday anyway.

"This is OUR factory," they told surprised company officials. "YOU go home." Spokesmen for the workers said they would continue to produce this year's models, until they could convert the plants to "making something useful".

Contacted putting in his morning's work at East-of-the-Sun/West-of-the-Moon's bicycle factory, that nation's Minister of Health, Education, and Welfare, Pundit Plato, told newsmen he thought the NAM moratorium would "probably bring great success."

"Nothing will convince the American worker that SDS has something to say," the Pundit explained, "quicker than the boss's getting upset about their saying it."

To save themselves, American businessmen will have to adopt an "if-you-can't-beat-them-join-them" strategy, Plato told reporters.

"If they get rid of their big houses and big cars, take off their business suits, learn to look like, dress like, talk like, and act like good Americans, and join the workers on the line, they have some chance of survival," the Minister said, affixing a bicycle seat while his grandson screwed it tight. "Otherwise, I wouldn't give them much chance--Americans don't cotton much to trouble-making minorities."

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THE ARMY IS REVOLTING

By Andy Stapp

Thirty-eight soldiers are being held for courtmartial by the Army brass in the aftermath of the June 5 rebellion in the Fort Dix Stockade. With many of the men facing virtual life imprisonment, the importance of the case takes on Presidio-like proportions.

Ten of the thirty eight have been singled out for especially severe charges. Terry Krug has been framed up with the heaviest indictments: Riot (ten years), Inciting to Riot (six years), Conspiracy to Riot (Ten years), Willful Damage of Government Property (six months) and Aggravated Arson (twenty years). Under Willful Damage of Government Property the charge reads that "Terry G. Klug did on or about 5 June 1969 destroy a footlocker of the value of \$13.36." On the charge of Aggravated Arson the indictment reads that "on or about 5 June 1969 Terry G. Klug did set fire to Cell Block 67 of the value of \$12,169."

Others selected for the heaviest charges are Bill Brakefield (Riot, Conspiracy to Riot, Inciting to Riot, and Aggravated Arson).

Thomas Katlow (Riot, Inciting to Riot, Conspiracy to Riot).

Donald Hill (Riot, and Inciting to Riot).

George Irrizzari (Riot and Inciting to Riot).

Jeffery Russell, whose wife is about to have a baby, (Riot, Inciting to Riot, and Conspiracy to Riot).

Dennis Kirby (Riot and Inciting to Riot).

William Miller (Riot and Inciting to Riot).

Tom Tuck (Riot and Willful damage of Government Property). Tuck, who is Black and an organizer for the American Ser-

vicemen's Union, received the full brunt of the Brass' rage after the revolt. He was kept totally without food for three days in an unsuccessful attempt to make him "confess". During these three days he was often taken from his segregation cell and paraded in leg irons in front of the other prisoners as an "example". Of course it is because Tuck is an example to the other men that the Brass fear him so much.

POLITICS OF THE UPRISING

The May 20 issue of the Bond, the ASU newspaper, had been clandestinely circulated in the Dix Stockade shortly before the rebellion. Almost two hundred prisoners had a chance to read in it this statement from Tuck. "I call upon all Afro-American servicemen to give support to oppressed peoples in the effort to destroy U.S. Imperialism and to refuse by any means necessary to serve in these racist wars. The only way we can really win is through total mass revolution."

Like Tuck, Brakefield and Klug are also ASU organizers. Both men were immediately hustled off after the uprising to maximum security cells under a Code 14, (very sensitive person). Klug has already begun to serve a three year sen-

tence for desertion. He was convicted last April of splitting from the 525 Military Intelligence Packet A in June 1967, five days before it shipped to Vietnam. Klug spent a year and a half in Europe doing anti-war work with GIs on the bases. As he stated at the time, "My reasons for going AWOL and remaining AWOL are not pacifistic. The U.S. is fighting an illegal war, it is fighting a war of capital interest. It is killing and maiming the brave people of Vietnam for the interest of Big Businessmen. The Vietnamese people have been fighting against aggression in their country for many hundreds of years. They will not lose this war!"

GESTAPO TACTICS

On July 9th Brakefield had his Article 32 hearing, which is similar to a grand jury hearing. In a highly irregular maneuver the Ft. Dix Brass insisted that the Article 32 take place inside the stockade instead of at the Courts and Boards Bldg. Brakefield was represented by Roland Watts of the Workers Defense League at the request of the ASU. At one point in this star chamber proceeding, (no civilians besides Watts were permitted to be present) the brass got tripped up on its own Gestapo tactics. A GI prisoner on the stand as a government witness against Brakefield was asked by the prosecutor to acknowledge a statement he had signed that said Brakefield had conspired to riot. "Is this really my statement," the GI asked ingenuously, "when you consider that the interrogators for the Criminal Investigation told me that if I didn't sign it I would probably be in prison for quite a few more years and if I did sign it I might be allowed to have more food and a few movies and even get out soon?" The Army prosecutor became flustered and quickly called the next witness.

In a letter to the National Office of The American Servicemen's Union, Colonel James C. Shultz, the Pentagon's Acting Provost Martial General, wrote that, "Weekly inspection indicate that conditions at the Fort Dix Stockade are

far from intolerable." Brass-brained Shultz apparently never asked to see those inmates in the Wolson Army Hospital psyche ward who completely flipped out while being tortured in the straps in the Dix stockade. When Major Casey orders his flunkies to give a man a few hours in the straps the prisoner's wrists are strapped to his ankles and he is repeatedly dropped on his face until Casey has decided that he has been properly punished for whatever infraction of the stockade rules the man committed. Shultz' letter continues, "There was a show of force by military policemen, but there was no physical contact between military policemen and prisoners. Nine prisoners were treated for minor cuts and bruises sustained during the mass evacuation from the barracks. They were treated at the post hospital..." Shultz claims that there was no physical contact between guards and prisoners during the riot, but that nine prisoners had to be treated at the post hospital! It is obvious that the Brass is prepared to pile lie upon lie to obscure what really happened on the night of June 5th at the Ft. Dix Stockade.

But there are other voices telling the story of an uprising of men who were oppressed so hard they could not stand, voices from inside the stockade itself.

In a letter smuggled out three weeks after the rebellion Terry Klug, facing 46 years in prison writes, "I think one of the biggest factors in this case and a thing which will decide whether we win or not is outside support. We need a great amount of publicity and support or we're as good as lost. What I am working up to say is that we are going to have to depend on your help. We're going to have to put our faith in the Union and the union in turn will have to trust us. It will have to know that under no circumstances will we back down, make any agreements, or accept any bargains or deals. It's all I live for Andy; to fight. That's my every hope, my every desire, my every dream. For me the revolution is all powerful, all great, all pure, all sacred. Hasta la victoria siempre!"

HAMPTON

CONTINUED FROM P. 5

I say that we're the first group to come above ground where the people can follow you and see you. And if you make a mistake it's better than not even being at all. When I made that mistake I made it for the people, and I correct it for the people. You don't hear there was a raid on PL's office last night. You ain't never heard that. When you hear of PL busted in New York, PL's leader in jail with no bars, PL leader run out of the country, PL leader shot 18 times while he was running with his back turned and hands tied up, PL leader gets breakfast for children for 1800 people a week. You ever hear it? Ya never heard it. I want to hear it. If you do hear it, it'll be because of the Black Panther lead. I'm not putting all these things out and saying PL doesn't know 'em. But I'm saying that when people write something like this, a lot of people don't understand it. And I wanted to take the time to explain it.

There are some things that PL says that are valid. Don't misunderstand me. We don't get mad because, in some way or another PL is trying to better the Black Panther Party by trying to criticize it. But I just want to let you know, ain't nothing all right and ain't nothing all wrong. We're not all right--though we trying to get that way. We make mistakes but we understand that we gonna make some more mistakes. And we gonna try and correct these mistakes and we gonna try and keep on moving.

So what do we say? Don't get the pigs offa us cause we can stand em. We jail Mickey White, we should let em murder Bobby Hutton, we should let em run Eldridge Cleaver out of the country. Why? Because you can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution. You can run a freedom fighter around the country but you can't run freedom fighting around the country. You can murder a liberator, but you can't murder liberation.

Kill a few and get a little satisfaction. Kill some more and you get some more satisfaction. Kill 'em all and you get complete satisfaction. We say All Power to the People--Black Power to Black People and Brown Power to Brown People, Red Power to Red People and Yellow Power to Yellow People. We say White Power to White People EVEN. And we say Panther Power to the vanguard Party and we say don't kill a few and don't kill some more. As a matter of fact we rather you didn't move until you see we ready to move, and when you see we ready to move you know we not dealing with a few, we not dealing with some more. You know that when we get ready to move we dealing from complete--that's what we're after--total, everything, everybody--complete satisfaction.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

MORE REVOLTS

Revolts took place in June at Army stockades at Fort Jackson, South Carolina and Fort Riley, Kansas.

At Fort Jackson, Julio Rivera, a prisoner who refused to pull KP was severely beaten by three sergeants and had to be hospitalized. 150 prisoners gathered to protest the beating, and asked to see the Commanding officer of the stockade. The Army backed down...releasing Rivera and several other prisoners from confinement. Rivera plans to bring charges against the sergeants.

At Fort Riley a guard shot a prisoner who was supposedly trying to escape. The rebellion broke out the next day when other prisoners heard that he had died. Rocks were thrown at military pigs and two prisoners were wounded when the pigs opened fire.

The executive director of the American Servicemen's Union, Bob Le May said, "these uprisings came close on the heels of an even bigger revolt at the Fort Dix stockade where the inmates had been driven by the brass' torture and abuse to the point where they could only rise up and fight their oppressor. We support all rebellions of servicemen who are held as prisoners by the brass. All stockade prisoners should be released and the war criminals of the Pentagon put behind bars."

Right on.

FUNDAMENTAL RESOLUTION

of south vietnam congress

of people's representatives

EDITORIAL NOTE:

The Vietnamese people have taken the lead in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. That struggle has entered a new stage with the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. We are proud to publish the Fundamental Resolutions of the South Vietnam Congress of People's Representatives, which established the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and the Program of Action of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. These documents should be useful in the education for "Bringing the War Home," to Chicago, October 11.

INDEPENDENCE, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity are sacred and inalienable fundamental national rights of every people.

The U.S. imperialists, challenging human rights, the right of self-determination of all peoples and the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, have committed half a million troops to an aggression against South Viet Nam, the most atrocious aggression in human history. They want to turn South Viet Nam into a neo-colony and a military base of the United States, to prolong the partition of our country, and to conquer the whole of it, thereby posing a serious menace to the security of the Indochinese countries and to peace in South-East Asia and the world.

Fired by the traditional dauntlessness of a nation which has had, throughout its 4,000 years' history, to couple combat against foreign aggressions and construction, and as the continuation of the anti-colonialist tradition of one people who have, generation after generation for a century, preferred every sacrifice to servitude, our sacred resistance war against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, deriving great strength from its own righteousness, has been unceasingly and successfully progressing. U.S. setbacks have been proportionate to its escalation of the war. As the fight goes on, our armed forces and people have grown ever stronger, and won ever more substantial successes. In the Spring of Mau Than (1968), the large-scale, powerful, sustained generalized offensives and uprisings launched by our armed forces and people throughout South Viet Nam achieved considerable and comprehensive results, which ushered in a new glorious stage of our struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Although their failure is no longer left in doubt, the U.S. aggressors are still obdurately refusing to comply with the legitimate demand of our people, of the American people and all peace-loving peoples in the world, for the ending of the war of aggression and the total withdrawal of U.S. troops.

In this momentous hour of our history, the South Viet Nam Congress of People's Representatives, expressing the will of our entire people, proclaims that the basic objectives of the South Vietnamese people are independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and ultimately, peaceful reuni-

fication of the country and voices the unshakable resolve of the 14 million South Vietnamese to fight to a finish in a self-denying spirit for them.

It is now a task of paramount importance for our whole armed forces and people in South Viet Nam to strengthen unity, to step up the struggle, to bend all energies to the fight to defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy, to overthrow the reactionary stooge administration, to liberate the South, defend the North, achieve an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral South Viet Nam, and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

To make clear the unconquerable will for independence and freedom of our people who have been winning success after success, to crystallize, consolidate and develop the splendid achievements of our resistance war to meet the aspirations of all social strata for democracy and revolution, and the imperative requirements of the situation, and to vigorously push forward the resistance to total victory, the South Viet Nam Congress of People's Representatives solemnly proclaims the founding of the republican regime in South Viet Nam and lays down hereafter major provisions regarding the organizational structure of the regime.

PART ONE

The Republican Regime in South Viet Nam.

Article 1

The political regime of South Viet Nam is a Republican regime.

a) National Flag: The Congress of People's Representatives decides to adopt the flag of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the symbol of the national union and indomitable spirit of the South Vietnamese people, as the National Flag of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

b) National Anthem: The Congress of People's Representatives decides to take the song "Liberate South Viet Nam" which voices the South Vietnamese people's determination to fight and to win as the National Anthem of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

c) Motto: the Motto of the Republic of South Viet Nam is: Independence, Democracy, Peace, Neutrality.

Article 2

The internal policy of the Republic of South Viet Nam is to promote the unity of all people irrespective of social status, religious belief, nationality, political tendency and past record, provided they stand for peace, independence and neutrality.

The Republic of South Viet Nam firmly upholds national sovereignty, guarantees democratic liberties, respects freedom of belief, carries into effect equality among all nationalities, carries out land policies, increases production, develops

industry and trade, develops education, health, cultural and social work with a view to continuously improving the material and moral living conditions of the people, especially of the labouring people, and mobilizing manpower and material resources according to the motto "All for the front, all for victory"

Article 3

The Republic of South Viet Nam follows a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, is ready to establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all countries irrespective of political and social regime, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, pursues a good-neighbour policy with the Kingdom of Cambodia on the basis of respect for her independence, sovereignty, neutrality, and territorial integrity in her present borders, as well as with the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, actively supports the movement for national independence, against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, and for peace in South-East Asia and the world.

Article 4

Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. The right of the Vietnamese people to defend their Fatherland is their sacred, inalienable right of self-defence.

After the liberation of South Viet Nam, the reunification of Viet Nam will be achieved step by step by peaceful means, through agreement between the two zones, without foreign interference.

PART TWO

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and People's Revolutionary Committees at various levels.

Article 5

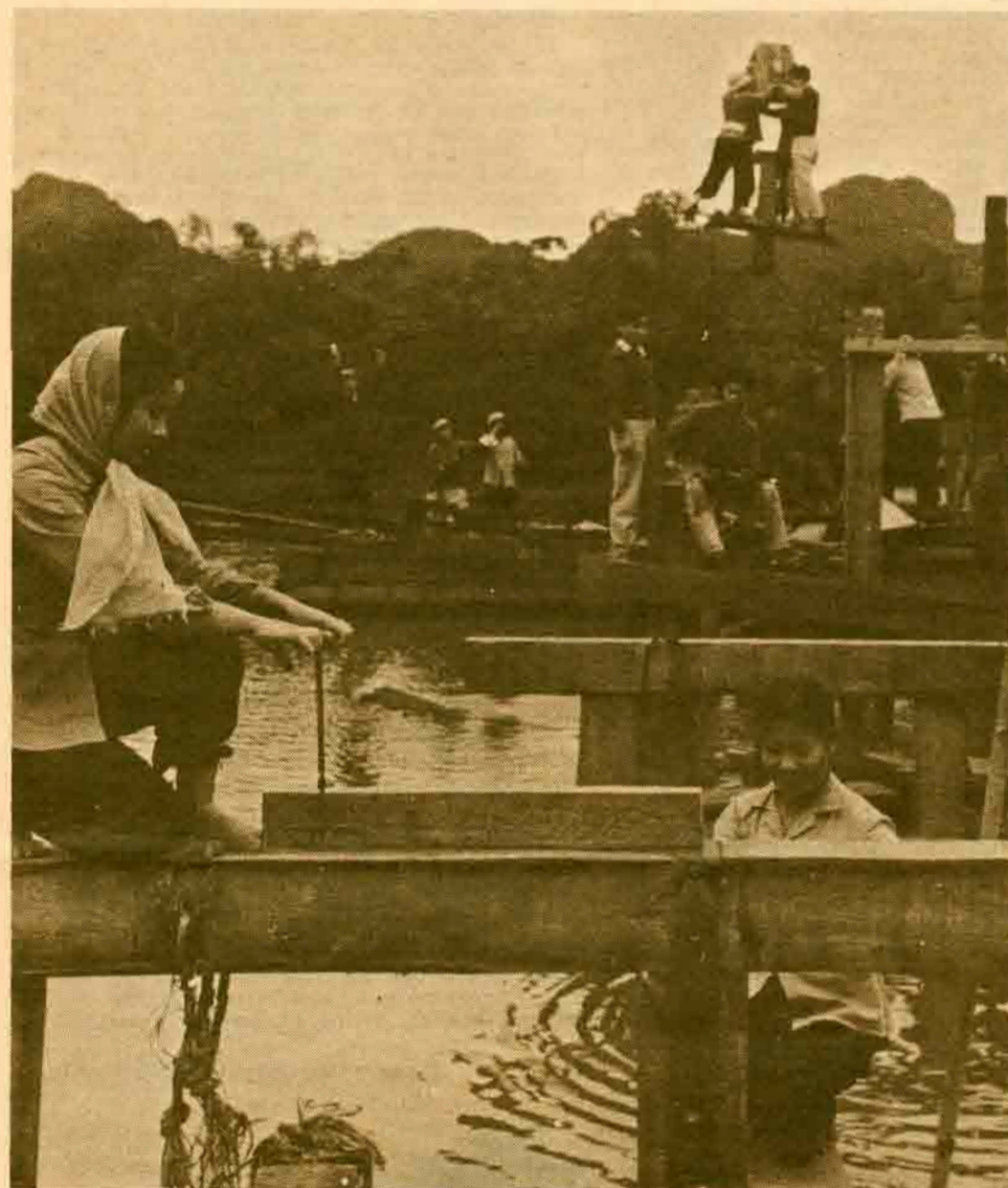
The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the most centralized organ of power; it embodies the South Vietnamese people's will and aspirations, impels forward the resistance to victory, creates conditions for the formation of a Provisional Coalition Government with a view to organizing free general elections, electing a Constituent Assembly,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14



Photo by Julius Lester

PROGRAM OF ACTION



As imperatively called for by the new situation and tasks, and in response to the deep aspirations of the broad social strata, the historic All South Viet Nam Congress of People's Representatives meeting on the 6th, 7th and 8th of June 1969 resolved to set up the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam formally declares to assume its heavy responsibilities before the nation and the world; all its members solemnly pledge themselves to do their utmost to fulfil the heavy and glorious mission entrusted to them by the Congress.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam undertakes to mobilize the South Viet Nam armed forces and people to impel forward the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation to total victory and to successfully accomplish the lofty tasks laid down by the Congress of People's Representatives.

For the sake of the supreme interests of the Fatherland and people,

In this sacred hour of history,

In order to carry out the tasks confided to it by the Congress,

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam proclaims hereafter its 12-point program of action:

1. To lead the armed forces and the entire people to achieve monolithic unity, step up military and political struggle, defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war and their attempts to "Vietnamize" it, and press the United States to start serious talks with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam at the Paris Conference on Viet Nam on the basis of the 10-point overall solution put forward by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, force the U.S. Government to withdraw completely and unconditionally from South Viet Nam the U.S. troops and those of foreign countries belonging to the U.S. camp with a view to bringing the war to an early end, restoring peace and enforcing the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people — independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity — as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam.

2. To abolish the disguised colonial regime established by the U.S. imperialists in South Viet Nam: to overthrow the entire structure of the puppet administration; to rescind the Constitution and all anti-national and anti-democratic laws enacted by the puppet administration, to annul the sentences passed by the said administration that are detrimental to the life, property, dignity and other interests of the citizens.

To build a really democratic and free republic — a regime, to organize general elections according to the principle of equality, real freedom and democracy, without foreign interference.

3. In a very broad spirit of national concord for the sake of the supreme interests of the country and nation, the Provisional Revolutionary Government is prepared to enter into consultations with political forces representing various social sections and political tendencies in South Viet Nam that stand for peace, independence and neutrality, including those who, for political reasons, have had to take up their residence abroad, with a view to setting up a provisional coalition government on the principle of equality, democracy and mutual respect. The provisional coalition government will organize general elections in order to elect a Constituent Assembly, work out a democratic constitution taking into full consideration the interests and aspirations of the entire people, and form a coalition government symbolizing national concord and the broad unity of all social segments.

4. To strengthen the comprehensive resistance potential of the people.

To consolidate and develop the revolutionary power at all levels.

To build and reinforce the revolutionary armed forces.

To unify the patriotic armed forces.

To consolidate and widen the liberated areas.

5. To enforce extensive democratic freedoms.

To set free all persons detained by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration on account of their patriotic activities.

To prohibit all acts of repression, reprisal and discrimination against people having collaborated with either side, whether living inside or outside the country.

To achieve equality between man and woman in all fields.

To carry out policy of unity and equality among the various nationalities. The national minorities are free to use their own languages and scripts for developing national culture and arts, and to maintain or to change their usages and customs.

To respect freedom of belief and freedom of worship, to achieve equality among the various religions.

To protect the interests of the Vietnamese nationals abroad.

To see to the legitimate interests of foreign nationals in South Viet Nam.

6. To pay the greatest attention to the interests of all strata of townspeople, first of all, the right to a decent life and democracy.

To improve the living conditions of the workers and labouring people. To amend labour legislation and fix minimum wages. To fight against corporal punishment, wage stoppages, and sackings of workers and labouring people; the workers enjoy the right to take part in the management of enterprises, and freedom to join trade unions.

To oppose the pressganging of youths and students into the puppet army, and guarantee to youths and students opportunities for education.

Personalities, intellectuals, professors, writers, artists, journalists are to be given freedom of thought, freedom of opinion and freedom of the press.

Industrialists and traders are entitled to freedom of enterprise, and to fight against any oppressive competition by foreign monopoly-capital.

The various strata of urban populations must be able to take part in political activities, in all actions for peace, independence, sovereignty and a better life; to resist all terrorist and repressive measures of the U.S. puppets.

7. To boost up production in order to supply the front and increase the people's potential; to create conditions for the building of an independent and self-supporting economy. To care for the living conditions of the labouring people and pay proper attention to the interests of the other social strata.

To carry out a land policy consistent with the specific conditions of South Viet Nam; to improve the living standards of peasants.

To restore and develop agricultural and industrial production.

To encourage industrialists and traders to contribute to the development of industry, small industry and handicrafts.

To protect the right of ownership of means of production and other property of the citizens in accordance with the laws of the State.

8. To combat the US-imported slavish and depraved culture and education, which are impairing our people's fine cultural traditions. To build a national and democratic culture and education, to develop science and technique.

To raise the cultural standard of the people, to liquidate illiteracy, to make complementary education available for the people, to open new general education schools.

To develop health work and promote prophylactic hygiene.

9. To encourage, welcome and properly reward those officers and men of the puppet army and police and those functionaries of the puppet administration who cross over to the side of the people after accomplishing meritorious deeds. To give special encouragement and rewards to those puppet army and police units that go over to the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

To treat with leniency, and refrain from any discrimination against, those guilty persons who show true repentance and rejoin the ranks of the people; those who are credited with distinguished service shall be remunerated accordingly.

10. To actively resolve the problems left behind by the U.S. war of aggression and the puppet regime.

To heal the war-wounds and restore to normal the life of the people.

To give devoted care and wholehearted help to war invalids and the families of the fighters who have died for the Fatherland.

To supply jobs to the people, to diligently settle the problem of unemployment. Those compatriots forcibly "resettled" by the enemy in concentration camps and strategic hamlets, who desire to stay where they are, shall be granted recognition as owners of their lands, and given assistance to continue living in the place; those who desire to return to their former villages shall also be lent help to this effect.

To grant relief to the compatriots in misfortune, to care for orphans, old people and invalids.

Disabled puppet army-men and puppet policemen and derelict and destitute families of puppet army-men and puppet policemen killed in battle shall also benefit by proper attention.

To help those who have been driven by the U.S. imperialists and their agents into depravity to turn a new leaf.

11. To re-establish normal relations between South and North Viet Nam, to guarantee freedoms of movement, of correspondence, of residence, to maintain economic and cultural relations according to the principle of mutual benefit and mutual help between the two zones. The two zones will come to terms on the status of the demilitarized zone, and work out modalities for the movements across the provisional military demarcation line.

The reunification of the country will be achieved step by step, by peaceful means, through discussions and agreement between the two zones, without constraint from either side.

12. To win the sympathy, support and aid of all countries and progressive people in the world, including the American people, for the South Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

To wholeheartedly support the national independence movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

To effectively coordinate actions with the American people's protest movement against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Viet Nam; to actively support the legitimate struggle of the Afro-Americans for their fundamental national rights.

To carry out a foreign policy of peace and neutrality.

To maintain friendly relations and to carry out a good-neighbour policy with the Kingdom of Cambodia on the basis of respect for her independence, sovereignty and neutrality, to recognize and pledge respect for the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia in her present borders; to follow a good-neighbour policy with the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

To establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all countries, irrespective of political and social regime including the United States, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence: mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence. To accept aid, with no political strings attached, from any country, in terms of capital, technique and specialized services.

To refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries; not to allow any foreign country to maintain military bases, troops and military personnel on the South Vietnamese territory, not to accept the protection of any country or military alliance.

THE Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam earnestly calls on the entire armed forces and people to unite closely as one man behind it, to strive their best to carry out the above Program of Action to lead the widespread offensives and uprisings to still greater successes, to thwart all dark schemes and perfidious manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their agents, and to bring about new developments in our people's sacred resistance.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government pays a warm tribute to the admirable spirit of sacrifice and gallantry of our whole armed forces and people who always remain worthy of a heroic nation in the struggle against U.S. aggression, for the independence and freedom of the country.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam expresses its deep gratitude to the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and to our Northern kith-and-kin who have done their utmost to fulfil their duty as the great rear area to the great front.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam feels greatly thankful to the socialist countries, all peace-loving countries and progressive peoples in the world, and to the American people as well for their sympathy and support to the struggle of the South Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Let our armed forces and people keep up their victorious march, level all obstacles, fight perseveringly and heighten their vigilance, determined to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, to overthrow the puppet administration, to force the U.S. government to withdraw wholly and without conditions the U.S. troops and those of foreign countries belonging to the U.S. camp, and leave the South Vietnamese people to effectively exercise their right to self-determination, with a view to gloriously completing the national liberation and creating basic conditions to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral, prosperous South Viet Nam and to achieve the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

Southern fellow-countrymen, march forward valiantly!

Splendid victories are awaiting us!

The South Vietnamese people will win!

South Viet Nam, June 10, 1969
For the Provisional Revolutionary Government
of the Republic of South Viet Nam

The President,
HUYNH TAN PHAT

RIGHT ON!

OF THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIET NAM



FUNDAMENTAL

RESOLUTION. . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

working out a Constitution, and appointing the Government of South Viet Nam.

Article 6

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has as its tasks to mobilize and lead the entire armed forces and people, to lead the people's revolutionary committees at all levels, and the various ministries to develop the successes already achieved, to step up the general offensives and uprisings along with the diplomatic struggle, to unceasingly develop the resistance potential in all fields with a view to defeating the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy, overthrowing the reactionary puppet administration, compelling the United States to renounce its aggression and to withdraw from South Viet Nam all U.S. and satellite troops and attaining the objectives: independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

Article 7

In the present emergency, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is entrusted by the Congress of People's Representatives with full powers to direct, and take every necessary step related to the internal and external policies of the country.

Abiding by the resolutions of the Congress of People's Representatives, the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Political Programme of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, the Provisional Revolutionary Government shall enact laws and decrees, directives, circulars in order to push up the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation and the building of the country, and to exercise unified leadership over the people's revolutionary committees at various levels.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is a fully competent body in foreign relations: establishment of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with foreign countries, settlement of the South Viet Nam problem on the basis of the principles and main content of the ten-point overall solution put forward by the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation at the Paris Conference.

Article 8

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is composed of the President, the Vice-Presidents and the following ministers: Defence; Foreign Affairs; Interior; Economy and Finances; Information and Culture; Education and Youth; Health, Social Affairs and War Invalids; and Justice.

The office of the President of the Government is to be under the authority of a Minister and a Vice-Minister.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam may in the future create additional ministries and appoint new members, if and when required by the situation.

Article 9

The Revolutionary power in South Viet Nam is organized on the principles of democratic centralism from the central down to the grass-roots level.

Article 10

The system of administrative divisions in the Republic of South Viet Nam is as follows:

Central level

Cities, provinces or equivalent units

Districts or equivalent units

Villages, wards.

Article 11

The setting up of organs of power at all levels—municipal, provincial, district, village or equivalent units—is done through elections by universal suffrage which return People's Revolutionary Councils which, in their turn, appoint People's Revolutionary Committees.

In war time congresses of people's representatives are convened to appoint people's revolutionary committees where it is not possible to organize elections by universal suffrage.

The Congress of People's Representatives entrusts the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam with the power of making, on the basis of the Resolution of the

Congress and the actual situation in a given area, decisions on the tasks, powers and organization of people's revolutionary councils and people's revolutionary committees at all levels.

PART THREE The Advisory Council

Article 12

To help the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam keep, in its work, in close touch with the aspirations of the entire people, the Congress of People's Representatives unanimously decides to appoint an Advisory Council to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

The Advisory Council is composed of representatives of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, of various political parties, mass organizations, religious communities, nationalities, political forces, personalities, and intellectuals struggling for peace, independence, neutrality in South Viet Nam. The Advisory Council consists

of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and the members.

Article 13

On the basis of the resolutions of the Congress of People's Representatives, the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the Political Programme of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, and the aspirations of the various social strata, the Advisory Council will provide suggestions and advice to the Provisional Revolutionary Government in elaborating internal and external policies, enacting and amending laws, decrees, directives and circulars of the Government.

Article 14

In case major decisions on important problems facing the country are to be taken, a joint Conference of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Advisory Council will be convened to this effect.

*South Viet Nam, the 8th of June, 1969
The South Viet Nam Congress
of People's Representatives*





This article is reprinted from a new newspaper from Chicago, RISING UP ANGRY. The first issue contains articles on the Panthers, Young Lords, dealing with the pigs, abortions, music, drag racing and a movie review. Real good to sell on the streets. For bulk orders or subscriptions (\$3.00/year) contact: RISING UP ANGRY, Box 3746, Merchandise Mart Chicago, Illinois 60654 (312) 472-7090 or 929-0133

GANG BUSTING

For the past month in Chicago we haven't been able to pick up a paper or listen to the T.V. or radio, and get the straight scoop on the gang scene. All this despite a barrage of publicity about the gangs, Black, White and Latin. So what's happening? Let's get into it.

First of all, we have to understand some stuff about ourselves. It's real simple: man is a social animal; we can't make it alone, so we get together in groups. We do this despite attempts to separate us from each other, like they send guys to one school, girls to another, kids from the same neighborhood to different schools; they divide us up with 'specialized jobs' at work, get us to try and out-answer each other in class, get kids to be brown-noses (just where does that phrase come from) and tricks, and on and on. One thing is certain about this society we live in: they don't want people to get together.

But people dig each other! They're always getting together in groups. The need to be together is real. It's human. It's natural. And it's a necessity. So we form 'gangs', clubs and political groups (which the Man calls gangs unless he thinks they're respectable and proper). It's happened throughout the history of mankind. Every neighborhood and school in the city has its groups, its gangs.

Let's repeat it: THEY DON'T WANT US TO GET TOGETHER. Why? Because the people who run the show are threatened by any group that they don't control. So they try and either get the gangs on their side (we'll give you this and that if you don't do this and do that -- or else) or smash us. They don't understand how human beings work. They try and split us up to control us.

OK, so a lot of gangs are violent. This can be good, or it can be bad. Sometimes violence has been misdirected. We've been frustrated and pissed off at the world for good reason. So we strike out. We all know that sometimes this isn't cool, like when guys turn in on each other, or vamp on some wino, or lady with a purse who's carrying home bread to feed her kids. But other times violence is ok. When someone is stepping on your neck you don't say 'hey, please cut it out.' So sometimes we're violent cause we have to be, we have to survive, we have to protect our people, our members, our turf, our neighborhood, and our families, against cops, tricks, businessmen, urban renewal and other gangs who aren't hip to the real enemy so they hit on us.

OK, we all know that something is happening. We're hip that it's a waste of time to keep jamming, varnishing and gang bopping just because there ain't nothing else to do. So a lot of the gangs are becoming political groups and people's organizations, talking about serving and protecting the people from the Neanderthals and Bloodsuckers who run the show. Now this is where the Man, like Daley, Conlisk, State's Attorney Hanrahan, Chief Judge Boyle, and the Gang Intelligence Unit (G.I.U.) creep

Buckney get uptight. They're really uptight. And they should be, because as our people get hip to who to hit, the man knows he's in trouble unless he can control us and use us.

But we're getting cool; so it's getting hard for them to use us. So now there's a shift, a difference in the way they deal with us. Right now they're trying to put us all down, smash us, White, Black and Latin.

Here's how they do it. Hanrahan, lover of the big crooks, uses his ties to the bullshit newspapers to get them to blast us. They give Hanrahan, Daley, Buckney, Boyle and Conlisk all the press they want. Big deal front pages 'exposing' somebody or some group. Once in awhile they cover the gang's side, like when the P-Stones (Rangers) and Disciples made their alliance public.

But look what happened. Sengali of the Rangers made it real clear that the gangs would take responsibility for their members as far as possible and that future incidents didn't indicate a breakdown of the alliance. So the next day Hanrahan takes something that happened and gets a big story saying how the alliance is a phoney. If something did happen it might not have even involved Rangers or Disciples. It might have been some dude trying to prove himself, or someone in a gang who just wasn't hip to the changes, to the new spirit growing among Chicago's gangs.

It's clear that the reason the Neanderthals are waging war on gangs in their papers and on their T.V. and radio stations is because they're making a move to get more cops. Check out this connection. When they decided to raise the fares on the CTA (again), they blamed it on workers wanting more money (the politicians and businessmen get more money off us, and when some of us want more money to survive they take it out of our checks, not their's.) But they also made a big deal in the papers for a week about how many robberies and beatings were happening on the CTA. They of course didn't tell us that that stuff does happen all the time (go ahead, check the statistics.) They tried to brainwash the people, and the next week they raised the fare. TOO MUCH!

The same thing is true now. A week after Hanrahan starts shooting off his mouth about gangs, blaming anything that happened anywhere on gangs (especially organizations making peace and serving the people like the P stones and Disciples, Young Lords, Latin Eagles Young Patriots and Black Panther Party), Conlisk came out requesting 1000 more cops for next year to deal with the streets. Of course neither he, the papers, Daley, Buckney, Boyle or Hanrahan said anything about how they were politically threatened and scared, 'cause they couldn't control the gangs anymore.

Hanrahan laid the propaganda groundwork, Conlisk made the move, and now we'll see Daley's mangy dogs (the Aldermen) trot along in agreement. Meanwhile

big crime, and bloodsucking businessmen go about their dirty business untouched.

The Gang Intelligence Unit

Now the dudes who do the nitty-gritty dirty work (the ones we have to deal with on our turf) are the punks in the GIU. GIU is part of the police dept. and was formed in 1967. It only had a few people. It replaced the Youth Group Intelligence Unit which had been set up to help gang kids, to keep them from fighting each other. That was when the cops and city were trying to use the the gangs, make them like the Conservative Vice Lords. (The Conservative Vice Lords on the west side are now sucks for the Democratic party, and made crook State Senator Bernie Neistein an honorable member.)

Under bootlicker Captain Ed Buckney the policy is one of throwing gang members in jail and keeping 'em there as long as possible (he said it on T.V.) This spring they upped the number of pigs in the GIU from 37 to 200.

Quite a jump, and it goes to show they're scared of people in the streets, afraid that White, Black and Latin gang kids will become the people's liberation army that can bring justice back to Chicago and America.

Right now the GIU spends more time with Black and Latin gangs than White. That's because those groups moved sooner and faster than a lot of us Whites. It's obvious that they're tighter, more together, and have a greater spirit of solidarity running among their people because they know they got to be tight to survive. But things are changing in the White gangs. All over the city we're working out alliances with each other, and talking to Black and Latin organizations like the Panthers and the Young Lords. One of the first white groups to make its position clear, in support of the people and against the cops, was the Young Patriots. GIU has stepped up its harassment of our Patriot brothers and is doing likewise with white gangs everywhere in the city.

In the past GIU could be loose with us. Our cats were bought off with stuff like 'we'll let you drink if you keep it cool, if you hassel the Blacks, Latins and hippies.' Eluta lot of us know that never worked for long. As soon as too many of us were on the corner, blam, blam, under arrest. Don't let the people get together.

Now we know that there are some White gangs that get special treatment because some of their members became cops. (This is true of some duper gangs in particular). But even a lot of these groups who tricked on people and sold other people out, while doing more bad shit than most other gangs, are catching their lunch. So they had better dig what's going on and stop their bull-shit, or catch their lunch from a lot of directions.

ALL POWER TO THE GANGS THAT FIGHT THE REAL ENEMY, LOVE THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS, AND SERVE THE PEOPLE!!!



WAYNE STATE

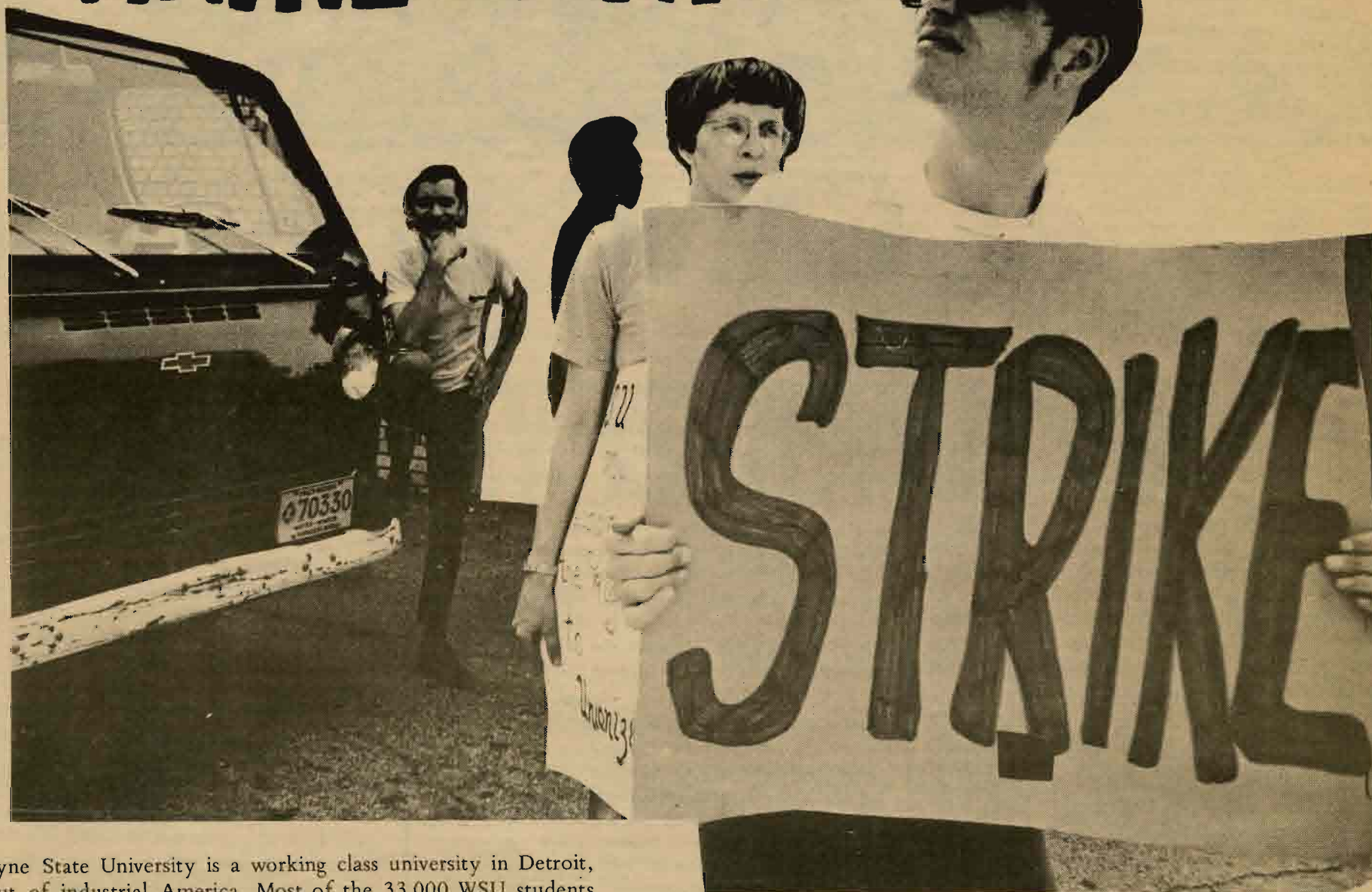


Photo by A. Gotkin, FIFTH ESTATE

Wayne State University is a working class university in Detroit, the gut of industrial America. Most of the 33,000 WSU students come from working class backgrounds, attracted by the prospect of upward mobility which a college degree seems to offer. Most would rather attend the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor or Michigan State University in Lansing. Both are far more prestigious than Wayne. But since they cannot afford the high tuition and living costs of these schools, they come to Wayne, commuting daily to and from their urban and suburban homes. According to a recent University study, 55% of the full-time and 80% of the part-time undergraduates At Wayne hold down jobs during the school year.

During the past few years, WSU has been one of the few universities in the country which has not experienced major student insurgency. One of the main reasons for this has been the make-up of the student body in terms of the high incidence of outside employment, the problems of the commuting student, and the urgency of the desire for escape from the factories, the trucking companies, the repair shops, the small businesses, the offices, which most students have been close to all their lives. Another reason has been the inability of radicals on the campus to see the backgrounds of the students as a valuable aid to organizing instead of a disadvantage.

A CHANGE CAME

In the middle of April the WSU SDS chapter decided to work with a group of student assistants in the Wayne Library in organizing a union. There are approximately 1,200 student assistants employed on a part-time basis by the university. They enjoy the advantage of being able to arrange their working hours to fit their class schedules; but the price of this is low wages (in the library, workers were being paid \$1.35/hr.), abominable working conditions, and the complete absence of even the most elementary workers' rights such as a grievance procedure.

The lines of the struggle were drawn very early. The Wayne administration refused to even discuss the union on the basis that student assistants are students, not workers. The university argued that the student assistant program was a way of "distributing the university's resources among needy students". The fact that it incidentally served as a way of getting cheap student labor was, of course, ignored.

Even more important, it became clear to many of the student assistants that the university was working to maintain the distinction between students and workers. As it was described in one of

the first leaflets of the University Workers Organizing Committee, "The university wants its students to believe that they are somehow different from 'real workers'. They want us to feel that we are privileged and that our interests don't coincide with the interests of workers...As long as we're dumb enough to go along with them on this, they will keep us divided from working people, weak and isolated in the ivory towers they build for us."

In this leaflet and in future ones, student assistants appealed for general support by stressing the areas of interest shared by workers, student workers, and working class students. "Those of us who live in Detroit know the importance of unions. We may not end up working in a factory. But teachers need a union, and social workers, and public employees, and secretaries, too." This approach was particularly appropriate to WSU students who have experienced either directly or through their parents the need for workers' solidarity and struggle.

The abstractions expressed in the leaflets were soon translated into reality. After weeks of hard organizing, discussions with the administration and token picket lines, the student workers decided to turn to more militant action. Workers in three university departments, Mail, Receiving and Press, (about 50 workers) declared a one-day walkout on Thursday, May 29. This walkout was so successful that the student workers decided to stay out on strike until their demand for a consent election on the question of the union was met by the university.

WORKERS SUPPORT

The students established and maintained a 24-hour "picket line" in the driveway leading to the three departments, blocking all deliveries of mail, equipment, supplies, computer forms and other essentials for 17 days. This "picket line" ultimately expanded to in-

clude a tent set up for sleeping, a pick-up truck, and fire and cooking facilities.

Despite their key position, the student employees on strike did not at first have a sense of their own power as workers, nor did they expect help from other workers. They had rejected administration attempts to deal with them solely as students, even though the administration was willing to come through with certain benefits, such as a pay increase. But having defined themselves as workers, they were unsure whether other workers would agree to their assertions of common interest and common experience, and support the strike.

These fears proved to be groundless. Not a single worker crossed the picket line. Striking student assistants watched trucks pull up to make deliveries at WSU receiving. They watched truck-drivers read their signs, see their line. And they watched truck drivers without hesitation and without exception drive past the drive-way, often flashing a v-for-victory or raising their fists in solidarity.

Full-time WSU workers also responded with full support, especially after the strikers printed up several "open letters" to university employees describing their situation and their action and appealing for support on the basis of a common situation and a common interest. The union of the building and grounds employees donated money to the students' strike fund. Some full-time secretaries came individually to the picket line to donate money which they had collected in their offices. Regular full-time employees in the departments on strike slowed down their own work as a gesture of support for the student assistants. When supervisors asked these employees to cross the picket lines, they refused, jeopardizing their jobs in doing so. Also, the full-timers discussed their own working problems with the students, requesting support from the students when their own contract negotiations come up this summer.

The effect of these actions on the students' morale was tremendous. As one of the striking workers said, "We don't have to feel weak, to feel powerless. That is what they didn't want us to find out."

Students, even when they are the children of workers, are told two things about workers. The first thing is that

workers are stupid, selfish, brutish people who are interested only in money, TV, and beer. The second is that they are different from workers, that there is a cultural, economic and social barrier which cannot be bridged. Students are privileged. Students and workers are enemies.

REJECTION OF PRIVILEGE

The workers' support of the strike had a very significant effect on this consciousness. At one point, one of the strike lawyers suggested that the administration might agree to bargain with the student assistants if they accepted an arrangement whereby their worker/student status was left ambiguous, so that the administration would not have to formally recognize them as workers. This arrangement would further preserve their right to strike since they would not formally be public employees.

After a great deal of consideration, the students decided not to accept this arrangement. Not only did they refuse to accept a distinction between themselves and the other workers who had supported them, but also they refused to accept a privilege granted to them on the basis of their partial student status. They felt that their responsibility was to stand with other university employees and fight together for the right to strike. It was clear that the support of the full-time employees and the truckers had reinforced the student assistants' determination to break down the barriers between students and workers and fight with workers against a common enemy.

In other ways, too, the strike extended beyond the simple issue of union recognition. A struggle is a process; it does not always begin where it will end with the same issues, the same tactics, the same consciousness.

EDUCATION THROUGH STRUGGLE

Student workers went on strike. The university administration countered with the threat of an injunction to be signed by Leonard Woodcock, United Auto Workers Vice-President and Member of the Wayne Board of Governors. The students escalated, taking the initiative and carrying the struggle to a higher plane.

On Sunday, June 8, sixty people picketed Solidarity House, headquarters of

the United Auto Workers and of International Vice-President Woodcock. It is no surprise to most of the workers of Detroit that the auto union has been co-opted and has become part of capitalism's loyal opposition. But for many of the students it was important to observe this first-hand in relation to their own lives. Also, the incident pointed out both the relationship between the university and the unions and the class interests which both these institutions serve. It is significant that the students learned this through the course of their own struggles. No one could have told them this half as effectively.

Toward the end of the strike, mail began to trickle out all over campus from a number of different sources. This mail was being delivered by the university Security Police. As the student assistants found this out, their concept of the police began changing.

A leaflet was distributed: "When the security police first came to Wayne, we were told they were here to serve the students' welfare. It is now clear that they serve only the welfare of the administration and the business interests it represents...We have information that many individuals in the Public Safety (police) Department support our strike. However, these men work for an institution which always has and always will suppress the just struggles of working people."

The police had been caught scabbing before. Before the establishment of the 24-hour picket line, the supervisor of the mailroom had been seen moving mail at 2:30 one morning. The mail truck was traced down later in the day and found parked behind the office of the Wayne police. Two people were arrested trying to block this truck as it pulled out to deliver mail.

Students reacted immediately. After a rally, about 150 students, both assistants and supporters, marched up to the offices of the Vice-Presidents of Student Affairs and Labor Relations. Students held these men hostage for several hours until the two people arrested earlier were released.

The strike began in the last week of classes of the Spring Quarter and lasted

through finals to the end of school. During this time, although most students were studying for finals, a large amount of support was generated among both students and faculty. However, at the end of the quarter, when no students were on campus, it became impossible to maintain the strike in the face of administration arrest threats. Rather than get arrested during a period when this would have little tactical or organizational significance, the student assistants decided to temporarily end the strike, devote the summer to broadening their organizing to include more departments, and come back in the fall with increased strength to continue their struggle.

This struggle will be further intensified by the fact that the League of Revolutionary Black Workers has begun organizing full-time secretaries on campus around the question of racist practices in employment and bad working conditions at the University. They have come to the student assistants for support; and there is little question that the student assistants, besides working on their own attempts to get a union, will actively support the work of the League.

Also, the National Organizing Committee (NOC) has begun organizing white secretaries and will be coordinating this with the League and the University Workers Organizing Committee.

The insights into the union bureaucracy, and the university police came about as an organic result of the dialectic of the struggle. It was impossible to predict the precise development of the struggle at the beginning of the process; the motion of the struggle was generated by the actions of the student assistants, the full-time workers, the truckers, and the administration, all acting on one another and being acted upon with new developments and opportunities unfolding daily.

MOVEMENT CRITICISM

The local SDS members also influenced this process, clarifying the experience of the strike by placing it in the context of radical political theory and suggesting new tactical escalations on the basis of this. Radicals also at various times

engaged people in general discussion, honestly laying out their politics and explaining them within the context of the experiences which they were sharing with the strikers.

Throughout the strike, local Progressive Labor Party people and Michigan Regional SDS people of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM I) refused to support the strike in any way, insisting that it was "revisionist" and "economist". From the beginning, these people felt that the privileged position of white WSU students would make it impossible for them to transcend their initial demand and reach new understandings through the struggle. Also, they felt that the fact that the struggle was not initiated on the basis of anti-racist, anti-imperialist consciousness precluded the possibility of this consciousness developing.

These criticisms were not constructive. The development of the strike proved that the response to initial economist tendencies should not have been to ignore (or to refuse to support the strike). The consciousness of the strikers developed in the course of the struggle and that process would have been even more effective if people from the Revolutionary Youth Movement had actively supported the strike and then related the oppression of the student workers to racism and imperialism.

There are a number of other criticisms that can be made of the strikers themselves. SDS members at Wayne State did participate in a number of political discussions but their work in this area was inadequate. Although a 24 hour picket line provided an excellent opportunity for political dialogue, radicals did not take full advantage of this.

Partially because of this failing, towards the end of the strike a number of student assistants became demoralized by the lack of progress and spent less and less time on the picket lines. Instead of attempting to remedy this, through discussion, supporters assumed a heavier part of the work-load. This had the effect of further alienating the workers, since it meant that more of the action and the decision-making that

went along with it was concentrated in the hands of the supporters.

Furthermore, up to this point strikers at all times had been able to seize the initiative with their actions. The demonstration at Solidarity House is perhaps the best example of this, where strikers went on the offensive to counter the injunction threat. As demoralization set in, the ability to seize the initiative and involve more and more people through action diminished. This situation was aggravated by the fact that due to the timing of the strike, the number of student supporters steadily decreased.

At times radical participants held back on political discussion; at other times when we did introduce radical issues, we did it ineptly. For example, near the beginning of the strike, the Detroit Black Panther Party office was raided and several Panthers arrested. SDS members suggested that the University Workers Organizing Committee should publicly support the Panthers; but we didn't adequately explain the connection between the Panther struggle and the strike. So a number of student assistants argued vehemently against this on the basis that the strike should not be "political" nor should it deal with issues not directly related to union recognition. However, after seeing the police used as scabs against them, many of these same people supported and worked on a demonstration that sought to expose the UAW and the anti-police leaflet. Also, they are supporting the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and its work on campus.

Despite these short-comings, there is a small core of student assistants and supporters working through this summer to broaden the base of the union in cooperation with NOC and the League. In the fall, there is every indication that the struggle will be actively resumed, not only around the issue of unionization, but also as a struggle directed more generally against university oppression.

Dena Clamage

SEEDS OF REVOLUTION

for Jeff Sharlett, editor of Vietnam GI, who died of cancer in June, at the age of 27

Brothers and Sisters
Part of us is dead.
Let it be forever known
That he served the people.

Let it be understood
That he did time in Vietnam
That he knew and loved the men
Who write the letters home:

"What kind of world is this?
To kill on a command.
What right do I have to do this.
What am I doing over here.
Mama, I am so mixed up, help me.
I don't know which way to turn.
What to believe in or not to believe in.
I am lost in this big lonely world.
Mama, give me something to believe in."

He knew and loved the men
Who write the letters home
And when he came home
He gave them something to believe in.

Themselves, together to believe in.
Not long ago he said:
We felt a newspaper
Was the best way to begin . . .

To talk to the enlisted men
The guys on the bottom
Help bridge the gap between
The movement and the people.

He was a quiet, vital guy
Who thought before he spoke,
Looked into peoples' eyes
And those who listened learned.

So fucking many times
People doing the hardest work
Are taken for granted
Because they talk less and do more.

Modesty building the movement
For conceit turns it around.
He listened to what people said
And remembered what he heard.

He traveled many miles
Into the valley of the people
Always learning
Planting seeds of revolution.

Talking to the men in uniform
Feeling the pulse of the people.
Working long hours to make
The paper serve their needs.

He told us
That people in the movement
Have to overcome their backgrounds
To take a step into America.

Told us that to plant the seeds
People had to change
Change through their experience.
He spoke the truth.

He was aware
Of all the splits and arguments
Of which groups moved which ways
Aware of ideology.

But always he judged.

On practice, knowing that
Some internal contradictions
Grow out of isolation.

For more than anything
He worked for the people at the bottom
And his gauge for judgment
Was the wisdom of the people.

He often talked about
The ways the paper tried
To speak the language
Of the people.

An article might be
Written and rewritten
Until it laid it out in ways
That fit reality.

A good man.
So many things
Embodied in those three words.
Death leaves so much unsaid.

Sadness and fury
As death goes down around us.
The staccato of their clubs and guns
Sisters and Brothers burned and shot and hung.
Minds eaten up
Fear twisted to insanity.
The testing of the bombs,
The pesticides
The dust inside the mines:
Congealed in cancerous disease.
Sadness and fury
As death goes down around us.

Brothers and Sisters
He's fighting with us
The rapping and the writing
The seeds have taken root . . .

Courage from his courage
Example of his deeds,
For Jeff is dead . . .
Like Johnny Appleseed.

— LINCOLN BERGMAN

WORKERS REVOLT AGAINST FIAT

In the last few weeks, independent and spontaneous worker agitation at Fiat's Turin complex has produced one of the most politically important situations in Italy. The implications of these struggles go way beyond the present. In the fall of this year, the national contracts of Italy's metalworkers (all of the workers at Fiat fall into this category) are up for renewal. What follows is a brief political analysis of Fiat and a description of the development and possibilities of the latest struggles in the heartland of Italian capitalism.

FIAT is the largest industrial complex and automobile manufacturer in Europe and the largest producer of automobiles in the world. In 1968 FIAT had total sales of \$2.1 billion and produced 1,750,000 cars as well as turbines, trucks, jet fighters, farm equipment, and diesel engines. FIAT cars are by far Italy's most important export item and in 1968, the export of FIATs rose to 535,000 cars worth \$496 million. By means of the recent merger with France's Citroen, Giovanni Agnelli, FIAT's crown-prince president, now presides over an automobile empire with total sales of more than \$3 billion a year and annual production in excess of 2,000,000. In its operations in all of Italy, FIAT employs some 157,000 workers most of whom are located in Turin, the heartland of the FIAT complex. FIAT's need for workers is constantly growing and this year 15,000 new workers will migrate to Turin, most coming from Italy's poverty stricken South. Already among FIAT's work force more than 2/3 are immigrants from other (usually the poorer) parts of Italy.

UNION HISTORY

Internally at FIAT, five unions somewhat ineffectively compete (only 10% of all of FIAT's workers are officially enrolled) for the allegiance of the workers. The CGIL (Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro) is loosely linked to Italy's relatively powerful Communist party (26% of the vote in the elections of May 1968) and incorporates workers from various positions on the traditional left. The UIL (Unione Italiana Del Lavoro) notoriously linked to the United Auto Workers, is the social democratic union including workers of socialist and social democratic political persuasion. The CISL (Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori) is the union with Catholic origins and loosely linked to the ruling, center Democratic-Christian party (37% of the vote in the elections of May 1968). The SIDA (Sindacato Italiano da Automobile) was formed in 1958 by those expelled at that time from the CISL because they were too closely linked to FIAT management. CISNAL is the fascist union with a small following among the workers. Normally the CGIL and the CISL maintain a relative freedom of action while the UIL and the SIDA are closely linked to FIAT's management. While very strong in the immediate post-war period, by 1955 the aggressive tactics of FIAT's management (the firing and isolating of CGIL activists etc) had broken the CGIL's power, and its influence up until the last two or three years steadily declined. The recent gradual revival of the CGIL's position has permitted it to regain a RELATIVE majority in factory elections.

Most recently, the four unions (excepting the CISNAL) have begun to adopt a certain unity of action. The reason for this cross-ideological cooperation is that uncontrolled wildcat agitation of the FIAT workers is rapidly spreading and the FIAT management has realized that it can no longer be simply repressed. Their response is an attempt to institutionalize the worker unrest by means of the unions. However this process requires strong, autonomous unions-or better yet one united union--genuinely able to control the workers. Agnelli has specifically indicated that he is disposed to make numerous important concessions and leave a lot of institutional space free for a STRONG, DISCIPLINED union movement. Nor does the FIAT management any longer ask the two unions linked to it (the UIL and the SIDA) to act openly in its favor, but rather to collaborate with the other two more independent unions (the CGIL and the CISL). This tactic, however, has thus far had little success because only 10% of FIAT workers are enrolled as union members.

As we have seen, management policies in the early '50s seriously weakened the position of the CGIL; in the early '60s the workers began to struggle spontaneously and sporadically, and these struggles eroded the position of the management-linked unions (the UIL and the SIDA). These workers, however, for the most part, did not re-enter the CGIL and the CISL because of their lack of clear alternatives and the fact that by this time--given the weakening of effective unionism with the successful repression of the CGIL by 1955--the tradition of union action had been lost. For the same lack of clear alternatives, the trad-

itional left political parties have little influence within the factory. While probably receiving much higher election support, actual members of the Communist Party among FIAT's workers number less than 2,000.

FIAT EXPLOSION

The organization of the FIAT factory sheds some light on the present situation. First of all, FIAT, unlike most other European automobile manufacturers, has a strong vertical as well as geographical concentration. The FIAT production process at Turin begins in the FIAT ironworks and foundaries and finishes with completed cars rolling off the assembly line. At the same time, the geographical concentration means that more than 135,000 of FIAT's 157,000 workers are located in Turin. Technologically FIAT is relatively advanced. In this sense management normally has two possible ways of increasing production: 1: Re-modelling and expanding its machinery and plants or 2: re-organizing the existing machinery and plants in such a way that the workers produce more. Traditionally Italian Management has chosen the second with the result that Italian workers work long hours for low pay under bad conditions. FIAT, instead, has chosen both methods. At the same time that its facilities have been renewed and expanded, it has also chosen to further expand production by intensifying the work load of the workers as in any other Italian factory.

While this double-barreled expansion is at the heart of FIAT's powerful economic position, it comes only by paying an enormous political price. The combination of the concentration of the work force and the intensification of the work load provides a powerful stimulus for worker agitation. In the past, FIAT succeeded in controlling these tensions by a combination of repression and relatively higher salaries and job security. However changing economic and social conditions have destroyed the effectiveness of this combination. Therefore the management has turned to the unions as a new means of controlling the workers. However, since the unions lack effective power this has not worked either.

FIAT's unions are changing but because of the desire to obtain the concessions offered by the FIAT management, they are unable to genuinely accept the spontaneous struggles and demands of the workers which would be the only way to extend their influence. Thus they wage a series of half-battles or attempt to curb agitations already in progress; all of this does little to win back the mass of the workers. In 1968 the workers, however, began to show a new awareness of the need for organization and of the broader political context of which their particular problems are a part. It is in terms of this new context that one must see the struggles of this year, 1969.

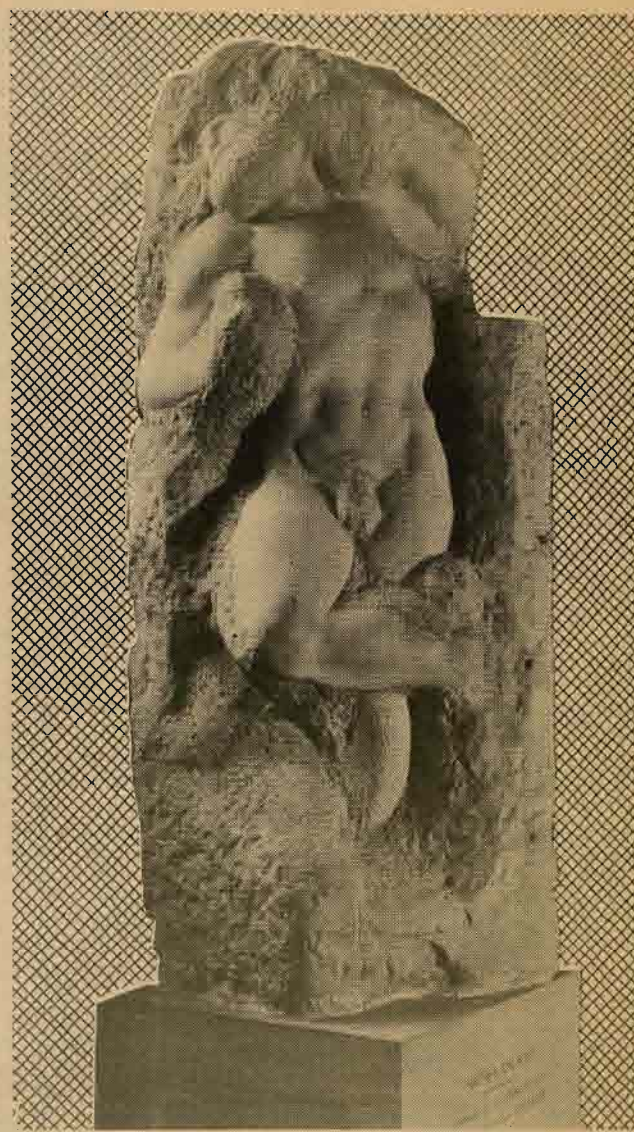
ROOTS OF NEW REVOLT

Inside the FIAT factories from 1961 on, numerous explosions of worker protest and resistance have occurred; these ranged from large walkouts to forms of internal protest like slowdowns, sabotage etc. The struggles helped to form a new kind of consciousness although permanent forms of independent organization did not emerge. At the same time, a specific POLITICAL consciousness began to develop among the workers, the link between economic power and political power began to be seen. This, because the workers could clearly see that they were not struggling against isolated, misguided tyrants but rather against the owner and manager of half of Italy.

Above all, Turin is dominated by the presence of FIAT from LA STAMP (Turin's principal newspaper and the second most important newspaper in Italy; owned and controlled by FIAT) to the smog that pollutes the air. This level of consciousness has existed at FIAT for some years but in light of the failures of the unions the workers had little faith in the possibility of basically altering the situation. The agitation of these years demonstrated that something could be done but it was not enough to produce a qualitative leap toward new forms of struggle and organization.

At this point enter three new factors, not solely internal, which help to explain the new dimensions that the struggle has taken in this last year. The first involves important changes in the composition of FIAT's working class. The large increase in recent years in the number of FIAT workers is due primarily to the hiring of young immigrants from the South. Different from the older workers who have spent long years at FIAT, these workers feel no particular sense of gratitude for the 100,000 lire (\$165) which FIAT pays them each month; a FIAT salary and position for the young workers is a simple fact and not a special privilege to be carefully protected as it once was, in less prosperous times, for the older workers.

The second factor is that while it might seem that the large numbers of immigrants coming from the poverty stricken South would be easily integrated into the more prosperous FIAT-Turin complex, in practice this has not happened. First, because the work in the FIAT plants is much heavier and more tiring (and sometimes dangerous) than that which the immigrants have experienced in the South. Secondly, the immigrants find Turin's life much more expensive and unpleasant (a massive housing shortage, racial



discrimination etc.) than they expected. For these reasons the immigrants have no particular feelings of joy over their situation at FIAT and the need for change becomes much stronger than the simple need to cling to their jobs.

In addition, recently there have been in the South a number of genuinely violent struggles rooted in the unchanging or worsening conditions of the MEZZOGIORNO's poverty. Politically the revolts are quite generalized (against factories, police, local governments etc.) and tactically very violent (trains and roads blocked, cars and buildings burned, savage battles between the police and people; at Avola and Battipaglia, four people killed by the police). New workers coming from the South carry with them the vivid memories of these conditions and battle experience gained in the rebellions.

The third factor is more external and relates to the explosion of the MOVIMENTO STUDENTESCO (Student Movement) which began in Turin in the fall of 1967 and soon spread throughout Italy. New forms of organization and of struggle (manifestations, occupations, street fighting etc.) along with a revolutionary political line have become widely publicized in the course of the last two years. In particular the revolutionary struggle in France in May of 1968 provided an important example of how the struggles of the students and workers could be both joined and radicalized.

THE MAY-JUNE STRUGGLE

From the middle of May through today a wave of agitation has continued to swell in the Mirafiori section (53,000 workers) of the Turin FIAT complex. Continuously there has been some segment striking inside the Mirafiori plants, continuously the strikes have been large enough to paralyze production. The strikes began as an action on the part of the unions to attempt to wring some individual concessions out of FIAT before the negotiations at a national level in October; the national contracts in October with all of Italy's metalworkers (FIAT's workers fall into this category) deal only with general issues and the unionists hoped to obtain specific concessions on such things as changes in classification for certain groups of workers etc. Further, Spring is the period of peak production at FIAT and a very favorable time for strikes. The workers, however, seized upon the occasion to move well beyond the very limited demands and action decided by the unions. In addition to the normal, general discontent described above, the peak season means that the workers are forced to work even harder than usual and therefore are particularly angry.

Five parts of the production process are located at Mirafiori. The foundaries, the presses, the mechanical assembly department, the assembly lines, and a maintenance department services all four. In mid-May the maintenance department struck first with slowdowns and work stoppages. This was followed by similar actions by workers at the presses and on the assembly lines. These three then slowed their agitation but then the foundary workers started the same things.

From the combination of these wildcat strikes, the production of FIAT in these last two weeks has been cut to one third. This has an enormous importance because in no previous period have worker agitations so damaged FIAT's production. In addition the Foundaries and presses at Mirafiori send pieces to

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STUDENTS TOO

The Turin and Milan Institutes of Technology are among the most important parts of the Italian university system. In particular the Turin Institute of Technology feeds engineers into the mammoth Turin Fiat works, which makes it one of the most critical supporting institutions of Italian capitalism.

Last year, the year of the explosion of the Movimento Studentesco (Student Movement) in Italy, the brunt of the struggle was borne by the Humanistic segments of the Universities (especially in Turin and Milan). The participation of the scientific and engineering segments was slight. This was the case primarily for two reasons. The first is that the students who are preparing to enter the science and engineering schools already have a certain kind of mentality. Above all, they have the expectation that immediately after graduation they will find a job which gives them social, decisional and financial status. Once inside the Institute of Technology or the Scientific Schools, the process becomes even more pronounced. The student learns immediately that science can resolve all of man's problems and a "scientific" apolitical attitude develops quickly. The model engineer is he who has a complete technical orientation, he who learned how to construct and how not to question. For the most part the Institute of Technology lacks even minimal social science courses.

THE AWAKENING OF THE TECHNICIANS

How then did the awakening come about? It developed first not among the science and engineering students, but among the technicians themselves; and this because of two basic changes which the process of Italian industrialization in the '60s has brought to the role of the technician. First of all, as the process of automation has finally accelerated in Italian factories, a MASS demand for technicians has arisen. Whereas once a couple of technicians used to supervise the whole work process of a small factory, now large factories require large numbers of technicians. In this way, the PROLETARIANIZATION of the technician has developed. In this process, the form of the work which the technician carries out has changed. Whereas once the technicians were an important part of the factory decision-making process this is no longer so, and they have now, for the most part, executory or supervisory functions (that is, either they simply watch the workers or fill in the details of a project that someone else has created). Therefore the technician has lost both decisional power and the possibility of doing work that is creative. At the same time since the technicians are becoming a mass group, there is less of a scarcity and accordingly the high wages which they once commanded are much less easily found. Reacting to these important changes in their social and professional position, their PROLETARIANIZATION important rebellions have broken out on the part of the technicians in a number of important Italian industries (for example, the SNAM Progetti-Petroleum, Olivetti, Pirelli-Tires).

ENGINEERING SCHOOLS EXPLODE

In this second year of University unrest, the agitations of the technicians and the students of the Arts Schools finally touched the engineering schools. Here we chose as example the Turin Institute of Technology which, because of its close relationship to FIAT, is the most important engineering school in Italy. The extended struggles, occupations, street manifestations, fighting etc; which have characterized Turin's university and high school world since November of 1967, barely succeeded in rippling the surface of the tranquil life of the Institute of Technology located a couple of miles away from the humanities sections of the University. The only exceptions were small groups of TIT COMPAGNI who were part of those struggles. However in April of this year came a qualitative leap forward. This "leap" had its beginnings in December of 1968 when a generalized revolt broke out in the five residential centers that house the more "qualified" of Turin's out of town students. High grades are required if one wishes to stay in the centers and therefore the students are pressured into studying to the exclusion of all else. At the same time social regulations of the centers' life was equally oppressive. The result was that the students themselves took control of the life of the centers; the management replied by closing the cafeterias which the students re-opened under their own management. This student control of the centers' rules and cafeterias continues today. The controversy directly touched the students of the Turin Institute of Technology for whom two of the centers are reserved.

Two months or so of struggle in the residential centers was sufficient to awaken a much larger number of TIT students to the fact that the same kind of oppression existed within the Institute of Technology itself. The already politicized students were able to use this new consciousness to construct a larger

base upon which to open a genuine internal confrontation. Five demands were presented to the Faculty Council (Italian Universities are administered by the faculty) among which two had particular importance. The first was the demand for student control of the administrative, scientific and didactic structures inside the Institute. The second was the demand for the abolition of the grading system by the substitution of a simple pass-fail system. The students view the grade system as the key element in the process of social selection and control which lies at the center of the capitalist system. At the same time, the constant pressure for high grades prevents the student (in terms of both physical and emotional time) from dealing with his life politically. The abolition of the grading system was at the same time a tactical choice. It was clear that all the students felt the pressure of grades and that the professors would not accept the proposal; therefore it was seen as a good way to expand the struggle.

THE EXPANSION OF THE AGITATION

And so it happened. The professors refused and the students reacted. First the professors were invited to come to a student assembly to explain why they had voted down the proposal. Only three came. To the politicized students, this was a clear sign that they had touched a political issue and that the professors were unable to respond politically. This series of events served as a springboard by which the student assembly forced the suspension of lessons for a week during which time the political role of the Institute of Technology was discussed in seminars, assemblies etc. The discussion immediately took a qualitative leap and moved from the discussion on the abolition of the grading system to an examination of the role of the technician in capitalist society. That is, the role into which the students would be fitted upon the completion of their studies. Four primary themes came out of the discussions.

The first and most important, the demystification of the neutrality of science and of the technicians who practice that science. The myth would have us believe that there is only one science, that is, that there is one scientific method which has universal validity, makes only OBJECTIVE choices, and is independent of the realm of political choices. The analysis of the students pointed out clearly that this is in no sense



true. Choices which seem only scientific are linked and often completely determined by processes and choices, political and economic. For example, researchers some time ago discovered a kind of container that could be used with a high-lift to unload the contents of ships directly into trucks and trains. The device, however, was only

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LATE BULLETIN FROM TURIN

On July 3rd, full scale urban warfare broke out in diverse sections of metropolitan Turin. Initiated in early afternoon by a police attack on a demonstration of workers and students, continuous violent struggles in five or six parts of the city lasted until dawn of this morning. Tentative totals show 70 policemen and over 100 students and workers injured, 150 workers and students taken into custody with 29 arrested. At present (July 4th) the situation is quiet but very tense.

The context of the struggle was a general strike called by all the trade unions (Communist, Socialist, Christian Democratic) to protest Turin's high rents and housing shortage. Behind the strike, in reality, is the struggle that Turin's FIAT workers (130,000 in Turin) have carried on for more than two months. These struggles developed autonomously by the workers supported by the students, and against the trade unions and traditional left parties as well as management. They have cut production to an extent never before seen at FIAT. In effect, the general strike was an attempt by the trade unions and traditional left parties (the Communist Party, the Socialist parties) to control and contain this struggle within reformist objectives (token wage raises, some new housing etc.) Instead, the struggle burst out of all efforts at control and became an explosive rebellion against the bitter exploitation that oppresses the masses of Italian workers. Students, young workers and residents of working class neighborhoods found themselves side by side fighting off the attacks of the police.

As a response to the general strike ordered by the unions, the workers and students called for a demonstration and march to begin in the early afternoon. The aim of the demonstration was to express the unity of the struggle of the FIAT workers and students and with the experiences of the workers of other factories and of the population of the different working class sections of the city. The police action was a predetermined decision for the violent repression of non-institutionalized struggles; and it is exactly these kinds of struggles which are the expression of the growth of the New Left in Italy.

The demonstration started out in front of the FIAT gates some 4,000 strong, more or less equally divided between workers and students, about 2:30 in the afternoon. The police were already at their posts and informed the marchers that the march was unauthorized and would not be allowed to depart. Immediately after, the police charged with clubs swinging.

At this point the first pitched battle began: Stones from the students and workers; a rain of tear gas and more club charges by the police. This first skirmish lasted only a short time and the demonstrators regrouped a short distance off, by now about 5,000 strong, to reorganize the march. A short walk led the marchers into the center of a new workers' apartment development directly in front of the main FIAT complex. Marching calmly and with the column under control, the demonstration reached the center of the neighborhood. There we suddenly saw a large column of police in full battle garb. With no hesitation, the police charged and the marchers, unprepared for a violent confrontation, retreated in all possible directions.

Afterward the slow and somewhat confused regroupment in the center of the neighborhood began, now occupied at both ends by the police re-enforced by units from neighboring cities. From that point on, urban guerrilla warfare began in earnest. Repeated charges by the police were met first by showers of rocks followed by dispersion and regroupment at other points. Barricades soon proliferated, cars began to burn and police mobility was cut. At the same time, similar kinds of struggles had broken out in a number of other points in the city where other parts of the march had attempted to form themselves. The continuous pitched battles continued in the same hit and run form until the combination of dawn, exhaustion, and police re-enforcements served to put the lid temporarily back on the boiling pot. Sixteen hours of pitched battle served notice, however, that the lid would not be easily kept in place.

Above all else, yesterday's struggle demonstrated clearly the new unity between workers and students that has developed out of the FIAT struggles of the last two months. This unity is the new fact on the Italian political scene and with the major industrial contracts (the metal workers, the chemical workers and the construction workers) set to expire in the fall, it takes on added political significance. In short, yesterday's rebellion is, perhaps but a forewarning of what is to come in the fall.

KEEP YOUR POWDER DRY

By Ken Cloke

With few exceptions, the left was silent when debate began over the Gun Control Act of 1968. Some, who are in alliance with the left, supported the measure because they sincerely believed it would reduce violence. A very few spoke against it.

A revolutionary movement must understand the mechanics, the laws of motion of bourgeois society and be able to use them to advantage. "Gun Control" must be understood both theoretically and practically. People must be made aware of WHAT the State has done and WHY it has done so.

Failure to do so spells confusion and inaction. While some instinctively understand that gun control legislation is an expression of a recognition by the state that it is disintegrating in the face of a growing revolutionary movement, numerous others, particularly in the "middle class", are unable to see class reality through the chaos and rapid-action turmoil of TV and morning-headline news. They see only anarchy, violence, and insanity. They are fed news events and news analysis in prepackaged form, and have no reason for disbelief. They have been deceived, but they want to believe. They need to exhibit faith and patriotic trust. How greatly their lives would be changed if they did not. An insistence on allegiance to the law, a re-affirmation of time-honored values, a plea to legislate an end to death and violence are, in our time, signs of impending social disintegration. Consciousness of destruction precedes consciousness of resurrection. It is a reflection of class fear. A fear of being forced to decide between the rulers and the ruled. Between the past which is present and the future which is close. Violence is one of the great fears of the "comfortable" "middle" classes--it forces them out of the comfortable middle.

The official myth of gun control advocates that the reduction of violence can be accomplished by legislation against possession of the implements of violence in the hands of ONE of the combatants. Its actual result is to increase violence rather than to decrease it. Liberal pacifist support for gun control fails to recognize the irreconcilability of the basic interests of classes, and doing so, perpetuates far more violence than might otherwise exist; it increases the risk, but only for one side. No class ever won power or caused social transformation except by struggling back and responding to violence with violence. Non-violence, as a tactic, requires limits on the violence of the opponent, who, in the brutality and savagery of its fight for life as a class, progressively converts all battles into life or death options, and narrows the alternatives, first, for their opponents, but secondly for themselves. They raise the ante and convert revolution from a possibility into a necessity.

TACTICS NOT PRINCIPLES

Tactics should not be treated as principles, or principles as tactics. The principle which determines ruling class tactics and policies is "by any means necessary and in the interest of its class." This is its catechism and its determination of the rules of battle. Understanding this rule and applying it is the only way to reach victory.

Revolutionary tactics include violent as well as non-violent, "legal"

Revolutionary tactics include violent as well as non-violent, "legal" and "illegal", open and secret methods. To reject ANY tactic on principle is to place the already insufficient revolutionary forces in a weaker posture. The capitalist class has historically used and continues to use any means necessary to achieve its ends. It has not and does not stop even at genocide. It is utopian to think that it will surrender its power voluntarily, after centuries of accumulated wealth and after gaining a virtual monopoly on the use of instruments of violence and coercion.

But even if a peaceful and non-violent change were possible (and it is neither peaceful nor non-violent at THIS moment), it would be criminal for revolutionaries not to prepare for the worst. We must struggle for the best conditions and prepare for the worst.

when class irreconcilability and contradiction are destroyed, will the people of the world disarm. To expect it beforehand is to ignore thousands of years of social history filled with blood-letting, pain and sacrifice. To quote Lenin, "An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot forget, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society, that there is no way out, and there can be none, except by means of the class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class." And again:

"In every class society, whether it is based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage labor, the oppressing class is armed. The modern standing army, and even the modern militia...represents the bourgeoisie armed AGAINST the proletariat. This is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell on it. It is sufficient to recall the use of troops against strikers, which occurs in all capitalist countries without exception. The fact that the bourgeoisie is armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, most fundamental, most important facts in modern capitalist society."



CLASS STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

That minority which extracts its existence and comfort by daily violence out of the mind and body of millions recognizes the power realities of class struggle--THEIR power flows from the barrel of a gun, and THEY know it. Coercion is necessary to their rule, to the rule of any class.

Revolutionary violence is the ONLY response to counter-revolutionary violence. No sane person wishes for violence or chooses to use it except where there is absolutely no other alternative.

But social systems have not and do not die peacefully, because they are expressions of contradictions, and as one aspect of their contradiction shows signs of gain or victory, the other immediately tightens and prepares for battle. Capitalism does not believe in the inevitability of its own death--less, in death at its own hand. All, from slave owner to feudal lord to capitalist believed history culminated in them. But as they saw their downfall before them, they did not shrink before it or surrender but rose in struggle against it, using every means of violence available to them.

Because of the fantastic power of destruction and violence controlled by the American ruling class, the right of people to arm themselves is doubly important. The control of possession, sale, and use of weapons grows increasingly tighter, and the REAL reasons for gun control gradually emerge: a fear of the power of armed black self-defense, and the fear that other sections of the people will also arm in self-defense. The specter of Huey P. Newton can be seen on every page of recent gun control legislation. We must understand the manner in which a social system, as it decays, forces action on the actors, creates situations from which only one escape is possible, and narrows the choices.

Revolution is always a question of constantly decreasing alternatives, a perfection of state power and people power--of class power, and an increasing recognition of the necessity of struggle along class lines. The purpose inexorably becomes, regardless of where it began, the seizure of the right to decide and plan according to the interests of that class. The necessity of armed struggle arises out of the unwillingness of the ruling class to recognize that its rule is over. That is why it is no accident that instruments of violence exist, that they exist only in the hands of one class.

Understanding the precise mechanism by which gun and weapon laws work, and delineating the exact limits of legality, is crucial to solving the problem of availability of arms. As repression increases in



Historically, the greatest violence has not occurred at the point of seizure of power, but in the civil war which followed it. Those civil wars have been the direct result of counter-revolutionary alliances in opposition to the new order.

In preparation for the possibility of violence we must treat it as an inevitability. In the words of Mao, tactically we must despise our enemies, whereas strategically we must take them all seriously.

Only after the transfer of power from the hands of capitalists to the hands of the masses of people CAN there be a transformation in the nature of power itself, and an elimination of violence. Only

tempo the unaware will suffer greater than those who attempt to plan and prepare for all contingencies.

A society can be read through its laws. A social order with sanctions against flag burning is in a state of decay and has produced revolutionaries who chose to burn its flag BECAUSE, not in spite of, what it represents. A society which has rules against guns has created within it the need to shoot. Where obscenity is prohibited there is much that is obscene, and where insanity is treated as criminal everyone is insane.

By prohibition, the society states affirmation. Every law that is passed is and reflects a contradiction.

Laws are mirrors into the mind of the ruling class. Gun control laws can only be understood in this fashion. Understanding in full how the bourgeoisie conceives of the necessity of its class, leads us to an appreciation of how to prepare ourselves for the struggles which inevitable lie ahead.

The following is a discussion of state and federal laws controlling weapons. It is not legal advice, and may change radically the moment after it is written, but it should give some idea concerning the kind of coverage and enforcement which exists today.

LAWS ON GUN CONTROL

Laws concerning the control of weapons and firearms do not merely exist at the federal level. A publication of the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service entitled "Published Ordinances Firearms" lists all 50 states and all local ordinances on firearms and may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 for \$1.25.

In addition, due to the recent state of legislative enactments, it is constantly necessary to check for new bills as they are introduced. These bills are pending now in Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Oklahoma, and in many cities in these and other states. The most restrictive states are California, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. The least restrictive states are Arizona, Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Vermont, and Wisconsin, as defined by the National

Rifle Association Legislative Service, with 34 states in the "moderate" category.

The following states require a permit to purchase a handgun: Hawaii, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, and North Carolina. The following 19 states report these purchases to the police:

(52) Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Washington, West Virginia.

But four states have no minimum age requirement for purchase--these are Alaska, Arkansas, Colorado and New Mexico.

Twenty-three states require dealers in guns to obtain licenses. The following 18 require a license to carry a pistol in a car (with some exceptions): Alabama, California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Washington.

A recent California Supreme Court case held unanimously that these state statutes don't preempt the field so as to prevent cities from adopting ordinances which require registration of firearms even where none is required on a state level. So that San Francisco could require registration where none is required in Los Angeles.

SULLIVAN LAW

The most severe of the anti-gun statutes in all probability is that of New York's, "Sullivan Law." Enacted in 1911, and amended frequently since that time, it has served as the model for restrictive state legislation throughout the country. Its major provision is Article 172, section 1903 which provides that a license is required for a pistol or revolver: to have and possess it, even in a home or business, or to have or carry it concealed on the person. The mere possession of a pistol without a license is a crime. In New York City, permits may be granted only by the Police Department and there is no appeal from a refusal, which may be based on any number of broad categories including not being "of good moral character", and where "NO good cause exists for the denial of the license". (emphasis added) Also prohibited in New York without a license are the following: fireworks, explosives and combustibles, including any blank cartridge, blank cartridge pistol, toy cannon, nitroglycerine firecrackers, torpedoes, gunpowder, sky-rockets, Roman Candles, bombs, sparklers, or similar weapon which is adaptable to such use, gravity knives, switchblade, billy, blackjack, bludgeon, metal knuckles, sandbag, sandclub, slingshot, air gun (except air pistol), spring gun or similar weapon, blank or loaded cartridges, any explosive substance, sawed off firearms, dagger dangerous knife, dirk, stilette, imitation pistol, ice pick, razor, slingshot, or other similar dangerous or deadly instruments or weapons. There are, in addition to these, other restrictions which prohibit specific acts, such as discharging a firearm at a train or locomotive, etc. All are strictly enforced in the courts.

In addition, there is a proposed Uniform State Firearms Act, drafted in 1930, also a period of considerable social unrest, which has been substantially adopted in several states and prohibits the carrying of a pistol (any firearm with a barrel less than 12 inches in length) except where a permit is granted or where allowed by law. No permit is required for the owner's home or place of business.

In California, a permit is required to carry a pistol concealed on the person or within any vehicle. No license is required for any citizen over the age of 18 (except for felons not pardoned or those whose felony involved the use of arms) to possess a concealable firearm even if loaded in the home or place of business, or temporary residence or campsite. ALSO EXEMPTED ARE MEMBERS OF ANY CLUB OR ORGANIZATION ORGANIZED FOR TARGET SHOOTING GOING TO AND FROM AND WHILE AT A TARGET RANGE. Carrying a loaded firearm on the person or in a car or while in a public place or on a public street is a misdemeanor. Police are allowed to examine the firearm in any of these places to see whether it is loaded without a search warrant, and refusal to allow a search is probable cause for arrest. A major provision, however, is Calif. Penal Code section 12031 (h) which provides:

"Nothing in this section is intended to preclude the carrying of any loaded firearm, under circumstances where it would otherwise be lawful, by a person who reasonably believes that the person or property of himself or another is in immediate danger and that the carrying of such weapon is necessary for the preservation of such person or property."

Also, section 12031 (i) states:

"Nothing in this section is intended to preclude the carrying of a loaded firearm by any person while engaging in the act of making or attempting to make a lawful arrest." This section has ambiguous possibilities, but lacks testing as to specific cases where it might be relevant.

Also prohibited in California is sale or possession of any sawed-off shotgun (barrel of less than 18 inches), dirk, dagger, switchblade longer than 2 inches, blackjack, slingshot, billy, sandclub, sandbag, metal knuckles, any explosive substance other than fixed ammunition, a rifle with a barrel of less than 16 inches or any weapon made from a rifle or shotgun with overall length of less than 26 inches, water spear pistols of less than 12 inches in length, or even, as one case has held, a table leg when detached from a table and carried at night in a "tough neighborhood" to the scene of a riot, or a baseball bat, in an automobile, not used to play baseball.

Also, added in 1967 was a provision prohibiting projectiles containing incendiary material, including tracers, EXCEPT FOR SHOTGUN TRACERS, bombs, grenades, missiles, any weapon of a caliber greater than .60 caliber or ammunition for it, except shotguns, rockets or similar projectiles of a diameter greater than .60 inch or the propellant for them, fixed ammunition greater than .50 caliber, tear gas substances except pesticides and dog repellents, silencers, etc. Even air guns are prohibited where minors are concerned.

Few cases have tested the application of these provisions to riot situations, but these few leave little room for doubt that the courts will treat almost ANY object as a deadly weapon. The LEAST likely objects to receive this treatment are ordinary household items, canes or crutches, musical or artistic implements, etc.

FEDERAL LAWS

Federal laws concerning gun control are duplicative, confused, and spread throughout the U.S. Code. Perhaps the most recent and controversial of these are the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (Titles IV and VII) and the Gun Control Act of 1968, which began with the innocuous title of "Mail Order Handgun Bill" and was initially to be limited to "cheap, imported, pot-metal pistols." Both cover the widest range of weaponry and severely limit and regulate the transfer, sale, and transportation of arms. The other primary provisions in federal law are the National Firearms Act of 1938. Interesting dates. The former imposes a tax of \$200 on the manufacture or transfer of certain firearms generally used by "gangsters", and requires registration with the Alcohol and Tobacco tax Division (ATTD) of the Internal Revenue Service. The act covers machine guns, submachine guns, all other fully automatic weapons, all sawed off and shortened shotguns and rifles (rifle barrels less than 16 inches, shotguns under 18 or either under 26 inches overall), mufflers and silencers. The act does not cover pistols, revolvers, sporting and target rifles, regulation size shotguns, flintlock and percussion weapons and ammunition.

The Gun Control Act of 1968 amended the National Firearms Act by extending it to cover numerous additional weapons, including machine gun frames and receivers, conversion kits for machine guns, combinations of machine gun parts in possession of a single individual, smooth-bore pistols and revolvers designed to shoot shotgun shells, concealable combination rifles and shotguns and other "destructive devices, including bombs, grenades, rockets with a propellant charge of more than four ounces, missiles with a charge of more than 1/4 oz., any weapon other than a shotgun or antique which has a bore greater than 1/2 inch, mines, etc. The amendment also requires extensive registration of every weapon covered by the act. The Secretary of the Treasury is required to maintain a complete file on all weapons and transfers. The Act increases penalties from \$2,000 and 5 years to \$10,000 and 10 years. What is



more, it legislates away the U.S. Supreme Court decision in HAYNES v. U.S., striking a previous registration requirement on Fifth Amendment grounds. The Act avoids this by forcing owners of ALL weapons to register, not just owners whose possession is illegal.

The Federal Firearms Act of 1939 is administered by the same agency as are all the major firearm acts, including the Gun Control Act of 1968. It regulates interstate and foreign commerce in all kinds of ammunition by licensing dealers, manufacturers, and importers. It prohibits sales to anyone under indictment or convicted of a crime, or any "fugitive from justice", where the dealer either knows or has reasonable cause to know these facts.

In addition to these two statutes, there are numerous postal regulations concerning shipment of concealable weapons, Department of State regulations controlling international commerce in weapons, sales taxes, regulations and criminal provisions concerning the carrying of loaded firearms aboard commercial aircraft, tariff restrictions, and regulations covering the use of firearms in national parks.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 is limited to convicted felons, dishonorable discharged veterans (originally "other than honorable discharged"), judicially determined mental incompetents, aliens illegally in the United States, and former citizens who have renounced their citizenship. Congress legislatively found and declared that receipt, possession or transportation of a firearm by any of these classes of people is "a burden on commerce, a threat to the safety of the President and Vice-President, and impediment or a threat to free speech and religion, and threat to our republican form of government." The penalty is 2 years and \$10,000. The word felony was later amended to the following definition: any offense punishable by imprisonment for more than one year, but not offenses (except those involving firearms or explosives) classified as misdemeanors by the state and punishable by 2 years or less. One is a felon on conviction regardless of actual sentence.

The statute includes employees who know their employer is a member of a prohibited class and deal with firearms for him. Two groups exempted from operation of the statute are (a) prisoners entrusted with firearms by prison authorities, and (b) felons who have received pardons from the President or a governor, and who have been authorized by the President or governor to receive, possess, or transport firearms.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT?

A little-known statute left substantially unopposed is the so-called "Civil Rights Act of 1968", which is DIRECTLY applicable to the movement. The Act makes it a crime punishable by \$10,000 fine and/or five years to engage in the following acts:

1.) Teaching or demonstrating the use, application or making of any firearm, explosive or incendiary device or technique capable of causing injury or death, with knowledge or reason to know that the same will be unlawfully employed for use in, or in furtherance of, a civil disorder which may in any way or degree obstruct, delay or adversely affect interstate commerce or the conduct or performance of any federally protected function (i.e. collection and distribution of the mails).

2.) Transporting or manufacturing for transportation in commerce any firearm, explosive or incendiary device with knowledge or reason to know or intent that it will be used unlawfully in a civil disorder.

3.) Committing or attempting to commit any act to obstruct, impede or interfere with any fireman or law enforcement officer lawfully engaged in the lawful performance of official duty incident to and during the commission of a civil disorder which in any way or degree obstructs, delays, or adversely affects commerce or the movement of any article or commodity in commerce or the conduct or performance of any federally protected function or further a civil disorder." A statement to this effect at the beginning of each class will have some deterrent effect on misunderstanding federal law enforcement officers who may even have enrolled in the class. Nonetheless, the law is deserving of serious study by the movement, since it outlaws not merely possession, but teaching and demonstrating the use of firearms. Through the sordid history of Smith Act prosecutions, we can appreciate the manifold interpretations of the words "teaching" which can be conjured up to fit the present generation.

GUN CONTROL ACT OF 1968

By far the broadest reaching legislation in the field is the Gun Control Act of 1968, which runs some 28 complex pages. For those who would like to obtain copies from a Congressman, ask for Public Law 90-618, Publication 603 (12-68) and a copy of the Federal Register for December 14, 1968 (regulations, pp. 18555 through 18573). Specific questions on the operation of the law can be addressed to the Assistant Regional Commissioner of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Taxes in the district where you live. The effects of this act will be far-ranging. It will result in raising prices of firearms and ammunition, in halting importation of foreign guns not "generally recognized as particularly suitable for or readily adaptable to sporting purposes," in the elimination of interstate transfers of firearms, and in the number of prosecutions, politically motivated, for technical violations.

The definitions basic to an understanding of the act are as follows:

1.) Firearm means any weapon (including a starter gun) expelling a projectile by the action of an explosive; the frame or receiver of any such weapon; any firearm muffler or silencer; any destructive device (see definition in National Firearms Act, given before).

2.) Ammunition means cartridge cases, primers, bullets or propellant powder designed for use in any firearm. (Excluded are shotgun shot or unprimed shotgun cases or hulls)

3.) Antique firearm (these are excluded from the act) means any firearm made in or before 1898, or any replica thereof, if not designed or redesigned for using rimfire or conventional centerfire fixed ammunition, or uses rimfire or centerfire fixed ammunition no longer manufactured in the United States and not readily available in the ordinary channels of commercial trade.

4.) Collector means any person who acquires holds or disposes of firearms or ammunition as curios or relics (i.e. 50 years old, be recognized by the curator of a museum to be of museum interest; or in some way be novel, rare, bizarre, or associated with some figure or period of history).

5.) Dealer means any person who sells firearms or ammunition or repairs or changes firearms for a business, or a pawnbroker.

The license fee required for dealers and collectors is \$10, except for destructive devices and ammunition, where the fee is \$1,000. The fee for pawnbrokers is \$25. A person must be at least 21 to obtain a license. Application should be made to the Director of the Internal Revenue District in which the applicant resides. The District Director must then approve or deny an application within a 45-day period. Provision is made (1) for mandamus action if the Secretary fails to act within 45 days; (2) for a prompt hearing by the Secretary in the event of denial or revocation; (3) for jud-



icial review of denial or revocation after hearing by the Secretary. No licensee may sell or deliver any rifle or shotgun or its ammunition to anyone under 18, or a handgun or ammunition to anyone under 21.

The substantive restrictions of the act, for the most part, deal with interstate transactions. The most important sections are summarized, with the help of materials from the National Rifle Association and the Internal Revenue Department, below. This information is subject to rapid change and may be invalid in time. It is no substitute for competent legal counsel, nor is any of the material contained in this article. Moreover, much of this legal material remains untested by the courts. Consequently, it is impossible to say concretely what is likely to happen in the event that any specific act is engaged in. All that can be done here, without guarantees, is to list the material to be used as a guide to local interpretation and future developments. In any real case, legal advice should be obtained based on a full recounting of the facts. No predictions can be given, nor specific advice. People will have to interpret this information themselves into subjective counsel. The law is as follows:

1. SHIPMENT IN INTERSTATE OR FOREIGN COMMERCE:

No licensee may ship or transport any firearm or ammunition in commerce to any person, other than a federal licensee. Exceptions are: (1) return of repaired or replacement firearms of same kind or type by a licensee to a non-licensee; (2) mailing of a firearm by a licensee to a person authorized under the postal laws and regulations.

No person may transport into or receive in the state where he resides any firearm purchased or otherwise acquired outside the state. Exceptions are: (1) acquisition in another state of a firearm by inheritance; (2) transportation or receipt of a



GUN LAWS

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rifle or shotgun acquired in any state prior to the effective date of this act.

2. TRANSFER TO NON-RESIDENTS

No person (except a licensee) may transfer, sell, trade, give, transport or deliver any firearm to a non-resident (except a licensee). Exceptions are: (1) transfer, transportation or delivery to, or acquisition by, a person, in case of inheritance, authorized to acquire or possess in his state of residence; (2) loan or rental for temporary use for lawful sporting purposes.

A licensee (1) may lend or rent a firearm to a person for temporary use for lawful sporting purposes; and (2) may sell or deliver a rifle or shotgun to a person who is participating in organized rifle or shotgun competition, or engaged in hunting, and whose rifle or shotgun has been lost or stolen or becomes inoperative. (In latter case, buyer must submit a sworn statement, the same as in Intrastate Sales, without the seven-day waiting period.)

3. A licensee may sell or deliver a rifle to a person in a contiguous state under certain specific conditions not relevant here.

4. INTRASTATE SALES

A licensee may sell a firearm to a person who resides in the same state as the licensee but who does not personally appear at the licensee's place of business if the purchaser submits a sworn statement that he is at least 18 years old (in case of rifle or shotgun) or 21 (in case of handgun) and that he is not prohibited by federal, state or local law from receiving the firearm. The statement must contain the name, address, and title of the principal local law enforcement officer of the locality to which the firearm will be shipped. The seller sends a copy of the statement to the local law enforcement officer and must wait at least seven days after receipt of notification by return receipt before delivery of the firearm may be made.

5. IMPORTATION OF FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION

The Secretary of the Treasury may permit importation (1) of a firearm or ammunition for scientific or research purposes, or for use in competition

or training under the program of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice; (2) of an un-serviceable firearm (other than a machine gun) as a curio or museum piece; (3) of a firearm or ammunition previously taken out of the United States by the person who is bringing it in. Importation of all surplus military firearms is prohibited, except by permit.

6. SALE OR DELIVERY IN VIOLATION OF STATE OR LOCAL LAW

No licensee may sell or deliver any firearm or ammunition to any person in any state where purchase or possession would be a violation of state or local law applicable at the place of sale, delivery or other disposition, unless the licensee knows or has reasonable cause to believe that purchase or possession would not be in violation of such law or ordinance.

7. MISCELLANEOUS

Several sections of the Act relate to bookkeeping requirements, common carriers, the military, state laws and miscellaneous regulations which are not immediately relevant here.

8. PENALTIES

Whoever uses a firearm to commit any federal felony, or carries a firearm during the commission of ANY federal felony may be sentenced to jail for one to ten years. For a second or subsequent conviction, imprisonment is for not less than five nor more than twenty-five years, with no suspension of sentence or probation.

Violation of any provision of the Act is punishable by fine of \$5,000 or five years in jail or both. These persons can be paroled as the Board of Parole may determine.

The shipment, transportation or receipt of a firearm in interstate or foreign commerce with intent to commit an offense punishable by more than one year (a felony) or with reasonable cause to believe that such an offense is to be committed, is punishable by \$10,000 fine or 10 years or both.

Any firearm or ammunition involved in, or used or intended to be used in any violation of this Act, or rule or regulation thereunder, or any other fed-

eral criminal law, shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture.

The Second Amendment to the United States Constitution states: "A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed."

This wording has consistently been held inapplicable to gun control legislation. The rationale is that there is no personal or individual right to keep and bear arms except insofar as it is essential to a well-regulated Militia. This interpretation has the second item in the Bill of Rights guaranteeing the people their right to a militia, Attorney General Katzenbach claimed, before the Dodd Committee, that the National Guard was the modern version of the "well-regulated militia."

This interpretation has several advantages. First, it grants ALL control to the federal "state", allowing uniform legislation. Second, it claims a monopoly on the right of defense. The original purpose of the Second Amendment was clearly to bring the numerous standing armies under state control, through citizens militias, and to guarantee to the people the right of revolution. In 1882, the Arkansas Court held the provision sprang from the "former tyrannical practice of disarming the subjects so as to render them powerless against oppression." The court added: "It is not intended to afford citizens the means of prosecuting their private broils in a free government."

Implicit in all the court decisions concerning constitutionality is this assumption. The purpose of the Second Amendment was political but its politics have become obsolete because we are not tyrants or oppressors like the British, but a free nation. We no longer need a citizens militia. By this attitude, they increasingly make such a militia again necessary. By laws such as these they reflect their own distrust of people, and recognition of their own oppressive role. The ruling class doubts its ability to rule by consent, and begins to rule by open coercion.

mahwah

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

the potential for white support of a black-led movement at Mahwah at the present time.

But we allowed our political doubts and confusions to serve as an excuse for not finding out what the attitudes of the white workers were or for trying to develop contacts among them. One reason was that we tended to think of ourselves as white students who had no direct stake in the struggle, rather than as a revolutionary movement whose job it is to work for the unity of oppressed people against the system. Or, we had the vague idea that our mere presence would in some symbolic way transmit to white workers the message that fighting white supremacy and fighting alongside blacks was in their interests.

All this is not to imply that we should have approached white workers thoughtlessly. 500 long-haired kids stopping workers at the gate to demand that they hand over their privileges definitely would not have helped. The question is not whether we should have approached the white workers, but HOW. In any strike like this, the questions of whether or not we

should stand on the picket lines with workers or in place of workers, whether we should write our own leaflets or not, whether we should speak to white workers as SDS or develop contacts individually etc., are all important tactical questions that can't always be answered in advance, and that we will be better able to answer as we gain more experience. But at Mahwah we learned little about this because we tried almost nothing.

If even one white movement person had been working in the Mahwah plant before the strike began, it could have made a crucial difference in our relationship to the strike--we should learn a lesson from this.

There was one white radical in the plant who considered himself an organizer. Unfortunately, his allegiance to the Progressive Labor Party resulted in his having the opposite effect. According to the black workers, he condemned the organization of the UBB from the beginning because "it would divide the workers". Because of his attitude toward the workers--eg, he criticized them for listening to the "counter-

revolutionary" Beatles--nobody wanted to sit with him at lunch. When the strike broke out, he took the position that "the time wasn't right", and except for one afternoon when Jeff Gordon dropped in, none of his PL brothers showed up to support the strike. This was just as well, since when the UBB invited SDS to come to Mahwah, one of the conditions was that we wouldn't bring any PL people with us.

But under the circumstances, there was a definite limit to the political affect we could have hoped to have, whatever we did. We were outsiders, we took no real risks ourselves, and gave little concrete material support to the strike. (The picket lines were not set up in such a way that they absolutely depended on outside help, as is sometimes true in wildcats.) In short, without any political base or contacts among the workers, without ties built up through the experience of common struggle, the political work we could have done would have been of a preliminary sort.

The point is, we should have begun to develop that base and build those ties.

sds

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

schools and pigs, a non-economist approach to workers' struggles, organizing around male supremacy (structures) not just male chauvinism (attitudes), etc.

Under the RYM leadership, the SDS convention passed the following program. They called for major actions in the fall against the War in Vietnam in support of the NLF and black liberation struggle, to force the ruling class to bring the war back home. They also endorsed the Conference for a United Front Against Fascism called by the Panthers and the Venceremos Brigade. (see MOVEMENT July 1969 for details on Brigade.)

This program is a solidly anti-imperialist program. The explicit intention of the RYM is to bring large numbers of working class youth into this anti-imperialist movement.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Next to imperialism and racism, no issue received more attention at the Convention than women's liberation. But while each tendency had its own "correct" line on women's liberation, no program for women's liberation came out of the convention. The issue itself became a political football, with each group apparently competing for the "women's vote".

The Panthers started off the show by insisting on "pussy power". PL immediately responded with chants of "Smash Male Chauvinism", which was quite opportunist considering that in the

women's workshops and in their own women's resolution they denied the existence of any special structures of male supremacy. "Women are only super-exploited workers". (They suffer no oppression that's qualitatively different from men.)

Other groups were equally opportunist in their approach to the issue by constantly attacking the "others" for their lousy position on women's liberation, but never proposing any concrete political program to deal with it. The basic problem was that everyone has lots of theoretical propositions on women's liberation, but no one seems to have much concrete practice in the area. So, for example, in the workshops everyone hotly debated the issue, but the men dominated the discussions. PL women insisted that men join the workshops, and once admitted, the men from all the anti-PL groups just had to get into the act.

This isn't to say that women's liberation should be an issue immune to ideological debate. But it seems that given the lack of practice, women's liberation is an issue especially vulnerable to opportunism and sectarianism.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

While PL was expelled from SDS, PL still insists that it is the real SDS. This means that the struggle that went on at the convention will probably continue at the chapter and regional

level for a long time to come. In some places, where PL is weak, their expulsion will be automatic. In others, the debates that went on at the convention will be repeated over and over.

The problem will come in areas where PL is strong, like Boston and the Bay Area where PL controls many campus chapters. In such places, SDS will have to work very hard to organize new people and consolidate the RYM forces that already exist. A lot of past mistakes will have to be avoided, e.g. sectarianism, anti-communism, etc. This will be very difficult since it's no accident that PL is strong where SDS is weak. In the Bay Area, for example, SDS (with or without PL) has never been a significant political force.

Another problem will be that of building SDS as a mass organization with the exclusionary principles. SDS has always been a mass organization that admitted anyone to its ranks. Now some people see a contradiction between the structure (mass organization) and the adoption of a set of political principles. In theory there is nothing wrong with a mass organization adopting principles of exclusion. A revolutionary organization should exclude counter-revolutionaries.

The problem will arise in putting the principles of exclusion into practice. Not all new members attracted by SDS programs and actions can be expected to enthusiastically support Korea and Albania. Many will probably know nothing about them, and it is doubtful that SDS will produce much literature about them

as a top priority. What is to be avoided is exclusion of new members who fail to give support for countries or movements with which they are not familiar, but who do not object to them on anti-communist grounds.

Dealing with political organizations will apparently be even more difficult. The ISC example may become a rule of thumb--that is allowing people and organizations to stay in SDS despite the fact that they oppose the principles, but remain silent about them in meetings. The convention vacillated with ISC and that could be a dangerous precedent. SDS has adopted a set of revolutionary principles upon which they can go forth and recruit new membership. They should not be held back in this work by trying to retain present counter-revolutionary members. In the future they will only become a greater problem. Sects like PL and ISC joined SDS because they are unable to build a mass organization with their own politics. They should not be allowed to obstruct and build caucuses within a revolutionary organization. As Bernadine Dohrn said, "How could we demand of people outside the organization what we could not demand of people inside."

The ante in the struggle has been raised. A lot of hard organizing work needs to be done. Repression is coming down hard and will increase. Whether or not SDS grows depends not on the fact of PL's expulsion, but on whether it can bring its revolutionary perspective to larger and larger numbers of people.

italy: students

CONTINUED FROM P. 19

put into use when Genoa dock workers went on strike serving to break the force of the strike. Or the problem of electronic computers which speed up work processes but eliminate people.

The second and related theme is that of the myth of efficiency. That is that all problems can be resolved through the application of new technical scientific discoveries. The implication is, of course, that political and social conditions have relatively little importance and that solutions arise from the discovery or application of the correct machine or mathematical theory. The point is that the technician should stick to his machines and mathematical theories and leave politics etc. to the less enlightened. Other specific examples of the obvious falsity of the myths of efficiency and neutrality can be found in courses at the Institute Technics and Teconomics of the Firm and Applied Machine Mechanics. One learns how to apply machine and work techniques in offices and factories always from the point of view of rendering the MAXIMUM PROFIT for the company. The problems and exploitation of the workers are not even touched. During the week of agitation, workers and union organizers invited to the Assemblies, went with students to interrupt these classes (a few were still being held) bringing into the classroom through the recitation of personal experiences, the vast difference between the reality of the firm and factory, and the theory being taught in the classroom.

The third theme, extremely important in the sense that it destroys the false division created by capitalist ideology between workers and technicians and opens the way to worker-white collar unity is the proletarianization of the technician. As cited above, the technicians themselves are now first of all in great numbers which means lower salaries. Secondly, they have no control either over the choice of the work they do or how the results of that work will be employed. They myth of the engineer who leaves the Institute of Technology as the creator of something new has been completely destroyed. Most engineers supervise workers, do the paper work of others, teach or sell office machines.

Fourthly arises the problem of research funds. While not as obviously destructive as those in the United States who, for example, have to invent poison gases in order to get funds for chemical research, in Italy as well independent research money is hard to find (that is, one gets research funds when he works on a project interesting to FIAT etc.). The students demand instead research money controlled by those in the institutes doing the research. Among other high points in the week of agitation was the attendance of workers and union organizers in the Assemblies. The workers graphically destroyed the myths about work conditions in "modern" factories, and indicated to the students their future roles as whose principal task would be to get the maximum yield out of the workers.

THE RESULTS OF THE STRUGGLE

The most important positive result was the fact that a large number of students as a result of the Assemblies and Study Groups made a qualitative political leap. Out of 4000 students, the politicized group increased from 100 to some 500. However, at a crucial point, an important tactical error was made and revolutionary theory stopped short of practice. At the moment of action; that is of deciding to occupy the Institute itself, the moderates, fearful of losing the support of the mass of the students, won out. Instead of permitting the struggle to expand, the result was the decline of tension which permitted the opposition to organize. In the last large Assembly at the end of April, the Assembly passed in the morning session a politically quite advanced document affirming the basic themes of the agitation. In the afternoon session, however, the Assembly voted against the continuation of active agitation (blocking of lessons etc.) The Professors had gotten to the mass of the students, scaring them with the possibility of losing the academic year.

What remains from the Spring struggles are numerous core groups of the politicized students which continue analysis and preparation for the new academic year in the fall. They are involving themselves in key problem sectors of Turin's life. For example, a number of these students are actively involved in the present worker struggles at FIAT's Mirafiori works.

by Gianni Silvestrini
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italy: workers

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other units of the FIAT-Turin complex meaning that the work stoppage goes beyond the Mirafiori plant in its influence. The internal wildcat strikes are also qualitatively different from the tactics used in the past. Fiat managers are never able to foresee where, when, how extensively, or for how long the strikes will last; at the same time, the workers are still drawing their salaries. These internal worker actions can result in a situation where at one point in the production process there is a tremendous oversupply of parts, while at another point there are no parts at all.

In terms of initiative, some of these strikes were called by the unions, others by the workers themselves. In this situation there exist continuous important disagreements between workers and the unions on both the form of the strikes and the demands to be presented. In regard to tactics, the professional union organizers want only work stoppages for brief periods. (A few hours a day). They are afraid that if the strikes too seriously damage FIAT's production, the possibility of reaching agreement on certain demands important to them will be lost. Not only do they attempt to limit the internal work stoppages to brief periods, but they also attempt to prevent the multiplication of the strikes to other sections of the factories. They begin a strike in a new section only when the strikes have finished in other sections. The workers, on the other hand, want a generalization of the agitation, not in the sense of a general strike, but rather in terms of sustained actions within the various parts of the production process at the same time.

In regard to the contents of the demands, the union organizers want basically two things. The first is the acceptance of the appointment of delegates for each small division of the production process who would have a certain say in the control of the production process and would "represent" the workers at the grass roots level. The second demand is for the promotion of certain categories of workers. The workers, conversely, have little faith or interest in a new system of representation blessed by management.

Above all, the majority of workers want more money and a category promotion for everyone. Essentially they want an improvement of their economic situation. In essence, the FIAT management is ready to grant more money now. However, the management insists that if it raises wages now, the raise must be included in the new national contracts which will be negotiated in October. The workers, on the other hand, want a pay raise now and also one in October.

In addition, there exists now a worker vanguard whose analysis and demands are more advanced. They see the proposed delegate system as simply another way of controlling and smothering worker agitation through a new form of bureaucratic negotiation. Basically, they contend that it ought to be the workers themselves who control the rhythm and organization of the production process. This group is clearly a small minority but much larger than it was a few months ago.

ADVANCED TACTICS AND IDEOLOGY

The new factors involved in these new forms of worker agitation are essentially two. The first is that the workers are showing themselves capable of AUTONOMOUSLY ORGANIZING the struggle against management. They have a new faith in their own organizing capacity and are able to carry out daily organizational tasks in a disciplined, concrete way. A typical example of this new maturity is the decision to see generalization of the struggle not in the form of a general walk out, but rather in the spreading of inside agitation. Before the spring of 1969, the workers always turned to walk-outs to express their grievances. This was a sign of weakness; that is, when the workers re-entered the plants after a few days without pay, they found conditions just as they had left them and nothing had

changed. A generalization of inside the plant agitation, on the other hand, creates more chaos within the production process, and maintains the economic base of the workers.

The second factor is the political significance of the struggle. The workers have clearly realized that the crux of the matter is not a question of higher wages, line delegates and fringe benefits etc., but really a question of power: that is, who is it who will control the life of the factory? At this point we touch on the central question of changing the "system". As had been indicated above, the VANGUARD of FIAT workers has always had a relatively high level of political consciousness. The new fact is that they are, for the first time, beginning to organize themselves and to channel this political consciousness into concrete action. The fact that this political consciousness is being combined with extended forms of organization, and action makes the FIAT situation one of the most advanced cases of spontaneous worker struggle and organization in Italy.

However, problems exist at two levels. Internally, while the unions and management are unable to prevent the agitations, they do manage fairly effectively to close them off. The danger is that they will succeed in closing them off completely before these first efforts at organization can be transformed into that permanent organizational forms. If management succeeds in this effort, despite the important progress already made, only a small part of that progress could be saved. This is a particular problem because before the present struggles in the Spring of '69, there did not exist any ORGANIZED worker vanguard within the FIAT plants to speed up the organizing process. Nor externally did there exist a group capable of helping to push ahead the internal organizing process rapidly. This was primarily because the Italian Student Movement (Movimento Studentesco) has not yet been able to develop a valid theory and strategy for relationships with the workers and work in the factories. In addition the Movimento Studentesco now finds itself disorganized and without a homogeneous political line, at least for the moment.

meanwhile...

Meanwhile, back at the ruling class, the Italian government has resigned, and they're currently trying to manufacture a new cover. You see what happened was the Italian Socialist Party split over the question of whether or not to work more closely with the Communist Party. After the split several members of the Cabinet resigned and the next day the whole bunch turned in their resignations. So they've got some kind of a temporary facade while the President consults with the various parties to try to come up with something. The Communist Party has made some noises about maybe being included in the Coalition Government this time around, but the Christian Democratic Party don't dig that and they want Rumor, the same cat who just resigned from being Premier to be Premier again. And the split is taking place throughout the various Socialist Party branches, and there's not much of a government, and the Italian Parliament is sitting on a lot of legislation.

While they've been sitting, it ain't just Turin that's been hot...but cities all over the place. There's been strikes all over Italy in the past few months, garbage has piled up in the streets of Rome, Government workers have struck, there was a general strike on the Island of Sicily and work stoppages throughout Southern Italy.

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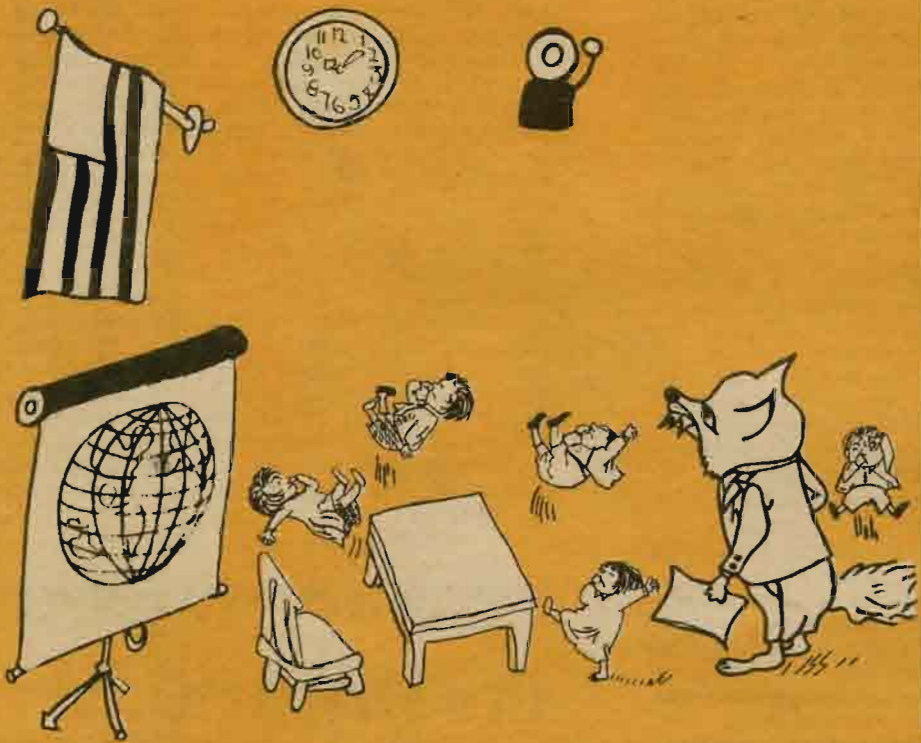
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