in this issue:

THE LIFE OF HO
BERNADETTE AT BERKELEY
STRIKE AT J.I. CASE
PANTHERS PUSH ON
"Wayne State University is a working class university in Detroit. ..."—so begins Dena Camaage in her "Wayne State Strike" (THE MOVEMENT, August, 1969). If it was to be the most important thing about Wayne is its students' 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 meeting members of the local and national staff were debating with chapter members about whether or not Wayne could be organized around the issues of racism and imperialism, or whether the issues had to "relate to the students' own oppressions" (as of racism and imperialism), and then the tie-in with racism and imperialism was made by the SDS organizers. Suddenly, in a rush of a guy who shouted "If you really want to help the Wayne students, and win them over, help in the library workers organizing drive." So electifying this rallying call that the chapter, with very little debate, placed organzing in the priority for the rest of the year.

For weeks, people had to be kept under the table, since the main task was to get a majority of the student 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 union organizing was high, the slogans they put up around the school ranged from "General Strike" to "Unemployed and Underemployed workers to sign a slip saying that they want to unionize" and "student workers make only $2.00". Most of the slogans were about the virtues of having a union.

OPPORTUNISM

It is amazing that so-called revolutionaries in Detroit, a city where the racist hoolie establishment is so clearly seen in its face by the United Auto Workers Union, could write, "Wayne students are not the only people in Detroit who know the importance of unifying!" Surely Wayne SDS has known the union necessity in this country as well as in the self out of the white working class on the question of racism and imperialism. Surely they know that the white workers' acceptance of the black workers' institutional role of the American trade union led to the overthrow of the many of the broad class struggle in favor of struggles for particularist self-interest. How, then, could Wayne be a unit of the so-called "nationalization of the institutional role of the American trade union led to the overthrow of the many of the broad class struggle in favor of struggles for particularist self-interest."

The WILC-SDS line on privileges was quite amazing. As David said, "Wayne 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, the students keep us from working people." Dena's white nationalist consciousness comes directly through her narrow black underclass, the international proletarian, and even large numbers of militant white students, fighting for their own jobs, and semi-skilled white workers would be most interested in hearing that they are no different from a bond at white college kids, who are looking forward to jobs in the far upper reaches of the working class, and who like 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 together, 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 (2-6, grad., school, secure, jobs, comparative wealth) can they form another front in the worldwide battle against imperialism.

"At Wayne State University, you expect a student strike, I can't see what Dena was so excited about. Don't just automatically refuse to cross any picket line; they would probably respond better than that." For an OPENLY racist and national chauvinist student strike, don't think that workers have had it in their class interest to support this campaign. After all, while being bossed down to a group of privileged kids taking 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 bullshite strike was going on, Detroit was seething with issues around which a transnational anti-imperialist, anti-imperialist consciousness could be built. Two of the most important pamphlets of this period was a pamphlet written by a black revolutionary lawyer, who daily "peoples' court" to indict the executive house and put his family onto the test and we were brutally batoned by the Michigan governor for support the wives and children of these men. 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 the same boat. Meanwhile, listen not with standing, we will work to try to change our country for the better. All contributions will be gratefully acknowledged.

Mrs. B. Boyle Dublin Housing Action Committee Dublin, Ireland

THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF HO CHI MINH

"To translate sorrows into revolutionary actions, to stand boldly and toughly to fight, to be an armed vanguard of the people, to be a bulwark of the people's cause of fighting and defeating the US aggressors." —from communiqué issued by the Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers Party, September 4, 1969.

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Yours in struggle,
Oleo Strut Staff

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 is your support that is responsible for the fact that the paper will continue to come out. POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

THE MOVEMENT

OCTOBER 1969
**URGENCY AND CYNISM**

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? Is there a new movie anybody would like to see?"

As 1 watched them play, 1 couldn't help wondering 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 me, there was no one left to defend me.*

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

*URGENCY AND CYNISM

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 is forcing the Panthers to make some mistakes - The Panthers must not 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, and sudden reverses in alliances etc.

**URGENCY AND CYNISM**

The 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 "party 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," Eldridge warned the Party against arrogance against male chauvinism within the Party. "We are traitors to the Panthers, and a lot of the criticism, is constructive and seems to eclipse the 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. 4E 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 Brooks. I go to Liberation School in Central Area (Seaside), I learned about the Ten Points of the Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party. I hope you get about letters from the black brothers and sisters. I love and hope to be like you. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. Edward Brooks.

**URGY AND CYNISM**

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.

**URGY AND CYNISM**

Hildegard, 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 SDS of a stable 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 to 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 the movement, and the people of the United States.

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 becomes very angry that we were passive witnesses to the times. Or we can do as much as we possibly can. Fences-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...
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. This is the nucleus of the 'liberal' International Longshoremen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 and I couldn't have agreed more. After a week of Berkeley cops 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 farming machinery warehouse in San Leandro, California, just north of Berkeley. Although this distribution center employs only thirty-five to fifty people, it is owned by Tenneco, the nation's largest U.S. corporation. The San Leandro warehouse sits in the middle of an industrial park; surrounding factories employ over 100,000 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 and the tremendous potential for radical organizing.

GROUNDWORK

A former student radical named Tony had worked at Case about six months ago. He quickly became known as the guy who laid a lot of groundwork by targeting the rich merchants and plant owners. The union had been organized in 1937 but was never strong. When the Case warehouse was in operation, the ILWU leadership had cooperated with the management in the hopes of getting the warehouse unionized.

Tony's goal was to convince the men that the company was trying to "divide and conquer" by using the women as scabs. The ILWU leadership leads militant struggles for union rights, an example to show up for a meeting at 7:00 a.m. Monday morning. They didn't find out until after the strike was settled that the union leadership was out to screw the strikers, but was withholding the strike. We stayed.

When Tony was talking with the supervisor on the first day of the walk-out, it wasn't coincidence that he was fired. The rest of the Case strikers worked up the same feeling that management would need that face-saving role students had played during the Berkeley campus (CSU) occupation.

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 radical hiring practice of Case and that blacks should receive preferential hiring. They knew about the Richmond Oil Strike, the Donnay's Oil Strike of 1967, and the roles students had played there. Once the students took control, all of a sudden the sympathetic chairmen came when we found out that the Morris Guards protecting Case's property had just gotten some guardsmen fired. The leaflet is reprinted on this page. The strikers read the leaflet. The supervisors wouldn't know where to put the information on the picket line. The Hayward Collective consists of Berkeley 'and San Francisco radicals who recently moved into this city south of Berkeley to do some of the radical organizing. (The leaflet is reprinted on this page) The strikers really dug the leaflet. They knew we had 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.

In the week that Tony worked at the warehouse, the ILWU leadership. The Case management played on the women's feelings of solidarity by getting the office workers to join the men on the picket line. The ILWU leadership did not support the strike. They were trying to screw the strike. The union officials said only that all the strikers were fired. To understand how the men were forced into 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 and the tremendous potential for radical organizing.

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we proceeded too quickly to the next step.

When the men returned to work that morning, two went union. They saw this wildcat as the opportunity warehouse failed because Case intimidated and fired

The union made it clear that everyone would be hired over the weekend.

The men returned to work without any argument. Whenargue, two more were laid off and several days later the chief servant was fired 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 working under a cloud, and hearing of the loss of union support and discouraged after losing 1 1/2 weeks pay. Many of the strike leaders assumed that the ILWU leadership was anti-student propagandists. We have managed to make contact in some scenes to make sure Tony was fired and the strike was gone.

In one sense, the self-outlet at Case was clear. Wildcatters carry on 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 had a clearer political strategy.

RSU SELF-CRITICISM

The RSU labor committee, the Hayward Collective, and most of the wildcaters really didn't understand the tremendous 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 a union. For the following year, the RSU committee learned to modify our goals somewhat. Also, students can lend publicity, supplementary pickets, help make tactical decisions, but the strategy was made by the men on the lines most often would have good political raps and maybe speak out.

We urge 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 were skeptical of approval of these ideas, they were not ready to accept the possible consequences: excommunication from the union and ultimately being fired.

Students suggesting tactics was later exploited by the union leadership. The RSU labor committee claimed students were union organizers. This argument mixed with threats of withstanding all union support if students continued picketing. That's what imperialism is all about.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Case is an old hand at fighting unions. Case is owned by Kern County Land Co., one of the single largest contractor for Bay Area Rapid Transit. While every year we

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 EARTH's new troubles, Bechtel gets tax write-offs for construction it does in Vietnam. And Case is right in the same picture of American blood by making 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.

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 say NO. Come down and join the Case picket line. Support the workers. The strikers themselves are very clear on how working people can get together and say NO to all the corporations that run this country and exploit the rest of the world.

WHAT THE WORKERS WANT: The symbol on the right means that if we stick together like a locked gun we can fight more effectively for our rights and cannot be broken like the separate fingers of an outstretched hand.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

J.J. CASE VS. THE PEOPLE

ILWU local 6 members are on strike against J.J. Case Farm Machine Co. Case insists that non-union women office employees, working at the same pay and conditions as union men, are "observers". When the Wildcat began, the strikers as well as heightening contradictions within the union if we had had a clearer political strategy.

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 broad and better services of the strike and eventually bust the union. They at first refused to

If the bosses can bust one union, they can bust all our unions. Keoming the RSU labor committee, the Hayward Collective, and most of the wildcaters really didn't understand the tremendous 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 a union. For the following year, the RSU committee learned to modify our goals somewhat. Also, students can lend publicity, supplementary pickets, help make tactical decisions, but the strategy was made by the men on the lines most often would have good political raps and maybe speak out.

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POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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. 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 EARTH's new troubles, Bechtel gets tax write-offs for construction it does in Vietnam. And Case is right in the same picture of American blood by making all Defense Department orders by 50%.

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 18
The courtroom. This article political struggle and might think of defend fug themselves. done well. A person who, in self-defense, can present himself as a sincere and committed person can do much to counter the jury. Someone who has experience in over a lawyer. We know what went down.

MOVEMENT AS COUNSEL

is very useful in the courtroom and it's political trials, but rather as criminal cases. They don't have any coherent go through some changes and can be won.

In these meetings lawyers participated in We made collective decisions on which jur­ ors we wanted, the kind of information to and moved politically in the course of the jury's become class conscious rev­olution. Our defense must rest in the power. Our defense must rest in the origins of the violence. The whole areas of state power resting on violence and police brutality are a voided. (Most lawyers, when involved in movement cases, don't see them as ad vantages gained by an individual self-defense. Obvious immunity in the courtroom can hurt our chances for acquittal. But, even more important, if the defendants are divided, then lawyers have a free reign to defend several defendants. This was imposed in many of the State trials.

To avoid "defendants of the lawyers" group meetings are useful. In our group, move­ tings began shortly before the trial and were held weekly during the trial. In these meetings lawyers participated in the group but just like any other, We made collective decisions on which jur­ ors we wanted, the kind of information to be brought out in cross-examination, the order of defenses, and other things. These meet­ ings were also useful in educating the lawyers. Most important, we built unity in struggle meetings.

PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY

In a lot of the State trials there wasn't a clear concept of what constituted a rev­olutionary, political charge. The prosecution's case, in which there was never any evidence against individuals but only against the crowd as a whole, hurt our chances for acquittal. The defense didn't do a show trial. Where defendants were guilty of the crimes with which they were charged, we would try to show that the strike sparked a great deal of disorder and violence and the people support for strike wanted to shut down the school. He argued that because we were a minority we had to rely on the support of people outside the close the campus.

In speaking, different strategies emerged from the trial to deal with the movement's strength. One strategy was to create the illusion that one was an attempt to educate the jury through a combination of factual evidence, some minimal reliance on the first amend­ ment, and a heavy emphasis on establish­ ing the motivations of the defendants, they tried to have the jury accept each defend­ ant as an individual, not a member of a movement.

This strategy is basically a passive de­ fense. It never confronts the question of the origins of the violence. The whole areas of state power resting on violence and police brutality are a voided. (Most lawyers, when involved in movement cases, don't see them as ad vantages gained by an individual self-defense. Obvious immunity in the courtroom can hurt our chances for acquittal. But, even more important, if the defendants are divided, then lawyers have a free reign to defend several defendants. This was imposed in many of the State trials.

A second strategy was put forth by Progressive Labor and its allies in the Worker-Student Alliance. They called for a strong defense based on the strike. They sought and mount a full attack on the courts within the courtroom. They wanted to show that the court system is used by corporate interests to defend imperial­ ists 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 what do you want to achieve? A PL-WSA leaflet tried to answer the why.

"If we expose the nature of the legal system while also building support in the community on the campus, we can more forcefully publicize the criticisms that are used to predict this few in prison. Our defense must rest in the mass of defense we are building. We are building mass action to continue that fight. Only by rallying the 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 on campus or in the community. The way they implemented this political line, has, from a tactical point of view, totally failed from the rest of the defendants. They have not been able to get anything but the minimum sentences of three to five years and receive the status quo terms. Two of the half a dozen defendants who were present were called to the stand.

Who was PL taking to? Definitely not to his fellow defendants who mostly rejected PL. To the jury they say it's sheer fantasy to believe that any juror is going to re­ spond to all this previous bullshit and for any reason. But a revolutionary must first assess the political situation in order to understand what's possible. PL's assumption and demand that the court system can be changed with a political victory is not only wrong, but turns out to be defeatist and to ask for counter-revolution.
In the State trials, the D.A. plays a tape that records some people at the rally chanting "Fuck California!" So when choosing jurors, we used these words, or asked about probity partly to evaluate their responses, but also to accentuate the jurors to the probability 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 it isimony were offered that said a policeman beat a student, or arrested a student without provocation, you would tend to disregard such testimony merely because of its consent! If the D.A. 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 D.A.'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 D.A. won't give them easily.

PROSECUTION

The period when the prosecution is presenting its 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 strong chance that a hung jury will result. During the cross-examination, watch foribi words in the transcript. Sometimes witnesses may say things that contradict the testimony of another witness to even his own testimony. For example, we know one witness (a pig) had measles over lots of people and we wanted to get into that. In a movie used by the prosecution, the witness says "Doctor, Doctor," coming from the people arrested. I used this as an opening into the whole issue 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!
Ahmed Evans was sentenced to death for shooting three white cops who invaded the black neighborhood last July 23. 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 Cleveland area killed 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 (report documenting how white racism was used against Ahmad) and the battle was withheld until after Ahmed’s trial. Authorities were afraid that the “Manetti Report” (done by a liberal white professor) might create some sympathy for the junkyard jobs.

The grounds for appeal are racism. There were continual racist shure during the trial.

Ahmed Evans’ Statement After Sentencing

“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 major orientations, anyone, white people or anyone else, just the reality of the matter that counts.

“The electric chair is not good for you. Don’t lie your color out of your country. Don’t let the money for these programs?"
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.

The flowers of the children
Lie lived to taste
He lived to see
Sing the song of revolution
Despising oppression
And I remember when
Broke through the bars.

To hold it in his hand
The poetry of hope
I travelled and studied
Growing large crowds:
This is what we need, this is the path to our liberation!

The outstretched hand of freedom
I raised this question-the most important in my opinion-
To hold it in his hand
Advancing large crowds:
"Dead martyrs, compatriots!
And I remember when
As for the First International, what had become of it
Fighting while we build
To march among us.
High on every terraced mountain
Join us in the harvest
Revolutions.

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
package of "Chinese antiques" (made in France),
I would distribute leaflets denouncing the crimes
committed by the French colonialists in Vietnam.
At that time, I suspected the October Revolution
instinctively, not yet appreciating all the historic
importance, I loved and admired Lenin because he was
a great patriot who liberated his companions;
Until then, I had read none of big books.

The reasons for my joining the French Socialist Party
was that I saw "teachers and colleagues"-as I called
my comrades at that moment-had shown their sympathy
and enthusiasm, clear-sightedness, and confidence it in
fighting with the people of colonial countries.
Dear comrades were then taking places 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 Interna
tional be founded, or should the Socialist Party join
Lenin's Third International? I attended the meetings
regularly, twice or thrice a week, and attentively lis
tened 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
statives 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
Oppression's soil
To gather millions
Who will guard your memory
And I remember when
Imprisoned and tortured
The poetry of hope
Broke through the bars.

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

I recall
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.

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.

OCTOBER 1969

THE MOVEMENT
Biographical Sketch of Ho Chi Minh
by Rene Depestre

Ho Chi Minh is one of those rare men who have faced with courage the crossroads of history, the crossroads that give rise to revolution.

He was born in the small village of Kim Lien in the mountainous province of Lang Son on December 19, 1890. His father was a farmer. His mother, Pham Thi Ngoc, was a simple woman. From the age of 12, Ho Chi Minh began to wander the roads of northern Vietnam, and in 1911 he set sail for France, where he began his political career.

In France, he became a leader of the Vietnamese community and a member of the Socialist Party. He returned to Vietnam in 1919 and founded the Indochinese Communist Party. In 1941, he founded the Viet Minh, a national liberation movement, and in 1945, he established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

He was a man of principles, a man of deep convictions, a man of great moral courage. He was a great leader, a great thinker, a great revolutionary.

In 1954, he led the Vietnamese army to victory in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. In 1955, he founded the First National Assembly of Vietnam, and in 1959, he was elected President of the Popular Republic of Vietnam.

He died on May 2, 1969, in Hanoi, Vietnam. He was 78 years old.

Ho Chi Minh is remembered as a great leader, a great thinker, and a great revolutionary. He is remembered as a man of principles, a man of deep convictions, a man of great moral courage.

He is a symbol of courage, of determination, of sacrifice. He is a symbol of the struggle for freedom, of the struggle for justice, of the struggle for equality.

His spirit lives on, his memory endures. He is a beacon of hope, a source of inspiration, a model of courage.

Ho Chi Minh is a hero, a legend, a symbol of the struggle for freedom. He is a beacon of hope, a source of inspiration, a model of courage.

He is a symbol of the struggle for freedom, of the struggle for justice, of the struggle for equality. He is a symbol of courage, of determination, of sacrifice.

His spirit lives on, his memory endures. He is a beacon of hope, a source of inspiration, a model of courage. He is a hero, a legend, a symbol of the struggle for freedom.

His memory endures, his spirit lives on. He is a beacon of hope, a source of inspiration, a model of courage. He is a hero, a legend, a symbol of the struggle for freedom.

His legacy lives on, his memory endures. He is a beacon of hope, a source of inspiration, a model of courage. He is a hero, a legend, a symbol of the struggle for freedom.

His spirit lives on, his memory endures. He is a beacon of hope, a source of inspiration, a model of courage. He is a hero, a legend, a symbol of the struggle for freedom.
By Terence Cannon

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

For fifty years he labored, for fifty years he sought and negotiated, attached and uprooted, advanced and recoiled, betrayed by socialist friends and capitalist enemies.

I will quote from them at length; they are worthy of the first time. He had traveled to China to contact leaders of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese town was Shanghai.

Those days. Politically, gradually install into them political consciousness. We must respect them.

THE ORGANIZER

KIND-HEARTED AND SINCERE

For fifty years he labored, for fifty years he fought. For he went, changing his country more often than his clothes.

His style was different than ours. When he called for armed struggle he meant it; when he signed agreements he meant it.

The "four recommendations" were as follows:

1) Not to cause any damage to the crops and fields, to trees and household articles.
2) To get acquainted with local customs and habits, to respect the beliefs.
3) To teach the local people the Communist song, to spread the teaching.
4) To win the population's confidence and support through one's correct attitude and good discipline.

Call by his "allies", the KMT, he wrote:

"He missed no occasion to improve my education. Whatever I knew, I worked to understand and to be able to explain."

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 MFL 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 calmed, a SURENESS, the more obvious in contrast to ourselves.

The 12th of December, 1946, 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 shirt and pants.

The 19th of August, 1945, in the largest part of the northern provinces, the Liberation Army attacked. 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 September, 1954, 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 shirt and pants.

The Viet Minh had nothing but the shorts that he had worn in the jungle. He presented himself before the people wearing a khaki shirt and pants.

The "four recommendations" were as follows:

1) To help the people to work heart and fields, not to decorate or impede 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) To jealously guard local customs, habits, and religious beliefs.
5) To divulge any secret.

THE MOVEMENT

October 1969
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 our offices, hunting 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 of the strength of the people. You people. And so the repression, as the shit that the pigs put on us grows worse, it becomes very necessary for us to tighten our hand, to 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-mouthing and ras-javin about what they "gon do to the man," "taker for the pigs" and "what they gon do to Whitney," but ain't it that many people actually DOIN ANYTHING.

We don't advocate no whole lot of burnout and throwin' rocks because that don't get you nowhere. We DO advocate organized guns and forces. We still see that the pigs are still shootin' and murdering brothers, especially in the Tac Squad and the San Francisco Poli in Oakland and Berkeley—they ain't much different, they hasnt 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 it NECESSARY because the pigs' gonna stop mistreating black people, and the instances of miscarriage white people are on the increase.

So very same line with the same objective of deals 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, in the old way, for black people is a waste of time. Ballots without bullets ain't nothin' on a damn thing, but we don't want to be one-sided, we want to use all the lines that's in our favor, and then when the laws go against us, we'll 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 will give this community control over GTO, 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 gauge 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 GTO, 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 shot that far to get to 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... We'll cut the speechmaking short.

We want you to know that the Black Panther Party is still your party, still the party of the people. We're still here.

We'll cut the speechmaking short.
fought these great will 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 13th 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 build ten years in advance what politicians call 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 line which made think the majority... and you could always be returned to power.

CLASS QUESTION NOT RELIGIOUS

So they put about fifty years ago that they would be 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 if you had only what was tantamount to a Protestant party, so that the people of Northern Ireland had no other 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 the men fought and died for were completely forgotten by the people who were trying to beat the British out of the country and failed...you could be the Protestants and we'll be the Catholics. The only people of Northern Ireland were never consulted about this 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 and keep them out of all jobs that the government controlled...

Meanwhile, they obliged 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 is literally fighting for their lives, but nothing is at least better than less... nothing, which they're fighting for, the Catholic working class to have. Our problems in Northern Ireland are not problems of religion, it's obvious, the Protestant working class have not been in revolution... but problems of a medieval government under which the most malicious power it can keep themselves in power and keep the people of Northern Ireland in poverty, which is 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 got started, it made what simple demands...demands which were by themselves by mean revolutionary... but they've had to fight a battle for a revolution in Ireland to bring them about.

The first demand we made was that any man or woman in Northern Ireland have the right to speak in a simple kind of democratic country, to vote, and that that vote should be equal to anybody else... As a result of all that, it that the government elections, we could all vote for the Parliament, not just the 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 seeded constituencies, so that you of 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. So although 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 suffer from it naturally because in Northern Ireland they live in the smallest country in the world, and on 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 represent the people. To do this you would of course necessitate the breaking down of the system of proportional representation in the government...a point which we consider very many of us when we think of the great people of this world who are out of work and that nobody in government is in fact out of work. We demand the electoral boundaries there be changed in areas of Northern Ireland it is possible to make some sort of attempt to fully represent the people. To do this you would of course necessitate the breaking down of the system of proportional representation in the government...a point which we consider very many of us when we think of the great people of this world who are out of work and that nobody in government is in fact out of work.

By keeping the masses of the people unemployed, they had a cheap police force. People in Northern Ireland consider a good wage to be 30 dollars a week. If you had a good police force you would get up to 400 pounds a week, but they are the people who is a simple kind of thing which we were fighting for...if you were doing nothing than you are by having your foot and the land, the last week, therefore there are as many police in Northern Ireland as there are in the government doesn't like them.

British and American Imperialism

We decided that the government settle the situation, that it start employing people in Northern Ireland as they could, and not only the United States investment in Northern Ireland is such a small country, so small in comparison 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
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 politicos that are getting wet. Read the list: Jimi Hendrix, MC-5, The Who, Phil Ochs, Tim Buckley, Jefferson Airplane, Grateful Dead, Jim Morrison, Creedance 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 harrassment 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

State
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
20 East Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois 60604

OCTOBER 1969
THE MOVEMENT

PAGE 17
workers, including Case strikers, participate in the
with the Hayward Collective. Four strikers came and
turn down by an outraged supervisor.
national Industrialist's Conference (NIC) and Case's con­
we had good raps in a friendly atmosphere. After the
neutralize - the women employees.
fontacts from Case and other surrounding plants, we
ience for both the workers and students. Given our good
inviting the men to an RSU picnic and having a party
ILWU members were prohibited from attending. We are
rounding plants, and helping organize - or at least

After the settlement, the Alameda South County Sol­
mission campaign with some people, but not
constituency is only street people, there
stage of the struggle, it is important that
petition. Organizing would be easier


most advanced workers, educating workers in sur­
rounding 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 IWW picnic and having a party
with the Hayward Collective. Four strikers came and
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,
IWW members were prohibited from attending. We are
continuing follow-up work on an individual basis, how­
ever. After the settlement, the Alameda South County
Solidarity Comm. issued another leaflet to workers in
surrounding plants. It described the settlement and how
Case accorded us workers. We purposefully omitted
outright criticism of the union, feeling that it would be
more appropriate coming from IWW members. But most of
the leaflet talked about the upcoming Interna­
tional Industrialist's Conference (IIC) and Case's
connections with it. In a nearby Kellogg plant, one worker
pointed the leaflet in the locker room, only to have it
laid 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 expe­
rience 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 Interna­
tional Industrialist's Conference are just beginning. We will have a
full analysis of the struggle in the next issue.

FREE RUYI, FREE BOBBY,
FREE LOE SETH 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 the 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 after that are we ready to go in with a favorable one, but you always have to be sensitive to these differences.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

During the course of the trial, it's important to be able to argue articulately with the defense lawyers. In dealing with the DA, the point you want to make is that if the objection is sustained, the jury will still see the information. Likewise, making objections to the DA brings the issue of the need for the information to the attention of the jury. We also believed that this was political 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 12/8, 1/6/8/6 and 3/5).

The state trials go on. A lot of people who have been convicted are appealing and had of those who face multiple felony raps haven't tried yet. Most bonds are being set between $1500 and $6200. Each for postage.

We welcome analytic articles from other people and collectives.

Single issue - $2.50 each. For series of six, $2.50 bulk rates available.

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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 or evidence 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 widespread support to fight than we can incorporate in the guerrilla units. We 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 that is most entirely black. Are there many whites active in the MPLA and 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 people, to the revolution. If 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 Portuguese organizations. He can work within the organization, or for it, but he will not be allowed 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 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. There are many villages, and so we sent out 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 fair price? How much do you pay for food? Can you buy all the food and clothes you need for a fair price? How much do you pay for the taxes? Who pays for the new road that is being built? Who uses it? Do you have a car? Who pays for it?"

When you get the answers you expected, happen. And then later, slowly, about what you can do about it.

self defense in court

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

OCTOBER 1969

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

'ERNIN THAT THEY WERE, IT HAS BEEN PROVEN ONCE AGAIN THAT THERE IS NO ROOM IN THIS SOCIETY FOR THOSE WHO WOULD DESTROY THE VERY FABRIC OF DECENCY-

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

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

M-M-M EXCELLENT! I'VE NEVER TASTED LONG PIG PREPARED QUITE LIKE THIS...

Meanwhile... Unseen in the meantime above the gay crowd...

SILENT HANDS PREPARE THE INSTRUMENT OF...VENGEANCE

TRASHMAN... AFTER MIRACULOUSLY ESCAPING THE JAWS OF DEATH...

RETURNS TO FULFIL HIS VOW OF PEOPLE'S JUSTICE

THOK THOK THOK...

But in a world where the enslaver's 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 TRASHMAN MUST CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE TO...