

MOVEMENT

OCTOBER 1969

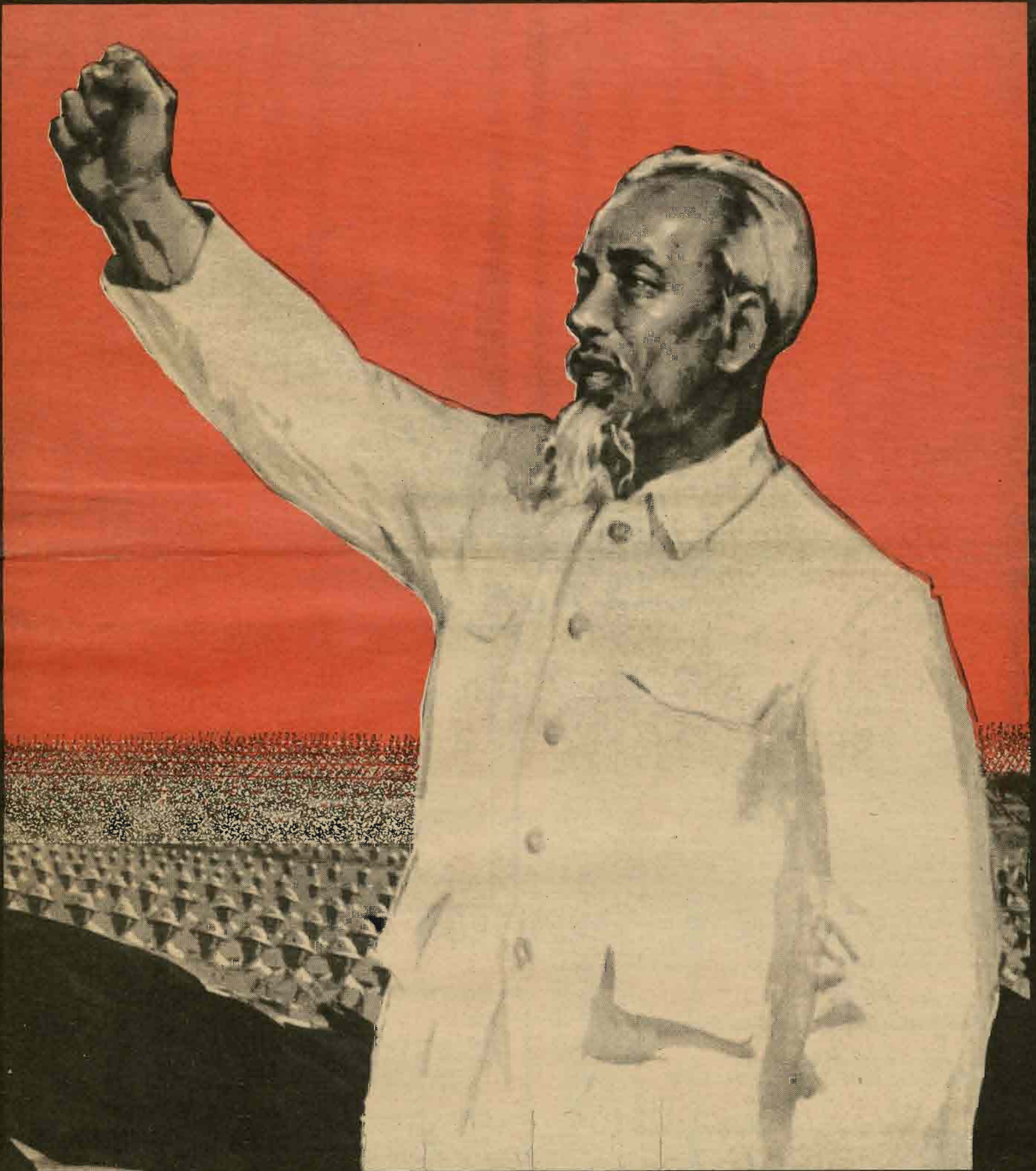


VOL 5, NO. 9 25¢

in this issue:

THE LIFE OF HO
BERNADETTE AT BERKELEY

STRIKE AT J.I. CASE
PANTHERS PUSH ON



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4907 Flatte Road
Cincinnati, Ohio 45244

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San Francisco, Calif.
Permit No. 8803

LETTERS...

MORE ON WAYNE STATE

"Wayne State University is a working class university in Detroit . . ."—so begins Dena Clamage in her article "Wayne State Strike" (MOVEMENT, August, 1969). If to her the most important thing about Wayne is its students' class origins, to me it is their color (90% white) and its location—near the heart of one of the nation's great sprawling black ghettos. Only by ignoring these facts could Dena have written such a racist, self-righteous article, or could Wayne SDS have supported a strike which was objectively racist, and economist, to boot.

A little of the history of the strike: one night, at a Wayne SDS chapter meeting, members of the regional staff were debating with chapter members about whether students at Wayne could be organized around the issues of racism and imperialism, or whether the issues had to "relate to the students' own oppression" (as if racism and imperialism don't), and then the tie-in with racism and imperialism would be made by the SDS organizers. Suddenly, in rushed a guy who shouted out "If you really want to help the Wayne students, and win them over, help in the library workers organizing drive." So electrifying was this rallying call that the chapter, with very little debate, passed this as a main priority for the rest of the year.

For weeks, politics had to be kept under the table, since the main task was to get a majority of the student library workers to sign a slip saying that they wanted union representation, and it would hardly do to talk revolutionary politics in that situation. Even when SDS support for the student workers became open, the slogans they put up around the school ranged from "more pay for student workers" and "student workers make only \$1.35 per hour" to various slogans about the virtues of having a union.

OPPORTUNISM

It is amazing that so-called revolutionaries in Detroit, a city where the racist honkie establishment is controlled by the United Auto Workers Union, could write a leaflet saying "those of us living in Detroit know the importance of unions"! Surely Wayne SDS knows that the union bureaucracy in this country has been key in the sell out of the white working class on the questions of racism and imperialism. Surely they know that the white working class' acceptance of the narrow, institutional role of the American trade union led to the renunciation of the broad class struggle in favor of struggles for particularist self-interest. How, then could Wayne SDS be so opportunist as to evoke the image of the great union, fighting for the interests of the people, especially in a strike of white students from middle income backgrounds?

The WSU-SDS line on privilege was equally amazing. One leaflet said "The university wants its students to believe that they are somehow different from 'real' workers...as long as we're dumb enough to go along with them on this, they will keep us divided from working people." Dena's white national chauvinism comes on really strong here; the black underclass, the international pro-

letariat, and even large numbers of marginal unskilled and semi-skilled white workers would be most interested in hearing that they are no different from a bunch of white college kids, who are looking forward to jobs in the far upper reaches of the working class, and who are likely to become very closely tied to bourgeois monopoly capitalist consciousness when they do so.

There is a vast difference between objective class position, and one's consciousness and willingness to struggle in the interests of that class as a whole; just to tell students how much like the workers they are doesn't help win them to the class struggle. Instead, they must come to see, through struggle, that only by joining the world struggle being led by the Vietnamese and the blacks, and by being ready to give up the advantages which skin color and "middle-class" culture have given them (2-s, grad. school, secure job, comparative wealth) can they form another front in the worldwide battle against imperialism.

As for "worker support" of the student strike, I can't see what Dena was so excited about. Workers in Detroit just about automatically refuse to cross any picket line; they would probably have responded that way even for an OPENLY racist and national chauvinist strike. I don't think that the workers had it in their class interest to support this strike; after all, the whole thing boiled down to a group of privileged kids asking a tax-supported institution to give them more money, without trying to change the racist and class-biased nature of the school at all.

THE REAL STRUGGLE

While this bullshit strike was going on, Detroit was seething with issues around which a true anti-racist, anti-imperialist consciousness could be built. Two of these were: the contempt of court trial of a black revolutionary lawyer, who turned the charges around, and held a daily "peoples' court" to indict the legal system; and the building of a program around the expansion of Wayne State further into the surrounding ghetto to build one of the largest research parks in the country. The first issue, WSU-SDS ignored entirely; the second, they left to the tender mercies of the PL-WSA caucus.

The argument that the Wayne SDS people made constantly was that Wayne students would only become involved in issues which involved their immediate self-interest. This is bullshit; our analysis and practice tells us that the crisis

in imperialism and in the black colony is the key to building revolutionary class-consciousness in our movement. Any "short cuts" which the movement may try to make in order to involve greater numbers of whites in a shorter time will only lead to a sell-out, revisionist movement which helps nobody but itself, and which will end up being swept away in the rising of the worlds' oppressed peoples.

by Dan Hardy, Motor City SDS

oleo strut

Last summer a project was formed called Summer of Support which opened up coffee houses near Army posts. The coffeehouses provide a place where GIs can read radical papers, talk to each other, see films and plan for organizing on post. One of the Coffeehouses is called the Oleo Strut, located in Killeen Texas next to Ft. Hood.

As GI organizing has developed, the way the Strut can aid has changed also. The Strut is now opening a bookstore-military library; not one that is like other Army town bookstores, but one which will carry books on racism, imperialism, and the history of the people of this country, the things the rulers of America DON'T want GIs to read.

We're asking that people send us books for the store and any books on military law for the library. We also need a cash register that gives receipts, and an adding machine to tabulate taxes. We also need money.

Tax deductible donations can be made to the United States Serviceman's Fund, 430 W. 250th Street, New York, N.Y. USSF is a fund raising organization for all the coffeehouses. We hope everyone who reads this request will send books etc, so we can get them into the GI's hands. Our address is Oleo Strut, 101 Ave. D, Killeen, Texas. 76541 Thank you.

Yours in struggle,

The Oleo Strut Staff

ireland

Sir, during the last year your country has seen and heard a lot of the troubles in the six occupied counties of our "most distressful country", and most generously they have risen to send financial aid. I wonder how many of you realize that we in the 26 counties suffer under the same Imperialist junta? We are free only in name. In Dublin alone we have 10,000 homeless or housed worse than pigs or rats. There are literally hundreds of large houses in perfect or near perfect condition empty. These will be bulldozed down with the connivance of, and at times direct profit to our government to build concrete offices for the English. The government has the power to requisition these houses even when it does not directly own them but it does not do so.

The Dublin Housing Action Committee exists to help the victims. Last January Mr. Dennis Dennehey was sent to prison for refusing to vacate the room (which he had done up and repaired) of a millionaire Englishman in a derelict Regency house and put his family onto the streets. Dublin turned out in force to protest and we were brutally batoned by the police, however, eventually we obtained Mr. Dennehey's release and a caravan on a Corporation site for him. Yesterday three more men were committed to gaol for occupying a house owned by a very rich elderly spinster who is selling it for \$23,000 to an English Property dealer to convert into yet more offices. It would house in comfort at least ten families and provide also half a dozen bedsitters for old age pensioners who have an almost below the bread-line income. We are all poor working class people, and I venture to beg your readers to send even a quarter each to help support the wives and children of these men and the others who very soon will be in the same boat. Meanwhile, batons not withstanding, we will work to try to change our country for the better.

All contributions will be gratefully acknowledged.

Mrs. Hilary C.J. Boyle
Dublin Housing Action Committee
c/o 30 Gardiner Place
Dublin 1, Ireland

THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF HO CHI MINH

"To translate sorrows into revolutionary acts, strengthen solidarity and channel all our will and forces into the great cause of fighting and defeating the US aggressors." —from
communiqué issued by the Central Committee of Viet Nam
Workers Party, September 4, 1969.

WELCOME HOME ROBERT WILLIAMS

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

Your response to our call for help was great. We don't have time to thank each one individually, but we do want you to know that it's your support that is responsible for the fact that the paper will continue to come out. **POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

the editors

THE MOVEMENT is published monthly by THE MOVEMENT PRESS, 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, California 94102--(415) 626-4577
Subscriptions -- \$2.50 per year; \$3.00 foreign (no Canadian postal money order please.)

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Bulk orders at special rates available at all offices.
Printed in San Francisco and New York

panther's struggle is the people's struggle

by Arlene Eisen Bergman

The other day we were doing some work in the upstairs section of the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party. The office was practically deserted since most of the Party members who usually work in the office were out in the field. Two of us from THE MOVEMENT and two tiny children were, in fact, the only ones in the upstairs room that faces the street. The children were prancing around the room, playing with discarded tapes, running and singing liberation songs and occasionally reminding each other that "good comrades share" (toys in this case).

As I watched them play, I couldn't help but glance at the armored windows and think about the Berkeley pig department's plan to raid the office and annihilate all its inhabitants. When the plans were first exposed, Berkeley's Chief pig admitted their authenticity and almost bragged that they had similar plans for some 40 odd movement offices in Berkeley! (Since there ain't no 40 movement offices in Berkeley this must mean that raids are planned for many homes.)

What was that quote? It went something like this:

"When they came for the Panthers, I didn't defend them because I wasn't a Panther."

"When they came for SDS, I didn't defend them because I wasn't a member of SDS."

"When they came for...I didn't..."

"And when they came for me, there was no one left to defend me."

URGENCY AND CYNICISM

By now everyone knows that Bobby is in jail facing charges that could send him to the chair. But people have become cynical. "Another Panther busted...what are we going to do tonight? How about a movie for a change?" By now it's routine. Vague headlines about outlandish crimes, the arrest, the denial of bail, the trial ("they've got to acquit"), the sentence. It happened to Huey, it happened to Charles Bursey, it happened to many other Panthers and is about to happen to Bobby Seale. Connecticut is asking for the death penalty.

A lot of movement people have resigned themselves to being witnesses of the destruction of the Black Panther Party. We chant "off the pig", but don't mean it. We affirm support for the BPP, but give none in practice. Some would like to provide support, but don't know how. Others, find all sorts of excuses for not supporting the Panthers, "they're taking a bad line", etc. Some are even honest enough to use the rats-leaving-a-sinking-ship metaphor. The Panthers have many fair weather ideological friends.



Repression has definitely been taking its toll. Not only in the obvious sense of putting the leadership out of action. The incredible pressure the pigs have put on the Panthers also has the effect of forcing the Panthers to make some mistakes - The Panthers justifiably feel an urgency and justifiably have trouble relating to people who don't share a sense of urgency about the survival of the Party. This sense of urgency sometimes takes the form of unjustified attacks on other groups, black and white, sudden reverses in alliances etc.

PANTHERS STILL MOVE FORWARD

But the Panthers recognize their mistakes and correct them. They have absorbed the principle of self-criticism. Remember Eldridge's cry of "pussy power"? The Panthers have recognized the male chauvinism of this slogan as well as other practice. And Eldridge himself has taken the lead in the struggle against male chauvinism within the Party. "The sisters are our other half". Recently, in a tape sent to Party headquarters, Eldridge warned the Party against arrogance and the need for tolerance. The Party admitted quite openly it had a lot to learn from Eldridge.

Even more important, the Panthers have recognized the need to intensify mass work in the black community. A month or so ago there were always a lot of Panthers around the national headquarters--doing office work, pamphlets, reading, or just hanging around. Now, the only people in the office are those doing essential work. The rest are out in the field, pushing the petition for community control, teaching in liberation schools, working on the breakfast program, leafletting for rallies etc., etc.

The Panther ship may have a few holes, but it is not sinking. All the time that repression is intensifying, liberation schools

expand, breakfast programs expand and new programs are launched. Bobby's latest letter from jail suggests new programs for GI organizing, for example. To my knowledge, Panther membership (in this area) is expanding. Bobby also emphasized: "Now it's time to further develop what Party members are supposed to know to be functional. All revolutionary politicians must be able to (or develop to) write and speak to the people, starting now." Political education of Party members is also being intensified. PE classes include questions of day-to-day practice, the hottest issues of the day, as well as theoretical discussions.

As for results. It's hard to judge. Recently the Panthers held a Labor Day rally and picnic in East Oakland. About 400 people came, almost all black. Students in the liberation schools write letters like these to Chairman Bobby:

"Dear Bobby,

My name is Edward Brookes. I go to Liberation School in Central Area (Seattle). I learned about the Ten Points of the Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party. I hope you get a lot of letters from the black brothers and sisters. I love you and hope to be like you. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. Edward Brookes.

A GREAT LEAP FORWARD

But things like numbers at rallies or letters are not the real indications of progress. It's easy now to criticize the Panthers, and a lot of the criticism, is just. But a lot of the criticism is not constructive and seems to eclipse the great leap forward they have made for the movement, and the people of the United States.

Before the Panthers, few people in the movement thought of having a political program that would relate to the needs

of the people. And nobody had one. Before the Panthers, the idea of a viable Marxist-Leninist party was remote, at best, and scorned at worst. Before the Panther Party, there was no national organization that raised the fact that "political power comes from the barrel of a gun". Before the Panthers, there was no systematic exposure of the dangers of black capitalism and cooptation of "black power". Before the Panthers, there was no coherent analysis that related the struggle in the black colony to the struggle in the mother country and to the world wide struggle for liberation. In short, the Panthers have advanced the development of a strategy for revolution and a revolutionary organization in the United States.

This is not meant to be an epitaph for the Panthers. Because the Party, in many ways, continues to play a vanguard role. Also, precisely because the Party represents this "great leap forward" in the development of a revolution in this country, it is crucial that we not allow the pigs to make the Party only a memory. It would be an incalculable set back for all of us.

We are faced with a choice. We can either sit back and do nothing--and doing nothing includes verbal support and doing only your own political thing. (I can picture reading a movement history in 20 years that describes the current situation and become very angry that we were passive witnesses to the times). Or we can do as much as we possible can. Fence-sitting is itself a choice to do nothing.

THE VANGUARD QUESTION

This raises the question of following the leadership of the Panther Party. There's a lot of discussion and debate over whether the Party is, in fact, the vanguard. A lot

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A CASE IN POINT:

by Reese Erlich

"Students being on the picket line and passing out those leaflets," said the head negotiator for J.I. Case Company, "changes the whole nature of the strike from an economic issue to a political one." Union officials of the "liberal" International Longshoremen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 couldn't have agreed more. After a week of Berkeley students supporting the wildcat strike of warehousemen, the ILWU officials tried to kick students off the line and eventually forced the strikers to return to work.

The J.I. Case Co. is a small farm machinery warehouse in San Leandro, California, just south of Berkeley. Although this distribution center employs only fifteen warehousemen and about an equal number of women office workers, Case is a multi-million dollar company with large plants in Racine, Wisconsin and Toronto. Case is owned by Kern County Land Co. which in turn, is owned by Tenneco, 39th largest U.S. corporation. The San Leandro warehouse sits in the middle of an industrial park; surrounding factories employ over 10,000 workers. From the beginning of the strike, the student support committee developed a strategy of educating workers in nearby plants as well as at Case. Thus despite the small size of the plant, it had tremendous potential for radical organizing.

GROUNDWORK

A former student radical named Tony had begun working at Case about six months ago. He quickly became shop steward. Tony laid a lot of groundwork by rapping about the Richmond Oil Strike, the Dow Chemical strike, the Third World strike at U.C. Berkeley, and the People's Park. He was also relating to the guys immediate on-the-job needs. Case management announced that the non-union, women office workers and outside help would conduct inventory. The men realized that the company was trying to "divide and conquer" by using the women as scabs. The ILWU contract specifically stated that all warehouse work was to be done by ILWU members for union scale. The men hoped the women would join the ILWU office workers union so that the women wouldn't be intimidated by Case if they refused to do inventory work.

Tony and the other steward consulted with union business agents. These union officers told them that the only official means of settling the dispute would be to submit it to arbitration. Arbitration would probably take six months; inventory was scheduled in one week. The business agents then implied that a work stoppage by all the union men might get some action from the company. Several days later all the warehousemen punched in and then demanded to talk with the supervisor about the inventory question before they began work. Tony and some of the other men got into verbal arguments with the supervisor. The supervisor then singled out Tony and fired him. The rest of the men promptly walked off the job and set up picket lines.

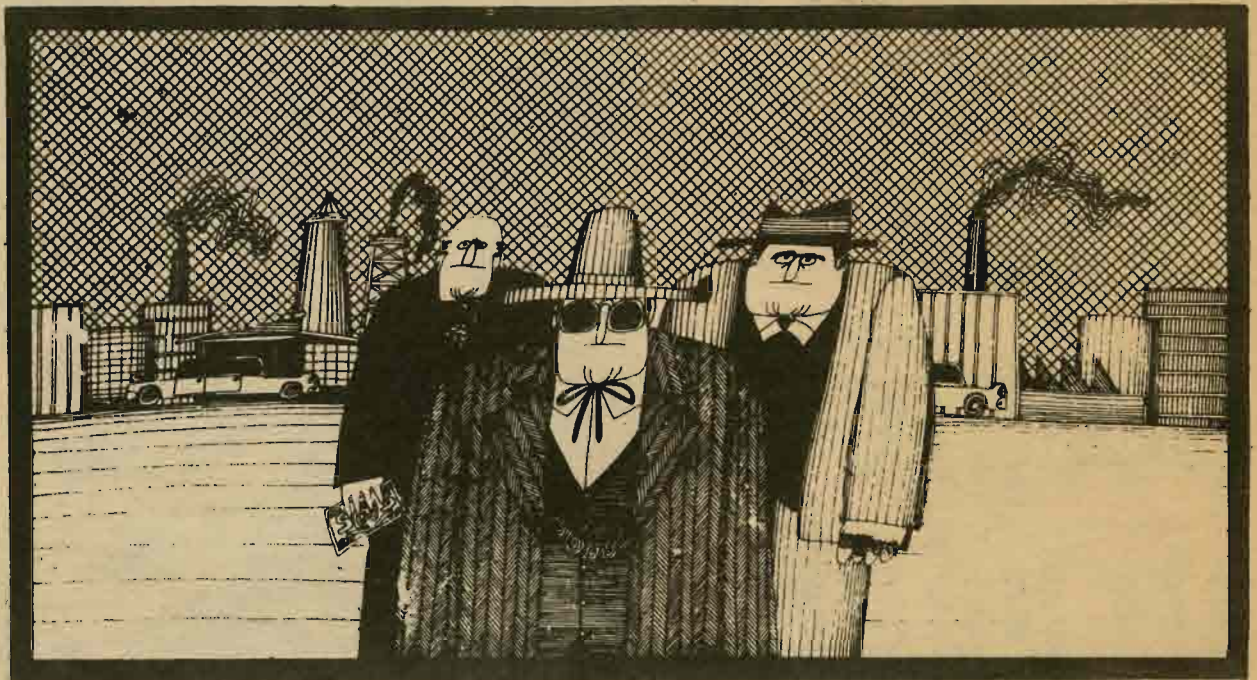
Once off the job, the men's built up frustrations with the company exploded. The warehouse had inadequate lighting (Case issued the men flashlights to work in some areas) and the company was screwing some of the men out of their vacation pay. Because of the anti-racist groundwork Tony had laid, the guys were even pissed off that Case hadn't hired any blacks in the office or warehouse.

Teamsters refused to cross the lines, but management tried to run out some parts on a company owned flatbed truck. The striker's picket sign/baseball bats smashed the flatbed's windshield, headlights, and taillights. A similar fate met another scab truck who went through later that night.

MILITANT WORKERS

After the first day, Tony contacted the Berkeley Radical Students Union (RSU) labor committee. (The RSU is split off from the PL-WSA chapter of SDS). Three of us went down to the picket line and asked both the wildcaters and the two business agents if students could be of any help. Everyone seemed to welcome the idea of student support and we brought down 30 pickets that night. One of the strikers told us "you'd better be prepared, because we may have to do some ass kicking tonight - if you know what I mean."

That night about 30 of us showed up and as one dorm freshman put it, "I had no idea that workers could be as militant as us." The workers had already attempted to smash the fence surrounding the plant by pushing a box car through it. Nails and broken glass surrounded every entrance, the agricultural combines sitting in the parking lot had their windows smashed, and a supervisor got beaten up after driving a scab truck through the line and almost killing a picket.



The minute we began talking with the workers, it became obvious that a radical had worked in the plant. They began talking to us about the racist hiring practice of Case and that blacks should receive preferential hiring. They knew about the Richmond Oil strike and the role students had played there. Animated discussions went on all night. The symbolic clincher came when we found out that the Burns Guards protecting Case's property had just gotten off duty guarding the fence at People's Park.

After several days on the picket line students and members of the Hayward collective showed the workers a draft of a leaflet. The Hayward Collective consists of Berkeley and San Francisco radicals who only recently moved into this city south of Berkeley to do working class organizing. (The leaflet is reprinted on this page) The strikers really dug the leaflet. They wanted to know where we got all the information about Case's corporate connections with Tenneco Corp. and Bechtel and how they could find out more. They even offered to take up a collection among themselves to help pay printing costs.

Later in the week three black workers showed up and began rapping with the Case strikers about the "avaricious businessmen, demagogic politicians, and pig police forces that run this country." The strikers, almost all white, stood there with mixed expressions of curiosity, intimidation, and support. The blacks came down to the picket line several times and continued what was probably the most educational experience of the strike.

With the hardy approval of all the strikers, the newly formed Alameda South County Solidarity Committee (Hayward Collective) issued the leaflet. In what was the high point of the strike, students and workers took off on joint patrols and saturated the surrounding factories with leaflets. Supervisors and plant security guards threatened leafleters with arrest; which naturally made the workers want the leaflets all the more. The father of one of the Case strikers, who worked at a nearby electrical plant, told us that "everybody at my place is talking about the Case strike and THAT leaflet."

The strikers were young, militant, and had the beginnings of radical consciousness. Yet after a 1 1/2 week wildcat, the vast majority of men voted to return to work without the main issue settled and five men fired. To understand how the men were forced into that position, we must first examine the role of the ILWU leadership.

ILWU

The ILWU has probably one of the most left-liberal reputations of any union in the country. The union leadership leads militant struggles for union rights, an ILWU business agent spoke out against pig atrocities during People's Park, and President Harry Bridges occasionally urges "workers of the world - unite." Despite that image, the ILWU leadership is as tied into corrupt local politics as much as any union. Mayor Alioto rode to power at least partially because of ILWU support and now ILWU leaders sit on city boards and the Harbor Commission. The ILWU leadership deals mercilessly with any insurgent group that would dare to challenge its power.

Although the RSU labor committee knew in general the politics of the ILWU, we really had no idea the scheming and corruption the leadership was capable of. We, along with the Case strikers, assumed that the ILWU leadership supported the strike, but was withholding pickets until the militancy and radicalness cooled down. We didn't find out until after the strike was settled that the union leadership was out to screw the strikers from the very beginning.

Tony was known to some of the union leadership as a trouble maker. One top union official arranged with the Distributors Association (the bargaining agent for Case and other warehouse management) to fire Tony. When Tony was jawing with the supervisor on the first

day of the walk-out, it wasn't coincidence that he was fired. The rest of the Case workers fouled up the union leader's plan by walking out with Tony.

From the moment the wildcat occurred, the union did everything possible to get the men back to work. When the company fired ALL the strikers after about 1 week, the union did nothing other than continue negotiations. For the entire 1 1/2 week strike, the union sent down pickets from the union hall a total of 12 hours. At a stewards council meeting, the entire union leadership talked exclusively about students being on the picket line and nothing about the substantive issues of the strike. From the union president on down, the officials waved around the Solidarity Committee's leaflet like it was one of McCarthy's list of "57 known communists."

The Union leadership managed to screw the men in yet another way. At first the men had high hopes that the women office workers would call in sick in solidarity with their strike. The ILWU was supposed to send out an organizer to form an office workers union in order to protect the women who refused to scab. Well, they did send out an organizer; a man. When asked if he didn't think a woman could organize women better, he replied, "a man can do the job better because women respect men more." Besides being a rank chauvinist, he opposed students and blackworkers being on the picket line. When he called a meeting of the office employees, none of them showed up. Later, some Berkeley Women's Liberation organizers attempted to contact the office workers but the damage had already been done. The Case management played on the women's fears of "violence" to turn them against the strikers. Indeed, one secretary phoned the wife of a striker and demanded that he stop beating up supervisors. Between the unions' chauvinism and the company's manipulation, any possibility of short run office worker-warehouseman solidarity was eliminated.

In a private meeting, the ILWU leadership attempted to strike a bargain with the Case stewards. They said they would regularly send down pickets and give full support to the strike if: 1) no more leaflets were passed out anywhere (including the Berkeley campus) and 2) students got off the picket line. This dictum was met with mixed feeling by the rest of the strikers. After a week without wages and no progress in settling the wildcat, some men were willing to accept the deal. Those men had either really never liked the idea of student support or merely viewed students as a force for putting pressure on the company. When the ILWU held out the possibility of even greater pressure--at least, so the men thought--they urged students to stay home.

Other strikers with whom we had made more solid contact resisted the union "deal". They made the tactical argument that the students were more reliable than the union leadership--after all, the union had given no support for a week and the students had been down every day. But they also argued on principal that the students and strikers were fighting a common enemy. They understood that one of the Regents at Berkeley was also connected with the corporate bigshots who own Case. They argued it was wrong to think of the strike as strictly a "union issue". Small numbers of students continued to come down to picket and the more reactionary union bureaucrats tried to kick us off the line. The result was very sharp argument with many of the strikers fighting for our right to remain. We stayed.

After one full day of "support", the ILWU leadership "settled" the strike with a common wildcat busting technique: overt manipulation.

The Union president and business agents met with the Distributors Association in private negotiations Friday afternoon. None of the actual strikers were allowed in and when the negotiations concluded, the union officials would not tell them what had happened. The union officials said only that all the strikers were to show up for a meeting at 7:00 a.m. Monday morning at the hiring hall. Work at Case normally begins at

anatomy of a wildcat



8:00 A.M.

The men were given 45 minutes to decide to go back. The union made it clear that everyone would be hired except three, whose cases could be arbitrated. One of the business agents later told me why the men had been given such short notice to go back to work: "We didn't want them running from pillar to post trying to make up their minds. We didn't want any agitating going on over the weekend."

The men returned to work without any argument. When the men returned to work that morning, two more were laid off and several days later the chief steward was hired back. The box score on the wildcat: four firings, arbitration for two of them, and the inventory question unsettled. Clearly, most of the men were weary after endless hours of picketing without union support and discouraged after losing 1 1/2 weeks pay.

Many of the strikers succumbed to the ILWU leadership's anti-student propaganda. We have managed to maintain contact with others.

In one sense, the sell-out settlement at Case was fated. Wildcats rarely conclude with settlements favorable to the men; the combined power of the company and union is too great. Yet the radicals could have made more solid and permanent contacts with the strikers as well as heightening contradictions within the union if we had a clearer political strategy.

RSU SELF-CRITICISM

The RSU labor committee, the Hayward Collective, and most of the wildcats really didn't understand the tremendously powerful forces at work in the strike. Case Co. had managed to resist all unionization until 1965 when their Racine plant finally was organized into the UAW. Several attempts to unionize the San Leandro warehouse failed because Case intimidated and fired union organizers. Case management fought very hard against the National Labor Relations Board elections nine months ago and wasn't very pleased that the plant went union. They saw this wildcat as the opportunity to fire troublemakers, intimidate the rest of the workers, and eventually bust the union. They at first refused to negotiate claiming it was an "illegal strike". then they made an issue of "violence and destruction of property", and finally of "outside agitators". They threatened to move the entire plant to Salt Lake City rather than hire back the strikers.

The union leadership picked up on exactly the same issues in order to convince the men to return to work. They played on the men's fear of losing their jobs and they wore them down with 24 hour picket duty with no relief from the hiring hall. During the entire wildcat, corrupt union officials were scheming behind the scenes to make sure Tony was fired and the strike settled - by any means necessary.

The ten member RSU labor committee came tripping into this vice of power politics and managed to get pretty well squeezed. Like most sub-committees of radical student organizations, we don't have a clear political strategy. The students who were able to go down to the lines most often would have good political raps and help make tactical decisions, but the strategy was "do your own thing and see how the workers react". We never, for example, collectively decided to make solid contacts with certain of the more advanced workers. Individuals from the labor committee would spend a lot of time on the picket line, but did not relate their experience back to the collective.

As a result of these atomized discussions with the workers, we tended to get an inflated view of their consciousness. For example, there is one white worker born in Arkansas who had voted for Wallace last year. In the previous months of rapping with Tony and during the strike, he came to believe that Case should hire more blacks and that Black Panthers are "just working guys like us". Rather overcome with this example of the student's sterling ability to raise consciousness, we proceeded too quickly to the next step.

Students began suggesting tactics for the strike,

We urged the men to hold a joint press conference with students and black workers, and discussed the possibilities of mass mobilizations of students at the plant. Although at the time most of the workers voiced general approval of these ideas, they were not ready to accept the possible consequences: excommunication from the union.

Students' suggesting tactics was later exploited by the union leadership. They claimed students were using the workers. This argument mixed with threats of withholding all union support if students continued pic-

ketings, led many of the men to oppose students being on the line. The Arkansas born worker, for example, ended up in the anti-student camp.

The strikers themselves were caught in a major contradiction. Being only 15 men out on a wildcat strike, they had little power in the 7,000 member local. Not having been in the union for very long, some of the young workers assumed - along with some RSU members - that student support could supplant the union. It soon became clear to everyone, however, that in a strike of this size, students couldn't hope to replace the bread and butter services of the union: strike fund, recognition as the "legitimate" negotiator, and jobs if the men were fired.

By the end of the wildcat, the strikers did realize the vital functions the union plays in a small strike. But they did not move effectively to the next step: carrying on a militant struggle within the union against the corrupt and reactionary leadership. Had some radicals been organizing inside the ILWU, the Union leadership would not have been able to sell out the strike so easily.

CORRECT STRATEGY

As a result of the Case strike, the RSU labor committee learned to modify our goals somewhat. Although we had no collectively established strategy, everybody was hoping for a repetition of the Richmond or Mawah strikes. We would have liked to see mass mobilizations of students to help win the wildcats' demands. We learned that in most situations students can lend publicity, supplementary pickets, moral support, and consciousness raising discussions on the picket line; we can't set the tactics and strategy.

If we were able to relive the strike, we would concentrate on establishing permanent contacts with the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

J.I. CASE VS. THE PEOPLE

ILWU local 6 members are on strike against J.I. Case Farm Machine Co. Case insists that non-union women office employees, working at substandard wages, do inventory work that supposed to be done by union men at union scale.

When the warehousemen raised a beef, their steward was fired and they were locked out.

Case is playing the divide and rule game. They're forcing women office workers to scab on union men. They're playing on the fears of some older guys that they'll lose retirement. They refuse to hire black workers and then ask police to keep the blacks off the lines because they are not employees! They have taken court action to limit the number of allowable pickets to two in order to keep SDS students and black workers who support the strike from walking on the picket lines. This injunction cannot prevent "observers" from visiting the lines, however.

How can we fight it?

WITH SOLIDARITY We have to defeat this old divide and conquer game they're playing. If the bosses can bust one union, they can bust all our unions. If we let them turn men against women and white against black the bosses will always win.

The ILWU members aren't going for this. They're helping women in the office organize a union; not fighting them. They're insisting that Case hire blacks, not kick them off their picket lines. They need our help in this struggle.

Case is an old hand at fighting unions. Case is owned by Kern County Land Co., one of the biggest agricultural companies in California. It has led the fight to keep the farm workers from organizing a union. Kern itself is owned by Tenneco, the 39th largest corporation in the U.S. Tenneco specializes in hiring and exploiting non-union workers in its Latin American oil fields while charging the normal high prices for gasoline back home. That's what imperialism is all about.

Tenneco also specializes in tax dodges. Case has run in the red for a long time so that Kern Land can buy farm equipment cheap while Tenneco writes Case off as a tax loss. One of Tenneco's directors owns the Bechtel Construction Corporation. Bechtel is the single largest contractor for Bay Area Rapid Transit. While every year we have to pay higher taxes to meet BART's new troubles, Bechtel gets tax write off contracts for the construction it does in Vietnam. And Case fits right in: while Americans are forced to fight and die in a war against people who are fighting for national liberation, Case sucks Vietnamese and American blood by marking up all Defense Department orders by 50%.

ALL working people have an interest in winning this strike. It is a fight to prevent the bosses from breaking the union. It is a fight against the bosses' attempt to turn white against black and men against women.

What the bosses are doing at Case is no different from what happens to us on our jobs every day. At Case the brothers said NO. But none of us can do it alone. Come down and join the Case picket line. Support the struggle there and let's start talking about how working people can get together and say NO to all the corporations that run this country and exploit the rest of the world.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

The symbol on the right means that if we stick together like a clenched fist we can fight more effectively for our rights and cannot be broken like the separate fingers of an outstretched hand.

ALAMEDA COUNTRY SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

Labor Donated



When in Court:



by Larry Lockshin

The vanguard strike at San Francisco State left in its wake 700 students and community supporters facing trials. Since April, 167 of the 435 arrested in the mass bust last January have been tried. Out of these trials, we have been learning a lot about self-defense as a viable tactic in the courtroom. This article is written for people who may be arrested for political struggle and might think of defending themselves.

Why defend yourself?

Much good can come from a self-defense done well. A person who, in self-defense, can present himself as a sincere and committed person can do much to counter whatever slander the DA might throw at the jury. Someone who has experience in political struggle has distinct advantages over a lawyer. We know what went down and understand the relevant politics. This is very useful in the courtroom and it's the rare lawyer who can vicariously pick up such knowledge and assimilate it enough to be able to use it.

MOVEMENT AS COUNSEL

As the struggle intensifies, arrests will increase. Thus, there will be a shortage of lawyers. Most lawyers, when involved in movement cases, don't see them as political trials, but rather as criminal cases. They don't have any coherent grasp of the politics, and given their class background, training, social position, there is no reason to think that the average lawyer will understand or be able to deal with a political trial.

Lawyers who didn't dig our politics have been a primary factor in the large number of convictions handed down in the SF State trials. Because of the number arrested, and the amount of time involved in each trial, we were forced to depend on public defenders. In addition to the long-standing fact of their relative incompetence, the public defenders office was tremendously understaffed. So we put out a call to San Francisco law firms and individual practitioners to contribute their time. Many of these lawyers were young and were either sent by their firms or volunteered because they wanted the experience. Few came because they understood and supported the politics of the strike.

It's possible the some lawyers will go through some changes and can be won over to the movement. This has happened with a few lawyers in the State cases. Of course, it is necessary to build a cadre of legal talent committed to defending those arrested in people's struggles. But in the

legal vacuum created by wholesale arrests, it's absolutely necessary that we take on the burden of self-defense to insure that the politics of our struggles are not lost in the courtroom.

The movement has always had a hard time relating to the courts. The battle in the courtroom is demoralizing and appears isolated from what's happening in the streets. This is partly because as defendants, people who have struggled are usually forced to take a passive role and let the experts (lawyers) carry the ball. But when we defend ourselves, that role disappears. Also when "laymen" dare to do the job of "professionals" a lot of the intimidating image of the courtroom is broken down. Court procedure and all the legalistic jargon has traditionally served to obfuscate the issues and preserve a distance between the people and "their servants." All professionalism is conservative. By defending ourselves we begin to break down one of the barriers of privilege set up by the bourgeois system of justice.

PREPARATION

Once you decide to defend yourself, a lot of time is needed for preparation. It's very useful to sit in on a number of trials to check out how they operate. During these visits, it's important to pay special attention to the jury selection process, because once a jury is chosen the verdict is 90% in. Also check out the grounds of motions which are made in the course of a trial.

If you're part of a group trial, that creates special problems of preparation. In the State cases, the mass of defendants were broken down into groups of ten to stand trial. Not everyone in the group may want to defend themselves. The lawyer will almost certainly be opposed to a person in "pro per" (legal term for self-defense) and see him as a threat to his ability to run the case according to his own judgment. The other defendants may also be a bit hesitant, fearing that their chances for acquittal may be jeopardized.

We should never give up the idea of self-defense because of a lawyer's opposition, though we should make every attempt to work with him during the trial.

But if the co-defendants are solidly opposed to a self-defense, then it should be dropped. The solidarity of the defense group is more important than the advantages gained by an individual self-defense. Obvious disunity in the courtroom can only hurt our chances for acquittal. But, even more important, if the defendants are divided, then lawyers have a free reign to run the defense arbitrarily. This happened in many of the State trials.

To avoid "dictatorship of the lawyers" group meetings are useful. In our group, meetings began shortly before the trial and continued twice weekly during the trial. In these meetings lawyers participated in the group just like any other member. We made collective decisions on which jurors we wanted, the kind of information to be brought out in cross-examination, the order of defense witnesses etc. The meetings were also useful in educating the lawyers. Most important, we built unity through struggle in the meetings.

PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY

In a lot of the State trials there wasn't a clear concept of what constituted a revolutionary political defense. The prosecutions' case, in which there was never any evidence against individuals but only against the crowd at the rally, forced defendants to prove their innocence. The prosecution didn't try to show that the defendants were guilty of the crimes with which they were charged. Rather he tried to show that the strike spawned a great deal of violence and that people supporting the strike wanted to shut down the school. He argued that because we were a minority we had to violently intimidate people to close the campus.

Broadly speaking, three different strategies emerged from the trial to deal with the prosecution's line. The most common one was an attempt to educate the jury through a combination of factual evidence, some minimal reliance on the first amendment, and a heavy emphasis on establishing the motivations of the defendants. They tried to have the jury accept each defendant as an individually-motivated, moral human being, rather than a member of a mob, bent on destroying society.

This strategy is basically a passive defense. It never confronts the question of the origins of the violence. The whole areas of state power resting on violence and police brutality are avoided. (Most lawyers were afraid the DA would turn it around and talk about rock-throwing students). So they left no room to discuss self-defense against the pigs. Also, they made little or no attempt to refute the lying assumption that a minority of students supported the strike. The fact is that 80% of the students were out of class the whole month of January. Also, they made little attempt to show that the police staged the mass arrest to break the strike because of its widespread support.

A second strategy was put forth by Progressive Labor and its allies in the Worker-Student Alliance. They called for many defendants to defend themselves and mount a full attack on the courts within the courtroom. They wanted to show the jury that the court system is used by corporate interests to defend imperialism and racism, and to smash peoples' movements. Lawyers are attacked as serving as second DA's. All courtroom procedures are shams.

This is all true. But admitting all this, why and how do you make this the basis of your defense? What is your purpose and who are you talking to?

A PL-WSA leaflet tried to answer the why question:

"If we expose the real nature of the legal system while also building support in the community and on the campus, we can more forcefully challenge the courts that are used to protect the few in power. Our defense must rest in the justness of the fight against racism and depend on the power of the people, united in mass action to continue that fight... Only by relying on the masses-- fellow students and working people-- for support can we have the strength to

fight the courts and the corporate class they serve.

But, in fact, PL has not organized any mass support around these trials, neither on campus or in the community. The way they implemented this political line, has, in fact, left them totally isolated from even the rest of the defendants. They left themselves to fight in a vacuum and receive the stiffest jail terms. Two PL people received a year each in jail.

Who was PL talking to? Definitely not to its fellow defendants who mostly reject PL. To the jury then? It's sheer fantasy to believe that any juror is going to renounce all his previous beliefs merely because he receives a political lecture from the defendant. Jurors can be talked to and moved politically in the course of the trial. Many have, in fact, done so. But a revolutionary must first assess the realities of the situation to see what's possible. PL's absolutism and demand that the juror's become class conscious revolutionaries overnight was not only wrong, but turns out to be defeatist and to ask for martyrdom.

While it's true that we can't expect fair trials, it's not true that acquittals are impossible. Out of 21 trials, about one-fourth have been acquitted and another fourth have had hung juries.

Lastly, when you know your actions are designed to get you convicted, you should have a pretty good reason to justify the usefulness of heavy jail terms. Heavy sentences will no doubt become more common as the contradictions in the system intensify. But we shouldn't deliberately ask for such sentences. In the State trials, the effect of heavy sentences did nothing to encourage further struggle by sincere, but as yet uncommitted people. (Most people convicted of two or three misdemeanors were given the choice of 15-60 days in jail, 90 to 180 days suspended, and one to three years probation OR 45 to 60 days in jail. (Except for the strike leaders and those charged with felonies, only PL people got a year in jail).)

A BETTER STRATEGY

The essence of a political defense lies in its purpose: to educate the jury so that they will be able to interpret evidence brought forth in its proper political context; and that based on this will reach a verdict of not guilty because they have at least an elementary understanding of the social forces in motion. What this means concretely, obviously, is determined by each individual set of circumstances. However, it can generally be shown that whatever arrests were made were done so not because any crimes had been committed, but because the pigs were acting to frighten and intimidate and smash a peoples movement. It also should be generally true that the people arrested are on trial for their beliefs, not their actions, and that conflicting class interests are involved.

In the mass bust trials, a political defense involved first of all an explanation of the strike and a vigorous reaffirmation of the defendants' support of the strike. The defense had to show that the strike was widely supported by students, faculty, and staff, at the college. The continual unfolding of the role of the police that the evidence brought out, in terms of the massive violence they initiated and their attempts to break the strike was also important.

Also, when we conduct political defense, we should still lay a factual basis and deal with the specific charges made against us. It's important to present witnesses and secondary materials (tapes, pictures etc) that will discredit the prosecution. Then once this foundation is laid, it's logical to point out that the charges are a frame and explain that people are guilty of fighting for what they believe.

JURY SELECTION

Contrary to expectations, there is some potential support from prospective jurors. While they may be biased against us from what they've heard in the mass media,

DEFEND YOURSELF!

there are many who don't believe the media and can be talked to during the trial. It's not crucial that all 12 jurors be solid. This is impossible anyway. But if one or two can be counted on to fight during the deliberations, then the others may follow.

In any case, the DA will try to exclude all third world people and youth. The judge may refuse to dismiss for cause those who deny their bias and the defense is forced to use up his challenges. At some point, try to get the judge to ask all those who feel they are biased to rise before they are questioned on the stand. In this way, some might be excused from the bench, conserving defense challenges.

There are no hard and fast rules for choosing a jury. But generally, third world people, youth and workers are preferable. White collar workers should be neither accepted or rejected automatically. Craft workers, especially from racist unions, should be examined with the utmost suspicion. Supervisors, executives and elderly people are more bad than good.

In addition to actually selecting the jury, the process itself (known as "voir dire") is central in raising the issues of the trial. The questions we ask the potential jurors raise the political issues around the arrest and establish them as relevant to the trial. Voir dire is one of the best opportunities to politically educate the jury enough to look for reason to acquit rather than convict. You can educate some jurors by exposing the racism and bias of others. "Would you be prejudiced against me because I support the 10 point program of the Black Panther Party which states..." (Try to keep going when the DA objects. The jury gets interested)

The advantage of conducting the voir dire yourself is that you can begin to break down the image of the "defendant" who is a thing that sits at the table, never says a word, and has done something possibly wrong. You should talk directly to the jury—establish yourself as a human being very much like the people on the jury or their children with real feelings and motivations. Talk about life-styles. Don't try to pretend you're something you're not. Instead talk to the jury about why you live the way you do. All of this can be arranged into questions: Do you have any children? Does your son have long hair? Would you accept the word of a police officer more than the defendant just because he's a policeman? Do you think that cops ever lie? Do you think that all hippies are liars?

In the State trials, the DA plays a tape that records some people at the rally chanting "Fuck California". So when choosing jurors, we used these words, or asked about profanity partly to evaluate their response, but also to accustom the jurors to the profanity that would come up in the trial. More important, we asked prospective jurors if they thought students had the right to strike and also about their own union experience. A question that doesn't call for an opinion, but introduces a topic is also valuable. "If testimony were offered that said a policeman beat a student, or arrested a student without provocation, would you tend to disregard such testimony merely because of its content?"

If the DA does exclude all third world people and youth, you should note the names of these excluded jurors for possible appeal. We must wage struggles in the courts for our right to a jury of our peers. Also, it might be possible to bring up the DA's racism during voir dire. In short, we must use every possible chance to raise the political issues of our struggle and many times we have to make those opportunities ourselves, because the DA won't give them easily.

PROSECUTION

The period when the prosecution is presenting his case can be the period when the strongest foundation of the case can be made. If the charges are a frame, as they were in our case, effective cross-examination can win the case. Without it, there is almost no chance for acquittal.

During the cross-examination, watch for the contradictions in the prosecution's case. Witnesses may say things that contradict the testimony of another witness or even his own. In our trial, for example, we know one witness (a pig) had messed over lots of people and we wanted to get into that. In a movie used by the prosecution, there was a cry of "Doctor, Doctor!" coming from the people arrested. I used this as an opening into the whole area of brutality with the pig on the witness stand during cross examination.

Q: Did you hear from the encircled crowd a cry for doctors?

A: Yes.

Q: What did you do when you hear that?

A: Nothing.

Q: NOTHING!

A: Well, I thought my sargeant heard them and that it was his responsibility.

Q: Did you know for sure that he heard them?

A: No.

Q: Did you see people with bloody heads?

A: Yes.

Q: And you still did nothing?

A: No, nothing.

Q: You mean somebody could have been laying there bleeding to death and you would have just stood there?

A: It wasn't my job.

THE DEFENSE ON THE STAND

When the defense is presenting its witnesses, its good to have them arranged so some sort of logical and consistent case is being built. The high point is when the person defending himself is on the stand. This should come at the end of the defense, after a good foundation has been laid.

Witnesses must prepare for the testimony they give on the stand. In the State trials, many defendants blew it on the witness stand because they couldn't defend their politics or their support for the strike articulately under D.A. cross-examination. People got especially hung up over not being able to explain the violence, or the slogans. "What does power to the people mean?" It's wise to anticipate the content of the DA's cross examination and be prepared for it. Rhetoric must be avoided - we should explain our politics in simple language that the jurors can understand.

The myth about trials is that the case will be decided solely on the basis of the facts. But, in the State cases, if the DA had to rely only on the facts, he'd never be able to win. His strategy is to distort the strike in a way that prejudices the jury so that the facts become irrelevant. The defense should counter this by presenting hard facts which highlight the irrationality of the prosecution and provide a sharp contrast in the two cases the adversaries present.

The politics of the case should be drawn from the facts. The nature of

the conflicting forces and what each side stands for must be clear. The people are fighting racism and for self-determination of third world people. The pigs and school administration are fighting for the interests of the corporate magnates who make immense profits off the exploitation of other people.

The question is how to bring this out at the trial. It's a fact that the judge will cooperate with the D.A. and let him bring out all his politics. Any attempt by the defense, however, to do the same will be stopped. One could refuse the warnings of the judge to "stick to the issues", as in fact has been the approach of PL, but it's good to avoid hassles with the judge, when possible. For the most part, the jury respect the judge. Unless a judge is so outrageously and openly biased that this can be turned around to the favor of the defense, it's best not to attempt what is almost impossible to accomplish.

Still, the political points have to be made, even against the opposition of the judge and the D.A. This requires an analysis of what political points can be brought out of what particular set of facts. After the case is thought through in this way, then the facts must be deduced from witnesses and the political points made by the nature of the questions asked of the witnesses.

For instance, an important point in the State trials was that the police made the arrests to break the strike. The facts were that the administration and police had a meeting three hours before the rally and decided at that time to make the arrest. Police witnesses admit to that, more or less. The tactic of a mass arrest in itself was a new one, never before used on the campus. Moreover, the police made the arrests after the administration indicated their desire to make the mass arrest. This too was a change in policy. And the change of policy came because the administration realized that the strength of the strike was growing.

It was possible to bring most of these facts out of prosecution witnesses on cross-examination. Once the facts were out, then the obvious thing to ask was, "Isn't it a fact that the arrest was made to break the strike?" It's not important if the prosecution witness denies this. What is important is that the issue be raised continuously and the prosecution

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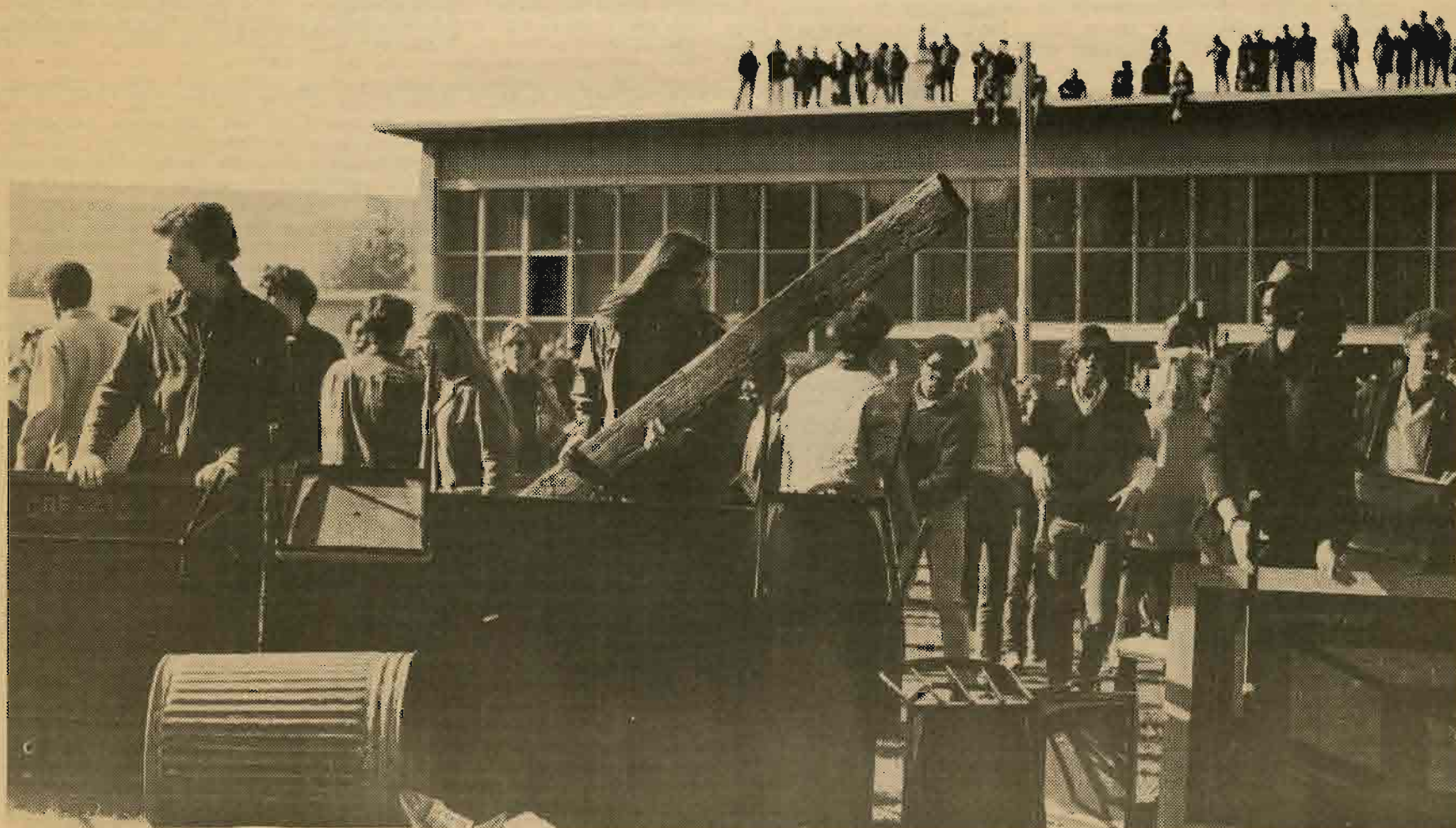


Photo by Nacio Jan Brown

— free ahmed evans —

Ahmed Evans was sentenced to die in the electric chair on September 22 for supposedly killing three pigs, on July 23, 1968. The July 23 Defense Committee has successfully fought for a stay of execution pending appeal of the case. The movement somehow overlooked this case until Evans was sentenced. Publicity and agitation in Evans' defense is now long overdue.

On July 23, 1968, a shootout in the Glenville section of Cleveland triggered three days of insurrection. The gun battle lasted only fifteen minutes. Seventeen pigs were shot—three died. Seven black people were shot—one died.

While it is impossible to know who actually fired the shots, Ahmed was charged. Ahmed has never denied his participation in the "Battle of Cleveland." Four other black brothers faced similar charges. One, Brother Non-Du, has been sentenced to 100 years with no chance of parole.

THE TRIAL

Evans was tried by an all-white jury (one-third of Cleveland is black). A report documenting how white racism was the underlying cause of the July 23 battle was withheld until after Ahmed's trial. Authorities were afraid that the "Masotti Report" (done by a liberal white professor) might create some sympathy among the jury.

The grounds for appeal are racism. There were continual racist slurs during the trial. Example:



When Laurie, the prosecuting attorney, questioned May Louise Brown, a black woman who testified that the cops tore her clothes during the incident, molesting her, he said, "You hate white people, don't you?"

When she replied, "No," he declared, "This country has been good to you. Didn't my color train your people? Wasn't it my color people that put up the money for these programs?"

One of the defense lawyers immediately moved that the case be dismissed at this point, citing a whole series of similar remarks. The motion was, of course, denied.

The judge was blunt in his reasons for sentencing Ahmed to death:

"Now you have caused really a dreadful and awesome state actually to exist in our community and our nation. You know, actually, before we had this Glen-

ville incident that has been adjudicated as caused really by you, there was never any open display anywhere by youngsters. Now, boys (!) of the same age as your followers, and who are, however, college students (at Cornell), they now feel that apparently it is the proper thing to do and the legal thing to do, to have a show of rifles, shotguns, bandoliers, and basically these children are really emulating the example that you set as part of this incident which is now coming to a conclusion."

(Medical witnesses at Evans' trial testified that two of the pigs who were killed were drunk at the time. The defense argued, in part, that the pigs killed each other.)

SINCE THE TRIAL

While the judge may think that he "concluded" the struggle for black liberation with the sentencing of Ahmed, Ahmed's statement says otherwise. Also, the pigs in Cleveland continue their war against the black community. In April of this year, Ahmed's brother, William "Bootsie" Evans, was found shot to death near the office of Evans' lawyer. The pigs claimed that Bootsie was killed during a hold-up attempt and Cleveland's police prosecutor ruled that the shooting was "justifiable homicide." Black nationalists in Cleveland believe he was murdered by the pigs as a warning to Ahmed's attorney and others.

The July 23 Defense Committee is waging a campaign to free Ahmed and the four other brothers railroaded for the same crime. It needs money and help in getting out information to people across the country. Its address is P.O. Box 2404, East Cleveland, Ohio 44112.

Ahmed Evans' Statement After Sentencing

After one of the most racist trials in this country's history, Ahmed Evans was found guilty of first degree murder in Cleveland by an all-white jury this week. He had been charged with conspiracy to murder in a case arising from the gun-battle shooting of three white cops who invaded the black neighborhood last July 23.

After several weeks of courtroom hysteria and enough racist remarks by the prosecution to provoke most black people to justifiable rage, Mr. Evans accepted the verdict calmly—even though his chief defense attorney, Charles W. Fleming, who had expected acquittal or leniency, was visibly shaken and nearly broke down. Mr. Evans then proceeded quietly and with great dignity to utter the following words just before the judge sentenced him to die in the electric chair.

"I don't think there is any doubt that the people of my race have every right in the world and have every reason in the world to resist and to reach out and become what they were created, men—not symbols, I mean—not half anything, but whole as I am whole.

"I fully understand the ways of life as they are now, and the truth of the matter is I have no regret. That is to say, I have no malice towards anyone, white people or anyone else. Just the reality of the matter that counts....

"The electric chair or fear of anything won't stop the black man of today. Like, I fully understood what I might encounter when I became a Black Nationalist; but I didn't become a Black Nationalist to sell out my people... I became a Black Nationalist because I wanted to help. I felt that I had something to give them, to aid them, and I did.

"I feel justified in that I did the best I could. And of course, concerning these charges, I am not a murderer. I don't think that any record I may have made proves me to be a murderer.

"However, I want it to be fully understood that all the men that I have known and all the people whom I have associated with, that they are on the right path because when you are on the right path to righteousness in a world such as we now live in, you are bound to run into opposition, the likes of this.

"This is to be expected. I mean, you just can't say that you are going to turn away from a world of iniquity and walk along a red carpet. It is not that way. I mean, when you turn around from evil and wrongdoing, you are bound to run into these types of oppositions; and I fully accepted them and I do now. Thank you."

Black GIs On Trial

The military has recently issued a whole slew of regulations that are supposed to govern the handling of GI protest, that are intended to stifle the militant revolt now going on in the Armed Forces. Most of the regulations deal with the limits of dissent; you can give a clenched fist salute so long as it is not during official ceremonies or drills but only in greeting other GIs. You can have an Afro so long as your hair in general is not over three inches long and conforms.

But all this talk about the limits of dissent is bullshit and the military dictatorship is still brutally repressing GI struggles. The public announcement of supposed constitutional regulations only serves to cover up how uptight the military is. Of all the protest and revolt in the military only a small amount leaks out, but what does leak is enough indication of growing disillusionment with imperialism. And the revolt hits them where it hurts.

SEDITION

George Daniels and Bill Harvey are two black Marines who were sentenced to ten and six years in prison under a Smith Act charge of sedition in the summer of 1967 for saying in private conversations with other GIs that black men should not have to fight in Vietnam. They are currently out of jail on

appeal after serving two years hard labor at Portsmouth Naval Prison. They could be returned to serve out the rest of their terms if the appeal fails.

Private Daniels received a ten year sentence for allegedly "advising, urging, and attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, and refusal of duty." Corporal Harvey was sentenced to six years for making "disloyal statements." They were not charged with committing any act—they were imprisoned for their words alone.

The following facts of the case are taken from court martial records:

There was a bull session after noon chow among a group of black and white Marines. Discussion turned to the war in Vietnam and to the other war, the war against Black America... Detroit was in the news. National Guardsmen had just been dispatched to many American cities in flames; any time now black Marines might be ordered to murder their brothers.

During the same time there were several displays of black solidarity at Camp Pendleton... such as when an officer ordered two black Marines to run "on the double" as punishment for a minor infraction and the two Marines and several others walked slowly away.

There followed a period of interrogation and in August William Harvey and George Daniels were charged. Harvey was charged with saying that "the black man should not go to Vietnam to fight the white man's war," Daniels with saying, "the black man should not fight in Vietnam because he would have to come back and fight the white man in the United States." Witnesses described the gathering where the men allegedly made the statement as a "barracks discussion," and "bull session," but the brass was on the lookout for black revolt. Months

RACISM

Some examples from the first trial: the statement of the prosecutor:

"We are asking you to punish William Harvey so that others may know that conditions such as this cannot and will not be tolerated in the Marine Corps or the military service... the accused stands as an example and the government submits to the court that the sentence which the court will impose on the accused will serve as an example to other Marines..."

An officer on the so-called trial panel was asked about Daniels being a Black Muslim and said, "If I knew in advance that a man assigned to my company was a Black Muslim and advertising this fact, this would to my mind mean trouble and I could see... I could foresee problems."

Recently, the two men described some of the conditions at the prison:

"In Portsmouth it is psychological slavery. They try to beat a man down in the dust so bad to make him go along with the establishment knowing that when he gets back out on the streets he won't take up arms against them. When a man is hurt and he needs something badly, they more or less keep him on drugs and keep his mind off the problem rather than treat him."

The appeals court has not yet decided whether or not to send George Daniels and Bill Harvey back to prison. Publicity and protest can help them.

For Sedition



THE PATH WHICH LED ME TO LENINISM

by
HO CHI MINH

After World War I, I made my living in Paris now as a retoucher at a photographer's, now as painter of "Chinese antiquities" (made in France!). I would distribute leaflets denouncing the crimes committed by the French colonialists in Viet-nam.

At that time, I supported the October Revolution only instinctively, not yet grasping all its historic importance. I loved and admired Lenin because he was a great patriot who liberated his compatriots; until then, I had read none of his books.

The reason for my joining the French Socialist Party was that these "ladies and gentlemen" - as I called my comrades at that moment - had shown their sympathy toward me, toward the struggle of the oppressed peoples. But I understood neither what was a party, a trade-union, nor what was Socialism or Communism.

Heated discussions were then taking place in the branches of the Socialist Party, about the question of whether the Socialist Party should remain in the Second International, should a Second-and-a-half International be founded, or should the Socialist Party join Lenin's Third International? I attended the meetings regularly, twice or thrice a week, and attentively listened to the discussions. First, I could not understand thoroughly. Why were the discussions so heated? Either with the Second, Second-and-a-half, or Third International, the revolution could be waged. What was the use of arguing then? As for the First International, what had become of it?

What I wanted most to know - and this precisely was not debated in the meetings - was: Which International sides with the people of colonial countries?

I raised this question - the most important in my opinion - in a meeting. Some comrades answered: It is the Third, not the Second, International. And a comrade gave me Lenin's "Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions," published by L'HUMANITE, to read.

There were political terms difficult to understand in this thesis. But by dint of reading it again and again finally I could grasp the main part of it. What emotion, enthusiasm, clear-sightedness, and confidence it instilled into me! I was overjoyed to tears. Though sitting alone in my room, I shouted aloud as if addressing large crowds: "Dead martyrs, compatriots! This is what we need, this is the path to our liberation!"

After then, I had entire confidence in Lenin, in the Third International.

Formerly, during the meetings of the Party branch, I only listened to the discussion; I had a vague belief that all were logical, and could not differentiate as to who were right and who were wrong. But from then on, I also plunged into the debates and discussed with fervor. Though I was still lacking French words to express all my thoughts, I smashed the allegations attacking Lenin and the Third International with no less vigor. My only argument was: "If you do not condemn colonialism, if you do not side with the colonial people, what kind of revolution are you waging?"

Not only did I take part in the meetings of my own Party branch, but I also went to other Party branches to lay down "my position". Now I must tell again that Comrades Marcel Cachin, Vaillant Couturier, Monmousseau, and many others helped me to broaden my knowledge. Finally, at the Tours Congress, I voted with them for our joining the Third International.

At first, patriotism, not yet Communism, led me to have confidence in Lenin, in the Third International. Step by step, with participation in practical activities, I gradually came upon the fact that only Socialism and Communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working people throughout the world from slavery.

There is a legend, in our country as well as in China, on the miraculous "Book of the Wise". When facing great difficulties, one opens it and finds a way out. Leninism is not only a miraculous "book of the wise", a compass for us Vietnamese revolutionaries and people: it is also the radiant sun illuminating our path to final victory, to Socialism and Communism.

- 1960

ON TO VICTORY

I WE SAY

He lived to hear
His nieces and his nephews
Sing the songs of revolution
And they sing.

He lived to see
The building of the new
Rising ever higher
And they build.

He lived to touch
The outstretched hand of freedom
To hold it in his hand
And they grasp it.

He lived to smell
The flowers of the children
In the air of independence
And they breathe.

He lived to taste
The fruits of victory
To sip the tea of happiness
We must win.

II. HE SAID

I remember when
I became a man
Despising oppression
Determined to end it.

I remember when
I travelled and studied
Through practice becoming
A Communist.

And I remember when
Imprisoned and tortured
The poetry of hope
Broke through the bars.

It was not me, it was the people
We organized and fought
So many fell
But fell in victory.

And even now
The struggle deepens
Fighting while we build
To freedom.

III. WE SAY

Uncle, comrade, teacher
Pushed up from
Oppression's soil
To march among us.

Uncle, comrade, teacher
We learn from you
To gather millions
Who will guard your memory

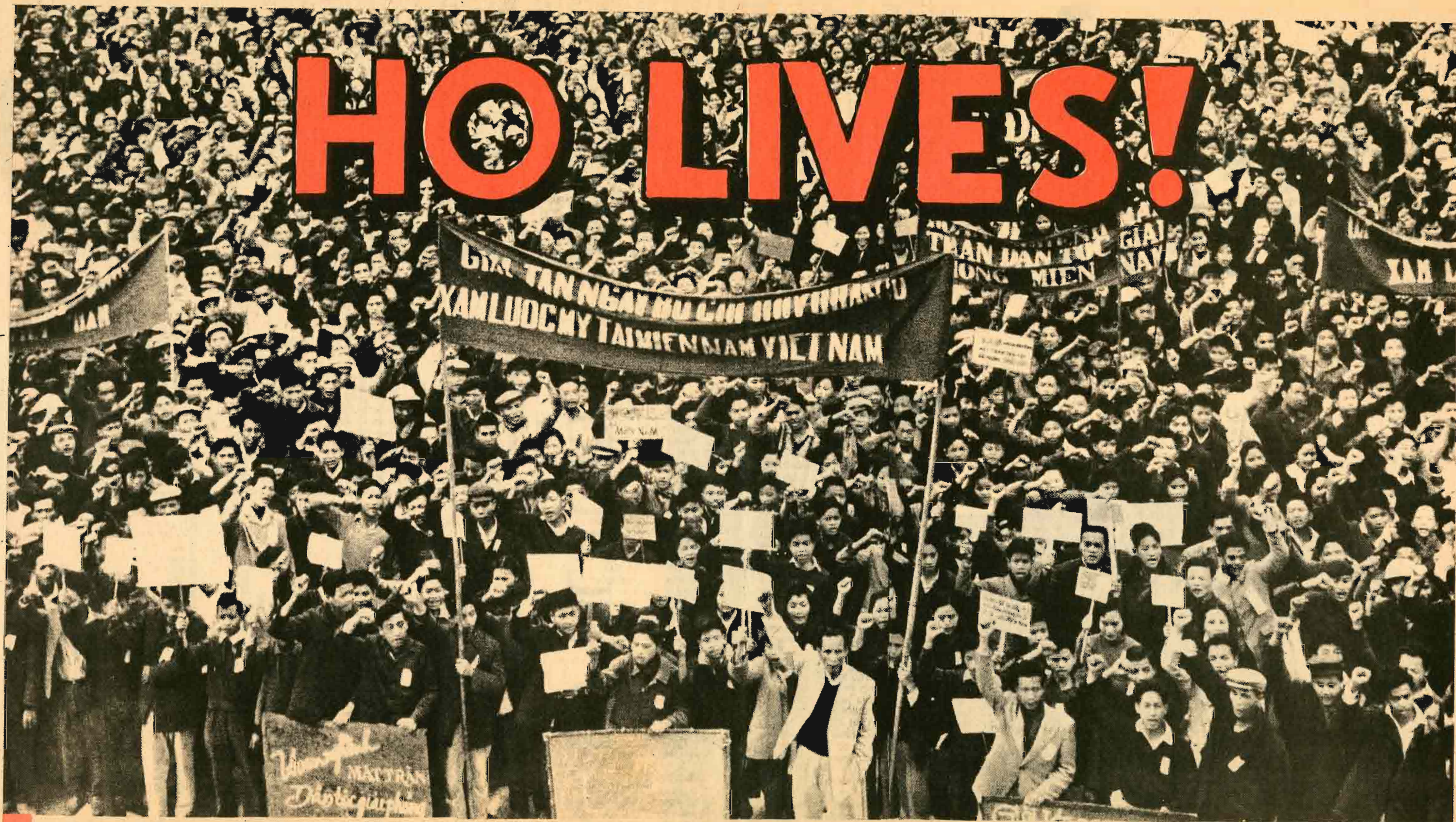
Uncle, comrade, teacher
You march among us
Leader of the revolution
Bringing power to the people.

Grief at first
But it is overcome
By all that you have done
By all that we must do.

High on every terraced mountain
Rises rice of revolution
Join us in the harvest
We shall win.

-by Lincoln Bergman.

HO LIVES!



Biographical Sketch of Ho Chi Minh by Rene Depestre

It is a clear morning in Hanoi. Hundreds of men and women silently bicycle to their works. I vaguely look at them realizing that I have another interest and emotion: I am going to meet one of the most extraordinary men of our era, a legend, a man, President Ho Chi Minh. Millions of men in Asia call him affectionately Uncle Ho. I first heard of him in 1946, in Paris. It was at the beginning of the Vietnamese people's glorious resistance against French colonialism. The eyes of the Vietnamese comrades at the University City were gleaming with admiration and hope when the name of Uncle Ho was mentioned in our conversation. And it was often repeated, because, after more than forty years, the life of the Vietnamese people and Uncle Ho constituted one and the same indomitable river.

Ever since he was very young, he has dedicated every day of his life to the liberation of Indo-China. He was the man sought out by the Asian police everywhere. He always got away because he had developed a perfect technique for disguising himself. He was one of the founders of the French Communist Party, and, naturally, of the Vietnamese Workers Party, also. To make a living he became a "Jack of all trades". He was a cook aboard a French ship, a pastry cook in London, a photo-finisher and journalist in Paris, student in Moscow, newspaper boy in Siam, and a vehement, effective, revolutionary leader wherever he went.

To escape from the enemy he disguised as a rich merchant, as a mandarin, as a buddhist (hair-cut and all), as a blind grandfather with a guide-dog, right in front of the eyes of the French guards. Ho Chi Minh, the liberator of Viet Nam, the theorist who adapted Marxism-Leninism to the conditions and particularities of his country is also a great poet of reality...

Uncle Ho laughs and the kindness of his face becomes even more pleasant. He is modest and discreet when he talks about his life. He is happy to say that it has not been always quiet. Whoever knows the hard times of his existence, entirely devoted to the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of his country, is astonished by his youthful energy, his capacity and his enthusiasm.

REAL HEROES

Ho Chi Minh is one of these new men cast in the flame of the revolution, he has dedicated all to the greatest thing in the world: the struggle for the liberation of the peoples. From Ho Chi Minh's life you can assume a new morale, active and authentic, in which beauty and strength are consequences of the people's creative power. The heroes of our times are seasoned in the revolutionary struggle, and their continuous battle to transform the world draw their features, blends with their personality, guides their behaviour and their destiny, gives a lightness and simplicity to their lives, a kindness, a force, and a pureness only found in the great moments of history. These qualities you could only find among the first Christians, among the Jacobins of the French Revolution, among the slaves who broke their chains in Haiti, or among the heroic communers of Paris, in 1871. The revolutions of the twentieth century, lit by the worker's flame, have created these human figures even more touching and exemplary than the past ones: the combatants of October Revolution, the soldiers of the Red Chinese Army, the defenders of Madrid sieged by barbarism, the heroes of Dien Bien Phu, the rebels of the Sierra Maestra and the rebels of all humanity who have risen in arms in Asia, Africa and Latin America! Those are the new men, the witnesses of the incomparable greatness and beauty of our epoch; those are, in world-wide scale, the promoters of a new style of life, of a humanism essentially proletarian. This new dawn is called socialism.

Capitalism stopped producing heroes a long time ago. Its own logic, its insoluble contradictions, condemn it more and more to assume all the savagery of history: war, racism, slavery, violence, corruption, lies, outrageous selfishness, money, considered as a means of civilization.

The history of the bourgeoisie with that of imperialism, has become the history of a progressive, fatal dehumanization of life. The "heroes" of the bour-

geoisie are from now on - and it can not be otherwise - Hitler, Petain, Mussolini, MacCarthy, Chiang Kai-Shek, Syngman Rhee, Adenauer, Ngo Dinh Diem, Batista, Trujillo, Eisenhower, Duvalier, Somoza, Lyndon Johnson, Dayan; that is to say, the individuals that money has turned into cold instruments of man's dehumanization. Those who wish to know what a true man is, where the world's beauty is, where the triumph of ideals on earth is, where spring is, should come to see the life of President Ho Chi Minh, the exemplary existence of this hero of our times.

LEARNING

Once in Him Lelu village, Central Viet Nam, there was a boy named Nguyen Van Thanh. It was 1890, that is to say, nineteen years after the Paris Commune and twenty seven years before the glorious October Revolution. Nguyen Van Thanh's parents were peasants. The hatred towards French colonialism arose early in the heart of the Vietnamese people's future leader. When he was twenty, he left Viet Nam. Then, his name is Ba. As a cook help, aboard a French ship, he discovered the world: visited America, Africa and Europe. Ba does not look at the port life as a tourist. First, he sees the human condition. It is, sometimes, as hard, as tragic, as in his fatherland, Viet Nam. One day, in Dakar - one of Uncle Ho's biographers says - a storm prevented his ship from anchoring. The ship, furiously beaten by the waves, was drifting around the bay. The port authorities ordered some natives to swim to the ship. They drowned. Among the French passengers nobody altered. Over the bridge of La Touche Treville a Vietnamese boy was crying in silence. To someone who asked him, Ba declared: "French colonialists are cruel and inhuman. It is the same everywhere. I have seen similar things in the south coast of Viet Nam, where the French noisily laughed while our comrades were drowning for them. To them, the life of an Asiatic or an African is not worth a penny". This way, each step was to Ba "a university" in which he directly acquired the experience of life, the experience of the capitalists' violence. He felt however, the necessity of completing his knowledge with books. He abandoned the Navy. In 1913 he was in London where he practiced different trades in order to pay his studies. He spent the war period devoting his spare time to study world history and English, meditating on the future of colonial peoples.

IN FRANCE

At the end of the First World War, Ba changed country and name. Since then, his name is Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the patriot). He plunges into the revolutionary effervescence of post-war Paris. To make a living, he works as a photo-finisher. His knowledge of Chinese writing helped him in his new trade. In the spirit of Nguyen Ai Quoc the revolutionary convictions mature. When the Versailles Conference took place, he prepared together with other Vietnamese patriots, a sheet of recoveries in eight points, for the independence of Viet Nam. The delegates of Versailles, President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, held a meeting to divide among themselves the imperialist war booty - but never to help the people's liberation. Nguyen Ai Quoc did not wait to receive another lesson. He took another way of action. He made contact with the French socialists who appointed him to make a press campaign in favor of his country's independence.

He founded the Colonial Countries League, open organization gathering all "colonized" residents in France. Le Paris, a newspaper edited by Nguyen, informed about the League's activities.

Nguyen's activities draw the police's attention. He could not take a step without being "shadowed". He decided to end his exile. He did not say good bye to his friends from the colonies, but left a touching letter, which gives an idea of the ideological maturity reached by the young Vietnamese revolutionary. This is one of the letter's paragraphs:

"We have worked together for many years. Despite the difference of races, we have united as members of the same family. Together we have suffered a tantamount disgrace: the heinous yoke of colonialism. We struggle for a common ideal: our countries' liberation and recovery of independence. We are not alone in our struggle, so we count on the support of our peoples and the French democrats, the true sons of France, who are on our side. Concerning my duty, it is clear:

to return to my country to work with the masses, to guide, to unite and to train them, to set them on the road to independence."

IN CHINA

Nguyen Ai Quoc, on his way to Viet Nam, arrived to Leningrad aboard a Soviet ship, two days after Lenin's death, during the winter of 1924. The loss of the Soviet leader saddened him deeply. He remained a year in the USSR completing his revolutionary experience.

At the end of 1925, he was in China where he sold cigarettes to keep from starving. Some time later we find him employed at an office under the famous Borodin, Soviet advisor of Sun Yat Sen. The Kuomintang, in alliance with the Chinese communists, was still following the revolutionary line marked by Sun Yat Sen. Across the majority of the large Chinese cities, the working class was launching anti-imperialist strikes that, in some cases, led to insurrection. The enormous demonstrations of May 1925 in Shanghai had been violently repressed by the British police. The 30th of May Movement uprising gave a new encouragement to revolutionary action in the province of Kuantung, and throughout all China. The national revolutionary army, in 1926, made a campaign in the north against feudalism. In September of 1926 Hankeou's failure takes place. Nguyen Ai Quoc understands at once the importance that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution's triumph in China had for his country. Nguyen created the League of the oppressed peoples of Asia. And he directly participated in the great struggle of the Chinese people. After the betrayal of Chiang Kai-Shek and the reactionary elements of the Kuomintang, Nguyen Ai Quoc had to leave China for Siam, where numerous Vietnamese were living. Those were very hard days. Constantly sought out by the police, he often changed address and trade. "The different trades he practiced, wrote Wilfred Burchett, were his best outfits. Sometimes, he was an agricultural worker - because of his peasant origin he could till the earth and do all kinds of agricultural work - , sometimes a bald headed boy handling the bowl, or a cigarette merchant, standing in a corner of a street."

In 1929, Nguyen went to Koussien, in South China, to a conference held for unifying the three main revolutionary groups of Indochina around a common programme. "We should - Nguyen Ai Quoc says, invite the entire people in struggle for national independence and, in order to reach that point, the organization unity is necessary. This organization could either keep its former name or become the "Communist Party". The political programme should be national independence, people's freedom and the road to socialism." On these bases the unity took place the 6th of January of 1930. So the Indo-China Communist Party was born.

The ICP actively participated in leading the popular movements during the years of 1930-31, forming, in Central Viet Nam, in the province of Vinh, true Soviets, the labourers and peasants force which put into practice several revolutionary measures. That was a rich experience in the history of the Vietnamese labour movement.

VIET MINH

A new action organization, gathering all the patriotic areas of the nation, was created in May of 1941: The Viet Minh or the Independence League of Viet Nam. The Communist Party assumed the leadership of this national salvation movement in which the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie collaborated, hand in hand, in the struggle. Nguyen Ai Quoc was elected President of Viet Minh by unanimity. His popularity had grown in Viet Nam.

When Japanese fascism lashed its aggression against Viet Nam, the Viet Minh, without waiting for the French decision, exhorted the people to fight against the invaders. The French colonial authorities, instead of depending on the popular support to crush the Japanese aggressor, preferred to ally themselves with the Japanese militarists against the Viet Minh. The Viet Minh decided, then, to contact the Chinese of the allied countries to fight against the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. Nguyen Ai Quoc, on account of his profound knowledge of China, was in charge of a secret mission near Chiang Kai Shek, who, after Hankeou was over-come by the Japanese troops, had established his government in Tonking. To carry out efficiently this dangerous mission, Nguyen Ai Quoc adopted a new name:

Ho Chi Minh. These three syllables would sooner be carrying throughout the world the glory of a resolute people - to be free or to die.

PRISON DIARY

In August of 1942, Ho Chi Minh made a journey from the Viet Bac mountains to the first Chinese city; he had to walk for ten days and five nights across a dangerous and dense jungle. As soon as he arrived in Chinese territory, Chiang Kai Shek police captured him. Immediately he was jailed, irons and chains around his feet and neck, as a dangerous criminal. He remains this way for weeks, completely cut off from the world, in an internal cell. One day, six soldiers penetrated into his cell, released him from the irons and chains and, without saying a word, they tied up his arms behind his back and ordered him to follow them. A new calvary started for Uncle Ho. Here he is, walking with an unknown destiny, guarded by a silent escort. This journey lasts days and nights that seem as long as centuries. Uncle Ho walks sometimes under the rain, sometimes under a hot sun, across hostile regions, arms tied, a throat dried by thirst, eyes glistening with sadness; Uncle Ho walks surrounded by his enemies, exhausted, but keeping in the depths of his spirit the burning flame of the revolutionary faith. Uncle Ho walks through the large province of Kuang Si, day and night, under the rain that falls on the valleys, the wind of the plateaus, the freezing dawns and the terrible heat of the afternoons. Uncle Ho walks with his feet in pain, his wrists sore from the ties, his clothes tattered, lips pale from hunger, but carrying in his heart the splendid flame of poetry. His march is the march of freedom through the hard road of the ages.

At the end of this terrible pilgrimage, Uncle Ho is led into a new prison. One night they stop at the city of Liu Tchao. The prisoner is chained. He will remain for months in this position. His fellows in captivity are dreadful delinquents, thieves, professional opium eaters, criminals without faith or law. He has other companions even more unpleasant: worms, lice, fleas, bugs, mosquitoes, torturing him day and night. It happens, sometimes, that Uncle Ho discovers in the morning that the man he thought asleep at his side is already a human carcass. Adding to all these vicissitudes he is victim of fever and mirages. Uncle Ho is at that time a skeleton, a skeleton who finds in his still living spirit, the strength to write poems of great beauty. Later, those poems, written in hell, were published under the title of Prison's Diary. Mainly, they are quartets composed in Chinese, with images soberly blended by the lyric cadency of an air of hope among the lonesome trees of his soul. They are accents of an unforgettable pureness, linked to the everyday life of the prison.

And the man, Ho Chi Minh, the revolutionary of 1943 lost some of his gray hair, his sight weakened in chains, but he never lost hope, even less the need of singing in the name of all men.

After fourteen months of prison in Liu Tchao, he is released the 10th of September of 1943. Physically, it is not a man, it is a shadow trespassing the doors of prison. His legs can hardly support him. He still remains, in parole, for some weeks in Liu Tchao.

During that time, he trains his legs in the march and accustoms his eyes to light, until he is able to return to his fatherland.

STRUGGLE INTENSIFIED

He found a well armed Viet Nam to initiate the new phase of the struggle. The Viet Minh's leaders who remained in the country, such as Phan Van Dong, current Prime Minister; Vo Nguyen Giap, hero of Dien Bien Phu, had made of the Viet Minh a resistance organization in accordance with the new political situation. The conditions were created for armed insurrection. Uncle Ho, with his huge political culture, joined the efforts being made for gaining power. At the end of 1944, the Viet Minh controlled six provinces in the north of Viet Nam. The liberation army of Viet Nam was already a force capable of carrying out a decisive action against the enemy. A National Liberation Committee presided by Ho Chi Minh, and a Military Committee directed by

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

uncle ho

By Terence Cannon

What kind of man was Uncle Ho?
What kind of organizer?
What did he teach?

For fifty years he labored, for fifty years he fought and negotiated, attacked and appeased, advanced and retreated, betrayed by socialist friends and capitalist enemies.

To paraphrase Brecht:

"For he went, changing his country more often than his shoes,
In the class war, despairing
When there was only injustice and no resistance."

Fifty years, brothers and sisters, to liberate in his long lifetime half of his tiny nation, less than the size of California.

His style was different than ours. When he called for armed struggle he meant it; when he signed agreements he honored them; he did not abstract his people, he loved them. He probably knew by heart that first essay by Lenin, in which there is a paragraph that begins:

"The socialist revolution is not one single act, not one single battle on a single front, but a whole epoch of intensified class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, i.e., battles around all the problems of economics and politics, which can only culminate in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

HO THE ORGANIZER

There are few personal accounts of Ho's practice. I will quote from them at length; they are worthy of emulation.

When he was 27, Le Quang Ba, now Chairman of the Committee of Nationalities of the DRV, met Ho for the first time. He had traveled to China to contact leaders of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. He was told that "Uncle" was in a nearby town:

"That exceeded all our expectations. We were overjoyed. Since the very first days of my revolutionary activities, I had heard of our leader Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot--one of Ho's pseudonyms). The First Vietnamese Communist, a great figure of the Communist International. Our group headed back for Tsingtao that very night, almost running. On our arrival, shortly after midnight, we were led to a small house and showed into a room where a light was still burning. We came into the room. Uncle was sitting on a bed, waiting for us. Although the light was dim, we could see him clearly enough. We were struck by his broad forehead, his sparkling eyes, and his features which bespoke great kindness. So it was "he"! Our joy was indescribable and for a moment we remained speechless just looking at him with deep emotion."

A few weeks later, Le Quang Ba, met again with Ho at a training course for militants in another Chinese town.

"We are revolutionaries," said Ho. "We must win the people's affection and confidence; it is in their interest that we are struggling. We must educate them politically, gradually instill into them political consciousness. We must respect them."

I still perfectly remember everything he taught us those days.

The "four recommendations" were as follows:

- 1) To help the population in their daily work: husking and milling rice, fetching water and firewood, looking after the children...
- 2) To get acquainted with local customs and habits, to strictly respect all "taboos" observed in the region and by the family with whom one is staying.
- 3) To learn the local dialect, to teach the local people to sing, read and write, to win their sympathy and little by little, to conduct revolutionary propaganda.
- 4) To win the population's confidence and support through one's correct attitude and good discipline.

The "five interdictions" were as follows:

- 1) Not to cause any damage to the crops and fields, not to deface or impair the population's furniture and household articles.
- 2) Not to insist on buying or borrowing what people don't want to sell or lend.
- 3) Not to forget one's promises.
- 4) Not to violate local customs, habits, and religious beliefs.
- 5) Not to divulge any secret

KIND-HEARTED AND SINCERE

In 1941, Chu Van Tan, now Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Viet Bac Autonomous Region, met Ho in the Vietnamese village of Pac Bo, near the Chinese border.

"Comrades Le Quang Ba and Son Hung soon joined us and led us towards the valley. I was captivated by the landscape. Terraced fields all around. To the left, a rushing stream coming from China wound round the mountain and ran through Pac Bo village. To the right, a small brook flowed towards the plain.

"Suddenly, a man with a goatee beard appeared, a slender and agile figure. Briskly, he shook hands with everyone. His first words were to enquire about our health, the incidents during our journey... I felt a comfortable warmth run through my body. What vitality, what kindness on his face! He must be a top Party leader, I told myself. I did not dare to ask whether he was the delegate from the Comintern, I did not even think that



photo from LNS

it could be he. All I did was to engrave his image in my heart.

"He missed no occasion to improve my education. Whenever he had some spare time, he went to see the guards or local inhabitants. He paid special attention to the education of young people and children. From time to time, children were seen peacefully pasturing their buffaloes, serenely humming some folk songs, but in reality, they kept their eyes and ears open, in order to protect us. Our leader liked to repeat these teachings to us:

"A revolution cannot be made by a single man. A large force is needed, the entire people must participate. That is why it is necessary to have cadres for propaganda, agitation and education. They must be kind-hearted, open-minded and sincere. They must help one another as comrades, work together with the masses without whom they could not succeed in anything. Each gesture, each attitude must conquer people's hearts.

"The revolution requires in the first place the participation of politically conscious people. A man joins the revolution only when he understands that oppression is the cause of his sufferings. Therefore, we cannot lie to the people. If we did, the fear of reprisals could, in difficult times, lead to treason, which would be disastrous. Before the people, a revolutionary cadre has no right to assume a haughty and arrogant attitude, as if he were a feudal warlord. He must be modest."

When I met with young NLF cadre in Budapest last year, of many things I was impressed most by their being, their style: frank, generous, earthy and humorous, and carrying within themselves a strength and calmness, a SURENESS, the more obvious in contrast to ourselves - uptight, nervous American radicals. It rubbed off for a while, until I came back to America, and felt the black bile from the belly of the monster rising through my body and mind.

The hurricane of People's War raged about them, and inside them the still eye of the hurricane, sureness in the face of genocide. At first I ascribed their calmness to victory. It is within their grasp, I thought, of course they feel good.

But the memoirs of Ho's comrades tell a different tale. In the depths of trouble, when Vietnam was under the double yoke of Japanese and French imperialism, Ho was teaching - we must be kind-hearted, open-minded and sincere. His country ravaged, all contact between Central Committee members and local cadre severed, Ho played with the children and taught them poems and songs.

Jailed by his "allies", the Kuomintang, he wrote:

The rose at evening blossoms, and then it fades away. Its opening and its withering continue all unnoticed. But the fragrance of the rose floats into the depths of the prison, Telling the inmates thereof life's injustice and sorrow. When Lenin died, Ho wrote:

"As for us, we are deeply moved by this irretrievable loss and share the common mourning of all the peoples with our brothers and sisters. But we believe that the Communist International and its branches, which include branches in colonial countries, will succeed in implementing the lessons and teachings the leader has left behind for us. To do what he advised us, is that not the best way to show our love for him?"

"In his lifetime he was our father, teacher, comrade, and adviser. Nowadays, he is the bright star showing us the way to the socialist revolution.

"Eternal Lenin will live forever in our work."

HO LIVES!

HO LIVES!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

Vo Nguyen Giap. The Japanese were still in the country. The 19th of August 1945, in the largest part of the northern provinces, the Liberation Army attacked the Japanese occupation forces. The people of Hanoi, the current capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, victoriously arose. Throughout the country, they created people's committees to assume effective power. Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the Republic and he was in charge of writing a Declaration of Independence that, in a part, says: "All the chains they imposed on us to maintain slavery for more than a century, have been broken by our people in order to make of our Viet Nam an independent country. At the same time, our people have overcome the monarchic regime, established for dozens of centuries, to constitute the Democratic Republic.

"For these reasons, we, members of the provisional government, in the name of the whole people of Viet Nam, declare abolished all the privileges abrogated by the French upon our territory..."

"We solemnly proclaim before the entire world: Viet Nam has the right to be free and independent, and in fact, it is a free and independent country."

President Ho read this glorious declaration the 2nd of September, 1945, in Hanoi, before an enthusiastic multitude of a million people. It is said that that day, hours before the popular rally, his comrades realized that Uncle Ho did not have appropriate clothes for the circumstances. He had nothing but the shorts that he had worn in the jungle. He presented himself before the people wearing a khaki suit and sandals.

But his voice was vibrant. He announced to the people that, after dozens of years of colonial slavery, spring and dignity had returned, and now, the sun of the democratic republic was shining over them.

The 19th of December, 1946, the French government, betraying his people and violating the signed treaties, launched against the Vietnamese nation a military aggression. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people lasted more than eight years, until the 10th of October, 1954, when the Vietnamese flag, cheered by the people, waved in the sky of Hanoi. From 1954 up to date, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has carried out, in all aspects of its national life, decisive transformations.

The epic resistance of the Vietnamese people from 1946 to 1954 constitutes one of the most important events of this century. Today, the people of Viet Nam, in the south as well as in the north, are engaged in a new heroic resistance which will undoubtedly end with the shameful defeat of yankee imperialists. They will suffer, in their criminal policy of aggression and escalation, a new Dienbienphu.

Ho Chi Minh proved that coexistence and harmony will never be possible between the colonized and the colonizer. To recover its humanity, to recover the essence itself of its alienated social being, all the colonized or semi-colonized peoples should destroy, by means of revolutionary violence, the relations created by the colonial fact.

Ballots & Bullets

SPEECH BY RAY MASAI HEWITT, MINISTER OF EDUCATION
OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, ON LABOR DAY

Right on. All power to the people! On behalf of the Black Panther Party, I'd like to say that we're very glad to have the time to be among the people today. It seems that we rarely have the time nowadays, with the pigs locking us up, shooting up our offices, busting us every time we sell some papers.

It's been like three years now, and we're still here. And the only reason the Party's still here is because the people are still here.

Time wise, its been three years since the Party started right here in the Bay Area. Since that time they tried to murder Huey, and they railroaded him. They tried to send Eldridge back to prison so they could finish him off (but Eldridge beat that one, they still tryin to catch him). Since that time they've given out a lot of time to a lot of Panthers, murdered Alprentice Bunchy Carter and John Jerome Huggins in L.A., Sylvester Bell and John Savage in San Diego. Been a lot of Panthers locked up and quite a few buried.

But we still here, and the only reason we still here is because of the strength of the people. You people. And as the repression, as the shit that the pigs put on us grows worse, it becomes very necessary for us to tighten our hand, cause the instances where we have to just make our play out there in the streets every day become more and more. Always a lot of people around murder-mouthin and raw-jawin about what they "gon do to the man", "later for the pigs" and "what they gon do to Whitey"... but it ain't that many people actually DOIN ANYTHING.

We don't advocate no whole lot of burnin' and throwin rocks because that don't get you nowhere. We DO advocate organized guns and force. We still see that the pigs are still shootin and murdering brothers, especially the Tac Squad in San Francisco, pigs in Oakland and Berkeley--they ain't much different, they haven't changed.

So it is still necessary for the people to understand that the way to control the pigs is to have shotguns stickin out of every window. Now we won't argue whether or not that's legal or illegal. We know its NECESSARY because the pigs ain't gonna stop mistreating black people, and the instances of mistreatin white people are on the increase.

In the very same line with the same objective of dealin with these pig troops that occupy the black community, the Black Panther Party's putting forward a

petition for community control of the police. Now we say that voting, in the old way, for black people is a waste of time. Ballots without bullets ain't hittin on a damn thing. But we don't want to be one-sided, we want to use all the laws that's in our favor, and then when the laws go against it, well we say that the oppressor has no rights that we're bound to respect.

So on the one hand we want to move a petition. A petition that would give this community control over the pigs that now run rampant in this community. On the other hand, we still say that the final solution to the pig problem is some 12 guage shotguns for everybody in the black community.

So that everytime the pigs come in the black community, every time they brutalize a brother, every time they open fire on a brother for suspicion of GTA, the community can open fire on them.

And if we can make a petition to pass a law to make these same pigs that work in this community live in this community then we'll be that much better off, we won't have to shoot that far to get them in line.

So we don't want to ruin one of the occasions we have to be amongst the masses, with too many long winded speeches. We can do our fair share of finger poppin and pop our toes to the music... the Black Panther Party's still a political party. The repression is still comin down. Huey's still in jail. Eldridge is still in exile. The pigs have kidnapped Bobby. Probably the only reason that most of us are still here is because we got wind of the pigs little ploy to wipe out our National Headquarters just in time.

We'll cut the speechmaking short. We want you to know the Black Panther Party is still your party, still the party of the people, that it hasn't changed. We don't openly carry guns anymore, and Huey had admonished us not to cuss as much as we used to, but we still yours and we're very happy to be here. All Power to the People. Thank you.

photo from Black Panther Paper

VIEW FROM THE TOP: black capitalism means colonialism

By Thorstein Smith

We may be coming to the end of an era that hasn't even begun; black capitalism. While there are occasional success stories, mainly in the area of consumer operations like stores (Freedom Industries, Inc., of Boston, a conglomerate mainly operating supermarkets, hopes to reach \$7 million in sales its first year), most producer operations are either in trouble, and/or losing their independence to white colonialist enterprises. The famous Watts factory, a subsidiary of Aerojet General, which makes tents (for the Defense Department), is in trouble even with the protection of its affluent master. FIGHTON, Inc., organized by Rochester, N.Y.'s Allinsky--originated FIGHT, operates on the promise of \$500,000 worth of business from Xerox. The board includes representatives from FIGHT, Xerox, and local business executives. As of last February (N.Y. Times 2-9-69), FIGHTON had only 30 hourly employees, but hoped to expand to 100 by the end of this year. The Xerox deal was hailed as "a Marshall Plan for the ghetto". Remember the Marshall plan? It tied the Western European economy to the U.S. after World War II...

Meanwhile, there's a "Black brain drain" not only from the black colleges but also from such black enterprises as do exist. Prudential Insurance now has 600 blacks on its sales force of 19,000;

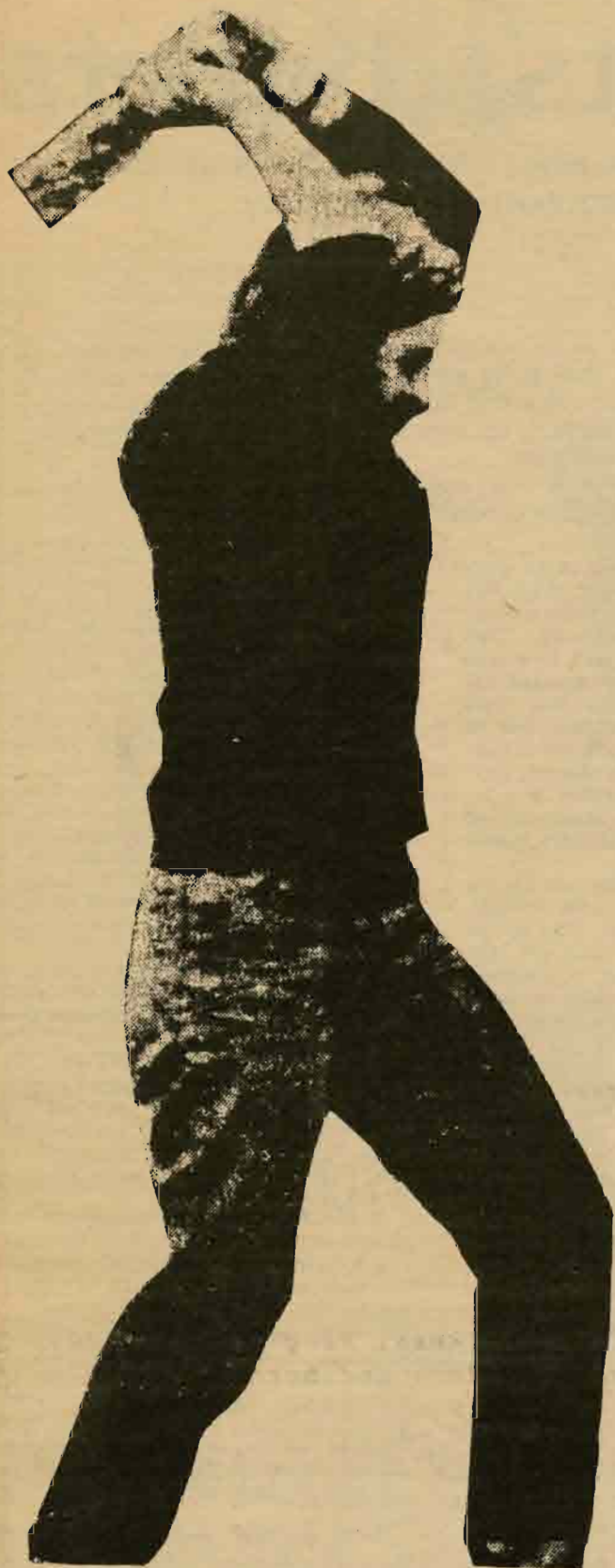
and, in hopes of getting more blacks on company lends eight executives to Fisk University in Nashville to teach management courses part-time. The problem is that black insurance companies are losing men. One Negro group, the National Insurance Ass'n., even bars white recruiters from its conventions to prevent raiding! (Wall St. Journal 7-15-69)

Nixon's Office of Minority Business Enterprise, in the Commerce Dept., is faltering, though of course Rev. Leon Sullivan managed to get a piece of the first million to be dished out, to push his black shopping center idea around the country. Even Whitney Young has declared (WSJ, 7-10-69) that "Black capitalism is a shambles." One Nixon gimmick was to try to con black groups into assuming jurisdiction over specific lines of business, for example, let CORE handle gas station training (!), the NAACP housing, etc. Sullivan, of course, would get shopping centers. No sale. The main push is still to get more blacks into franchises for white companies, basically so that a stronger native bourgeoisie can be built in the colony, and the colonialists can sell more. The notion of putting hard-core unemployed to work, and getting more sales in the ghetto, however, flies in the face of other governmental policies making for tighter money. As businesses cut back spending (due to high prices for credit) the first guys to get it will be in the ghetto. As always.



cartoon from the BERKELEY TRIBE

The Government MUST GO!



SPEECH BY BERNADETTE DEVLIN AT U.C. BERKELEY

Since I've arrived I've started off all these meetings by saying good evening ladies and gentlemen...I'm not going to say it today.

The reason I've come here is to tell you something that you probably know nothing about if you've been depending on the American press for information on the Northern Ireland crisis. Since I've come to America I've heard lots of stories which I haven't in fact recognized to be the struggle that I came from, and that was that there were a lot of Catholic and Protestant heathens in Northern Ireland who couldn't live together and that all good people with any kind of perspective of the 20th century should stay as far away from the struggle as possible and let us sort it out in the middle of medieval Ireland.

INSURRECTION NOT SECTARIANISM

We who have been struggling in Northern Ireland, we have been termed by every newspaper in the world as hooligans or sectarian rioters. We prefer to call ourselves an insurrection. An insurrection we are, and we've created out of a situation which as usual has been provided for us by the police, a counter situation which they can now do nothing about. In the slum Catholic area of Derry and the slum areas of Belfast and in other towns in Northern Ireland we have hoisted the barricades. They were put up first of all as a matter of defense to keep out the hordes of armed and uniformed thugs who, calling themselves the guardians of the peace, stormed into slum areas, in their own words, to "settle them once and for all". So we threw up the barricades and we fought them, with all that we had to fight them, which was stones and petrol bombs.

We fought these gallant well disciplined men who had guns, machine guns and tear gas, which they used, and which some of you are probably familiar with... they used non-stop for 40 hours on a "built-up" area. (Everybody now calls it a built up area, a residential area... before the 12th of August they called it a slum, and they preferred not to think that it existed.)

So I'd like to tell you briefly what our struggle is in Northern Ireland, what the truth of the matter is, what it is we've been doing, why it is we've been doing it, and what we want to achieve as the ultimate goal.

For fifty years in Northern Ireland, since the partition of the country, the Northern Ireland government has been the Unionist Party of Northern Ireland. Fifty years ago they announced they would set up a Protestant state for a Protestant people. They never had any intention of setting up a Protestant state for a Protestant people, but they were very clever. They looked at the division of Northern Ireland and they had seen that if you counted heads on a religious basis, there were more Protestants than there were Catholics. And therefore the way to keep yourself in power was first of all to state you were on the side of the majority, then by any means you could to keep people voting on that one line which made them the majority...and you could always be returned to power.

CLASS QUESTION NOT RELIGIOUS

So they set about fifty years ago that they could insure that practically every Protestant in the country would support the Unionist Party and the Catholics would be left to vote for whatever opposition parties they could manage. This

unfortunately resulted in a situation where they had set up what was tantamount to a Protestant party, so that the opposition party thought that the only way to beat them was to set up a Catholic party. And the people who had fought in 1916, the people who died in 1916, for the social revolution of Ireland, for the creation of a 32 county republic in which all men would be equal...the things that these men fought and died for were completely forgotten by the people who were trying to beat the British out of the country, and they settled for...you can be the Protestants and we'll be the Catholics. The ordinary people of Northern Ireland were never consulted about this gentlemen's agreement, but it was allowed to continue for 50 years.

The means the government used for keeping themselves in power were to actively discriminate against the Catholics, to keep them out of all jobs that the government controlled...

Meanwhile, they exploited the Protestant working class, on the basis, very similar to the situation in this country between the black and the poor white. The Protestant working class in Northern Ireland have literally nothing, but nothing is at least better than less than nothing, which they believe the Catholic working class to have. Our problems in Northern Ireland are not problems of religion, they're not even revolutionary problems...but problems of a medieval government using the most malicious power it can to keep themselves in power and keep the people of Northern Ireland in poverty, because it's the only way in a very small country they can keep themselves rich.

FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO REVOLUTION

So when the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland started, it made very simple demands...demands which were by themselves by no means revolutionary...but they have proved that it takes a revolution in Ireland to bring them about.

The first demand we made was that any man had a right, in a so called democratic country, to vote, and that that vote should be equal to anybody else's vote. And we all had hoped that the government elections, we could all vote for the Parliament, but our two leading parties, the Unionist Party and the Nationalist Party by gentlemen's agreement had drawn up the electoral boundaries, counting Catholic and Protestant heads.

They'd worked out sealed constituencies, so that over the period of 50 years in Northern Ireland, you can in fact predict ten years in advance what politician will sit in what constituency, simply by counting the heads of the people who live there. We demanded the electoral boundaries should be changed, and if we were going to live under a democratic system, we should have democratic elections.

At local government elections, which are much more important because they control the important things in people's lives...who gets the work, and who gets the houses...in these local government elections only the people who already had the houses were allowed to vote. This meant that people who don't own their own homes, people who were not householders had no representation on the council, therefore the council did not consider themselves under any obligation to look after people who didn't vote for them. But the situation was even more malicious than this, because when a person applied, as most people in Northern Ireland have to apply for a house

from the local council, because very few people in the country can afford to buy their own houses, or even rent their own houses from private owners, when people applied to the council for a house, they did not ask them how long have you been without a house, how many kids have you, what size house do you need...they asked you what your religion was. This would interpret then what way you would vote, and so he got out his little map and he looked not to where he could build houses, but where that vote could be put so that it would not upset the balance of power. This resulted in areas like Dunganon, which is a small rural town, not having built houses for at least 5 years, while it had a waiting list of some 500 families. And they were prepared to state quite openly that they couldn't, despite the fact that they had the capital and the land, they could not build houses for these 500 families because they were the wrong religion to put on that plot of land. This is a simple kind of thing which we were demanding the government should change.

We were also demanding that every man in the country had a right to work. The system of employment, or unemployment in Northern Ireland is a delightful system of how to make people work for nothing and think you're giving them the earth. The people of Northern Ireland suffer from very high unemployment, they suffer from it naturally because in the first place the country is divided and both sides of it are run by Tory governments. Nevertheless, within the confines of Northern Ireland it is possible to make some sort of attempt to fully employ the people. To do this it would of course necessitate the breaking down of the system and the ruination of the government...a point which we consider very minor when we think of the number of people who were out of work and that nobody in government was in fact out of work and that the individual members of Northern Ireland's government are 90 percent of the shareholders in all of foreign industry in Northern Ireland...one begins to see the problem.

By keeping the mass of the people unemployed, they had a cheap pool of labor. People in Northern Ireland consider a good wage to be 30 dollars a week, that means you're earning more than you would get if you weren't working at all, because we have a welfare system, by courtesy of the British government because we're all British citizens. We have this welfare state that means if you don't work you get a minimum allowance on which you can survive, from the state. The Northern Ireland government has as its minimum wage a weekly wage which is only about two-thirds the minimum wage for unemployed persons.

Most people in Northern Ireland work for a minimum wage, which means naturally that you are richer by sitting at home doing nothing than you are by slaving your guts out for 45 hours a week, therefore there are those people who quite rightly sit at home and the government doesn't like them.

BRITISH & AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

We demanded that the government settle the situation, that it start employing people in Northern Ireland as they could be employed. The system of employment in Northern Ireland is such that our Minister of Commerce comes to America, and he tells all the good Americans that they should build their factories in Northern Ireland. They build their factories in Northern Ireland for

WANTED



CONSPIRACY TO INCITE RIOT

Unreal? Well maybe you're not hip to what's been going down lately. The Law and Order apes and this senile dinosaur we call a government have flipped out. Preventive detention, the no-knock clause in the new drug laws, appointment of Burger to the Supreme Court, and the extensive use of wire-tapping by the Justice Department are all part of a wave of repression.

Over 300 Black Panthers are now in jail in a national plot to destroy their organization. White radicals are being arrested. Underground newspapers are being harassed. G.I.s who speak out are receiving harsh sentences. The police have been unleashed. Last summer in Chicago it was clubs and tear gas; in Berkeley this spring it was shotguns and buckshot.

The hard rain is already falling and it isn't just the politicians that are getting wet. Read the list: Jimi Hendrix, MC-5, The Who, Phil Ochs, Tim Buckley, Jefferson Airplane, Grateful Dead, Jim Morrison, Creedence Clearwater, The Turtles, Moby Grape, Ray Charles, The Fugs, Dave Van Ronk, Joan Baez—all have been busted recently. Busted because the authorities want to destroy the cultural revolution in the same way they want to destroy the political revolution. It's true the above poster is made up, but if the

government wanted to it could bust rock groups on charges of conspiracy to incite riot. Last year Congress passed an anti-riot act which made it illegal to urge people to go to an event at which a riot later occurs.

The law makes it illegal to *travel from state to state, write letters or telegrams, speak on the radio or television, Make a telephone call with the intention of encouraging people to participate in a riot. A riot meaning an act of violence occurring in an assemblage of three or more persons.* The people doing the urging never have to commit an act of violence or know the people who do. They never, in fact, have to urge a riot. William Kunstler, famed constitutional lawyer feels "rock and roll stars and promoters could be prosecuted under this law if violence occurred at a show."

The law is currently being tested in the upcoming trial of eight movement activists: Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Bobby Seale, and Lee Weiner, all participants in the demonstrations last August in Chicago. You remember Chicago where the facade of a democratically run convention was washed down the streets with the blood of young people. The Whole World Was Watching and what

it saw was what the official Walker Report later termed a "police riot." Richard Nixon wants to put an end to demonstrations. Mayor Daley wants revenge. They have decided to set an example to anyone who speaks out against the government by putting eight prominent activists in prison for ten years.

If there is a conspiracy to end the war in Vietnam, if there is a conspiracy to end racism, if there is a conspiracy to end the harassment of the cultural revolution, then we, too, must **join the conspiracy.** The Conspiracy Eight must be supported, the law under which they are charged must be fought. If not, it won't be long before we are seeing posters like this all over the country.

I would like more info about the Conspiracy Trial.....

I would like to contribute.....dollars for legal defense.

Name:.....

Address:.....

City:.....

Organization or Group:.....

In addition to the money I will help by.....

Checks should be made payable to:
THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE CONSPIRACY
28 East Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois 60604

PANTHERS' STRUGGLE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3



case

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

most advanced workers, educating workers in surrounding plants, and helping organize - or at least neutralize - the women employees.

During the Case strike we made some attempts by inviting the men to an RSU picnic and having a party with the Hayward Collective. Four strikers came and we had good raps in a friendly atmosphere. After the strike settlement, we attempted to have a meeting between students and friendly strikers. The union found out and, by order of the President of the union, ILWU members were prohibited from attending. We are continuing follow-up work on an individual basis, however.

After the settlement, the Alameda South County Solidarity Comm. issued another leaflet to workers in surrounding plants. It described the settlement and how Case screwed the workers. We purposefully omitted outright criticism of the union, feeling that it would be more appropriate coming from ILWU members. But most of the leaflet talked about the upcoming International Industrialist's Conference (IIC) and Case's connections with it. In a nearby Kellogg's plant, one worker posted the leaflet in the locker room, only to have it torn down by an outraged supervisor.

We intend to continue leafletting the area prior to the IIC conference and hope to have small numbers of workers, including Case strikers, participate in the street demonstrations in San Francisco.

The Case strike was an important educational experience for both the workers and students. Given our good contacts from Case and other surrounding plants, we think we have established a beachhead in an important industrial area.

As the MOVEMENT goes to press the demonstrations against the International Industrialist's Conference are just beginning. We will have a full analysis of the struggle in the next issue.

KICK THE ASS
OF THE
RULING CLASS!

INTERNATIONAL
INDUSTRIAL
CONFERENCE
FAIRMONT HOTEL
SEPT 15-19

of people correctly observe that the black movement is split and that the great majority of black people in this country are not active Panther supporters. From this observation, they conclude that the Panthers are not the vanguard. (or at least it's not for us to decide - "black people will decide").

While it's true that the Panthers are not the vanguard in the sense just described, this doesn't mean that we should not accept the leadership of the Panthers. The Panthers are the vanguard in another sense, perhaps a more important sense, given the early stage of development of the struggle. They are the vanguard in the sense that they have made a "great leap forward" in the development of the struggle. And while the Panthers make mistakes, they are still the most together organization, black or white, in the country. Also, the fact that the Panthers are the indisputable vanguard in receiving the shit the enemy has to dish out confirms that the enemy has decided that the Panthers are the most dangerous challenge they face from the left. It's silly, in this context of repression to talk about the Panthers being coopted.

Some Panther spokesmen say that if you really support the Party, you should support the petition for community control of pigs. While the petition campaign is certainly open to criticism, to dismiss the campaign on abstract ideological grounds is dogmatic. There are several important reasons for supporting the petition campaign.

THE PETITION CAMPAIGN

First, and this is why I discussed the vanguard role of the Panthers, we should support the petition because the Panthers asked us to. While the Panthers are wrong in sometimes claiming that the petition campaign is the ONLY way to fight fascism, whatever tactic is chosen to fight fascism must have the full backing of all available movement resources to maximize its effectiveness. There are definitely other ways to fight fascism, and they should not be abandoned, but it would be disastrous if each movement group and individual continued to "do it's own thing" in a haphazard way. Our efforts must be unified.

Second, some movement people have rejected the petition on the grounds that it's reformist and maintains bourgeois illusions about the viability of the bourgeois democratic process. This objection has its roots in our concrete experience with liberalism and is justified under certain conditions. But whether or not one uses legal tactics is not a principled decision to be made in the abstract for all times. We need tactical flexibility. More important (and this has been done in every successful revolution--look at Vietnam) the use of legal tactics doesn't preclude the use of illegal ones. Very often they can be effectively combined. The Panthers have not abandoned the principle of armed struggle. (see Masai's speech in this issue). They are waging the struggle on more than one level. Given the early stage of the struggle, it is important that the Panthers not be forced to operate solely underground. Being able to speak to masses of people openly is crucial until the masses of people are won over.

Some say, "Well, it's ok to have a petition campaign with some people, but not our constituency, they would never register to vote and why should they". This may be true for a small number of street people, but even for organizations whose constituency is only street people, there are still reasons for supporting the petition campaign. It's not like the petition is the ONLY thing we should talk about with street people or anyone else. What about working class youth on the streets talking to their parents about the petition?

Third, a lot of people have made ideological attacks on the petition because it doesn't differentiate the special status of black and third world communities from white (working class) communities. This is certainly an ideological weakness of the petition. Organizing would be easier if the Panthers made clear the colonial status of black and brown people in the petition itself. On the other hand, the weakness becomes less important in practice. Given

political realities, in order to get black community control of police, white working class people must support the concept. The reaction of most white working people is "sure, community control of police is good, for us--but not for black people"--the petition campaign is a good opportunity to struggle against these racist attitudes. Is it playing up to white skin privilege to try to convince someone who voted against a police review board in New York City that he should support the Panther petition?

Finally, the petition is the only form that has been suggested so far that gives people the opportunity to organize on a door to door basis around one of the hottest issues in the country. The ruling class calls it "law and order", we call it the colonial occupation of the ghettos, and black liberation. If the movement can figure out another way to reach large numbers of people on this question, people who don't usually relate to our activities, then Right On. The point is that we must find ways to expand our base.

There are several ways people can support the petition campaign, and, at the same time, do whatever other work is necessary to intensify the struggle. The petition can be taken wherever we go. There is no contradiction between passing out leaflets about a militant demonstration and, at the same time, having a petition with you for people to sign. There is no contradiction between joining the picket line of some militant workers' strike and having a petition for the picketers to sign.

Also, people should try to participate in the Committees to Fight Fascism and make them function in an all round way to fight fascism. Committees could fight fascism on a number of levels in addition to the petition campaign, if large numbers of revolutionaries participated in them. A lot of people reject the Committees because they're "full of revisionists". Revisionism is a real problem, but it will never be defeated just by bad-mouthing and avoidance. We should struggle actively against the revisionists and seize control of the Committees from the revisionists, where those committees are controlled by them.

UNITY IN STRUGGLE

In sum a unified and determined enemy has intensified its attacks against the leadership of OUR movement. The pigs have been the main weapon in this attack. We must respond with solidarity and by raising the struggle to a higher level. The defense of the Panther leadership must be used to further expose the nature of this decadent system and to take the politics of the black liberation struggle to the people. Second, it is necessary to educate the people on the role of the pigs in our society. The first step in that is to raise the issue of their control by the people. As Huey Newton has pointed out:

"The reason that I feel very strongly about dealing with the protectors of the system is simply because without this protection from the army, the police and the military, the institutions could not go on in their racism and exploitation... Whenever we attack the system, the first thing the administrators do is to send out their strong-arm men. If it's a rent strike, because of the indent housing we have, they will send out the police to throw the furniture out the window. They don't come themselves. They send the protectors. So to deal with the corrupt exploiter you are going to have to deal with his protector, which is the police who take orders from him. This is a must."

A movement that fails to vigorously rise to the defense of its leadership and to use that defense to expose and attack the enemy and educate the people is a movement that will aid in its own destruction and make the job of the enemy that much easier.

FREE HUEY, FREE BOBBY,
FREE LOS SIETE AND ALL
POLITICAL PRISONERS!

MOVEMENT: Have you been successful in organizing in the countryside? Do you get a good reception, or do you run into problems in areas that have been previously un-politicized?

MARIO: The reaction has generally been a favorable one, but you always have to move very slowly. There are many ethnic religious and other differences among our people. You have to be sensitive to these differences.

Before we send in guerrilla units to any area, we first send in teams to sound out the population, see how they feel about things. Then, after a period of political education--not formal education, just talking to people, raising questions, getting THEM to come up with the answers themselves--they're sounded out again. Only when we're sure that the people of an area are really ready to support guerrilla action--and won't give way to their

fears when the repression comes--do we send in the military units.

In terms of present support, I can say that at this point we have more volunteers to fight than we can incorporate in the guerrilla units. We just don't have enough guns yet for everyone who wants to fight. But those people help us in other ways. They provide supplies for us, and information. And when the time comes, they'll be ready to fight.

MOVEMENT: When I first heard you were active in the leadership of the liberation struggle of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, I was very surprised. I didn't expect to see a white man in your role, in a country and a movement that is almost entirely black. Are there many whites active in the MPLA and the other African liberation organizations? Is it difficult for whites to become incorporated in the struggle?

MARIO: The movement is primarily black, and of course almost all of the leaders are black. But the real question is your dedication to the struggle, to the revolution. Once you have proved yourself there is no question whether you are black, brown or white. But of course it is true that it is much more difficult for a white Portuguese settler to enter into any of the revolutionary African organizations. He can work within the organization, or for it, but he will not be sent off to fight. But that doesn't mean that there aren't things that he can be doing within the cities.

I've never had any problems on account of not being black. But I was involved deeply in the MPLA from a very early stage.

MOVEMENT: What did you do after the attacks on the police stations and prisons failed?

MARIO: We settled in to do some long, hard political work, political education. We sent teams out throughout the countryside, speaking to people. It's a hard task--harder than the actual armed struggle.

You have to speak to people very simply; about what interests them, about what bothers them. A cadre goes into the countryside, or into a small town. He asks the peasant or the worker: "What kind of wages do you get? (or "What price for your pigs?") Do you think that's a fair price? How much do you pay for food? Can you buy all the food and clothes your family needs on the wages you earn? How much do you pay in taxes? Who gets the taxes? Who pays for the new road that is being built? Who uses it? Do you have a car? Who has cars around here?" When you get the answers you expected, you begin talking about WHY these things happen. And then later, slowly, about what you can do about it.

self defense in court

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

be made to go on the defensive.

While many political points can be made this way, some can't. This is especially true for bringing out the various social forces opposing each other in the conflict in question. A class analysis can only be made coherently during the period when the person defending himself is on the stand, and during closing argument. These are the two times during the trial when the judge and DA give the most leeway. On the stand, political analysis comes under the heading of "state of mind" as to why we did what we were accused of. In closing argument, all the strands of the trial can and should be brought together and the conclusion they lead to be stated.

During the course of the trial, it's important to be able to argue articulately when the DA objects to a defense tactic or testimony. In replying to the DA's objection, the point you want to make should be stated so that even if the objection is sustained the jury will still have heard the information. Likewise, making objections to the DA gains the respect of the jury. However, we shouldn't get caught up in the little games that lawyers play. By and large they're ridiculous, and turn the jurors off. But when the judge obviously is inconsistent on what he sustains in favor of the DA, we should insist that the DA is attempting to bias the jury.

THE VERDICT

In my trial, the jury was hung, favoring acquittal 9-3. Because the prosecution's case was made up entirely of circumstantial evidence, and because the DA never presented any direct testimony a-

gainst any of us, we rested the case without any of us taking the stand. We had destroyed every essential point of the prosecution's case in cross examination and, at the same time, layed out the defense case.

Because of the issues I raised in my self-defense and because our group was together, the defense lawyers were forced to deal with the politics of the case. After the trial we talked to the jurors and found that at least four of them believed the arrest was made to break the strike (not because it was an illegal assembly). They also believed that there was police brutality. Some jurors had been moved politically, and that was the best indication that we had accomplished our job in the courtroom.

(For details on the SF State Strike itself, see THE MOVEMENT 12/68, 1/69, 2/69 and 3/69)

The State trials go on. A lot of people who have been convicted are appealing and a lot of those who face multiple felony raps haven't been tried yet. Most bonds are being set between \$1500 and \$6200. The Legal Defense Committee needs all the help they can get. Contributions can be sent to:

San Francisco State Legal Defense Committee,
PO BOX 31158
San Francisco, Calif. 94131



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TRASHMAN

I GUESS YOU KNOW WHY
WE'RE ALL HERE THIS
EVENING, YES ~~TRAPTION~~
AND HIS ILK HAVE BEEN
EXTERMINATED LIKE THE..



PERMITS THAT THEY WERE.
IT HAS BEEN PROVEN ONCE
AGAIN THAT THERE IS NO
ROOM



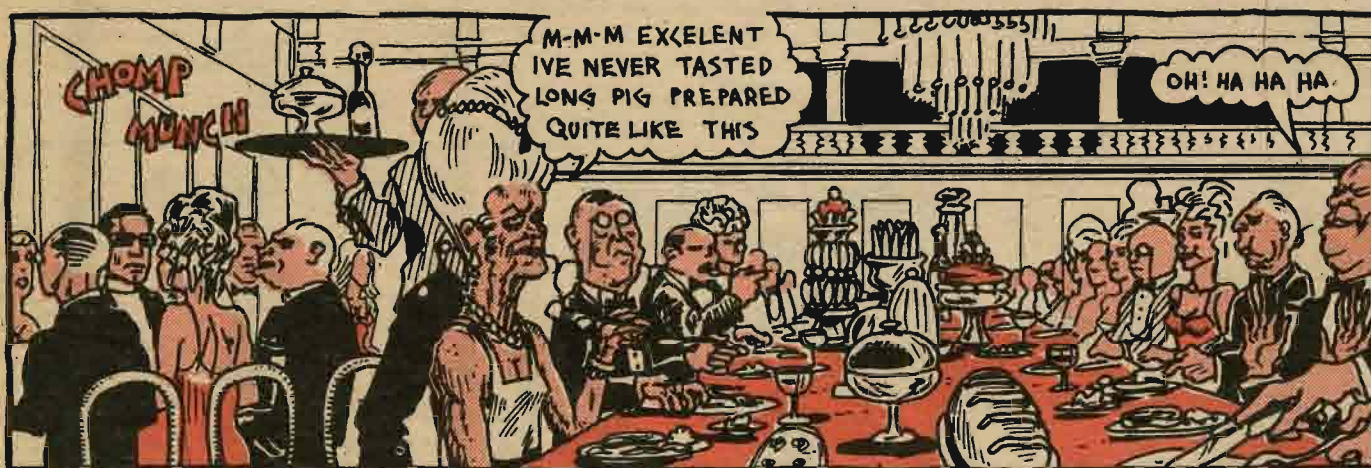
IN THIS SOCIETY FOR THOSE
WHO WOULD DESTROY THE
VERY FABRIK OF DECENCY-



FOR THOSE WHO WOULD
RAISE THEIR UNYOUTH
HANDS AGAINST THE FORCES
OF LAW AND ORDER...



...WAL, I DON'T WANT
TO PREACH..YOU FOLKS
JUST GO AHEAD AND
ENJOY YOURSELVES



WELL THE CLOSER TO
THE BONE THE SWEETER
THE MEAT YOU KNOW



MEANWHILE..
UNSEEN IN
THE MEZANINE
ABOVE THE
GAY CROWD...



SILENT HANDS
PREPARE THE
INSTRUMENT
OF . . .
VENGEANCE



CHEW
CHUNK



TRASHMAN TURNS AWAY...



..THE DREADFUL SCENE
OF HUMAN CARNAGE HAS
ALREADY BEGUN TO WEIGH
HEAVY ON HIS MIND...



BUT IN A WORLD WHERE
THE ENSLAVERS HAND IS
MASKED BY THE GUISE
OF LAW AND ORDER, THE
ONLY LAW AND THE ONLY
ORDER IS THE PRIMAL
INSTINCT TO SURVIVE



AS FREEMEN ... THUS IT
WILL BE TILL MEN OF
REASON CAN LIVE TOGETHER
TO BUILD A WORLD FREE
OF EXPLOITER AND EXPLOITED
BUT UNTIL THAT DAY
TRACEMAN MUST CARRY
ON THE STRUGUL TO ...

