

MOVEMENT

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inside:

- PANTHER SISTERS ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION
- ALIOTO'S LABOR UNION
- CHICAGO NATIONAL ACTION



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HELP!

A LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

DEAR SISTERS AND BROTHERS, READERS, WRITERS, SUBSCRIBERS,

We would have mailed out letters, but we couldn't afford the postage (about 150 dollars). The financial situation of THE MOVEMENT is so bad we doubt that we will be able to continue printing, unless we have your help, unless you think the paper is important enough to give some financial support.

The unfortunate facts are:

DEBTS:

- I. \$250 to phone company who will cut off service if we don't pay in five days.
- II. \$700 old printing debt, now owed to a collection agency that is taking us to court.
- III. \$150 to photographic plate man who runs a marginal business, he was always good to us and we shouldn't screw him.

CURRENT COSTS:

- I. \$750 printing bill.
- II. \$400 mailing bill.
- III. \$150 phone, utilities, etc.

TOTAL DEBTS AND CURRENT COSTS: \$2400

THESE FIGURES DO NOT INCLUDE SALARIES FOR THE PEOPLE WHO WORK FULL-TIME FOR THE NEWSPAPER AND CANNOT AFFORD TO CONTINUE WORKING WITHOUT PAY. NONE OF WHAT LITTLE THERE IS HAS GONE FOR SUBSISTENCE SALARIES.

INCOME: Money has been trickling into the office at the rate of about \$75 a week...not enough to cover even our mailing costs. One problem is that people don't pay for their bulk orders. We realize that selling THE MOVEMENT helps people live, and it's also groovy to distribute the paper free. All this would be fine, if we got some other contributions, but we don't.

We have always believed that the MOVEMENT played an important function. That is why we keep printing. We are not professional journalists. We, like you, are trying to become revolutionaries of the people, and see no need to hang on to an unnecessary institution, just for the sake of having that institution.

So when we're faced with the financial impossibilities we just described, we seriously doubt that we are doing the right thing. We wonder if putting out the paper is worth it. We need both moral and material encouragement. If you dig THE MOVEMENT, think it's useful and worth continuing, you have to help us with money---small, medium and large contributions. IF each subscriber sent us one dollar, we could pay our debt. IF people regularly paid their bulk bills we would always break even. IF we got a few very large contributions, everything would be OK too, at least for a while.

But if none of these things happens this may have to be our last issue. It's up to you.

FOR STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTION,
THE EDITORS.

ANNOUNCEMENT

In the midst of all this a child has been born to Renee and Joe Blum and his name is Huey. He hasn't made a statement yet, but keeps his fist clenched. Power to the People!

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BAY AREA HIGH SCHOOL LIBERATION CONFERENCE

On August 9th and 10th high school students from 31 schools around the Bay Area got together to hear speakers and discuss the problems of the high schools today, to organize a Bay Area High School Student Union and plan a fall offensive based around a nine-point program which deals with these issues:

- 1) An end to the tracking system which channels third world people and working class white students into factory jobs and the army. Education based on the needs of the people, not the corporations.
- 2) An end to racism in the schools, support for the struggles of all oppressed peoples, and third world studies departments controlled by third world students.
- 3) An end to male supremacy in the schools, such as channeling girls into home economics and business courses.
- 4) An end to the complicity of the schools with the draft and ROTC.
- 5) Open admission of lower income people to all schools, colleges, and universities.
- 6) An end to all suspensions, expulsions and disciplinary actions which are simply another form of tracking.
- 7) All police out of the schools. No interference in the right of students to form organizations and to distribute leaflets.
- 8) Control of the schools by the community, not the corporations and the police. The schools must serve the people.
- 9) Unity with our brothers and sisters in all the schools and with the struggles in the Third World, the factories, the communities, and the colleges.

The union consists of four regions, the primary responsibility of each of which is to organize the schools in that region. The regions are San Francisco, East Bay, Marin and the San Francisco Peninsula. Together the regions will run the central office in San Francisco. For information about the Bay Area High School Student Union, contact c/o R.O.C., 330 Grove Street, San Francisco 94102.

APOLOGY--We're sorry that this issue is shorter than usual, but we couldn't afford to print or mail a larger issue.

S.F. WORKERS BATTLE MAFIOSO ALIOTO!

By Wildcat

Laborers' Local 261, 18th and Shotwell Streets in San Francisco, is known to many as Mayor Alioto's favorite local, having been the most prominent labor support in his successful campaign for City Hall. That such support (\$5000, initially) was garnered by a man with a known anti-labor background raises obvious questions: How? Why? "Why" is the easy half to answer.

Alioto's liberal facade depends on his public friendship with organized labor--a friendship which masks the systematic exploitation of the city's working class and the erosion of the union members' rights and bargaining power. The union no longer represents its membership, and the membership is almost without recourse. City politics dominate the Local, and the politics of the international complement this arrangement nicely.

Local 261 is the largest local in the California Northern District Council of the International Laborers' of North America (AFL-CIO), formerly known as the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America. In 1925 the International came under the control of Joseph V. Moreschi who retired this past year at the age of 88. He was replaced by his long time sharer of power, General Secretary-Treasurer Peter Fosco, a graduate of ward politics and Hod Carriers Union politics in Chicago. Terry O'Sullivan, who rose to prominence out of the muck and mire of Local 261 by red-baiting after the Korean War, moved into the position vacated by Fosco. For seventeen years Moreschi ran the International without calling a national convention; and the first convention was called in 1942 only after Westbrook Pegler began exposing the corruption of the International and its officials.

During the nineteen twenties a series of murders of union officials cleared the way for Peter Fosco's rise to Joe Moreschi's side. Meanwhile he continued to consolidate his power as boss of Chicago's notorious First Ward. In 1949 he wielded this power to defeat legislation recommended by the Chicago Crime Commission--legislation which directly threatened the sanctity of his empire. Within the International the Moreschi and Fosco families, by now thoroughly entrenched, were busily consolidating and centralizing the political structure of the union. Gradually the

Brothers have given up out of disgust, a fact undoubtedly relished by the officials who found it suddenly much easier to pack the meetings.

At the height of the McCarthy Era the caucus attempted to run a slate of minority candidates to break the white control. A not too subtle whispering campaign initiated by the officials cast the stigma of communism on the slate and killed its chances, slight as they were. Hired goons and blatant racist appeals by the union bosses killed the caucus. Local 261, and the other West coast locals, crushed their progressive elements, but still remained relatively free of the Mafia domination which characterized the East.

UNION POLITICS ON THE MAKE

Of the 7000 members of Local 261 (no one except the officials is certain of the actual figure), approximately 65% are black, 20% Spanish-speaking, and 15% white. The controlling officials, C.R. (Bud) Johnson (Pres.) and George Evankovich (Sec-Tres.), are white, but the office staff includes several non-whites: George Ando (recording secretary and dispatcher) who is Japanese and speaks Spanish; LeRoy McArthur, the black man behind the desk; and Abel Gonzales, who controls the Chicano brothers for the officials.

The rise to power of these men is typical. Given the nod from higher up they moved smoothly into control with little or no opposition. Most of them began their rise as vocal anti-communists mouthing the well worn platitudes of the union movement while securing the favor of local bureaucrats and politicians. Bud Johnson came into the Local with nothing and won the support of brothers by posing as a crusader for the rights of the working man--a role he never fulfilled. George Evankovich was no newcomer to labor politics; raised in a prominent CP family in Butte, Montana, it is alleged that he jumped the fence and was instrumental in breaking the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers strike in Denver in the mid 1950's. A number of brothers went to jail. Abel Gonzales bought his way into citizenship and a salaried position with the Local by his willingness to do the bidding of Johnson and Evankovich in keeping the Spanish-speaking brothers in line.

Incomes for these men range from 20 to 30 thousand dollars per year, which includes regular salaries, expenses, and miscellaneous expenditures. (This ac-

counting does not include alleged gifts and pay offs.) A rank and file member of the union might earn 11 thousand per year if he were fortunate enough to not suffer a lay off, but lay offs are common in the building and construction field.

The main source of control over the membership is simple and direct: The officials have the power to starve a man into submission if he objects to their open disregard for the rights of the brothers. Their control of the plugboard (from which members are released to jobs as employers request men) allows them to juggle plug numbers to give better jobs to their "yes" men and keep dissident brothers from finding relatively steady employment. Men on the job are aware that if they complain to a business agent about job conditions they are likely to get their walking papers within a few days. Neither union officials nor company bosses want rank and file members to challenge the prevailing system or create discontent on the job. Dissent is stifled in other ways as well.

WAITING FOR ZAPATA

Probably the most vicious and complete control is perpetrated against the Spanish-speaking brothers. Through the Centro Social Obrero (the place where Hubert Humphrey spoke in the Mission district during his campaign) under the control of Abel Gonzales, the union bosses hold tight rein on these brothers. The Obreros hold their meeting shortly before the union holds its monthly meetings, when they are briefed by Gonzales on how to vote in response to his signals. In order to get into the Local, and in order to get a job, they must not only pay initiation fees, dues, insurance, and a so called "voluntary political contribution," but they often have to grease the palm of Gonzales.

Because of their ethnic and language difficulties in white America, these brothers are easily exploited and are generally afraid to do anything about it, although recently discontent among the Obreros has risen significantly. Gonzales has been known to take brothers off jobs if they challenge his supremacy, and other brothers, who are not citizens, have reported that the union has hassled their families in Mexico in order to whip them into line.

The initial consolidation of the Chicanos into an administration voting bloc came in 1966 during the union elections. In the six months previous to the

YOU CAN'T FIGHT CITY HALL!

autonomy of the locals disappeared and district and regional councils assumed the bargaining responsibilities of the locals. This removed any real control over wages or conditions from the rank and file membership. The last major battle for local autonomy was fought in 1952 by the three most militant locals in the International, (Local 400 in Seattle, Local 147 in New York, and Local 16 in San Francisco.) But with the help of the McCarthy Era the International was able to purge itself of dissent and make its control nearly complete--a "family" affair at that--and from Sicily.

Even following the purges, a degree of militancy lingered on the West coast, but it was dying fast. Old timers in the union tell of the Mafia dominated International's sweeping appraisal of the West coast locals--"They're all commies out there." And for a decade the International did not move to solidify its control of these unions. In San Francisco, Local 261 had always been dominated by whites--mostly of Irish birth or extraction, and mostly city employees. Then, and now, the local was composed of men working in the construction industries, city and state employees and, recently, Federal employees.

In the fifties attendance at meetings remained large. A secret caucus which met in the Mission, Fillmore, and Hunters Point districts managed to win a few battles on the floor, since parliamentary procedure was still followed at meetings. But their victories were short lived. (Presently the officials do not make the slightest pretense of following accepted parliamentary rules at meetings. As a result attendance has dwindled to 200 to 300 out of about 7000.



AMBASSADOR HENNING UNION PRES. FOSCO MAYOR ALIOTO

elections between 500 and 600 Spanish-speaking laborers were admitted to the Local--all of them members of the Social Obrero. In order to raise the money necessary to buy a book in the Local they were all found jobs on the waterfront. As a reward for this Gonzales was appointed under Rebels Cayton, Alioto's minority relations man. His appointment lasted a few months before he was dropped (Informed sources have it that Alioto finally realized that none of Gonzales' bloc were voters). At the election one of the Obrero officials checked off each Obrero as he voted and brought those who had not yet voted to the hall, giving the incumbents a solid 600 votes--more than enough to guarantee them the election.

However, in the last election (June, 1969), their bloc had diminished to about 300, an indication of the discontent which Dick Nolan, labor columnist for the S.F. EXAMINER, chronicled in an article dated March 14, 1969: "...I have become much interested in a small murmur or mutter, sounding much like Spanish, emanating from the lowest depths of Laborers' Local 261... Spanish-speaking newcomers, unable to cope with union officials because of language difficulties, greenhorn deference and other handicaps, are being "used" by the Laborers Union--discriminated against in the hiring hall and pressured into making political contributions along with their rather hefty initiation fees." Nolan, though, is pessimistic about anything being done to rectify the situation, particularly on the part of the Chicanos.

THE JOB TRAINING BUSINESS

Besides the manipulation of the Obreros, who provide the controlling votes at the meetings, programs such as Youth for Service offer the officials both good publicity in the middle class liberal community and excellent means of controlling dissent at meetings. YFS, headed by Orville Laster, is a program ostensibly

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FEUDALISM IN THE FIELDS

By Terence Cannon

We told our friends we were going to Delano for the weekend. "Where?" they said. "What for?"

The movement wrote Delano off its political map in 1967 and moved on to campus fights, the streets, the draft and the Black Panthers. "Students are like a whirlwind," Cesar Chavez said. "They always have another cause to move on to." Besides, the National Farmworkers Association has joined the enemy, the AFL-CIO; Delano was a non-violent movement, a union, a reform operation, the political handmaiden of the Kennedy machine.

The farmworkers stayed. They had no other cause to move on to. They were left to fight America's feudal agricultural empire alone, with the financial aid of the AFL and the political aid of the churches and the liberals.

The movement has come around now in its whirlwind path to recognizing the importance of America's workers and it is to remind us that the farm workers are workers fighting the most reactionary section of American industry that I write this article.

Delano is an administrative center. Little organizing goes on there. Three houses hold the hiring hall, the national grape boycott headquarters, the health and welfare office and the staff of the union.

For almost two years all activity has been concentrated in the boycott. The adobe brick cooperative gas station is empty, its rooms filled with canned goods and medical equipment from the abandoned medical clinic. The best talent of the union, the people who came up through the ranks during the strike in 1965-6 are all over north America, organizing grape boycott committees in Chicago, Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Montreal...Hardly anyone I knew from the "militant" days is in the husk of Delano.

DON'T BUY GRAPES

Even the growers have finally admitted that the boycott is successful. They are suing the Union for \$25,000,000 damages, the amount they claim they have lost from the boycott. After arguing for 4 years that there was no strike, and for 2 years that the boycott was ineffective, their backs are against the wall.

The union replied by demanding that each grower submit detailed statements

on the cost of production for each variety of grapes for the last 20 years, where they are selling their grapes, a list of their profits and losses, audits of total income, expenses and taxes, and details of the business operation. The growers are not about to hand over this information and the suit will probably be dropped.

In the major cities most supermarkets have stopped selling grapes. The biggest holdout is Safeway, the second largest supermarket chain in the world. One of Safeway's directors is president of J.G. Boswell, Inc., one of the largest cotton growers in California and the largest grape grower in Arizona. Last year he received the largest subsidy ever given by the government, \$4,091,818, for not growing any cotton. Another is a director of the Kern County Land Company, which owns most of Kern County and is being struck by the farmworkers.

THE FEUDALISTS STICK TOGETHER

For every liberal politician that nods in the direction of the farmworkers, there are others who are increasingly using the power of the government to smash the struggle. Last year Governor Reagan sent state labor investigators to Delano. They talked only to the growers and ended up decertifying most of the Delano strikes. This means that greencard workers from Mexico may legally work in the struck fields.

"It looks as if, in addition to fighting the immensely powerful growers, we will also be fighting the Federal and State governments," commented the farmworker newspaper EL MALCRIADO.

Senator George Murphy has proposed slave-labor legislation in congress. His "Consumer Food Protection Act" would

outlaw farm worker strikes during harvest and make it a federal offense to quit your job in a dispute over wages. "Such a law would probably mean the end of any hope for a non-violent solution of the farm labor problem," commented Larry Itliong, Assistant Director of the union.

The biggest single move against the boycott has been taken by the Defense Department. The generals are gorging on grapes, buying them up at a fantastic rate. In 1967, when the boycott was just beginning, the Army shipped 458,000 pounds of grapes to Vietnam. This year they have already sent 2,500,000 pounds to our boys in Asia.

Last year, when there was a shortage of apples and oranges, the Army called its commanders in Vietnam "suggesting" that they take grapes as a substitute. The union is now planning to leaflet GPs, and is attacking the Defense Department head on. Union Vice-President Dolores Huerta testified at a hearing in Washington last month on the Army's grape orgy. Defense Department officials refused to reveal the names of the growers with which they deal, and the amounts purchased.

DEFOLIATION

The furor over the use of agricultural poisons began in Delano last year, and has become the Second Front of the farmworker struggle. It is a non-negotiable demand for future union contracts.

1000 farmworkers a year are poisoned, a dozen or more in California fatally poisoned. Studies in the San Joaquin Valley have shown that already farmworkers have dangerous amounts of DDT in their bodies.

Two months ago 40 million fish were killed in the Rhine River when two barrels of the insecticide endosulfan fell off a barge. A state of emergency was called in German and Dutch towns along the river. Amsterdam and Rotterdam switched to reserve water supplies. Endosulfan is a derivative of nerve gas, manufactured by a German chemical firm that produced poison gas for the Nazis. It is extensively used on crops in California.

So important is this to the union that negotiations were broken off in Coachella

last month when the growers, who had asked for negotiations, refused to agree to a pesticide regulation clause, broke off negotiations and blasted the union in the press.

"Over 1000 people, mostly farm workers, are injured and poisoned every year in California alone from misuse of pesticides," Chavez said in Coachella. "We want protection from this in our contracts. We don't care what the state laws say, or whether the growers are legally 'innocent' of breaking any laws or regulations, but we'll be damned if we will stand by and watch the systematic poisoning of our people."

Grapes purchased by union members in a Safeway store in Washington DC a few weeks ago were tested and found to contain the same poison used on the cranberry crop in Massachusetts, which was destroyed as dangerous -- the grapes had .8 times as much! Union leaders are now talking about a suit to have the entire grape crop in California destroyed.

IT ISN'T THE SHIP THAT MAKES THE WAVES, IT'S THE MOTION OF THE OCEAN

The motion in the farmworker movement continually comes from where all motion begins, the people. Farmworkers across the country want to strike and are striking. At a mass meeting in Delano, we met workers from Arizona, Coachella Valley and Ohio-Michigan, who had just completed strikes in the fields.

The slow office motion of Delano was shattered. As they each told their stories, the hall erupted in cheers and clenched fists. (I didn't see no raised clenched fists in Delano two years ago).

The Coachella strike was one of the best in farmworker history. The Coachella Valley is in the Southeastern corner of California, near the rich folks' hangout in Palm Springs. The picking season comes there first and then moves north through the summer.

200 workers walked out on May 28. Organizers from Delano and Coachella had begun preparing in March. By April an organizer reported, "We really know the area, the growers, the vineyards, almost row by row. We are ready on the legal front. And the workers are ready, more ready than ever before, and organized and prepared to do what has to be done."

There are four types of workers in Coachella. The largest group are local workers, who live there year round. They are the backbone of the union and led the strike in 1968 which was broken by the growers and police.

The second group are the Filipinos. In 1968 they were not solidly for the strike. This year they were organized and among the most militant. The Filipinos at Badgasarian Camp #2 led a sit-in of 37 workers at the camp of Mike Bozick, leader of the Desert Grape Growers League. Bozick called the cops and



—photo by Bob Thurber

cleared the camp, arresting three of the Filipino leaders, who now face the possibility of several years in jail.

When negotiations began, Dolores Huerta gave special credit to the militant Filipinos. "Their courage, their actions, may have been the final straw that scared the growers into opening discussions." A strike banner calls for farmworkers to emulate Bagdasarian #2.

The third group are the unorganized migrants who live in the camp and are easily intimidated. This year many of them lost their fear and joined the strike.

The fourth group broke the strike last year--the Green Carders, temporary workers shipped over each day from Mexico. At least half of the Green Carders, Chavez said, are not proletarians in Mexico. They are small farmers, cabdrivers, bar owners, small businessmen. In America they are peasant-workers, but they identify more closely with the growers and contractors than they do with the farm workers. They come to America, earn \$10 a day, and hire two guys in Mexico to take care of their business at home for \$1 a day and make what is to them a big profit. They are a counterforce to worker organizing.

If the Labor Department certified the strike, the growers could not hire Green Carders to break it. But the Department refused. The Regional Director of the Labor Department told a union lawyer that "orders from Washington" forbade him from investigating or certifying the strike.

In Ohio and Michigan striking farmworkers have just signed a contract for a union shop, hiring hall and wage increases.

In Arizona the strike was lost, but the workers are optimistic about next year. Arizona, a "right-to-work" state will be one of the hardest to organize.

THE FUTURE

It is possible to hurt the growers badly at the point of production. They were smashed in Coachella. \$3-4 million dollars worth of grapes were left on the vines to rot. Several of the growers may go bankrupt.

As the season moves north, so do the strikes. The workers near Bakersfield, California are on strike now at the old DiGiorgio Ranch. (DiGiorgio sold all its grape fields to S.A. Camp, who refused to recognize the DiGiorgio farmworker contract). Strikes will probably take place in Delano and Fresno.

Meanwhile, grape production and profits are plunging. Lugs (22 pound boxes) of grapes that sold for \$10 last year, sell for \$6 this year. As of June 6, total combined rail and truck deliveries of grapes to the 41 major cities of North America came to 71 car lots, compared to 209 last year.

The boycott is training and developing young leaders who will return to Delano after the boycott is over. Secondary leadership and militancy are rising from the struggles in the fields. Nucleuses of farmwork committees are springing up around the country, ready to move when they have gathered their strength.

Farmworkers remain in a peculiar position in the American economy. The feudal-industrial system they are fighting is deeply imbedded in the bourgeois industrial state and exercises political power far beyond its domain. Merely to attain the status of "average" workers, the farmworkers will have to smash certain feudal institutions, such as the contractor system, which now procures and oversees farm labor for the growers.

The Delano movement will not go the trade union route. They have refused all offers of growers to recognize "grape workers' locals" and insist on "one big union" of farm workers. Pared and squeezed by mechanization, the union that remains 10 years from now may be a skilled union in the AFL mainstream. But these are not average American workers: their class and national background forbids it. Their entrance into the organized working class will change the nature of that class and its organizations.

They have been forced by their unique rural and feudal condition to seek the aid of Democratic Party forces in order to survive. But they are part of the Third World and America cannot escape the effects of their struggle. Were they all to be mechanized off the land tomorrow, thousands of rural laborers, politically sophisticated and trained in militant struggle, who have been through strikes and negotiations, political maneuvers and broken promises, stronger than before and more united, would then stream on the only place left for them, the cities.

-photo by Bob Thurber



view from the top

By Thorstein Smith

Financial brains in the Establishment are busy on a balancing act between inflation on the one hand, and controls on the economy which risk running us into a recession on the other. But, as the WALL ST. JOURNAL points out, that issue has already been settled for the average American worker--his purchasing power is at recession level now even though his dollar income is pretty near an all-time high. According to the Labor Department, average income of a nonsupervisory worker in private industry with three dependents -- our "typical" worker -- was \$112.13 per week last April; but his purchasing power was only \$77.62 after taxes and inflation, which is \$2.24 less than a year ago, and a dollar less than it was four years ago. Top brass, on the other hand, is making more every year--G.M.'s top officers and directors got \$17,739,500 last year in salaries, fees, bonuses and stock credits, up 19% over the previous year.

This crunch on the average worker is reflected in larger numbers of working wives (up 15-20% in job-seeking over last year), moonlighting, and even some shortages of jobs for college graduates.

Average clerical workers, interestingly enough, don't do as well as industrial workers: in a survey of 6,017 companies, their average was just \$100 per week, up only \$3 over last year. Yet only 8% of these firms are unionized.

Let's have a closer look at these "average" workers. After putting aside about \$100 a month for the home (very optimistic), he's got just about \$3.60 a day per person for food, clothing, medicine and school supplies; that's about

what his boss spends for lunch. This is production workers--the average retail worker scrapes along at about \$75 per week, barely above the poverty line, and there are 8 million of them. Yet in 1966 the Labor Department said it took \$9,491 for an average city family of four to maintain a "moderate" standard of living--that's about \$2,000 more than the average SKILLED worker makes, and he's the aristocrat of the working class.

Now let's look at the myth that the community and state colleges are where you get to talk to the children of the working class. The average state university now costs \$2,000 a year--it follows, then, that less than one-fourth of all high school graduates who are working-class enter college. Working-class kids do their junior year abroad as members of the armed forces. It should also be remembered that 40% of the poor are white, and most work full-time.

While it is important to remember that the proportion of blue-collar workers is going down, it's still in the factory that you see working-class kids, not at college. True, there are about 6 1/2 million college kids now, and increasing all the time. But there are 250,000 workers 30 or under in the big three in auto alone, and 600,000 in the whole C.A.W. alone (about 100,000 are under 25). About 5 million trade unionists are under 30.

After the Chilean government took over two Anaconda copper mines, Anaconda stock dropped nine points in a week--the two mines account for over half of Anaconda's earnings. What's the real deal? On Jan. 1, 1970 Anaconda will give up 51% of the mines, for which

it will receive in U.S. money \$197 million over twelve years, at 6% interest for the unpaid balances, tax-free. The rest will be turned over gradually in a similar way, up to 1981. The stock dropped because investors think this deal will erode Anaconda's earnings. Now if you were getting 6% per year tax free you'd have to be holding municipal bonds of something, or making 10% before taxes. Your friendly neighborhood savings and loan will give you, maybe, 5 1/2%, taxable. Your earnings should only "erode" that way.

That "average production worker", of course, has no savings to earn 5 1/2% or anything else. He borrows, at about 7%, if his credit is any good, to own his own home. Unfortunately this is getting harder and harder since the Establishment insists on raising interest rates, so that fewer homes are being built. In a period of increasing housing shortages, volume of home-building has dropped one-fourth since January. Funny thing is that the guy who is least able to find housing at prices he can afford is also going to get laid off first because people aren't building homes. You figure it out.

On the other hand, you can buy a "security package" home in Potomac, Md., for \$200,000, complete with armed guards, identity checks, electronic eyes, and chauffeuring from home to guard house school bus stops for your kids. The whole thing was planned for up-tight Washingtonians by the Stanford Research Institute's long-range planning "service", according to WSJ 6-19-69. Didn't they used to have a university there?

BRING THE WAR HOME!

By Kathy Boudin and Terry Robbins, National Action Staff
Phoebe Hirsch, Chicago SDS

It's been almost a year since the Democratic Convention, when thousands of young people came together in Chicago and tore up Pig City for five days. The action was a response to the crisis this system is facing as a result of the war, the demand by black and brown people for liberation, and the ever-growing realization that this system just can't make it.

This fall people are coming back to Chicago: more powerful, better organized, and more together than we were last August.

SDS is calling for a National Action in Chicago from October 8 through October 11. We are coming back to Chicago, and we're going to bring those we left behind last year.

Chicago stands as one of the major symbols of repression in America today. It was there that masses of young people were maced, tear-gassed, and beaten in the streets. It was there that McCarthy kids saw their half-worn dream turn into the nightmarish attack on McCarthy headquarters at the same time that the Convention delegate-pigs were sewing up the candidacy of Hubert Humphrey. It was there that the eyes of the world witnessed the slaughter of innocence.

But Chicago is also the symbol of struggle. It is where we showed the people of Vietnam that their enemy was our enemy. Where we showed that white

people would no longer sit idly by while black communities were being invaded by occupying armies. Where we physically challenged the bullshit and hypocrisy of the convention. Where we involved, for the first time, a sizeable number of working class youth, attracted to the militancy and seriousness of our actions.

Chicago is the place where thousands of young people began to fight back.

This year, we are returning to Chicago at the time of the trial of "The Conspiracy," eight men indicted for conspiring to cause a riot during last summer's action. One of those indicted is Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party. In the past couple of years, attacks on the black liberation struggle, and the

Black Panther Party in particular, have escalated and intensified tremendously. Witness Huey P. Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Hutton, Bunchy Carter, Fred Hampton and the Chicago 16, the New York Panther 21 and Ericka Huggens. The ruling class has made it clear that they intend to crush the Panther Party, as they will try to crush anyone or anything that threatens to stop their attempt to continue to rule the world.

FIGHT REPRESSION WITH INCREASED STRUGGLE

We are returning to Chicago to make it absolutely clear that the only way to fight repression is to escalate the struggle against the system that created that repression. Any attempt to slacken off, or hold down the level of struggle for fear of reprisals from the ruling class will merely communicate to the people, and to the ruling class, thorough weakness and lack of seriousness on the part of the movement. The effect of that perception of weakness would be infinitely

more dangerous than the risks we now take—and will have to take more and more in the future—against the repressive apparatus of the state.

We are returning to Chicago to re-affirm the issues that brought us to Chicago last summer—the war, racism, the bankruptcy of the system—and to expand on those issues and up the ante against the ruling class. We will take action not only against the Vietnam war, but against the whole imperialist system that made the war a necessity. We will take action not only for immediate withdrawal of US troops, but in support of the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people—and oppressed people everywhere—and in support of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional

Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. We will take action not only to bring a just peace to Vietnam, but to begin establishing another front against imperialism right here in the mother country—to "Bring the War Home!"

THE SCENARIO

The action will begin on Wednesday night, October 8th, with a memorial rally for Che Guevara, who was murdered by CIA pigs October 8th, 1967. It will be a rally for Che and all other revolutionaries who have died in the struggle.

On Thursday, October 9, we will join with young people throughout Chicago in an offensive against their schools. High schools, where Chicago Regional SDS has been building cadre through the summer, will develop joint actions with people from out of town around the idea of a "Jailbreak." At community colleges there might be anti-imperialist actions—rallies, building seizures or walkouts—to join other people in the city who are into stuff. Secretarial schools, nursing schools, automechanical and other vocational schools will all be hit. We need to keep tactical flexibility for these actions. But they could be some of the most important events of the week—focusing on working class schools, and, at the same time, getting the word out to thousands of kids in Chicago about what the struggle is all about.

Either on Thursday or Friday there will be a women's action led by groups of women from revo-

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SAN FRANCISCO....

KICK THE ASS OF THE RULING CLASS

The leading imperialists of the world plan to meet in San Francisco in September to formulate plans to tighten their stranglehold on the throats of the people. The people have other ideas.

During the week of September 15-19, 500 corporate leaders from over sixty countries will meet for the Fourth International Industrial Conference (IIC). At the meetings, high level executives plan to discuss the problems and techniques of the international expansion of multinational corporations.

Although the Conference's theme is "Closing the World's Income Gap," Conference sessions will deal with such topics as "coordinating the development efforts of private business and governments," "improving the public image of private enterprise," "obstacles to foreign investment," "safeguarding international investments," and "developing feasible alternatives to free collective bargaining and strikes."

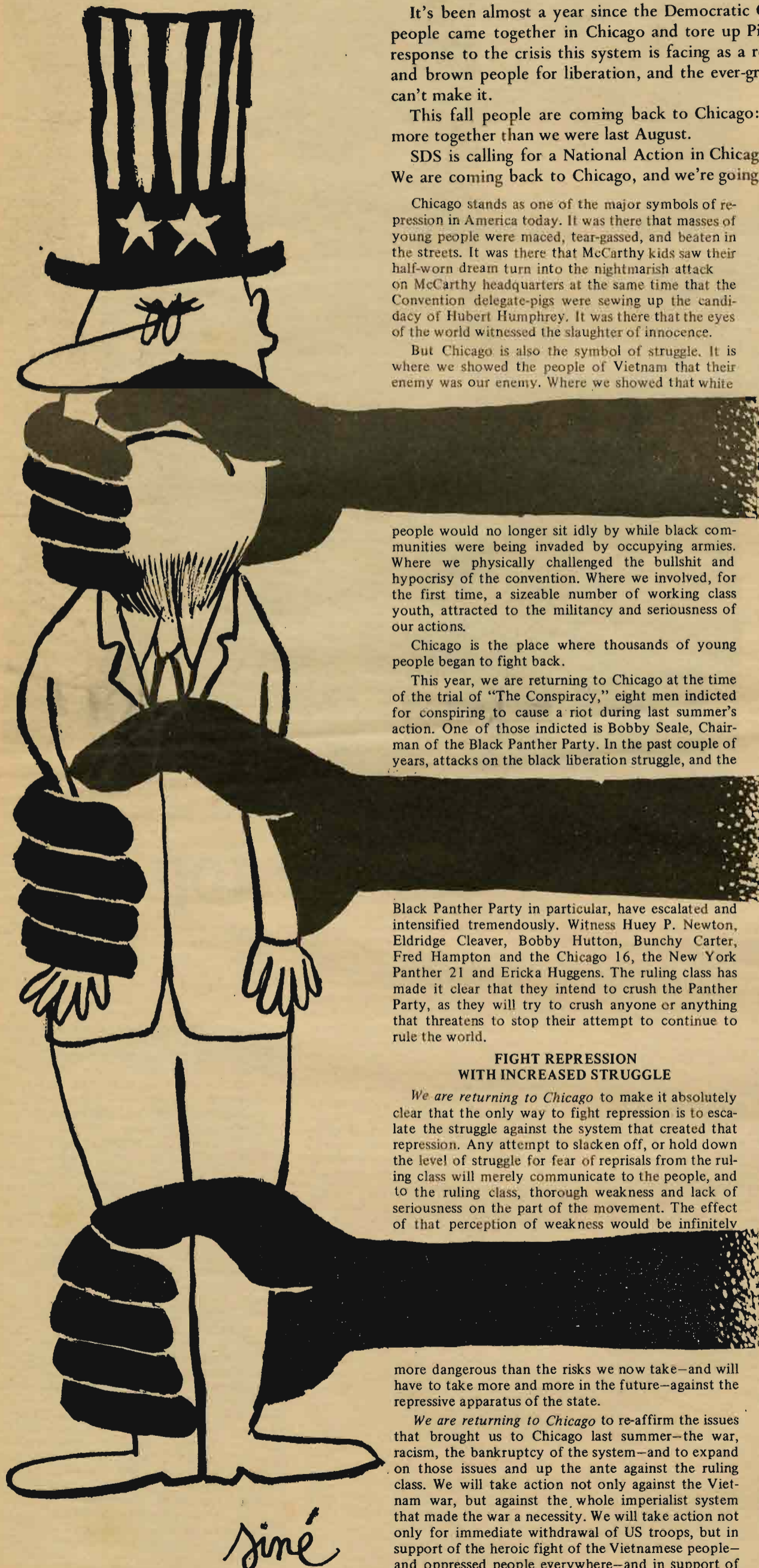
IIC policy board members include David Rockefeller (general chairman of IIC); John H. Loudon, chairman of Royal Dutch Shell; Roger Blough, chairman of the Board of Directors of US Steel; and many of the other controllers of International Big Business.

A number of organizations including the Brown Berets, the Red Guard, the Asian-American Political Alliance, Los Siete de la Raza and SDS and affiliated organizations will demonstrate to the Super Pigs that San Francisco will not be used to plan the further plunder of the world, while the international criminals sit around gazing serenely at the Bay Bridge and playing grab-ass with the topless dancers.

General mobilizations are planned to meet the Japanese fleet on September 5th and Spiro Agnew on the 9th. Activities specifically around the IIC will take place on the 15th, when the Conference begins. People will hold a rousing welcome for Superpig Nixon when he arrives on September 18th.

In organizing around the Conference, we will emphasize the connection between the policies of global imperialism carried out by the corporations and local repression and economic exploitation. This will be especially apparent here in Wall Street West, where Third World people are being driven from their homes to make way for expansion of the home offices of those imperialist forces reaching out from San Francisco into the Pacific.

No more ruling class conferences in San Francisco... or anywhere! Power to the People!



siné



A LETTER FROM SISTER ERICKA HUGGINS

I will waste very few words of my own because Ericka said just about anything there is to say regarding the fascist treatment, not only of herself but of all the political prisoners. This was written in prison on July 8 of this year.

"Long live the United Front Against Fascism! Down with the reactionaries of all kinds!"

It is impossible to say what I feel now. It would take too long and the state doesn't offer enough paper. But because none of us can be with you, I will try. I can envision as I write the people that will hear this. I can see their faces. I can feel their warmth. The warmth that comrades often have for each other. I can also see the faces of some who always appear among the people--the worried, empty, brutal faces of the agents of fascism. Worried because they know that people, poor people, oppressed people, gathered together for one reason: To analyze the conditions of the oppression and wipe it out. Empty because they have no feeling for the masses of people, for the souls of revolutionaries we have lost, for the starving babies of this country and the world. And brutal because they will fight to the last ditch to destroy the revolutionary fervor of the people. They will continue to run back, cowering to the oppressors about the people's plans to rise up. They fail, however, to realize that the masses have boundless creative power, and no matter how they kick ass, beat us, kill us, or jail us, the people, we will carry on. I see the faces

have changed. I hope that many minds are open to what is happening. I know that many ears have been listening to the foul utterances that America spits out at the world. We have listened too long and the bitch, her mouth reeking of death says, "We have thoroughly oppressed our people at home. We are succeeding at keeping the people of Vietnam in a state of decay. We are tramping on Africa. We are destroying South America, making bigger and better alliances with Russia. We have only to wait for Mao to die, and we will be the world power. And then we will place our murder on the moon."

America is plotting universal imperialism. It will be the same everywhere. First Coca Cola then Oscar Meyer, Weimer and then, the troops. (applause) The people cannot take this. We cannot allow fascist fanatics to continue to deprive us of our human rights. We must organize and form an everlasting United Front against capitalism, against imperialism, against class distinction, against racism, against fascism. (applause)

We cannot allow concessions from the federal government for the continual harassments and unwarranted brutality of the people. We cannot allow our children to be Black, Mexican, Indian, Japanese, Chinese or White to be miseducated and degraded in America's degenerate school system. We cannot allow any more lynching, bombing and racial ignorance down South or up South. We cannot allow unions, any longer,

to drive the working class--the working class must drive the unions. Our fight must be endless to organize the workers of this country, to overhaul and change every assembly line in every factory. We cannot allow medical services in our communities to remain inadequate. We need more hospitals, more doctors, more nurses, and less insistence on medical genocide or birth control. We cannot allow the reformists to clean up the surface while the inner structure rots. We need a revolution! All of our thoughts, each of our actions, should lead us to one goal: the emptying of the shit that fills the bowels of this country. We can no longer allow the senselessness of anarchy and arbitrary destruction. We need no more impulsive, opportunistic movements, groups or political parties that endure on socialistic rhetoric. We need socialism in practice! (applause) For example, SDS regulars, and P/L in fighting. We need people of all colors who realize the Vanguard of the people's revolutionary camp must be the most oppressed, those who always rely on action through tested and proven theory. We must allow no backsliders, liberals, charvinist renegades, provocateur agents to cause confusion in our ranks. And on the other hand, we have no need for dogmatism and coercive force. We need unity among oppressed people and an understanding of Marxist-Leninist principles so that we may put our knowledge into revolutionary practice. (applause)

The future of the political priso-

ners of Connecticut and Colorado looks vague at this point. But in times of difficulty we cannot lose sight of our achievements. We must see the bright future for the people and pick up our courage. We realize that there are people that support us and that however long we remain here, we serve as a catalytic agent to move the people forward. I'm trying to speak for all of us; for Landon Williams and Forry Hithé, who were rammed into a hole with no food; for Rose Smith who will bear a child in December, for the isolated political prisoners and for the other prisoners in Connecticut. I cannot say what they feel, but I know they want to be with the people. I know that their nights are sleepless like mine are because they want to take their places on the streets with the people. I know the New York 21 want to be with you. I know that Huey, the Chicago 16 and all other political prisoners long to be there. I know Papa misses America's congested streets. But we are there in spirit and revolutionary agreement. We only ask that you realize who your real friends and your real enemies are. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between the oppressors and the oppressed, between the imperialists and the internationalists, between the pigs and the people. Who sits next to you?

All Power to the People!
All Power to the People!
Long live the Peoples' Revolutionary Struggle!
Long Live the Minister of Defense!
Free all Political Prisoners!"
Ericka Huggins

PANTHER SISTERS ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Editorial Note:

Within the Movement, debate rages over organizational and political strategy for the women's liberation movement. This debate rarely includes the ideas of black women. So we rapped with six women, members of the Black Panther Party, about some of the issues raised by the women's liberation movement and their own experience with women's liberation inside the Black Panther Party. (Technical note: A large space between paragraphs means that a different sister is speaking.)

We had hoped to have several other articles on women's liberation for this issue. When we solicited an article from some white sisters active in women's liberation, they recommended that people read "Bread and Roses" published in the June issue of LEVIATHAN. We expect to have an article from the sisters in the Young Lords Organization for next issue.

MOVEMENT: How has the position of women within the Black Panther Party changed? How have the women in the Party dealt with male chauvinism within the Party?

PANTHER WOMEN: I've only been in the Party about ten months and when I got in the Party the thing about Pantherettes was squashed, we sort of grew out of it. Then there's Ericka Huggins. The brothers had to look on Ericka with a new light because she had been thru a lot of things that some Brothers hadn't even been thru. The sisters looked up to her and we all saw what we had to do. The sisters have to pick up guns just like brothers. There are a lot of things the sisters can do to change society.

We realize that we have a role to play and we're tired of sitting home and being misused and unless we stand up, male chauvinism will still show itself and be something that's just passed over. Unless we speak against it and teach the brothers what's correct and point out what's wrong, then it'll still be here.

There used to be a difference in the roles (of men and women) in the party because sisters were relegated to certain duties. This was due to the backwardness and lack of political perspective on the part of both sisters and brothers. Like sisters would just naturally do the office-type jobs, the clerical-type jobs. They were the ones that handled the mailing list. You know all those things that go into details. They were naturally given to the sisters and because of this, because the sisters accepted it so willingly because they had been doing this before, this is the type of responsibilities they've had before, it was very easy for male chauvinism to continue on. The only examples we had of sisters taking responsibility were probably in Kathleen or one or two people who exercised responsibility in other areas of Party work.

We've recognized in the past 4 or 5 months that sisters have to take a more responsible role. They have to extend their responsibility and it shouldn't be just to detail work, to things women normally do. This, I think, has been manifested in the fact that a lot of sisters have been writing more articles, they're attending more to the political aspects of the Party, they're speaking out in public more and we've even done outreach work in the community, extensive outreach work in that we've taken the initiative to start our own schools-- both brothers and sisters now work in the liberation schools. It's been proven that positions aren't relegated to sex, it depends on your political awareness.

I can remember that when I came into the Party over a year ago at that time David Hilliard was National Headquarters Captain, and there was another sister in the Party who was the National Captain for women and even though most of the people related to David Hilliard as being National HQ Captain, most of the women related to this other sister for directives because she was the National Captain for women. Under her-- were sergeants and lieutenants who were all sisters and in their ranks were other sisters. There was almost a separation between the brothers and the sisters.

REORGANIZATION

When that was abolished, when there were no longer any separate positions for sisters and brothers, when we all had to relate to the brothers or sisters who were in the specific positions, there wasn't just a reaction on the part of certain brothers cause they didn't like having to relate to certain sisters, who were in leadership positions. There was also a reaction on the part of some sisters, who because they had to relate to some brothers, because they did not have ranks above certain brothers, they wanted to quit the Party. So it wasn't just a matter of brothers being male chauvinistic in not wanting to relate to sisters as leaders over them--but it was also the sisters, because of conditioning wanted to continue to submit to other sisters, rather than to leaders of the Party per se, regardless of sex.

And I can see since the time I joined the Party that the Party has undergone radical change in the direction of women leadership and emancipation of women. Even though Ericka Huggins provides us with a very good example, it's not so much Ericka and the realization that Ericka poses a strike example. It's the fact that the political consciousness and the political level of members of the Party have risen very much since I joined the Party and because of the fact that we're moving toward a proletarian revolution and because we have come to realize that male chauvinism and all its manifestations are bourgeois and that's one of things we're fighting against. We realize that in a proletarian revolution, the emancipation of women is primary. We realize that the success of the revolution depends upon the women. For this reason, we know that it's necessary that the women must be emancipated.

IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

MOVEMENT: Could you explain what you mean when you say that the success of the revolution depends

on the emancipation of women.

PANTHER WOMEN: It's because of the fact that women are the other half. A revolution cannot be successful simply with the efforts of the men, because a woman plays such an integral role in society even though she is relegated to smaller, seemingly insignificant positions.

I think conditions outside the Party have forced us to realize that we have to get rid of male chauvinism. As Panthers, we cannot separate ourselves and divide ourselves and work as Pantherettes, and on the other hand have brothers work as Panthers and expect to present a United Front against Fascism or against the enemy or against outside forces. There has to be unity within the Party. We can't be divided on the basis of sex and we can't be divided on the basis of principles or anything.

Ericka became a good example because the pigs realized she was a revolutionary. Maybe we didn't realize that, in the sense that we thought about it all the time or brought her up as an example of a strong woman. But, I think the pigs realize that and this outside condition has forced us to realize that we can't operate as two halves, separate, apart from each other--we have to be unified.

VIETNAMESE WOMEN LEAD

MOVEMENT: You once said that the Vietnamese women were your example. Could you explain more concretely what that means in terms of the struggle of women in the United States?

PANTHER WOMEN: We feel that the example given us by the Vietnamese women is a prime example of the role women can play in the revolution. The Vietnamese women are out there fighting with their brothers, fighting against American imperialism, with its advanced technology. They can shoot. They're out there with their babies on their backs, as the case may be, and they're participating in the revolution wholeheartedly just as the Vietnamese men are participating in the revolution, in the national liberation struggle. The success of their national liberation struggle is just as much dependent upon the women continuing struggle as it is dependent on the Vietnamese men. So there we see in Vietnam where the struggle today is the sharpest in terms of struggling against US imperialism, the women in fact, play the role of the other half--not the weaker half, not the stronger half, but the other half of the Vietnamese men. We hold them up as our example and we hope that the revolutionary women in the U.S. can follow that example and live up to the goal that they have set.

Right now the issue of male chauvinism is rather sharp and kind of out of place. We're starting to talk about it and everybody is sensitive about it--but once women find their place in terms of their roles as revolutionaries and use the example of the Vietnamese women, then I don't think it will be such a sharp issue. I think we'll begin to function and make it very natural for a woman to behave as a revolutionary and not as a subordinate or as a submissive half.

SPECIAL ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN

MOVEMENT: Black women are considered to be the most oppressed group in the U.S., as blacks and as women. That special oppression gives them a special, even vanguard, role. Do you want to talk about that a little?

PANTHER WOMEN: I think, historically, even at this time, even for women in the Party, to say we want full share and full responsibility is kind of difficult and kind of touchy because of our society. Our men have been sort of castrated, you know. The responsibilities that they rightfully should have had before, were taken

away from them--to take away their manhood. We've had to fight all this before. Our men are constantly thinking or saying that maybe if we assume a heavier role, a more responsible role, that this, in turn, will sort of take away their responsibility and it's such a touchy thing, that we have to be very sure that the roles are evenly divided.

It shouldn't have to be one certain role for a man and one certain role for a woman--we're all gonna participate in the struggle and whatever we can do best, we do it, whether it's at a higher level or not. This is very touchy and presents some problems in combatting a specific thing like male chauvinism, because some brothers still have this fear of women dominating the whole political scene. It may not be voiced that often, but I think it's a very real fear, and we're going to have to be sensitive enough to recognize it. We're going to have to be sensitive enough to say that we're going to take more of a share of the political arena but, at the same time, we're going to have to keep these things in mind.

I think it's important that within the context of that struggle that black men understand that their manhood is not dependent on keeping their black women subordinate to them because this is what bourgeois ideology has been trying to put into the black man and that's part of the special oppression of black women. Black women as generally a part of the poor people of the U.S., the working class, are more oppressed, as being black, they're super-oppressed, and as being women they are sexually oppressed by men in general and by black men also.

So, in this context we see that black women are especially oppressed in this country and it's very important that black women understand and black men understand that black man's manhood is not dependent upon the subordination of black women, but rather his manhood is, in fact, dependent on his own strength and the strength he also gets from a revolutionary relationship. A relationship is more fruitful when, in fact, the woman is the other half and not the weaker half. They (the men) get more out of the relationship just as the women.

UNITY IN STRUGGLE

MOVEMENT: What are your ideas on the strategy for women's liberation in terms of separate women's organizations, the priority of women's liberation in relation to other issues like imperialism and racism?

PANTHER WOMEN: I think it's important that the separate women's liberation groups not all be lumped into one category. Their effectiveness and their value is dependent upon to what extent their work is furthering revolutionary goals in this country. I think that there are all different kinds of organizations in existence now. There are some people who talk about the contradiction among men and women as one of the major contradictions in capitalist society and therefore they take that contradiction (and even if they don't talk about it, some of them put it into practice) and develop it into an antagonistic contradiction, when actually it is a contradiction among the people. It's not a contradiction between enemies.

An example of this is at the UFAF Conference where occasions arose from time to time where women would want to have a caucus and a man would come around and they would get very uptight that a man was there and were practically ready to jump on him, just because he happened to be listening around. I think that's an example of how the women's struggle is taken out of perspective--it is separated from class struggle in this country, it's separated from national liberation struggles and it's given its own category of women against men. Sometimes people say, "it's within a revolutionary context", but in practice, if all their rhetoric and all their practice is anti-men, it is not a revolutionary program and, as a matter of fact, it hinders the revolutionary forces.

The contradiction between men and women is a contradiction that has to be worked out within the revolutionary forces. It is not at all comparable to the class contradictions. It's the class struggle that takes priority. To the extent that women's organizations don't address themselves to the class struggle or to national liberation struggles they are not really furthering the women's liberation movement, because in order for women to be truly emancipated in this country there's going to have to be a socialist revolution. And there's going to have to be ideological struggle for decades and probably for centuries before male chauvinism is overcome. If women don't understand this, they're not going to truly be able to overcome their special oppression.

Roberta is correct and even those women's organizations who do address themselves to the struggles that are at hand, the strategy of having autonomous women's liberation organizations is incorrect because, as Roberta says, it seems as if those organizations look upon women's liberation as a priority when in actuality the struggle towards socialist revolution is a priority. Women can only become emancipated, not through their own efforts as a particular group, but through their participation on an equal plane in the existing organizations which are comprised of men and women who are struggling for the same cause. It's not a separate struggle and women's liberation does not take priority, but in fact is part and parcel of the overall struggle.

FEMALE CHAUVINISM

Any organization that's being formed for women's liberation, like Rosannary said, has got to take into consideration that they can't operate separately and by themselves. They must also understand the definition of chauvinism. Chauvinism isn't just relegated to the male. Chauvinism is an unyielding, unreasoning or irrational love for one's sex and if a women's liberation organization gets uptight because a man comes around, that's unreasoning and irrational. It's not being realistic and looking at things as a whole in terms of a man's function as a revolutionary and a woman functioning as a revolutionary. If they're not careful, they will go to an extreme and they will become female chauvinists. They will have an unyielding love for their sex and totally negate revolutionary struggle.

Unfortunately, if we don't be careful, I think that the women's liberation struggle can be coopted by opportunists. It can become just like a style or a fad and the whole revolutionary struggle will be set

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PANTHER SISTERS

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back because of this. This is one reason why the revolutionary practitioners, because of the repression we're suffering, can't take time out to go off by ourselves to solve some of our backwardness. This would be just another dividing tactic as far as I can see.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN PRACTICE

I think it's important to recognize the dangers that separate women's groups face immediately, just because they're women's groups and there's a good chance that they're going to get off base in terms of what the primary struggle is. However, I think we have to be very careful in terms of condemning forms that are used in the movement. I think that there is room for special organizing of women. There are positive things that these kinds of groups can do: for example, canneries, special plants where there's primarily women, electronics and this sort of thing in terms of working class organizing, in terms of organizing cooperative nurseries to liberate the energies of women.

But, they are always facing certain dangers in terms of turning in on themselves, in terms of becoming a very petit bourgeois little clique where they just talk about how they have to take care of the kids all the time or become a gripe session. So I think, while we as Panthers, while we integrate the struggle of the brothers and sisters within the Party, we still will see how these separate women's liberation groups do thru their practice. And that's where our judgment of them will come in.

We have a phrase that says that the only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Now, our culture dictates that we become revolutionaries, regardless of what the brothers say, like Rosemary says, we should function in a position that furthers revolution and revolutionary culture. The women's liberation groups that are separating away from the men (I think Roberta said there is some room for them, and we can't vacillate on whether there is or not, we have to judge them on their practice) should take into consideration that we're here to liberate the people and like we said, it's a socialist liberation struggle and we can't operate as halves.

If women's liberation is going to exist, it should exist with the goal in mind to channel the energies they liberate into a united liberation of the men and women together--not as a bourgeois cult, because this has happened many times. They've become extremist organizations of female superiority and have totally forgotten about the people's struggles and oppressed people and have, themselves become oppressors.

PANTHER PROGRAMS

MOVEMENT: Do the Panthers have any specific programs directed at women in the community to get them involved in the struggle.

PANTHER WOMEN: The Black Panther Party does not have any program that is specifically addressed to women, per se. There is, on the National Committees to Combat Facism, a committee on the national steering committee of women. But the primary function of this committee is to channel those women who are proponents of women's liberation into areas of work integrated into the liberation movement.

Even though the Panther Party doesn't have a women's program per se, (I don't know whether we will in the future or not) I think we realize that the best effort is thru practice and that our liberation is gonna come thru the realization on the part of the brothers that they can't practice male chauvinism, but even more important, it comes from a conscious effort on the part of the sisters to educate themselves and not to accept menial positions or relegate themselves to submissive positions. The brothers can be non-chauvinistic as much as they want, but unless the sisters realize that they have to accept an equal position or act as a revolutionary, then this isn't going to do any good. So I think the best criterion for that is practice.

In addition to that--simply because of the fact that we are members of the Black Panther Party and are therefore in the vanguard, does not necessarily mean that we can deem ourselves champions of women's liberation. We believe that male chauvinism must be stomped out, because we have come to realize that it is bourgeois. Bourgeois ideas are those which are perpetuated upon us by the bourgeois class and is something we're fighting against. But because we've come to realize all these things just recently, we're very new at it. So that whether or not we will become champions of women's liberation, whether or not we'll be able to provide the example to lead other organizations towards women's liberation will come thru our practice.

WOMEN'S CAUCUSES

MOVEMENT: What do you think about all women's caucuses inside the organization? Some people say that within movement organizations there's male chauvinism and women must deal with it from a position of power, so they should organize their own caucuses. They also say there's a parallel between women's liberation and black liberation and just like black people had to get themselves together without whites first, so women have to get themselves together

without men. Movement organizations have always been dominated by men, the way civil rights organizations used to be dominated by white people.

PANTHER WOMEN: I don't know, that sounds illogical to me because you can't solve the problem apart from the problem. You can't be liberated from male chauvinism if you don't even deal with it--if you run away from it. And I think forming any separate organization with that in mind is negating or contradicting what you're setting out to do. I think any type of inside organization that deals with women's liberation should take into consideration that women's liberation is important, but what is primary is the People's liberation. If they want a women's club, those have existed for centuries--they should form that, instead of calling themselves revolutionaries.

MOVEMENT: One of the arguments that's been made is that the movement has failed to attract a lot of women because of the chauvinism within the movement and because of the intimidation that's found in a lot of political organizations. We fail to attract the other half because men dominate. Women have to get together to talk about their special problems in order to involve more women in the struggle.

PANTHER WOMEN: I think our judgment of caucuses, just like independent groups, is going to have to depend on whether or not they forward the revolutionary movement in the end. I mean if their purpose for caucusing among themselves is to make a more efficient organization and if they, in fact, are able to do that thru their practice, then Right On. But if they fall into a trap of just getting by themselves and just complaining about the situation and are unable to put forth a positive program, then that form is not viable. Again, their practice is going to have to tell--whether or not they further the revolutionary organization PERIOD.

ROLE FOR ADVANCED WOMEN

Also for a person to use the argument that the struggle does not ATTRACT women to the organization, I think, is coming from a subjective point of view. Because if they understand that it's not a women's or a man's struggle, it's not an attraction for a man or a woman, but we're here for the liberation of oppressed people, regardless of whether male chauvinism exists, the women would still come into the Party or movement because they agree or are willing to support the revolutionary principles that exist. If they find male chauvinism, they should be willing to fight it on the basis of principle and unity. And to say, "they're not attracted to it"--there's no advertisement for getting rid of oppression. It's an attraction based on principles, not based on some subjective wishes or wants. So I say that women who say that they don't want to come into the struggle because they're not ATTRACTED to the struggle aren't really interested in the first place.

MOVEMENT: No, they say the movement doesn't deal with their special oppression.

PANTHER WOMEN: Well, that may be true, but still, if you're interested in the struggle of oppressed people, you can come into an organization and bring that question in yourself, instead of staying away from it. You can fight on the basis of unity within an organization, not on the basis of, "well, they're not dealing with the women's question and they're not dealing with the special oppression of women, so therefore I'm not going to participate". They're still being subjective.

Well, I think that's one place where women who are already advanced are going to have to take a strong stand. The fact is because of objective conditions in this society women are more backwards, because of their positions in their home, or in school, even working women who are more exposed to what's happening in the world, are still relegated at home and to the family jobs to the children, etc, etc, and their perspective in terms of the world is more limited. So it's very important that women who are more advanced, who already understand revolutionary principles, go to them and explain it to them and struggle with them. We have to recognize that women are backwards politically and we have to struggle with them. And that can be a special role that revolutionary women can play.



CUBA: first free territory of America
...Rockefeller couldn't come here even
if he wanted to.

HONDURAS: turmoil
unleashed, one student
demonstrator killed

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: Standard Oil
refinery blown up.

COSTA RICA:
2000 students
demonstrated

PANAMA: national guard
on duty

VENEZUELA: students seized
university buildings...street
fighting with small arms and
rocks...Rocky's visit cancelled
due to nationwide protests.

COLOMBIA: 20,000-man
special security force
tried to control student
strikes and heavy street
fighting.

ECUADOR: ten striking
students killed by
police...Rocky's car
nearly overturned.

BRAZIL: thousands of people
arrested to prevent demonstrations
...press censorship eliminates
anti-U.S. articles.

PERU: after confiscating
Rocky's oil holdings, the
government barred him from
entering the country.

BOLIVIA: 22-hour visit cut
short to three hours in the
airport under heavy guard.

PARAGUAY: Rocky embraced
by dictator Stroessner,
while demonstrators burned
U.S. flag.

CHILE: nationwide strikes and
demonstrations forced government
to cancel Rocky's visit.

URUGUAY: General Motors plant
burned down -- \$1,000,000 loss
...Rocky's visit moved to
Punta del Este under tight
security.

ARGENTINA: Nine Rockefeller-owned
supermarkets bombed and burned --
\$3,000,000 loss.nationwide labor
strike...one student demonstrator
killed by police...tear gas used
to disperse crowds of people

This song and the leaflet printed on this page
were used in demonstrations against Rocke-
feller's arrival back from his "Fact Finding"
tour through Latin America, in New York at
Kennedy Airport. The song is to be sung to
the tune by Brecht-Weill from Three Penny
Opera, "Kanonensong." The English text of
the song begins, "Let's all go barmy, let's join
the army..." etc.

Rocky!
the people hate you.
Rocky!
they'll expropriate you
from Argentina to New York.
They'll take your Standard Oil,
your Chase Manhattan Bank,
all of your wealth and powers,
protected by teargas showers.
The people now prepare themselves
Your end is near.

Rocky!
the people rise up.
Rocky!
they soon will crush you
from Saigon to Harlem.
They'll take off Duvalier,
Thieu, Ky, Ongania,
Nixon and all the others
who murder our brothers.
We'll fight, we'll strike, we'll smash your might.
The People Will Win!!!



FREE CHARLES BURSEY!

Once again the long arms of
FASCISM have stretched forth to
ensnare a revolutionary fighter in-
to the cesspool known as the Oak-
land pig jail. Charles Bursey, our
comrade in the struggle for the
people's liberation, is now facing
a life sentence for allegedly at-
tempting to murder a pig during the
"ambush" of Panthers on April
6, of last year.

The pigs are on a fast-paced
time schedule to totally obliterate
the Panther Party, its leadership
and members because they fear
the rising political awareness and
organization among the masses.
Charles Bursey is one of the many
brothers and sisters who have been
the victims of attempts of system-
atic genocide.

Our Minister of Information,
Eldridge Cleaver stated, coming
out of the ambush in April of last
year--"the pigs tried to kill me,
just like they killed Lil' Bobby and
only the people shouting stopped
them." The pigs, dissatisfied of
not having the opportunity to finish
our comrades off in the streets,
are now bent on exhausting all
means to destroy them in their
so-called "courts." To set up a
kangaroo court, judge, old-white,
decrepit jury is nothing according
to their perverted sense of law,
order, and justice.

Reprinted from the BLACK PANTHER

ANOTHER DAY

Two men fight hand to hand
In the light
Of early dawn, as around them
An occupying army
Is defeated

A man runs down the street
In the black
Of ghetto night, and is murdered
By a cop, as around them
Businesses burst into flame.

A child cries of hunger
In the black and white
Of day and night
His parents broken
While a few can eat their fill.

A man and woman make love
But afterward
Must ask themselves what they can do
To make this world
Fit for their children.

Also
Today
They shot
A rocket
To the moon.



NEW IRISH REVOLUTION

By Ernest O'Shea

Ireland was the first European nation to fight a war of national liberation against imperialism. The Irish Citizens Army, organized by James Connolly, was the "first Red Army in modern Europe," according to Lenin.

Ireland has paid a terrible price for its 800 years of foreign oppression and national resistance. It is a partitioned country. The North (also called Ulster, the Six Counties, or Occupied Ireland) is united politically with England and occupied militarily by British troops. It is ruled by the British Parliament—certain lesser powers (housing, justice and local government) being delegated to the Northern government in Stormont.

THE COLONIZED NORTH

Economically, the North is a British colony. It produces 1/3 of Britain's bacon, 20% of Britain's shirts. Harland and Wolff Ltd. is the North's largest employer; they build missiles, ships and cranes; their largest stockholder is Aristotile Onassis.

Since 1945, American industry has moved into the North—Dupont, Monsanto, IT&T, Ford, Goodyear... to the tune of \$200 million in investments. Were England to have to pay Northern Ireland for all it now gets, it would break her.

Politically, the North is a police state. The Stormont puppet government is controlled by a Protestant society known as the Loyal Orange Order, a fascist, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic clique of perhaps 100,000 members, which founded the ruling Unionist Party.

Law and Order are maintained by the British Army, the Royal Ulster Constabulary and two recently formed groups, the Ulster Protestant Volunteers and the B-Specials. The Volunteers are a 10,000-man vigilante group organized by the "Reverend" Ian Paisley. Based on the sons of the petite-bourgeoisie, it fails to be a full-fledged fascist movement only because it does not have the support of large capital. It does have an enormous effect on the politics of the business class.

The B-Specials is a voluntary, government-sponsored militia, 10,000 strong, armed and trained by the police. It draws from the same Protestant, petit-bourgeois and de-classed elements as the Paisleyites.



The police state is legalized in the Special Powers Act of 1922, passed by the British Parliament. It gives the puppet government the right to arrest without warrant, imprison without charge or trial, enter and search homes without a warrant, deny trial by jury, prohibit the circulation of any newspaper, and arrest a person who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland."

THE SOUTH

The South, (the 26 Counties, the Republic of Ireland) is a neo-colony of Britain. It was given formal political independence in 1921, after a two-year guerrilla war. And like most formal agreements, this one meant little. Irish farmers are forced to sell food to England at or below cost. Almost all the large private enterprise companies in the South are either all or mostly controlled by British and other foreign companies. The wealth produced by Irish labor is sent overseas, and the economy is ruled by people who have British profit, not the Irish people, at heart.

Where there is economic dependence, there is also political dependence. The South's foreign policy tags along after England. When it comes to voting in the UN on the colonial struggles of the world, Ireland, once the leader of the national liberation movement, imitates its imperialist masters.

The Six counties of the North are the most impoverished section of the United Kingdom. The 26 counties of the South are a wagging tail to British imperialism. How did this come to pass?

THE TARNISHED GOLD

The "Golden Age" of Ireland flowered during Europe's Dark Ages. Society was based on the communal ownership of land. Called the Clan system, society was decentralized and cooperative. According to James Connolly, "the Irish chief in reality held his position on the sufferance of his people, while the land or territory of the clan was entirely removed from his private jurisdiction."

The clan system was forcibly destroyed by the British under Oliver Cromwell in 1649 and replaced by a system of British-controlled plantations. The oppressors were foreign and Protestant; the cause of Irish independence became identified with Catholicism. Tens of thousands of British Protestants were given land in Northern Ireland, expelling the native Irish peasantry, who became laborers on the land they once had owned, or became outlaws in the mountains and forests.

The more far-sighted Irishmen understood that the landlord system was the enemy of Protestant and Catholic alike. In fact, the early rebel leaders Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmett were both Protestants. Tone in the 1790's rejected Catholic landlord leadership of the movement, declaring, "Our freedom must be had at all hazards. If the men of property will not help us they must fall; we will free ourselves by the aid of that large and respectable class of the community—the men of no property."

The peasant rising of 1798, based on the landless peasantry and led by Tone's secret revolutionary organization, the United Irishmen, failed, depending on its armed support from the French, which did not come through. Tone was murdered by the British, thousands were murdered and exiled to penal colonies in Australia and New Zealand.

"We must replace the names of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter with the common name of Irishman," Tone had declared. These words remain the key to



Irish Liberation.

A CENTURY LATER

James Connolly, socialist, trade union organizer, and friend of Lenin, brought a socialist revolutionary framework to the Irish struggle in the early years of the 20th century. Revolutionary potential returned. British imperialism was in crisis during the First World War; the labor union movement, based around Connolly's Transport Union, was developing into an armed revolutionary force. But the Easter Rising of 1916 failed; Connolly was killed.

When the Treaty was signed, dividing Ireland north and south, civil war broke out in the South between pro- and anti-Treaty Republicans. The anti-Treaty Republicans rejected the Treaty because it did not free Ireland at all: it gave Southern Ireland dominion status inside the Empire and Northern Ireland the right to secede from the South, which it did.

The anti-Treaty wing of the Irish Republican Army failed to identify itself with the social and economic needs of the people. As a result, the labor movement remained neutral and the Free State (Dominion Ireland) was able to crush it militarily—with the help of England.

THE PRESENT

The Unionist Party has ruled Northern Ireland continuously for fifty years by welding together the landowners, the industrial bourgeoisie, the urban petite-bourgeoisie, the working class and the peasantry. According to Peter Gibbon in *New Left Review*, "This bloc has historically been led by the landowning class. It has been united by the ideology of Protestantism. It has been integrated by the institutions of the Orange Order."

Thus it has controlled class struggle in the North. It is far to the right of the British Conservative Party in its anti-worker policies; it considers trade unions anti-Unionist because they contain, of course, Unionists, Nationalists, Republicans, Socialists and Communists.

The opposition to the Unionist Party is not much better. The Nationalist Party has not changed its policies in eighty years. "Its politics are clerical conservatism, its social base the Catholic landowners, tenant farmers and sections of the agricultural proletariat." It has controlled and limited any serious discontent on the part of the Catholic working class.

THE NEW IRISH REVOLUTION

The revolt began with the students at Queens University in Belfast. Middle class and petit-bourgeois, separated from their religious and cultural backgrounds, agitated by the world-wide student revolts of 1968, they became quickly radicalized.

The present "civil rights" movement is based on these radical students, the discontented Catholic middle class and the misery of the Catholic poor. In February, 1968, the Derry Housing Action Committee began a direct action campaign of rent strikes and disruption of city council meetings. Forced by increased grass-roots pressure, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), a liberal group formed a year earlier, decided to begin demonstrations.

In August, the first march to Dungannon, the scene of an earlier housing protest, was stopped by a police barricade. The second march went to Derry in October and initiated a police riot. The Royal Ulster Constabulary rampaged through the Catholic ghetto, beating workers and smashing into their homes. Barricades were set up in the streets and the people held out for three days until armored cars were brought in to smash the barricades.

In January, a student march from Belfast triggered another insurrection. The people of Derry defended themselves with barricades and molotov cocktails. "For a few days, Bogside in Derry became a liberated zone, off limits to the Unionist State; workers erected barricades, created their own militia, their own general assembly, their own radio station, declared themselves a free city. Further militant demonstrations and occupations occurred in Newry where the armored transport of the police was captured and destroyed by local militants. Within three or four months, the Civil Rights movement had shattered the whole equilibrium of Ulster society and unleashed multiple contradictions within it. There has been a permanent political crisis ever since." (Peter Gibbon).

CRISIS IN COLONIALISM

The Unionist machine was breaking up. Prime Minister Terence O'Neill called for special elections as a vote of confidence. Instead, he created a situation where the radical wing of the civil rights movement could clarify its differences with the Nationalists and the liberals and carry a positive program to the people.

The group that took this initiative was People's Democracy, a student-based radical socialist organization. The PD platform attacked gerrymandering and deprivation of voting rights, called for the repeal of the Special Powers Act and the disbanding of the B-Specials. It also called for democratic control of public housing by tenants' councils, a crash program of new housing, cancellation of all Housing Trust debts to the central banks, an end to incentives to



SOSTRE in SOLITARY

By Gerald Gross, chairman,
Buffalo chapter of YAWF

In a vain attempt to stop the growing Black liberation struggle in Buffalo, New York, in 1967 the ruling class engineered the frame-up of Martin G. Sostre, owner of the revolutionary Afro-Asian Bookshops in the black ghetto, on trumped-up riot, arson, narcotics and assault charges.

In a "Buffalo-Mississippi" style kangaroo inquest, Sostre was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to 41 years and thirty days in prison--after having been already tried and convicted in the white press as the "instigator" and "ringleader" of the '67 Buffalo Black rebellion. The struggle to free Sostre, who in the opinion of many is the principal political prisoner in New York State, has inspired a progressive and revolutionary movement in ultra-reactionary Buffalo.

An extremely backward, heavily industrialized city, with a large East-European catholic working-class population, and almost totally lacking in cultural life ordinarily associated with a large metropolis, Buffalo has seen very little radicalism since the big labor battles of past years. Consequently, when a movement began to develop around two draft resisters holding "symbolic sanctuary" in a local church it met immediate repression; the Buffalo FBI made a well-coordinated attack and arrested nine leading student activists on phoney charges of assault on federal officers.

The movement to free the Buffalo Nine has been greatly inspired by the heroic example of Martin Sostre who continues to fight the common class oppressor despite his being thrown into the "hole" at Green Haven Prison for nearly a year. The struggle to free political prisoners grew into a mass campus rebellion culminating in the physical destruction of Pentagon "Project Themis" construction buildings. Recently, this movement has linked up directly with the workers during the South Buffalo Rail Strike. Workers, locked out by the company, were hit by a court injunction prohibiting strike activity. Upon the worker request, student militants picketed in proxy for the rail workers at the gates of Bethlehem Steel Plant.

THE FRAME-UP

Around midnight on July 14, 1967, police smashed into the premises of the Afro-Asian Bookshop, located in the Black ghetto of Buffalo, New York, and arrested Martin G. Sostre and his helper, Mrs. Geraldine Robinson, a Black mother of five children.

The Black bookstore had been the center of attention of high police officials during and shortly after the massive uprising in the Black ghetto in June, 1967. Many Black youths had sought refuge in Martin's bookstore from the billy clubs, tear gas, mace, and vicious police dogs. The bookshop was the only disseminator of revolutionary Marxist-oriented Black Nationalist literature, art, and music in the Western New York area and had, during the invasion of the Black community by hundreds of armed white police, become a meeting place for the Black youth who would rap with Martin about the correct road to Black liberation and freedom.

When a fire broke out in the Woodlawn Tavern next door to Martin's bookshop, the racist fire department utilized the opportunity for a "book watering". They raided and sacked the bookstore, turning their high-powered hoses on the bookshelves that contained the literature that told things the way they were.

industrialists, workers' control of all factories, the transformation of large estates into cooperative farms, and an end of segregation of Catholic and Protestant children into parochial and public schools.

People's Democracy did not intend to win the elections, and much to their embarrassment they did win one, which sent a 22-year-old carpenter's daughter, Bernadette Devlin, to the House of Commons.

PD recognizes that the only solution to Ireland's subjugation is socialist revolution. Its problems are immense. It has been submerged in the reformist civil rights movement (as SNCC was in the United States) and has been unable so far to unify a socialist policy.

Part of the PD's dilemma is summed up by Cyril Toman, 26-year-old PD spokesman: "If we are going to have a socialist republic then we have got to have Protestants in it. They are the sec-

tion of the people who support us least, but they are a decisive part of the urban proletariat. Therefore everything depends on winning them over."

To do this they must fight the one thing the English and Ulster ruling classes have been most successful in doing for 300 years, dividing the Irish along religious lines and integrating them across class lines.

REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL

Ireland is definitely in a pre-revolutionary stage. The civil rights movement embodies more revolutionary potential than its American counterpart, because the Unionist Party cannot give the slightest reforms. The Unionist consensus is falling apart at the seams along class lines. Since it has been the single strongest force for class collaboration in the North, its weakening releases the possibility of class struggle.

To win, the revolution must unite

Shortly before the midnight gestapo raid on the evening of July 14, 1967, Sostre had told me and other friends that his store was under police surveillance from across the street. Earlier in the year, FBI agents and some of the local gumshoe pigs on the Buffalo Red Squad had entered the store and demanded that Sostre stop selling "Black hate literature" or they would "take care" of him (frame him).

Shortly after the arrest, Police Commissioner Felicetta suddenly appeared before HUAC and implied that "Martin X" (Sostre had become a Muslim in Attica Prison where he spent twelve years, four in solitary confinement, and was "educated" like Malcolm X by the colonial prisons--Sostre broke with the Muslim movement when Malcolm did) was getting narcotics from Red China and Rob Williams. In another appearance before HUAC, Felicetta read into the record a list of Chinese Communist and Black Nationalist books sold by Sostre, leaflets supporting Sostre issued by YAWF and the Sostre Defense Committee, and submitted photographs of pro-Sostre demonstrators (see HUAC pamphlet June 20, 1968).

COURTS AND JAILS ON TRIAL

During his trial, as on those other occasions, Sostre appeared before the ruling class judge without a lawyer. He was always brought to court surrounded by fearful guards, his arms chained around his waist and his wrists handcuffed. After being unshackled, he would raise clenched fists to his supporters and defense committee.

Sostre, a legal genius in his own right and a self-taught expert in Constitutional and International Law, did most of the legal work for the Attica-Muslim case. Now he has initiated a legal suit against Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York; Paul D. McGinnis, Commissioner of Corrections; Vincent Mancusi, Warden of Attica Prison; and Harold W. Follette, Warden of Green Haven Prison. The suit will be heard soon in Foley Square in New York City in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York. All militants should pay close attention to this significant case and likely public court appearance by Sostre.

Upon being convicted for 41 years, Sostre was quickly whisked out of Buffalo and thrown into the hole at Green Haven Prison in Stormville, New York. Here Sostre has been subjected to inhuman treatment and savage brutality in the hole where he has been for nearly 12 months now. In his legal brief which he prepared from the hole, Sostre says that he was put into the hole on the pretext that he was "practicing law without a license" when he tried to send his appeal attorney, Joan Franklin, a letter. The brief is a highly significant document for the Black liberation struggle because it characterizes the ruling class prisons as concentration camps for Black people wherein Blacks and Latin Americans are treated worse than prisoners of war. Paragraph #31 of Sostre's brief reads as follows:

"The relationship existing between the white racist and sadistic guards and officials and the largely non-white population of New York State Prisons is identical to that which existed between the Nazi guards and the Jewish inmates and which now exists between the white guards and the Black victims of the Black detention camps of Rhodesia and South Africa. Only the last-named victims of vicious racist oppression and the Afro-American oppressed people who are innocent victims of the similarly vicious American racist society can fully know what it means to be victimized by sadistic bigots suffering from the mental disease of racism; only these victims are aware and feel the full significance of the ugly curl of the lip accompanying the racist sneer of hatred and contempt..."

the small Catholic farmers (one of the most oppressed sectors), the Protestant skilled workers in developed areas, the Protestant and Catholic workers in declining areas who suffer from greater unemployment, the unskilled and part-time unemployed workers, and the hard-core unemployed, together with the radical student and Republican political movements.

"The idea of revolution," says Eamonn McCann, PD member, "is not at all alien to the Irish working class, as it is to the English, and when one calls for revolution, no matter what one actually demands there is always a link to Connolly and to 1916 and the armed uprising."

To this, adds Michael Farrell, "Bourgeois democracy and the national state are recent developments in Ireland and their traditions do not run deep, in contrast to the tradition of armed insurrection, of revolution as a means."

Ireland is one nation and has always been. As I write this, the worst fighting yet has broken out in Derry. British troops are being moved in. One thing is clear, only a socialist program will unite the Catholic and Protestant working classes. And only a socialist revolution, north and south, will unite Ireland once again.

It may be the first in Europe.

Note: I have drawn heavily for this article on several sources you should read for yourselves, which go into much greater and better detail:

The Rising of the Moon, monthly newspaper, c/o Patrick Brennan, 17 Fayette St., Cambridge, Mass.

The Felon, newspaper of the Irish-American Action Association, 509 7th Ave., San Francisco, Ca.

New Left Review, May-June, 1969

ALIOTO

Continued

sible designed to take minority group members, give them job training, provide counseling, and place them on jobs after their training. Program trainees get their work experience on projects such as Alioto's Mini-Parks and the construction of the "impressive" Centro Social Obrero located at 2929 19th St. in San Francisco.

The involvement of Local 261 in the program is pervasive. Out of the 119 men originally enrolled, 81 found permanent jobs, and 36 of these were admitted to the Local and are on jobs throughout the city. In a society which systematically excludes minority group members from decent employment this would appear to be a program in which the liberal community could (and does) take pride. However, the conditions for union membership appear to be undying gratitude and loyalty to the officials. Youth for Service graduates are used as body guards and goons at the meetings and in the hall.

At the regular meeting in April, Orville Luster was present as a guest of the officials--uninvited by the membership. According to the by-laws of the constitution no non-member may be present during a meeting without a prior vote of the membership in attendance. When a rank and file brother questioned the officials about this disregard for regular procedure he was shouted down by Bud Johnson and threatened by the goons: the Youth for Service members of the Local led by Joe Vargas, a YFS supervisor in charge of the Bayview District Playground. Luster was then escorted to the podium, eulogized by Johnson, and allowed to tell the brothers about his abiding love for organized labor. A number of brothers were upset enough by this incident to try breaking the story of the program's relationship with the union through the CHRONICLE and EXAMINER.

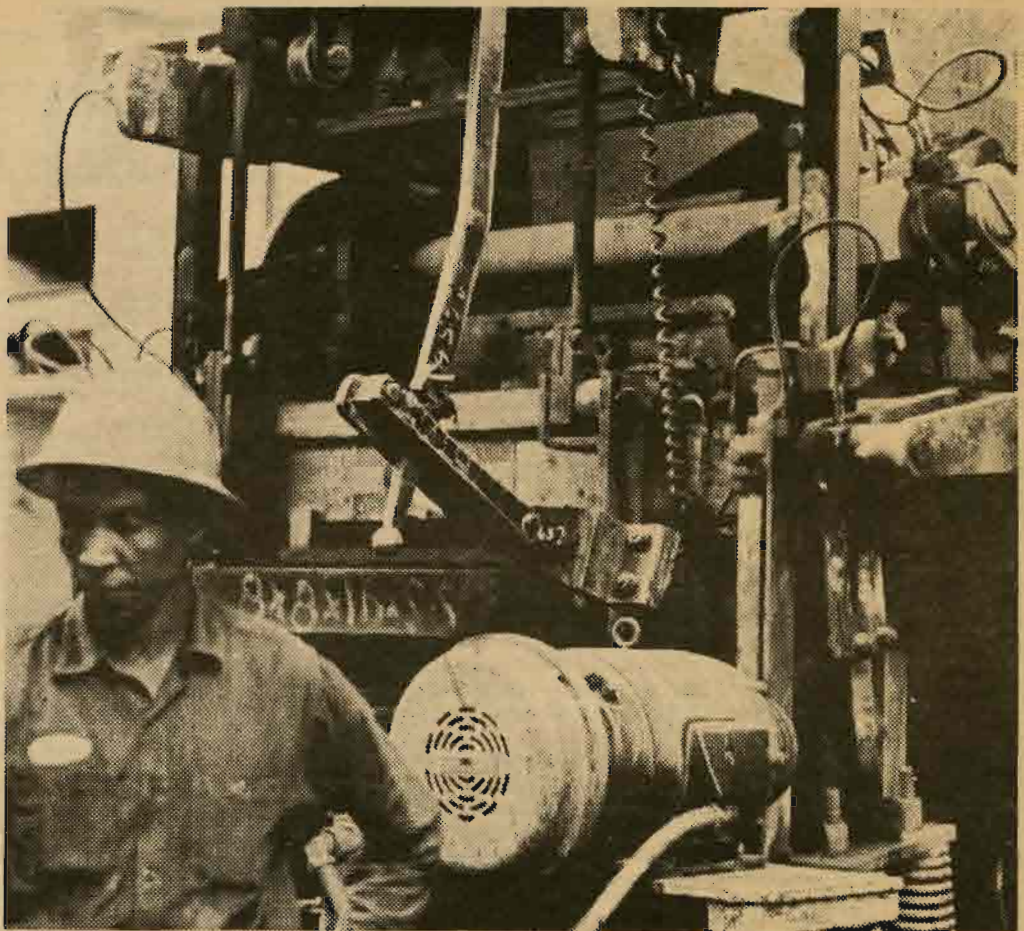
Immediately a series of articles appeared commending Orville Luster and the officials of Local 261 for their efforts in making the program a success. On April 28, 1969, Herb Caen announced a testimonial dinner for Luster with these words: "Orville Luster, one of the town's authentic unsung heroes, will at last be sung about at a banquet in his honor at the Fairmont May 16. As head of Youth for Service (we now quote an official who truly knows), 'Orville has done more than any other person to keep this city from blowing up. He works in the toughest areas with the toughest kids, and his achievements can never be fully appreciated.'" Present at this testimonial according to a CHRONICLE article dated May 17, 1969, were 800 guests, "including Mayor Joseph Alioto, Police Chief Thomas Cahill and business leader Joseph Magnin." Then on May 26, 1969, a lengthy article by Dick Meister, CHRONICLE Labor Correspondent, detailed the success of Luster's program in glowing terms. He wrote that the success was "most especially" obvious "in the enthusiasm of the white union labor leader, Bud Johnson, and the black community leader, Orville Luster," and quoted Johnson: "When we deliver a guy, everything's behind him; the hangups are gone. We guarantee that he's ready, willing and able--and the employers will take him." So, the real story is suppressed and Alioto's political machine covers its shit with sweet smelling flowers for the good people of San Francisco to savor.

Besides their involvement with Youth for Service, the officials of Local 261 have their fingers in other pies throughout the community. Bud Johnson is active in the Model Cities program, and on May 21, 1968, the Local was accepted in membership by the Mission Coalition Organization (for a detailed analysis of the MCO, see LEVIATHAN, April 1969); the Centro Social Obrero is also a member of the Coalition. Their presence in the MCO only serves to emphasize the intricacies of the ever tightening political and economic control exercised through the Mayor's office and the Mafia dominated International.

HARD ROAD TO RESISTANCE

Among the rank and file there is growing unrest, but their progress is slow and difficult. Black, brown, and white brothers have been continually played off against each other by the officials in order to hinder any alliances based on class interest. Restlessness has been greatest among the construction workers, who number around 3500--approximately half of the total membership. This can be attributed to the higher rate of unemployment among them--usually about 10%--the more secure jobs with the city, state, and Federal governments have traditionally been the reward given to brothers loyal to the officials.

It is the brothers waiting in the firing hall for their numbers to be called who are most aware of the corruption and exploitation, and the most at its mercy. They know that to complain means to get the worst and shortest jobs or no jobs at all; and though they mutter and grumble about these conditions they are rarely motivated to strike back. Nevertheless, a few militant brothers have attacked the union establish-



Rudolph Lowe, shop steward at the Bethayres Concrete Products plant, in front of the block machine.

ment with a variety of literature and a lot of hard rapping. Charges against the officials for a multitude of sins, ranging from extortion and coercion to mismanagement of the plug board, have been filed through the several avenues of appeal available: NLRB, US Dept. of Labor, and the various councils of the union--from Local to International. As one might expect, very little comes from these charges and appeals other than a polite slap of some official's hand; in most instances the cases are suppressed.

Presently there is a solid case of extortion against union officials before the Bureau of Labor-Management involving the so called "voluntary political contribution" to the Laborers' Political League which a large number of brothers were forced to pay in order to work. But all indications are that the case will not go to court and that the Local will be required only to return the \$20 to members who ask for it back. Members who are afraid to ask for it out of fear of reprisal will still be out \$20, and the union bosses will suffer only minor embarrassment.

Complaints filed with the International are similar to petitions to the king, or having the police investigate charges of police brutality. However, such complaints recently produced positive results, although by accident. On August 5, 1969, a panel from the International convened in the Del Webb Townhouse in San Francisco to hear grievances from union members in locals from Vancouver, B.C. to the Mexican border. Even if the panel produces negligible results with regard to the complaints heard, it brought together dissidents from all the West coast locals, giving them an opportunity to meet each other and relate to their common problems. This meeting was encouraging to many who had previously felt isolated in their struggle and opened the way for joint action in the future.

RADICAL POTENTIAL

Radical elements within the locals may still be small, but their potential for growth is obvious in the fact that active rebel caucuses have formed in all the major locals of the International during the past several years and are gaining strength and momentum. This resurgence of union activism combines young workers--minority group members and white college dropouts--with middle-aged activists who fought for the working class before the McCarthy Era squashed their militancy. This new activism has not gone unnoticed by the officials, either on the local level or in the International, and there has been a subsequent increase in repressive tactics of late.

In Local 261 the rank and file militants are concentrating on exposing the officials to the membership while establishing themselves as responsible and consistent spokesmen for the rights of all the brothers. Growing discontent within the Obreros has added fuel to the flames and brought a number of previously quiet members into the fight. A few black brothers have been constant critics of the union bosses, but of the 65% of the membership which is black, relatively few are actively involved, suggesting that some serious organizational work needs to be done among the black laborers of the city--within the community as well as in the hall and on the job. The same is true with the Spanish-speaking community, although the hall seems to be rolling there better than anywhere else. White workers are more difficult to reach off the job because they are not concentrated in any particular area (or areas), and on the job organizing in construction is too often hit or miss because of periodic nature of employment. Also, the problem of racism among the white laborers

raises a number of obvious and crucial problems.

Another consideration is the suspicion and ignorance with which white radicals are generally viewed. For most of them, especially the white laborers, the chimera of cold war propaganda often binds them more closely to the company and union bosses than to any rank and file labor movement. The most efficacious approach is to relate the obvious daily examples of on the job exploitation to the nature of their lives (and your life) off the job and refrain from rhetorical bullshit and propaganda. Most of them are aware they are being worked over, but they are not sure exactly how or by whom. If you can't explain it maybe George Wallace can. It is up to the individual to show the similarities between the student movement and the union movement, and the relationship between increasing technology and working conditions in the United States. A porkchop political philosophy prevails among the union members. As long as they are working steadily they remain rather conservative and not easily mobilized around issues which reach too far beyond the immediate.

The pressing problem in the San Francisco local is the International's move to secure control of the union and local political apparatus. Any fight within the union must be carried to the community at large by all available means--the union is only one link in a chain of power dominated by the Mafia, and the politics of City Hall must be evaluated in terms of these factors. The fact of incipient rebellion brewing among the laborers across the contry has thrown the powers that be on the defensive. They remain fully aware that if they lose control of the working class they lose control. Power to the People.

Women's work

Now ready: An important analysis of the subordinate position of women in our society and the reasons for it. In "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," Margaret Benston links the subject with the concepts of "productive" and "non-productive" labor. Also, the editors write on the moon shot and how it tells more about the American system than the planetary system. Send for your sample copy of the September issue now.

MONTHLY REVIEW

Edited by Paul M. Sweezy and Harry Magdoff

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THE WAR HOME!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

lutionary collectives all over the country. This will not be a demonstration or guerrilla theater attacking only the cultural images that oppress women (primarily middle class women feel this oppression, while working class women suffer more directly from the structures of male supremacy.) This action will be an attack by class conscious women against institutions of imperialism and racism, combatting male chauvinism and male supremacy primarily by being an exemplary women's fighting army.

Thursday night we'll have some kind of rock-greak-sex festival in Lincoln Park (October 9th is the anniversary of the Great Chicago Fire, when a cow kicked a lantern and burned half the damn city down.) Featured guests will be Ho Chi Minh, Eldridge Cleaver, Lin Piao and Sirhan Sirhan.

Friday we go after the courts. The "Conspiracy" trial will be going on at the Federal Building, in the downtown loop area. Our slogan for this action should be "Stop the Trial." Though not necessarily meaning an invasion of the courtroom, the slogan, like "Stop the Convention" last year, must signify our determination to make the ruling class pay a price—a heavy price—for carrying out repression against the people and against the movement.

And finally, on Saturday, October 11, will be the mass march. The specific route of the march is not yet decided, but we are seeking permits from the city of Chicago. On this, as on all other days, we must be prepared to defend ourselves against any attacks the pigs might make against us.

(The pigs have already begun their attack in the form of a vicious rumor that we plan to bring guns to Chicago. Such a rumor only serves the pigs because it can cut down on our numbers and also provides an excuse for an unprovoked attack by the pigs against the movement. While we do affirm the right of people to use arms in self-defense, we are *not* calling for people to bring arms to Chicago for the National Action. We would be adventurist fools not to recognize that the struggle is not at a stage appropriate for massive armed confrontation.)

The march will center particularly around the war, the black and brown liberation struggles, and GI struggles. The slogans for the march will be:

Occupation troops out of Vietnam, all foreign countries, the black and brown communities and the schools.
Support the NLF and the PRG of South Vietnam.
Free all political prisoners.
Support the black liberation struggle.
Independence for Puerto Rico
Support for GIs' rights and GIs' rebellions.
End the surtax.
Solidarity with "The Conspiracy"

This scenario has been developed out of discussions with people throughout the country. We are hoping that other organizations will participate in the action and help to further develop the scenario.

OVERCOMING TIMIDITY WITH THE PEOPLE

In all of our work at this time, key to our political strategy is the building of political cadre, disciplined to a collective, involved in thorough criticism-self-criticism of practice, serious study and ongoing struggle. Yet, too often the college kids we have worked

with, and even the cadre we have developed, are trapped by a lack of political confidence and basic liberal timidity to bring our politics to the people. Too often we have failed to raise the issue of the war—and support for the NLF—in an aggressive, up front way in the shops, on the streets and in the schools. Too often we have fallen into fighting economist struggles because they "relate more" to working people's lives. And, too often we have minimized or totally submerged the vanguard role of the black liberation struggle in this country—not only because of racism—but because of alienation from the people and fear that the people cannot change. And, instead of pushing the importance of the black struggle, we have played around with "white" demands, or "white working class demands" (what about demands for the class as a whole?)

In this period, the National Action is one of the best ways to combat the liberal timidity—and revisionism—that plagues the movement. All the issues are there. It can provide concrete, material aid to the Vietnamese, the blacks, and oppressed Third World people everywhere by openly identifying with the struggles of Third World peoples, and struggling against the institutions of imperialism and racism that oppress poor and working people throughout the world. It can bring out tens of thousands of new people—many of whom will be working class youth—who will be won over during the struggle. It can raise the issues of imperialism and racism in a mass way that few, if any, local organizing situations ever really provide. And, it can up the level of struggle and, at least in part, set the terms for struggle in the coming year.

DO IT NOW

At this time, the National Action is only a few weeks away. It is critical that if people have not started to organize for the action, they do so immediately. And, if people have begun to do organizing for the action, they must intensify their efforts immediately.

We've got to get into every high school, junior college and college in every city in the country; flood them with propaganda, challenge them with actions, pull 'em in.

We've got to hit every beach, drive-in restaurant, park and hangout with literature, raps and struggles.

We've got to leaflet every factory, every National Guard Armory, every place that GIs congregate or pass by.

We've got to call mass city-wide meetings of all the groups who might be won over to the action, to obtain as much mass participation as possible.

And other things. People in various parts of the country have opened up National Action storefronts to coordinate city-wide organizing, show movies, have raps, etc. Other places are planning region-wide or city-wide actions a few weeks before October 8, to generate enthusiasm. Others are setting up rock concerts with local groups, partly to raise bail money, partly to reach a new constituency of kids. Many places are working closely with the underground press, which is pretty much turned on to the action, and helping out a lot.

As part of any organizing program, it is key to develop the forms best suited to operating at the

action itself. Generally, affinity groups (small groups of people who have some experience running together and who have basic trust in one another) work out best in mass demonstration situations. In areas where there are regional collectives or political/work collectives, they can provide the basis over the next month for setting up affinity groups. As many people as possible from a given area should be into affinity groups by the time they get to Chicago.

Equally critical is self-defense. It is clear to us all now that the Man no longer thinks we're funny, and his patronizing smile is turning into a growl. People who come to Chicago will be best off if they come prepared—not because the pigs definitely will attack, but because they can attack; not because you definitely will get hurt, but because you can get hurt.

All affinity groups or other configurations of people should study karate and techniques of self-defense; and also learn elementary first aid and the legal regulations of the city of Chicago (curfew, traffic, bond, etc.)

ACTION DOESN'T END OCT. 11

When we go to Chicago we should leave behind in every institution—hospitals, schools, shops—a contact person who can serve as part of a communications and bail network during the action. The actual organization of such networks will vary, but the goal is the same: for us to establish our own communications so that people who stay home won't have to rely on the bourgeois press for all of their information, and so that those of us who do come to Chicago won't have to rely on "sympathetic" liberals for all of our bail.

It is clear that today there is an ever-increasing sentiment against the war in Vietnam. Working people know who pays for it—through taxes, inflation, speed-up. Young people know who fights in it—through a 2-S deferment that keeps elite kids out so that poor and working class kids—and particularly black kids—are sent to Vietnam. And everybody knows who's making money off of it.

Our task is to build off this anti-war sentiment, to place the war in the context of imperialism, to identify who are the real enemies of the people, and to move people into struggle—against imperialism, white supremacy, male supremacy, fascism. The National Action is planned to do this.

The National Action is also part of a larger fall offensive against the war and imperialism that will include:

- 1) An action at the International Industrial Conference in San Francisco (see notice in this issue of *The Movement*).
- 2) The November 8 Movement, called by SDS, to attack the institutions of power in every city across the country.
- 3) The massive mobilization against the war in Washington, November 15, called by the New Mobilization Committee.
- 4) The Venceremos Brigade of people who will express their solidarity with the Cuban people by helping in the 1970 sugar harvest in Cuba.

Building off the motion of the National Action, we can move on November 8th with larger numbers and greater militancy than ever before to end the war in Vietnam and *bring the war home!*

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