

MOVEMENT

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LETTERS...

PHAM VAN DONG

Dear American Friends,

The progressive people of the United States have so far struggled against the war of aggression in Vietnam. This fall, the broad masses of the American people, encouraged and supported by many peace - and - justice - loving American personalities, have again started a broad and powerful drive in the whole country to demand that the Nixon administration stop the war of aggression in Vietnam, and immediately bring home all U.S. troops.

Your drive eloquently reflects the legitimate and pressing demand of your people to save the honour of the United States and to avoid for their boys useless death in Vietnam. This is also a very fitting and timely answer to the U.S. authorities who stubbornly persist in intensifying and prolonging the war of aggression in Vietnam, in defiance of the protests of American and world public opinion.

The Vietnamese people and the world's peoples fully approve and warmly hail your just struggle. The Vietnamese people demand

that the U.S. government completely and unconditionally pull out of Vietnam all U.S. troops and those of foreign countries belonging to its camp, and let the Vietnamese people decide themselves their own destiny.

The Vietnamese people deeply cherish peace, but a peace in independence and freedom. So long as the U.S. government has not stopped its aggression in Vietnam, the Vietnamese people will tenaciously fight on to defend their fundamental national rights. The patriotic fight of our people is also a fight for the objectives of peace and justice you are pursuing.

We are firmly confident that with the solidarity and courage of our two peoples, with the sympathy and support of the peace loving people in the world, the struggle of the Vietnamese people and of the progressive people in the United States against U.S. aggression will end in total victory.

Cordial greeting.
PHAM VAN DONG
Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

REP

The Students for a Democratic Society, the Radical Education Project and other radical groups in Detroit, were set-up for harassment in the Detroit Free Press article of October 30, 1969 which printed one of our names and several addresses. The article implied that we were responsible for the unrest in local high schools this fall. We believe that this evasion of the real cause of discontent is an obvious attempt to intimidate us for our political beliefs and to destroy the right to dissent guaranteed to all Americans.

The article contained testimony of Detective Sgt. Allen Crouter of the Detroit Police Department given before the House Internal Security Committee and other such committees (including the Huber Committee in Michigan) serve to harass and intimidate people. They regularly release one-sided, unsubstantiated "informational" gossip that is designed to make people afraid of a threatened loss of freedom when all along these committees work for the people who have already stolen that freedom. They work for the people who every day steal our labor, steal our dignity, decide what kind of dissent is all right, and generally keep us frustrated in our attempts to get together black, brown, and white oppressed people, to do something about our problems.

The material presented before this committee indicates the irresponsible nature of the committee which must resort to such phoney grabbing of headlines to insure the continued exercise of its illegitimate power.

The Detroit Free Press, in this instance, has served as the mouthpiece for this harassment and along with the so-called public police department has proven not an impartial protector of justice and freedom, but rather a decider of who shall and shall not be free. We will not be intimidated. The people will not refrain from uniting to create a society that serves and protects all of its citizens.

The Rep Staff

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

We have reorganized the editorial board of THE MOVEMENT. Our staff now includes representatives of various revolutionary collectives in the Bay Area. (SDS, Newsreel, RU, the Hayward Collective and hopefully more in the future.)

The basic editorial policy of the newspaper will not change. We plan to continue to develop and change, as we have done in the past, along with the development of the movement in general. We made the reorganization so that the newspaper could continue to be organically linked with on-going practice and mass work.

In the past few months you may have noticed that we have fewer stories from around the country. This is not intentional. Our newspaper reflects the general problems that brothers and sisters have everywhere. When people are involved in heavy action and internal hassles, they just don't write articles. We hope that this pattern is changing and that people who find the newspaper useful will understand that it can only remain useful if everyone supports it.

Support means sending us articles analyzing your practice in a way that will be useful for sisters and brothers to learn from. Support means also, helping us with distribution. Hundreds of people who used to be able to find the newspaper easily (in Chicago and New York, especially), can no longer do so. We need people to take responsibility for distributing large numbers of papers to bookstores, campuses, meetings, and on the streets. If anyone is interested in becoming a MOVEMENT distributor, write us now. (You can even make some bread if you're dedicated enough) Support also means money. Our debts are piling up again, so send what you can. Power to the People.

J.I. CASE

Dear Editor:

The article by Reese Erlich in the last issue of the MOVEMENT on the strike at J.I. Case Company reflects a deep-seated blindness and confusion on the part of the author - an inability to grasp the nature of that struggle. Increasingly across the country and within every major capitalist country, students are joining in struggle with workers against their common oppressor. The convergence of these two streams of struggle represents an exciting and necessary development in the struggle against Monopoly capitalism. This development raises important questions which must be dealt with. Unfortunately the Movement article through blind arrogance and confusion succeeds only in moving the discussion from a higher to a lower level.

I can only characterize the thrust of the article as slanderous - against the men involved, against myself, and against our union. It is a lie that "the union leadership was out to screw the strikers from the very beginning". It is a lie that "one top union official arranged with the Distributors Association and other warehouse management to fire Tony." It is a lie that "In a private meeting the ILWU leadership attempted to strike a bargain with the Case stewards (Get rid of the students or no help)". It is a lie that "During the entire wildcat, corrupt union officials were scheming behind the scenes to make sure Tony was fired and the strike was settle by any means necessary." It is a lie that "The ILWU leadership deals mercilessly with any insurgent group that would dare to challenge its power."

The approach of the author in analyzing this "wildcat" strike reflects a tremendous self-acknowledged though underestimated confusion. That is that students can under the guise of supporting strikers attempt to replace "corrupt unions"; that students can under the guise of supporting strikers attempt to direct tactics of a strike. Unions are the primary organization of workers to defend their economic interests - they are not the main enemy. Even the most corrupt unions have a different relationship to the workers than does the boss. And the ILWU has a history of being one of the most democratic and militant unions in the country. It still is.

In addition Erlich shows an overwhelming class bias - an arrogance and a cavalier attitude toward working people as fit subjects for study through manipulation and restudy. The problem the

students faced during the Case strike was less of having "an inflated view of their (the workers') consciousness" than of having an inflated view of your own role in the strike. It is very important that workers and students engage in joint struggles - but also as an important education experience for students to take orders from workers and to serve and support workers in their struggles with the boss - on the workers' terms. The attitudes and approach toward workers and their organizations expressed in Erlich's article will put off and frustrate this contact - because student radicals who insist that they know what's best for workers will not be welcomed on the picket line.

If workers and students are ever going to get together, it is primarily the job of students to lay the basis for it. If students wish to express their solidarity with workers they will have to demonstrate that they are there to support the workers, not to use them.

White student radicals must be particularly on guard against falling into white supremacist errors in their contact with organizations of the people. The sweeping moral condemnation of a union that has an approximately 50% black and brown membership with black and brown leadership at all levels including a black president does not sit well coming from middle class white students. Students must leave behind them more than "silver bullets" as they ride off into the sunset in their eternal search for the pure struggle.

We have had differences with the union leadership on the conduct of the action at Case - just as they had criticisms of the conduct of the strikers, but these differences were hashed out at a stewards meeting and were largely resolved. The one issue which is still unresolved is whether students are a help or a hindrance to the struggles of the union. Articles like Erlich's lend credence to statements that "Students don't give a damn about our union". "They are undisciplined and uncontrollable on a picket line - they only want to do their thing". The article angers workers and confuses students. We are in a period of growing repression and unity of all progressive forces is the only basis for a counter attack. The responsibility for establishing a unity of action of organized workers and students rests with the conscious elements on both sides. It will not come about spontaneously - it must be fought for. But it is necessary and we shall win it.

Tony Wilkinson

THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO THE CONSPIRACY.
STOP THE TRIAL!

APOLOGY

The cover of our last issue was sabotaged by our ex-printer, Waller Press. Some wise guy drew white eyes on the photo of Los Siete, making the brothers look like zombies. We apologize to Los Siete and we warn Waller to beware the wrath of the people.

ADDRESSES! ADDRESSES! ADDRESSES!

When you change your address, please let us know. The POST OFFICE DOES NOT FORWARD the newspapers. Once a year we find out you've moved when your renewal notices get returned cause you've left no forwarding address. We have a pile of them and no idea of where to send the papers. So let us know your new address.

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WE NEED MORE DISTRIBUTORS! HELP!

BRING IT HOME

BY BOBBY SEALE

EDITORS' NOTE: Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party and a prisoner of war, is back in the San Francisco jail, serving his contemptible four-year sentence and awaiting extradition hearings. He sent the following message to the Moratorium.

This is Bobby Seale in the San Francisco County Jail. I just arrived back here today November 10th, Monday. And there's a word to be said to the progressive forces in America, about imperialism abroad, and domestic imperialism (fascism) here at home.

It's correct that many millions of people, 55-60 percent of the nation or more, are fed up with this unjust, aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. It's understood that the Vietnamese people are fighting for their right to self determination, their right to determine their own destiny in their own land/country, in their communities. It's good that progressive forces (organizations and people) can come forth and mass and demonstrate and redress their grievances against the government for waging such a war against people unjustly, not only in Vietnam, but anywhere else in the world. But its got to be understood that if there is imperialism abroad, if there is a war going on in the part of the fascist ruling class circles that are infested inside the U.S. government, if there is a war going on that they perpetrate and put together there, it must be understood that they're not waging that war for those peoples' right to self determination,

that they're waging that war for some inequality and unjustness against those people. And it's evident that it is being waged for this reason on their part because of the fact that there is no equality and there's no justice at home for people right here in America, like Black people in particular who've suffered under racism and brutality and murder for 400 years right here in America. It's evident and it's clear that if there is genocide in a country as in Germany during World War II, then anything that ruling class fascist government does outside is also unjust and is also aggression and is also out to deny and murder and kill people.

What we have to understand is that right here at home in America we have to oppose imperialism, also. That you can't just fight imperialism, the acts of imperialism abroad, without understanding and recognizing community imperialism abroad, without understanding community imperialism here of Black people, Brown people, Red people and even to the point of protesting students and radicals and progressive peoples here, in America.

Domestic imperialism at home is in fact fascism. But what in essence is it? I think Black people if we go over the concrete experiences that we've had in America and what's going on now against us we can understand exactly what it is - to be corralled in wretched ghettos in America and look up one day and see numerous policemen occupying our community, and brutalizing us, killing brother Linthcombe, murdering young Bobby Hutton. The fact that much brutality goes on to the extent that all the fascist press and all the demagogic politicians say it and the only thing that the courts put out is that it's supposedly "justifiable homicide" on the part of policemen who occupy our community.

The police state that exists here in America right now is in fact fascism right before our eyes. There are numerous examples of the police state activities. Only last week, I hear and understand, that a young Black brother was allegedly or supposedly cashing a so-called fictitious check in a bank here in San Francisco and was walking out of the bank amongst a crowd of people and this police guard runs out of the bank and he's only walking and the brother is shot dead in the mid-section of his back. He's dead and killed. Black brothers and Black people who have experienced and know these fascist tactics and know of too many cases and too many situations where young brothers and Black people have been gunned down and murdered by these cops, and it's becoming more and more out of hand. It's becoming out of hand because in every major city, in every major metropolis where Black people live, police forces have been doubled, tripled, and quadrupled.

Also, the racist courts of America are justifying the police brutality and murder of Black people and any people. The democratic convention as EVERYBODY knows, as everybody saw on the T.V. and read in the papers was nothing more than pigs, cops running rampant, brutalizing, murdering and bashing skulls. And many Black people looked on and said, "Look at those White people getting beaten", because we knew we had been beaten and brutalized for many years and still are.

They dragged me into this case. They put me as one of the defendants there, and they literally, overtly, fascistically, pigishly, and racistly denied me my basic constitutional rights. Charles R. Garry, the most beautiful lawyer in the world, a revolutionary lawyer, was here at home going through an operation. He's a beautiful brother. He's 60 years old and had to have an operation for his health and couldn't come to the court. Dr. Goodlett explained it to the court a month before the court even convened that Charles would be risking his life, and I made motion after motion, request after request, and argued those requests and those motions on my behalf in my attempts to defend myself there and was literally denied, (literally denied) my constitutional rights to be able to defend myself, after it was clear that my lawyer wouldn't be able to be there to assist me. For a man to stand up and demand his constitutional rights and in turn the court looks at him and denies him that is to say he's not intelligent enough to see what's going on. But in fact we Black people, we people, all people, American people, know that to deny people their constitutional rights, their right to defend themselves, their right to council, or any constitutional right is nothing more than to justify the brutal tactics, murderous fascist tactics of the police running rampant in the communities of America, and in particular the Black communities of America.



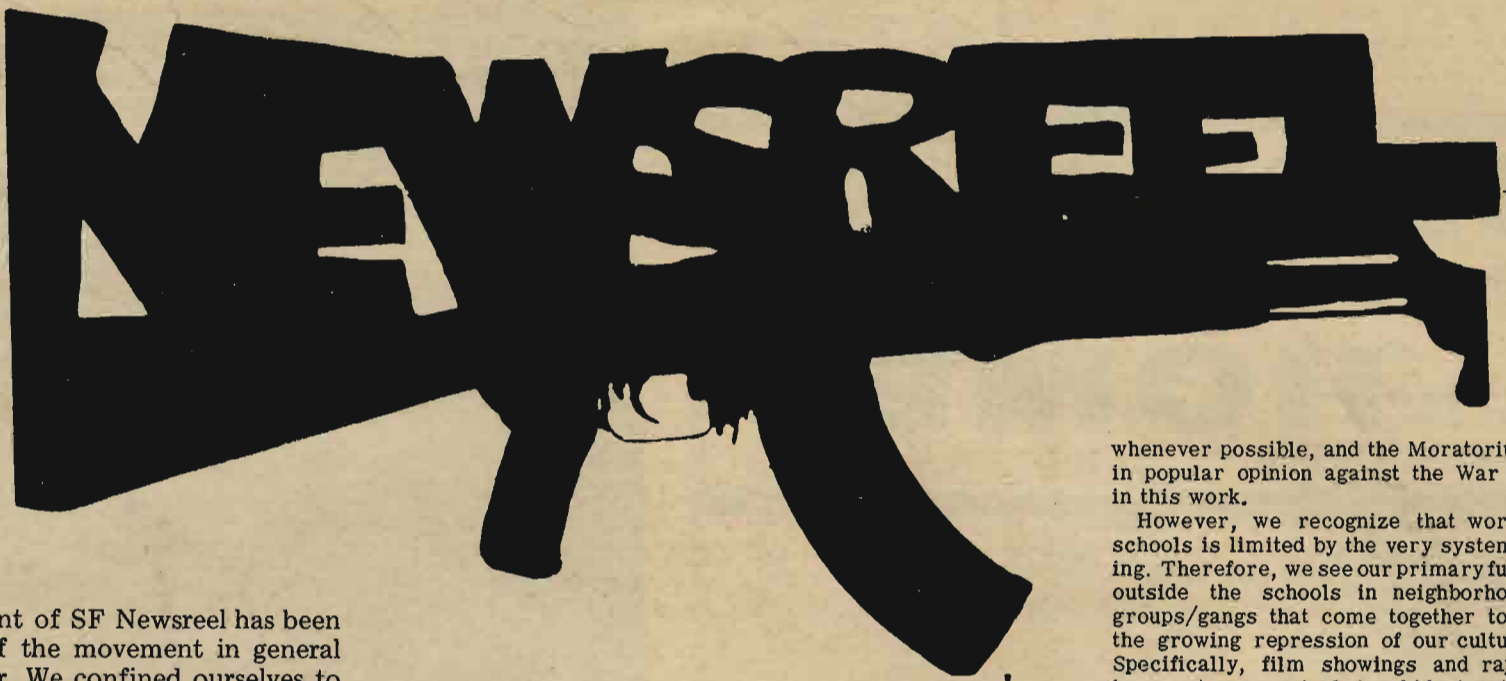
To the Peace Forces, the progressive forces in America, the protestors, those who know the war in Vietnam is unjust, those who are going to the streets and demonstrating, those who think they're really, really doing something - what they're doing in trying to end the war in Vietnam, is not meaningful at all, yet. It's not meaningful at all and will not become meaningful at all if you really want to stop the war in Vietnam, until you take some action here in America against the fascist brutal forces against Black people here in America. The very fact that the North Vietnamese government has announced that they are willing to release prisoners of war, for the release and dropping of all charges and trumped-up charges against the Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, and myself, this should be demanded also. This is directly relating to the very fact that we have to end police brutality and murder of Black people right here at home. Because the Black Panther Party itself has moved in this direction from its very inception to get rid of those fascist forces that corral us.

This is the kind of action that has to be taken on the part of the Peace Forces in America and the progressive forces in America. And until they begin to do that they will not begin at all to stop imperialism; they will not begin at all to stop domestic imperialism right here at home. YOU MUST MOVE AGAINST DOMESTIC IMPERIALISM, GROWING RAMPANT FASCISM — RIGHT HERE IN AMERICA BEFORE YOU CAN END THE WAR IN VIETNAM OR ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSIVE WARS LIKE THAT AGAINST OTHER PEOPLE ABROAD. The very fact that Black, Brown, Red and other peoples in America and poor people, even poor white people, are corralled in wretched ghettos, especially those people of color and Black people whose communities are occupied in the fashion they are and murdered. No, we can't continue to allow ourselves to be duped with the notion that we're doing something good until we learn to smash imperialism right here at home. Because to smash imperialism right here at home is to smash imperialism abroad. Smashing imperialism means taking action, demanding that those prisoners of war be allowed to come home. When you say "Bring the GI's home", bring the GI's home. And we can bring the prisoners of war home by demanding that the U.S. government release political prisoners here in America. Beginning with Huey and me, right now in America we will set a precedence of opposing fascism, abroad and at home. If that is what the Vietnamese people want, to release the political prisoners and people here in America, then I say that the progressive forces have to take some action in that direction; and they will be relating directly to smashing imperialism at home and recognizing that this has to be done.

People move. Black brothers and sisters, American people, it's time that we moved against fascism at home because to smash fascism at home is to smash fascism forever abroad.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE





--by S F Newsreel

The development of SF Newsreel has been parallel to that of the movement in general over the past year. We confined ourselves to the campuses, the hip and the black communities, with occasional showings for the "masses at large." We were heavy in social practice but it was unguided, often misdirected, and divorced from theory. We called it pragmatism, eclecticism, etc., but in reality it was just plain old bourgeois ideology.

We were forced to develop a strategy for our work; our propaganda had to answer Mao's questions "of what and for whom?" We actively began studying Marxism-Leninism, learning its method and theory, and testing it in daily work. Our strategy is in line with Lin Biao's formulation of People's War: building a militant united front against U.S. imperialism. We see the absolute necessity for working class leadership of the united front and thus our principal task is to help build a working class movement that will address itself to the questions of imperialism, racism, women's liberation and socialism in america.

What this meant for Newsreel is making films that are aimed at working people - it meant showing films and speaking in union halls, peoples homes, strike lines. We've been making this a reality in the past few months; some of our experiences are unique to filmmaking and the special relationships created but most are valuable to any organizer. Our initial successes have been very encouraging. We offer our experiences as models for other organizers to learn from, criticize, and apply.

FILMS STRIKE HOME

The "Oil Strike" film was our first which dealt directly with labor struggles. The film has given us the opportunity to openly approach unions, radical caucuses and striking workers and set up film showings. People readily identify with the oil workers: the film prepares them for the police and scabs and raises issues of imperialism, racism, women, media, courts, etc. The film shows people that their struggle is not in isolation and puts it in the overall political context. In using the film we have had to deal with several problems: the role of the students is not thoroughly explained, the strikers seemed to have lost, mostly older workers are shown, pig brutality is not documented. But the film allows us to talk directly to political issues and paves the way for further film showings on Vietnam and other colonial struggles, corporate power, students, blacks, etc. Selection of a program is very important; we try to use films that tie issues together, on Vietnam or we have a vet talk with his own slides from Vietnam. In every case we attempt to set up weekly showings either at the union hall, peoples homes, churches, whatever works best. The union meetings offer the largest audience, but smaller groups offer better discussions and the potential for a radical caucus. Our most successful showings have been with striking workers.

We've begun making short silent film clips of strikes in progress around the bay area. These newsreels also include footage from strikes during the 30's of workers seizing plants, battling pigs and national guard, demonstrations, etc. Striking workers speak with the films, trying to get support, and talking about the need for solidarity and a working class movement to fight the bosses, bring justice to America and end imperialist wars. The strikes of the 30's lead to discussion of how people fought and died for our basic rights and how today men and women are still fighting and the need for a permanent solution to the problem - socialism.

We had a benefit for a group of strikers using a feature film: "Salt of the Earth". The community was leafletted - newsreels of the strike were shown along with 8mm footage taken by the strikers themselves. The showing was a huge success with about 150 people. We're organizing another benefit with rock and country bands and films - the showings are political forums and provide much needed practical support. By developing community and union support, people can relate to united struggle because it means power. Newsreel people and workers are learning from each other, our raps broaden the scope of the struggle and tie together other issues.

One of the most important developments is the role of women in the strikes. Many men are reluctant to have their wives involved in the strike. On the other hand some wives don't understand what the strike is about and try to get their husbands back to work. Newsreel women set up showings with the wives and attempted to get them involved in political activity. Some women have taken a very active role, speaking

with films, making their own movies, picketing, getting food for the families, and writing leaflets. Showing "Salt of the Earth" has been very helpful in raising questions of male supremacy and chauvinism - in one case, women were allowed in the union meeting for the first time during the strike. Showing newsreels at Saturday night parties in striking workers' homes has become very popular - but we don't show too many films or we kill the party. We also bring plenty of beer and wine.

Some workers in Richmond got a union hall and leafletted factories and shopping centers - they advertised free films - s.f. state and oil strike, the back of the leaflet was an explanation of the two strikes and their relationship to each other. About 50 people showed up - don't expect great results at first. Since then, regular screenings and discussions have been set up every other week, often using feature films.

A similar series has been set up with a radical caucus in a union in S.F. Our long-range goal is worker's theatres in every community, not only showing films, but also speakers, musicians, theatre and dance. We are in the beginning stages of organizing a workers' theatre group.

Newsreel works closely with organizers and collectives in the bay area. Originally our films were considered tools for organizers, this is even more so now. In situations where there are no organizers we push on ourselves, but it is essential for the movement that collectives of working class organizers form - one shot film showings are of limited value. The films are simply a tactic and to be effective they must be a part of ongoing political work.

In the long run we see groups of workers forming their own radical organizations - this has happened in two cases already. These groups will be involved in political education, leafletting, strike support, and a newspaper. A strike bulletin which runs down the current strikes in progress is now being circulated at picket lines, factories, and in the communities. Solidarity committees are also being established, made up of workers, students, wives, etc, with more emphasis on community organizing, and strike support. Newsreels are being shown in hospitals and clinics to health professionals and workers, and to community groups up in arms over health care, in an attempt to unite their struggle against their common enemy.

SCHOOLS

To move against the repression and manipulation of the educational system we must EDUCATE young people to the necessity of building a powerful revolutionary movement. To do this we must confront the power of the corporations over both the content and direction of education, and show how the tracking system serves the needs of the corporations. We DE-EDUCATE by comparing their version of reality to the real needs and experiences of the people.

Inside the schools we must educate teachers to the oppressive roles they play in propagating the doctrine and control of the corporations, and we must challenge them to use their position for the de-education and re-education process. Student organizers and radical teachers can use revolutionary propaganda (films, literature and speakers) and constantly put forth the demand that the people must control their own education. In the Bay Area, San Francisco Newsreel, the High School Student's Union, and the Radical Teachers Union are organizing along these lines.

We have learned that the only way to get our films and raps into the schools is via radical teachers and students. Even then, these teachers and students are often stymied by the principals and administrations who usually require a private pre-screening before allowing the films on campus. Our best successes have come when a teacher and a student work together to get the films on campus. When this works, we find that our films provide a desperately needed break in the routine of irrelevancy that characterizes school.

Discussions are difficult, both because of the liberalism of some teachers who use their own authority to counter-act our efforts, and because of the very real anti-life nature of the classroom environment and its structure.

It is possible to make new contacts through showings in the schools, to raise consciousness, and to interrupt the so-called "educational process", but all of this is dependent on organizing students and teachers who can and will get the films into the schools. We are continuing to show films inside the schools

whenever possible, and the Moratorium and the upsurge in popular opinion against the War has helped a lot in this work.

However, we recognize that working within the schools is limited by the very system we are confronting. Therefore, we see our primary function as working outside the schools in neighborhood and regional groups/gangs that come together to struggle against the growing repression of our culture and our lives. Specifically, film showings and raps in homes and hang-outs serve to bring kids together to overcome isolation from each other and from the struggle.

In both high schools and colleges we have been concentrating our efforts at the lower track schools in our attempt to help build a working class movement. Most of our work at colleges has been with the community and state colleges in the Bay Area - there the contradictions between the ruling class and the students are more acute. The presence of power at these schools is more thinly veiled - there is no illusion or bourgeois academic freedom. The junior colleges are run just like high school: students aren't allowed to leaflet, cut classes, set up free universities. They are expected to come to school at 9:00, leave at 3:00, learn their trade and join the work force.

School is only a transitional part of a person's life, they don't identify themselves as "students" and quickly grasp the need for a political movement that relates to their lives as a whole. The emphasis of our films and raps has been to explain how they are tracked into their class ("SF State Strike", "High School Rising"), and how they are exploited ("Oil Strike", "Wilmington"), how others are exploited, ("Black Panther", "Vietnam"), and the need to unite the struggles against the common oppressor. The silent strike footage is used to enlist student aid and support of striking workers. Third world student organizations have used all our films continuously and effectively, in classes, meeting, etc.

Our success with white students is limited, few organizations exist except for PLSDS. Showings are usually limited to the one free period a day. There are few dorms, almost all students commute. All of this points out the necessity for Jr. College work to be related to the community as a whole - the community that it is supposed to serve. A program around day care centers for children whose mothers wish to attend school is much more relevant to their lives than ROTC or anti-recruiting programs. Similarly, a campaign against police science departments at the school, linking that with the use of these same police as strike breakers, can clarify the day to day oppression clearly.

COMMUNITY WORK

The Latino work team has been involved for the past three months in the making of a film about Los Siete de la Raza. After having used Newsreels in a variety of situations in the Mission community, where most of S.F.'s 90,000 Spanish speaking people live, we discovered the films failed to relate to the more specific problems of brown people. When the May 1st Los Siete incident occurred and the organization was formed we immediately saw the need for a film that would counter the attack on the community launched by the bourgeois press. We felt the Latino community needed a film which related to their immediate oppression as Third World people and would lead to an understanding that May 1st was not an isolated incident but a political act of repression.

We went to Los Siete and discussed the proposed film and together we worked out a general outline. In the course of trying to build a scenario we began working with the organization: on the newspaper - Basta Ya!; in the Breakfast program and on the medical committee. We used films in that work wherever possible and came to a more thorough understanding of the 7 brothers and the community. We discovered that the oppression of the parents and their children was different, they had been pitted against one another and blinded, by the man, to each others oppression. And then there was the tracking system, unemployment, hard drugs, and racist pig cops to deal with.

Our strategy in making the film was to present the Los Siete organization as an alternative to reformist programs. In order to do this we had to go to the people and let the film generate from them. From the masses to the masses. The "Los Siete" and "High School Rising" films are now serving as invaluable aids to the community organizing work of Los Siete de la Raza.

In Chinatown and the Black community we have been working closely with the Red Guards and the Black Panther Party. We perform basically a service to the on-going work of the organizations: supplying films and helping set up showings in the community, breakfast programs, liberation schools, political education classes, etc. We also rely on the organizations to provide speakers for showings with striking workers, high schools, colleges, and other communities, and distribute their newspapers and leaflets in all our work.

THE MILITARY

The GI movement is growing - uprisings in stockades, the proliferation of GI papers, and various forms of insurrection. What role can Newsreel play in organizing G.I.'s? The problems of organizing within the military establishment are unique.

G.I.'s are mostly from working class and oppressed backgrounds. They have legitimate grievances against the imperialist system which forces them to fight. Unlike civilians, G.I.'s live under constant fascist authority that has almost absolute control over their lives. Consequently, when G.I.'s engage in any kind of out-front political activity, the risks they run are incredibly higher than civilians face.

On top of these problems many G.I.'s have come to resent naive civilian attempts to organize them. As a result, many civilian organizers have taken a position of extreme caution in raising political questions. This attitude is stoned opportunism at its worst.

Newsreel is trying to deal with these problems, but we still have a lot to learn. We show films which are frankly radical and which are designed to raise political questions. We don't try to "organize" G.I.'s or push any GI organization. We agitate. We educate, hoping that G.I.'s will see their personal problems in political perspective so that they will be able to better organize themselves.

We've been having regular weekly showings for G.I.'s. We try to consider the special problems of G.I.'s in selecting films, especially for first showings. Films on Vietnam must be carefully chosen: only G.I.'s already on the side of the NLF dig NLF-made films. But liberal films don't work either. We've found that the "Oil Strike" and the ROTC film are good openers.

These films and others start where G.I.'s are at and open the way for important issues to be discussed. Organizers must be prepared to lead discussions after showings and they must know their shit. G.I.'s ask very concrete questions and demand straight answers.

We've also been making cassette tapes in which G.I.'s discuss their experiences and tie them into the imperialist system. Many G.I.'s have recorders in their barracks and the tapes get passed around a lot.

But our work in the military remains the weaker than in any other area. We have plans to make some films on Vietnam especially for G.I.'s and expand our tape project, but it is too early to evaluate the effects of these projects.

Film is a unique medium of propaganda: it allows the coming together of a group of people to share a common experience in learning. But you cannot rely on the films to do your work - they are an aid to, not a substitute for, solid political work. They are only as good as the person running the projector. "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, 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." Ho Chi Minh

U.E. For Immediate Release

PATERSON, N.J. - One hundred workers who make bullet proof vests, body bags, which are used to transport the dead from the fields, and other items used in Viet Nam called for an immediate end to the war even though peace could mean layoffs for them. At a lunch-time plant gate rally keyed to the nationwide Moratorium, spokesmen for Lite Industries employees at 57 State Street, Paterson, denounced as a "fraud" not only "this obscene war" but also the implicit assumption that "wars mean good jobs on a long-term basis".

Members of Local 404, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, a union that has consistently condemned the war since its inception, came out strongly for an immediate end to "this disastrous adventure" in spite of the fact that they could be laid off were peace to "break out".

Jose A. Lugo, UE Local 404 President, Ed Bloch, UE International Representative and Carl Weininger of Rutgers University highlighted the feeling of those present by nailing "as a fraud the monstrous notion that taking over somebody else's country will solve our job problems here".

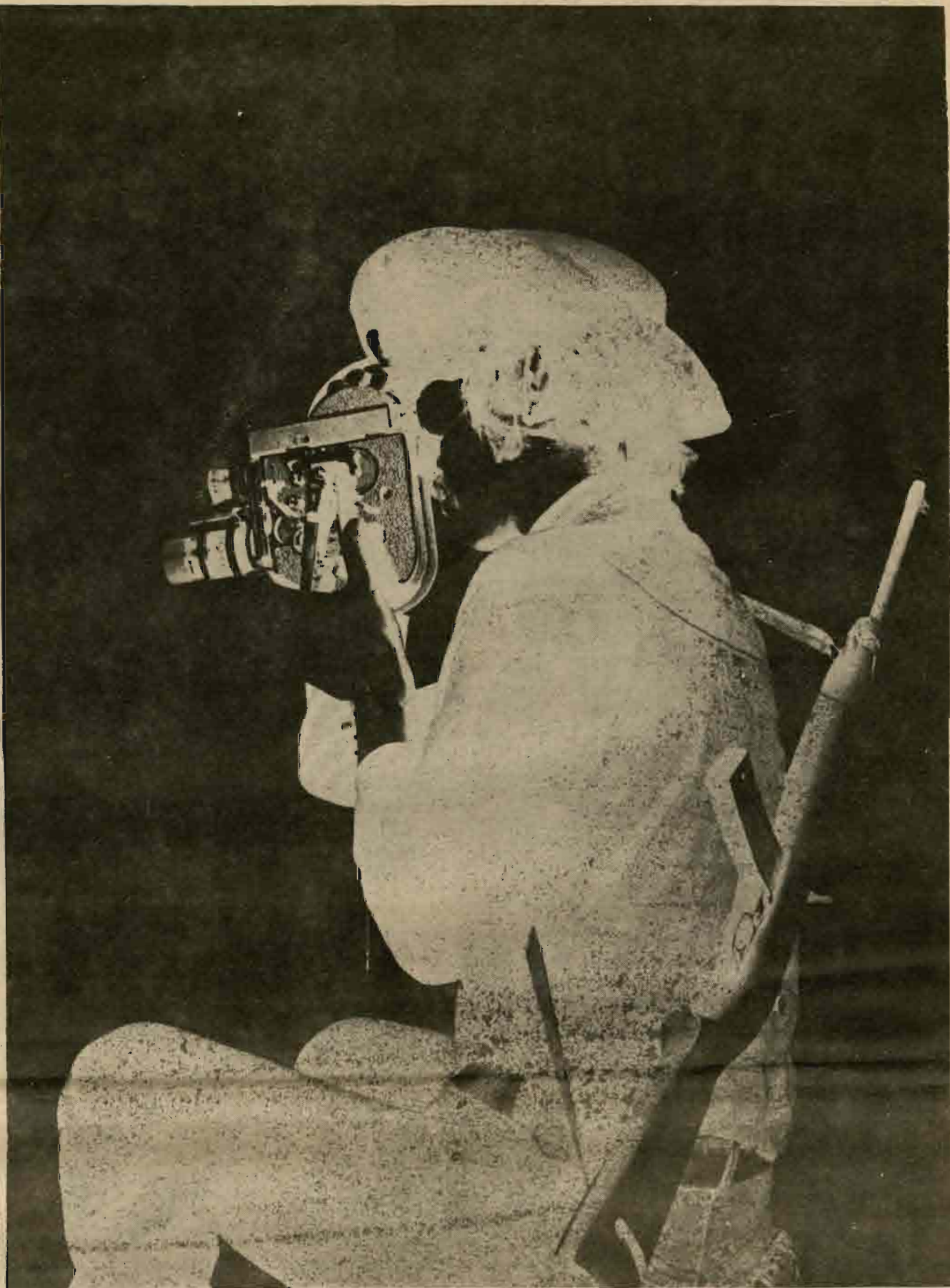
WARREN WELLS

Former Black Panther Warren Wells has been sentenced to 1-15 years by Alameda County Superior Court Judge Robert Bostick for his part in the April 6, 1968, "shootout" between Panthers and police. During the shootout, Bobby Hutton was killed; and as a result of charges stemming from the incident, Eldridge Cleaver left the country.

Wells had three trials, the first two ending in hung juries voting 11-1 and 10-2 for acquittal. In the third trial he was convicted on two counts of assault on police officer with a deadly weapon. The jury lowered the charges from attempted murder.

Wells was on parole from an earlier robbery conviction, and when he was convicted in Oakland a San Francisco judge ordered him back to jail on a five-to-life sentence for the robbery rap. Wells, 22, has spent 10 years of his life in jail.

Attorney Charles Garry, who handled the case, has accused D.A. Frank Vukota of encouraging perjury. Garry plans to appeal the case.



Thieves and Crooks

I am one of the wives of the Steel Workers Union who are on strike against the P.D.M. Company in Santa Clara. We actually are in a round-about way fighting against the Vietnam war because about 1/2 of our pay goes for taxes already that the government pays out for wars. But they say that isn't enough we've got to have a big bundle right now, so we'll just have to tax the workers more. So the workers won't raise too much of a stink about it, we can just say for 6 months we are going to slap 10% surtax on you to pay for this war.

There's no reason that we should ask these people if they want to vote on whether or not they want to pay it. We are the bosses and they are just dumb workers. So we tell them it's a new law and the workers and little people will have to jump. The big corporations and people with the money say - just like Jackson who holds 51% of P.D.M. is telling us your union is getting too strong and I intend to keep this money for myself. So you are not going to get a decent pay raise.

They have lied and tried to bluff us into going back to work by showing letters from Pittsburgh that the workers there had signed their contract and we should take this 9¢ over a 3 year period of 3¢ an hour per year. I have said for years if I was a man I would not go into the armed forces and fight against my fellow man. Because those people there have to be working people just like myself. It is wrong to take up arms against anyone except the corporations and businesses with the power of money behind them. I say disperse the pig force and the rest of those getting rich off of the people who work themselves and all they gain for their efforts is some police officer who accidentally breaks into the wrong apartment and accidentally kills an innocent family man. Such as just happened a few days ago.

I believe our government should get out of Vietnam and mind their own business and let those people do so too.

Thank you for all the support you have given us at P.D.M. and any time you feel you can come down and help I as the wife of one union member ask for all and any of your help. Thank you.

I personally think 99% or better still all politicians are thieves and crooks. And I know and feel we the people will win.

JOHN HOWARD

John Howard was a man. He lived in Uptown, Chicago, Illinois, the United States of America. He was a poor man, on welfare, who had come north years back from Georgia, seeking work. Once at a meeting of the old JOIN Community Union we had just seen a movie about war. This was in 1966. John got up and said: "War is a terrible thing; I fought in two of 'em; when I got off that boat in San Francisco in 1955 I swore to myself I'd never fight in another, they'd have to take me in a casket".

During the making of the film, American Revolution 2, John was working with the Poor People's Coalition in Uptown. In the film, at the end of a Coalition meeting attended by Panthers, John says: "I'll stick with the Panthers if they'll stick with me, and I know they will".

Well, John recently went back down home, as he and a lot of people in Chicago do from time to time. He was at a meeting and some honkie fascist got up and said: "That's the guy who works with niggers in Chicago." The next night John was found dead, his throat slit. Some of us knew John pretty well. John was a fighter, and he was the first person to take a stand when JOIN (Jobs or Income Now) got started back in 1964. He paved the way for a lot of other people. He leaves a big family - Eula and all the kids. People out there should send some bread. Send what you can to the John Howard Memorial, Box 3746 Mdse. Mart, Chicago, Illinois, 60654.

CHANGING CLASSES



EDITOR'S NOTE: A lot of people have been talking about organizing in factories. The following is not meant to be a political analysis or explanation of how some factory struggle went down. It's a rap by a movement veteran in a midwest industrial city, who decided to go to work in the shop in order to organize workers. He talks about his first day-to-day experiences and reactions to factory life. Hopefully his story will be useful for movement people thinking about going thru similar changes.

The first day I walked into the plant—that was freaky. They told us to be there early, so we could get our clothes. I hurried up and got there and I got my locker and all that. Then I had to report to the foreman in my department. He didn't have anything for me to do really and I thought the place was all fucked up. (What did they hire me for?)

Then he gave me a dust mop and made me sweep the same little piece of floor for two hours. I knew I had the floor as clean as I could get it after sweeping it 10 times or 30 times. But I was afraid to sit down on my ass, because I figured he'd come back and I'd get fired for goofing off or something. So I tried to find a strategic location from which I could see him coming in one of 4 or 5 ways he could have descended on me. Finally he came.

FINGERS FALLING OFF

Then they put me to work. It was the hardest physical labor I had done in ten years or something. And I thought my fingers would fall off from lifting this shit up and I thought that I'd die of exhaustion. All I kept saying to myself was "I was making '24 dollars and 24 cents for 8 hours," which was more money than I had made since I had been in the movement. And I kept saying "we should have been doing working class organizing a long time ago, man, because they exploit the shit out of these people - how could anybody do this!"

Now that I've been working there a few months, I have a more privileged position. I still get put on some jobs that knock the shit out of you, especially when you're running around doing movement business and not getting any sleep. But I do have a more privileged job now and don't usually think I'm gonna die. Tho I still can't understand how people can be in those places 10, 15, 20 years of their lives without burning the fucking place to the ground.

Sometimes I ask the other people there that question. Most of them just seem to accept it - "that's the way it is". Although some of them, a lot of older workers say, "well, maybe we've been brainwashed all these years. Maybe what young people are doing makes sense".

But I think the concept of burning this place to the ground is a new concept cause they haven't had a strike in

the place since it was built about 20 years ago.

Political discussions usually take place on a one to one basis. I had the first contact with the worker who was teaching me my job. I was red hot and wanted to raise all the political questions immediately. But sort of restrained myself. Yet on the other hand, when I walked into the lunch room, there were 3 or 4 workers sitting together and they seemed to know each other and be some sort of group. I got chickenshit and thought I better go sit at another table and eat by myself. Especially since there's a distinctive uniform for brand new workers and you stick out like a sore thumb.

MASQUERADE WORKER

Although there are lots of people where I work who are younger than me, in the beginning, I always had the conception in my head that they must think of me as "the kid", although I'm a good deal older than a lot of the young workers and that I was only a masquerade worker or something like that. So even a worker of 18 is a worker and I was like a new worker.

But I guess the more I busted my ass working, the more I realized that I was a fucking worker - nothing masquerade about it. Since I went into working class organizing more or less with my eyes open, knowing that I was making a long-term commitment, I intend to be a worker for quite a while and I'm getting used to the idea that I really am a worker.

Sometimes you feel you spend 8 hours in the fucking place and lots of times you only get to talk to people on your half hour break and ten minutes of your lunch hour. You figure you're wasting 8 hours plus the time it takes you to get there, learning and doing nothing, when you could be doing valuable political work. It's not something that any of us (in our collective) have resolved in our heads. But you are learning a whole lot of things. About exploitation. But often you can't talk to anybody.

For quite a few weeks, I used to repeat to myself, every hour or two, Mao's quote about "we are the advocates of the abolition of war, but war can only be abolished thru war - in order to get rid of the gun, it's necessary to pick up the gun." I repeated it every time I thought I had had it with the place -

I'd think about it and sometimes say it aloud, when there were other workers around. I used to ask them what they thought about that. Got into some heavy raps.

We had been in conversations about all sorts of things and I just threw that in as a way of summing up the way I thought change had to be made, since we were talking about pacifism and things like that. I found a young worker, who was a radical but a pacifist, and another guy who wasn't radical but could relate to the gun. So we talked about it a lot, but most of the time, I just used the slogan to keep myself going, when I was drugged with the job.

TRIAL PERIOD

During my trial period (first 60 days of work when they can fire you without cause), I wasn't particularly careful politically. That may have been a mistake, but since I passed the trial period, I haven't decided whether that was right or not. I laid out to a group of five workers, none of whom I was particularly close with, the second week I was there, that I had been to Cuba. We got into a conversation about having a government run by the workers (exactly how it started I don't know).

One or two of them, said that he believed that this country needed a workers' revolution and I said "yeah, that sounds right on." And somebody else said that that was communism and somebody else said something about communism being a working people's idea. Somebody else said, "yeah, it's a good idea, but it don't work in practice". And before I knew it I was deep into telling how it did work in practice and that there was some examples like China and Cuba and that I myself had personally seen one of these countries and had some things to say about it. I didn't think that was the best idea when I said it, but it was out.

You had to take a chance and spell out what you were about to the people who work there. I told them I had all these years of school and even told some of them about my movement activity. But the Cuba thing really brought it home, that if that information went upstairs to the front office, I was sure to be canned. That's a thing any of us from the movement going into the shops will have - a paranoia that you're going to be found out and thrown out before you can do a thing. On the other hand there's danger in keeping your mouth shut for too long. You're caught in a trick bag, cause if you don't level with the guys you work with right away, you can't after sixty or ninety days (or whenever your probation time is up) say to the guys, "well, I'm not really about that, I'm a revolutionary". So I just figured I would be honest from the beginning, though I probably should have told a little lie, like

"I knew people who went to Cuba", instead of saying I had been there myself.

The result was that the information did travel very fast horizontally, but not vertically. I changed shifts and the word had pretty much spread around in the plant. One guy I worked with didn't say anything to me til we went out and had a beer. On payday after the shift, I had been talking to him about a whole lot of radical stuff, and I think when something came up about Cuba, I said I knew some people who had been there. He bought me a beer and he says, "You been to Cuba, huh?" and I just swallowed the beer and said "yeah, how do you know?" And he said he knew a couple of weeks before I even changed to his shift.

FIDEL

There was some other guy who would go around calling me "comrade", and "Fidel". He once asked me, just out of the clear blue sky, before he started calling me these things, "how close did I get to Castro?" I had never spoken to him before, but said I was a few hundred feet from him at one point. He asked me what I thought of Castro and I said I thought he was pretty good and asked him what he thought. He mumbled something about "dictator" and asked a few other questions and I tried to run down real quick what I saw and about working people all having guns, just poor and working people. For a dictatorship, I didn't think all the working people would be armed. I also talked about differences in health and education. You know, I said, I thought it was a government that served the people.

Then I had to run like hell to get back from my ten minute break, or get canned. So after that he would go around calling me Fidel and he would give me the clenched fist salute. That was the first time I guess I started flashing the fist sign around in the plant. But he was crazy and sometimes he would give me the fascist salute. So I threw him the bird and then he gave me the power salute again.

But he ended up causing me some trouble. He scared the shit out of me. I was standing down there doing my work at the back of the plant, and he's down with this supervisory personnel guy with a tie on. That makes him a big shot. And I figured that was the end of the job. This blabbermouth told the boss that I had been to Cuba and he was coming to tell me to pick up my check and leave.

Instead, he says that he told this guy I had been to Cuba and the guy with the tie says I'm all wrong about Cuba. So I had a chance to talk to this guy on the side and said, "hey, man, you crazy, you want to get me fired? I tell the truth to the people who work here

but I don't want to tell the fucking bosses I've been to Cuba, I don't think they'd go for it too much." So he said "Ah, don't worry about this, this guy is ok, he's only an engineer". -

So the guy was there and there was nothing I could do about it except have a long argument about Cuba. The engineer was a gusano and he was obviously no starving peasant. He left when the revolution started dealing with some basic property questions. So we got heavy into the question of Fidel being a dictator or not, and alot of people started to gather around listening. So I asked him what his father did before the revolution. So we got into the thing that his father owned a business and that he went to the University, so that when he left, I was able to talk to the other workers about why he had those opinions.

One other thing that happened about Cuba is that I worked with a guy who was a Vietnam vet, to whom I also laid out where I was at. He was talking to me a whole lot about how he dug Che and how the CIA had killed Che. He was drawing a distinction between the government and the CIA. I tried to make it real clear that the CIA and the government were the same thing. He was attracted to Che, without any understanding and I was trying to show him that if he dug Che, it meant he dug Fidel, and the Cuban revolution and the Vietnamese revolution. All of which he said he did dig.

So I gave him one of those beautiful Cuban posters. Then I discovered upon more investigation that he hadn't really dug it. Though he said he put the poster up in his living room right above his TV set.

RACISM

I told a few workers, in fact almost any worker I talked to there, that I had a son and that we named him after Huey Newton. Which, of course, brought up the question about Huey Newton and the Panthers. We would get into a rap about black people leading the struggle for all workers. I didn't run into too much rampant racism except for some workers who talked about how it was probably better to be black these days cause you had to be black to get on welfare". And so I would ask them if they really wanted to be black - and none of them were in a hurry to give up their white skin, so I guess they are conscious on one level or another that there is white skin privilege.

But this crazy guy, I hadn't told it to him either, and he comes running up to me outside and he says "Hey some guys told me that you named your son Huey Newton." And I said, "No, man, we named him Huey (our last name)." And he said, "Well, these guys think you named him after Huey Newton". So I had to explain that I did name him after Huey Newton,

but that he has our lastname. And he say "You mean that colored guy who shot the cop". And I explained how Huey didn't shoot nobody, that the pig shot him. He said, "Is your wife colored?" I said "No, but we love Huey anyway". Then I explained why we loved Huey. Huey was a righteous revolutionary and that he was leading the struggle for black liberation which was necessary for all of us to be free. His fucking mind was blown. He changed the subject and wanted to know if I went to college why wasn't I working in a good job where I could earn twice as much as here. I tried to explain how I thought it was necessary to be with the people and not to be with the pigs. How they train you in school to be bosses and I didn't want to do that shit.

I had a thing with this guy who blamed his fuck-up on "the nigger who works his machine on second shift, fucked it up". I said something about that being wrong, - but it was a weak answer and there wasn't really time to talk cause the belt kept moving and the work was piling up.

Another time in the lunchroom a group of white workers were cracking some really racist jokes. It was really hard to deal with beyond saying it was a bunch of racist bullshit and bosses' talk. I always try to confront those remarks with some response, but haven't really figured out the best response yet.

When it was United Crusade time, they sent the women workers to collect from

men and vice versa. (usually they're pretty segregated) Another brother in our collective was approached by a black sister - she asked if he was gonna give to United Crusade. He said "Fuck no", he wasn't going to give his hard-earned money to United Crusade - that he only believed in giving his money to organizations that served the people, like the Black Panthers, so they could free political prisoners like Bobby and Huey. And he spit it all out and she sort of smiled at him and he gave her the fist.

He wasn't sure whether she thought he was being a wise-ass racist or if he was being serious. He wasn't sure how it came across, so when he saw the sister later, he asked her. And she said she thought he was being serious and he said "Well I was, dead serious". This time she returned the fist.

The next day I tried the same line on the United Crusade with another worker. Then he started rapping about he was going to carry a gun to work, since he had to take three guesses to work cause "he lived in a section with all the niggers". I said that black people weren't the enemy - but in fact that they were leading the struggle, etc. He was also a Vietnam Vet. I laid out the whole thing, but I'm not sure what it all meant. One thing, though, he wasn't real hostile.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

Seattle

Black Reconstruction

by Larry Baker

The struggle to gain more construction worker jobs for blacks has been raging in Seattle for over two months. Groups of demonstrators ranging up to 300 have halted construction on six different federally-financed sites. This has catalyzed two marches by white racist construction workers on the county building and the State Capitol.

The struggle has been led from the outset by the Central Contractors Association (C.C.A.), a group of predominantly black contractors in Seattle's Central Area (black community). The leadership demonstrated its militancy by swiftly closing down four construction projects in and near the Central Area on August 28 and 29. On September 23 and 24, groups of nearly 200 demonstrators (about half of whom were white) closed down construction sites at the University of Washington and Seattle-Tacoma airport, worth a total of \$90 million. This was accomplished by pushing several trucks and bulldozers into a pit at the University, and by lining up across the runway to stop all traffic at the airport.

Each of these site closures resulted in agreements between the C.C.A., the Associated General Contractors, and various government agencies to hire some black trainees on the projects, while giving the contractors an additional 20% to cover their expenses for the training program.

Union workers walked off the job as blacks were sent to each of the projects. At the present time work continues on all projects following a series of court injunctions. Very few black trainees remain on the job because the original agreements made no provision for maintaining the number of trainees. - This situation led to an attempt to close the airport construction sites again, on Nov. 6 in a "legal, peaceful" demonstration.

The 300 demonstrators faced about 500 combat ready pigs from throughout the county. After several hours of harassment of airline ticket counters, about 50 people were arrested as the C.C.A. leadership urged everyone to walk peacefully into waiting vans. The pacifist tone of this demonstration differed markedly from the earlier militant confrontations. One reason for this change must have been the changing constituency of the demonstrations.

Throughout the struggle the number of blacks involved in the demonstrations has remained fairly constant - about 75-100. These include the contractors and a group of younger supporters. The C.C.A. has done little or no educational work in the community, and has relied almost exclusively on the media to do their publicity. The number of whites has varied from just a handful at the first demonstrations to about 200 at the most recent. Their number has depended largely on the amount of publicity in the bourgeois press.

The most consistent organizing by

whites in support of the demand for more black construction workers has been done by the New Party and other liberals at the local churches. Some people have been mobilized by SDS for a couple of the demonstrations, but the work around the struggle by radicals has been sporadic and full of errors.

MISTAKES BY SDS

One reason for our problems in relating to the construction struggle has been the organizational crisis in SDS. Last year in Seattle, SDS was THE white movement, but splits, factionalization (particularly between RYM II and Weatherman), and ideological development left the movement here at its weakest point in September. Many people are just now beginning to recognize the need for collectives in order to carry on meaningful work. These problems made any work in support of black demands irregular, because it was only occasionally that any number of people could get together long enough to even agree on a leaflet.

The problem of lacking sufficient cohesive forces to do a good job was but one aspect of our difficulties. Much more important was our lack of understanding of the situation and our lack of experience in organizing working people, combined with the lack of black proletarian leadership.

Our initial analysis failed to take into account the nature of the building trades unions as highly privileged, restrictive trade unions. We recognized that the contractors, in alliance with the federal and country governments, were trying to weaken the unions and increase their profits. The agreement to hire black trainees on certain jobs, while giving the contractors a 20% increase in contract price meant that public taxes would be used to pay the contractors, and at the same time weaken the building trades unions who could be counted on to resist any move to hire blacks. (The extent of reactionary sentiment among the white workers surprised many, as 5,000 construction workers marched on the state capitol in Olympia on Oct. 17) Since the blacks would lose their jobs once the particular project was done, the only beneficiary would be the contractors.

This analysis of the situation led us to take the position that the demands for more black jobs was primary, but that the unions should be preserved. This produced the line that the union should take the lead in seeking out blacks for their apprenticeship programs. Such a position is illustrated by an excerpt from a leaflet distributed to construction workers near the end of September:

"The demand of the black workers for jobs is a just demand - they have faced a 400 year history in this country of exclusion from decent jobs. The demand of the union members for the integrity of the unions is just. The purpose of the contractors is to bust the unions and to make greater profits. We are supporting the workers - black and white - in their JUST demands, not the scab actions of the contract-

ors. Only when white workers reject the bait of racist exclusion against blacks will the union have the real power of solidarity against the bosses ...

"Because unions haven't treated black workers equally and haven't fought for their rights as workers, blacks often don't have much respect for the union.

The bosses know this and use it to their full advantage...

"Black workers should not only be welcomed, but should be actively recruited to make up for the exclusionary history of the union. Expanded and meaningful apprenticeship programs should be paid for by the profits of the contractors. The union should be fighting for the rights of the blacks as workers, and should not be letting contractors, politicians, and fatcats profit by pitting worker against worker."

The problem with this line is that it isn't based on sound analysis of the building trades unions as one of the most privileged sections of the working class. We failed to recognize that rather than train people for jobs, the union apprenticeship programs are more used to exclude blacks and young people from those lucrative jobs. While it is true that the stranglehold of the building trades unions on construction jobs has led the contractors to attempt to create a semi-skilled non-union work force through the trainee program, it is also true that the unions are used to keep blacks out of high paying jobs. We now recognize that exclusive trade unions like those of the building trades, must be smashed in order to advance the struggle of working people. Those unions must be replaced by new industrial unions with black workers in the vanguard.

Our original strategy with regard to this construction struggle was to attempt to neutralize the building trades workers by organizing among them, and by concentrating our efforts among those construction workers. We now feel that the correct strategy should be to neutralize the construction workers by isolating them, and by seeking to end the reactionary building trades unions. Our organizing should have focused on young working class people rather than on the construction workers, particularly in those industries where the contradictions between skilled and unskilled workers are the greatest.

LEADER PROBLEM

One element which has been missing throughout the struggle in Seattle has

been any kind of black proletarian leadership. Such leadership is essential if the struggle is to be carried through to the end. While the current liberal leadership may succeed in smashing the unions, they would oppose any attempt to build up an industrial union around the new black workers. Such black leadership could provide a focal point for the organizing of young white workers, by organizing them to join with the blacks in the building of an actively recruiting industrial union.

The activity around this demand for more construction jobs for blacks has provided an interesting lesson in the possibility of working with liberals, and in the tactic of the united front. The leadership of the struggle has been the black contractors - liberal, petty-bourgeois elements. They have increasingly allied themselves with white liberals as time goes by. This alliance was reflected by the tactics of the most recent airport demonstration.

Throughout the struggle there has been no black proletarian leadership, and no work has been done in the black community to expand the base of support there. At the same time, because of our concentration on the construction workers and lack of correct analysis, no proletarian base among whites has been mobilized. The black leadership has been pushed into a position of reliance on government officials and the white contractors in order to make any gains. The very failure of the struggle to gain additional support is an indication of the problems of such backward leadership.

These problems could have been dealt with by recognizing the full implications of petty-bourgeois leadership from the outset, and by applying a correct analysis to our work. It was necessary to encourage the development of independent proletarian leadership to carry on work in the black community around the just demand for more black jobs. At the same time, we should have concentrated upon building a base among young white workers, and among those working class kids who would stand to benefit by the opening up of the building trades. This would include high school kids, dropouts, and students at Seattle Community College, where most union apprenticeship programs are located. It is these students who can best be won to a recognition of the futility of these programs, many of which are training them for non-existent jobs. In this way, we could relate white working class problems to the racism of privileged workers and bosses.





Out of the

by Don Hamerquist

The Fry strike was a test of our communist collectives (our collectives are overwhelmingly non-student). The strike continued for almost THREE months, putting concrete demands on us to mobilize people every day. If we didn't do it, it wouldn't be done. The strike was a qualified success.

Over a year ago, the International Chemical Workers Union won an NLRB representation election by a unanimous vote of the workers at the Portland Plant of the Fry Roofing Company. Fry is one of the biggest companies in its field, though the Portland Plant is only one out of 26 Fry plants across the country.

Fry's reputation makes public relations hard for capitalism. It is hysterically hostile to even docile unions, defies even mild anti-pollution controls, pays less than other companies, and has outrageous working conditions.

After months of negotiation, it became clear that ICWU would not get a contract without a strike. Fry had succeeded in breaking unions which were much stronger than the ICWU - the ILWU, for example, in the San Leandro plant. The Union would have looked like shit if it couldn't get a contract or pull a strike after receiving a unanimous representation vote.

The strike began in a slack period. The company shut down, relying on built-up inventory, subsidiaries and other Fry plants to keep its customers. Fry hoped to exhaust the union financially and force the men to get other jobs, breaking the morale of the strikers. But after more than a month, the strike was still alive. Many strikers were getting by with work out of the ILWU hall on Strikers' white cards.

SCABS

So the company switched tactics and began to hire scabs from the colleges and high schools that were just beginning summer vacation. To attract scabs, they raised their base pay from \$2.26 to \$2.53 an hour. For a week, the strikers just watched the scabs cross the picket lines. Though it was obvious that more pickets were needed to stop scabs, the union maintained the same token picket that was up when the plant was shut down. They never said so publicly, but it's likely that the union leadership had already written off the strike. They proposed a strategy of the Building Trades boycotting Fry products. The Local President (Drews) and the International Rep (Shelton) claimed that they were devoting their energies to the boycott so had little time for the picket. (Now we know that the boycott was a stunt meant to stop criticism of the union leadership. It never got off the ground.)

If our collectives hadn't begun reinforcing the picket line, it is almost certain that the strike would have been lost after two weeks of scab operations. The daily morning picket line grew to about fifty people by the end of the first week of our involvement. It got pretty difficult and dangerous for the scabs to drive thru the line, especially if they were fond of their cars. The first two days we picketed, we convinced or coerced about two-thirds of the original scabs to quit, but Fry kept hiring new ones. The company also started work early, opened more parking lot gates etc, to make our pickets ineffective. The scabs developed techniques, with police help, to get thru the line.

During the first couple of weeks of strike support, we made no attempt to do more than harass the scabs. This was because we didn't want to risk felony arrests because we were involved in crucial defense work in the Black Community where about 300 people had just been busted, including the leadership and members of the Black Panther Party.

But the major consideration was that most of the strikers were not convinced that really militant actions were possible or necessary. They weren't ready to challenge the strategy of the ICWU leadership. It would have been a major blunder for us to up the ante before a solid core of strikers were convinced that this should be done. They went along with the union leadership because they had very little experience with union (or any other) organization, tended to distrust their own instincts and accept the fake expertise of the union. Drews and Andrews were telling people to rely on the boycott and warning that increased militance would alienate community support and hurt the negotiations.

UNION BLACKMAIL

The union argued that the picket must be totally legal (they must let cars thru) or else there would be a restraining order. They also made the implicit threat to withdraw material support for the strikers, the weekly \$25 strike benefit and union loans for hardship cases.

Friday of our first week on the line, a scab ran

over and seriously injured a picket, an officer of the Chemical Workers Union who worked at another plant in the same local. The cops refused to arrest the driver, claiming that they hadn't seen what happened, but Drew assured everyone that the union attorneys would file a complaint and have him picked up, so nobody should do anything rash.

But people did get angry, and this incident pushed us into quite a bit of organizing over the weekend, despite the fact that our major attention was taken up with the Panther defense. We got out lots of leaflets on the guy getting run down, capitalized on the pollution issues with the local liberals, handed out a "don't scab" leaflet to the hip kids in the parks, and prepared for a lot of factory leafletting at the beginning of the week. Early the next week, we took some of the strikers down to the Longshore Hall to ask for support, and blitzed the wasteland at the AFL-CIO Labor Temple.

As a result the picket line was much bigger the second week, varying from 50 to 150 each morning. On the morning following the monthly ILWU stop work meeting, we had seventy or eighty longshoremen come off the night shift and join the line.

That Friday we had our biggest line to date, including a dozen or so AFL-CIO officials we had dragged out of the Labor Temple, who stood around talking to each other. Another picket, a Fry worker, was run over and badly hurt. A general fight broke out involving about 50 people armed with 2 x 4's and bricks. The cops were in another place at the time and by the time they arrived, we broke up. They made one arrest of a well-known communist. They charged him with assault and battery on the plant's office manager who was taking motion pictures of the fight.

The next day, Fry got a restraining order limiting the size of the picket line. Although we realized the injunction was inevitable, we were poorly prepared to deal with it. The ICWU leadership attempted to take advantage of it to regain control of the situation. By this time, the strike had become an embarrassment for them. They were the talk of the Labor Temple "letting SDS-communists take over the picket line" and giving radicals a foothold in the labor movement.

INJUNCTION

Drew argued that they could defeat the injunction in court providing there were no flagrant violations of the temporary order. The strikers complained individually, but were too disorganized to provide us with an opportunity to press an alternative approach.

The union leadership asked us not to come to the line pending the outcome of the hearing on the restraining order. The strikers asked us to come, but to be cool and play at being anti-pollution pickets. (A big legal tactic of the union was going to be that we were not "agents" of the union.) It took a few days for this to chill the line. On the first day following the injunction, there were still a lot of pickets. A couple of longshoremen were arrested along with an offeworkers' union official, who was accused, much to his surprised indignation, of attempting to firebomb Fry. Also, a scab car was dumped in the parking lot.

In the days that followed, however, the hearing on the injunction kept being postponed, and we began to peter out, unable to keep any enthusiasm when the action of the union leadership and some of the strikers made us more vulnerable to arrest by the police who were out to get a number of us already. It was too early in the morning for a daily symbolic "anti-pollution" picket. During this period, some time was spent picketing and harassing Sears. Sears distributes the bulk of Fry products and is, apparently, financially involved in the company in a substantial way. The evening picket of Sears continued through the strike, but it never involved as many people as we had on the strike line, although some strikers began coming out to it.

While the picket line lost the momentum it had been building up before the day of the fight, Fry accelerated its hiring of scabs. Also, Drew was contacting the officials of various unions telling them that no help was needed or wanted on the lines. They passed the word on to their members that they would be on their own if they joined the Fry line.

About ten days after the injunction was issued, the hearing on making it permanent was held. Fry brought up the violence and the harassment of scab cars and the breaking of windows in the plant. They also spent a lot of time on the communist agitator issue, supported by motion pictures of the line which singled out some representative species. The union used the "clean hands" doctrine; charged that scabs were responsible for the fights; and that they were not responsible for anti-pollution pickets - that was us, etc. This was all pretty routine, and, as is generally known, this stuff is usually pretty perfunctory. To the dismay of all of us who were counting on the judge to give the workers an object lesson in class dictatorship, the injunction was denied and the restraining order was dismissed. (I will say more about why this happened later.)

NEW STAGE

The strike entered a new stage when the restraining order was lifted. The strikers contacted us immediately and asked us to rejoin the line. Drew's warnings that we should continue to act as if the injunction were in effect (so as not to provoke another one) was ignored by the strikers. About this time a clear antagonism between the workers and union began to develop. We heard less talk about "Drew says" or "I'll have to check with Tom". Everyone noticed that Drew didn't spend much time on the line and that he had many pairs of expensive shoes.

People first began to be turned off by the union's failure to press charges against the drivers who ran over the pickets. One guy was in the hospital for weeks and off his job for months. We had all kinds of witnesses, willing to sign a complaint, but the union just sat on it.

We had all expected to regain substantial support on the line from other organized workers, particularly from the Longshoremen. Two union men had been run down by scabs, a number of union men had been arrested, and we had a good militant line built up. But none of the men who had been on the line before showed up after the injunction was lifted. When we checked we found that Drew hadn't requested support for the line from the longshoremen, and their leadership wasn't aware that the injunction was no longer in effect.



This was after Drew had told the strikers that he would get support from the longshoremen. He claimed he had daily contact with the ILWU and the Teamsters. Despite this "daily contact", Teamsters were driving trucks to the gate and letting scabs take them in. Longshoremen were unknowingly handling Fry products. We also discovered that the Wallace Security guards who were working to break the strike, (one had pulled a gun on a picket) were proud members of Building Service Workers Union, Local 49. This union is headed by the President of the Central Labor Council (who was supposed to be supporting the strike).

Out of the criticism of the way the union was handling the strike, a core of radical strikers began to coalesce and challenge the leadership. This was unusual, especially since the strike was not a wildcat. It began as a strike for union recognition, but when they saw the union abandoning the struggle, they broadened their conception of the strike. They began to see the Fry strike as an exemplary class struggle.

This was not clearly articulated. It was expressed in such positions as "I want to shut it (Fry) down, even if that won't win for us." To appreciate the need the struggle even when victory is remote, even when the immediate goals are limited, are the essential elements of revolutionary class consciousness. They categorically oppose economism which infuses most trade union struggles.

The strikers also began to raise the issue of pollution. "If pollution is bad outside, you should try working in it." At first, this was just a pragmatic approach to attract more picketers, but soon the strikers were seriously considering making pollution a collective bargaining issue. This horrified Drews. He maintained that "there was a law against unions negotiating about things like pollution."

REORGANIZATION

During the lull in the picketing, we had a number of meetings among the strike supporters and a couple of semi-abortive meetings with some strikers to discuss what would happen after the injunction issue was resolved. (We, of course, were sure that this meant after it had been sustained.) We decided that we had to work towards a common position on two points; the aim of the picket line had to be to shut the plant down, not to "inform the public" or "keep the pressure on" or any such bullshit; the Fry workers had to have operative control of the strike and Drew would do what they wanted or get out of the way.



Frying Pan

It was easiest to get agreement on the need for increased militance. On the second point, we won more or less by default. Drews kept pulling further and further away from the strike. This gave tactical leadership to the militants without an open confrontation with Drews.

Out of our attempt to gain a common position we achieved general agreement that we would develop larger and more militant actions directed towards the eventual closing of the plant. This was a goal which would have been much easier to accomplish earlier. By this time many of us were known individually by both the police and the Fry management which had hired a detective agency just to get such information; the scabs were better prepared to evade and endure the line; and the police were prepared to keep the gates open. There was a more serious problem concerning our morale. It was difficult to avoid a quantitative estimate of the importance of the strike, and as the weeks passed and people were forced to find other jobs, the number of strikers, which had never been large, dwindled still further. By this time, Drews was actually helping to break his own strike by finding jobs for his favorites.

We also had the dilemma that in order to bring a lot of people to the line, we had to have a lot of publicity about closing the place down. This, of course, made us lose all the advantage of surprise, and the pigs were prepared.

We were able to keep going because of a variety of encouragements. We were involving some of the strikers in other activities, and they were achieving a more organic relationship to the left. We could see that we were changing a lot of the strikers' attitudes on issues such as Black-white, the cops, communists - some of the strikers were even planning to go the Panther UFAF Conference in Oakland. Beyond this, we kept getting scabs to quit with our combination of persuasion and coercion.

FREDDY'S GANG

The most important incentive to continue with the line came when Fast Freddy's gang quit in a bloc and joined the line. This was a group of tough young whites - too old to be called kids, many of them from the South, very mobile - almost bikers, and intensely hostile to cops, the company, the union, but very very loyal to their own group. What happened was that Freddy's car was burned, and Fry, which had said it would pay for the damage, refused to pay. There were other factors too. Fry was beginning to demand more from its scabs and the scabs began to experience the conditions which led to the strike in the first place. Also, while Freddy's group were the toughest group crossing the picket line, they were more like us than most of the scabs with whom they were working. They were embarrassed about having police protection.



We gave Fast Freddy's gang the main gate for the day. They got 25 or 30 scabs to quit - well over half. Despite this sort of conditional success, we were worn out and frustrated with almost two months of daily picketing. The core of strikers were also getting tired. Many were having money problems and the union was being tight with loans. So we decided, we had to set a date for a mass picket line demonstration.

UNION BOWS OUT

For his bit, Drews passed the word around that the union was pulling out of the strike, and then came up with a "final offer" from Fry, which he demanded that the strikers accept before our scheduled demonstration. When some strikers tried to postpone the vote, he came out with some hysterical nonsense about how everyone would be in jail if the contract weren't immediately accepted. The "final offer" was overwhelmingly rejected, and Drews announced that the Chemical Workers Union was cutting off the strike support payments as of the following week, before any concerted attempt to shut down the plant had been made. At the same time, there was a lot of maneuvering about the union providing legal support for the people who were arrested. We finally were able to pressure them into taking the cases of the union members only.

During the week before the big demonstration, picket lines got bigger and more militant. The cops were getting rougher, but we worked out ways of forcing them to use almost one cop for every picket in order to clear the driveway. We built up to about 200 people, although Drew kept away all union workers

who we couldn't reach thru leaflets and personal contact. A bunch of scabs didn't show, and the rest went to work earlier than usual. We raised hell with the stragglers. We had arrests for assault (on cops), interfering (with cops), and for throwing rocks (many plant windows were broken, not to mention scab cars).

Fry immediately got another injunction. The next morning we had a lot of people on the line violating the injunction. More arrests. Fewer scabs.

Though the demonstration was a tactical success we were about done in. The only possible next step was more militance and scab dumping and more mass arrests. While we were wondering what to do, a Fry executive flew out from Chicago and announced that he was in town to settle the strike, despite the rejection of what had been called the "final offer".

VICTORY AND FRAUD

The next day Fry agreed to a contract and was also submitting a plan to the Environmental Quality Control Commission (or some horseshit like that) for bringing its operation within the legal pollution limits. So it looked like we had won the strike at a point when we thought it was lost. A concession on pollution was a bonus.

The only problem was that Fry refused to take back one of the most militant strikers. This last point was the main issue at the workers' ratification meeting. Drews said the company was adamant on this point and implied that the striker should be sacrificed. The men unanimously voted that there would be no contract unless their brother was rehired. They won. Though the wage increase was a little less than they had demanded, almost every other demand had been won. The contract was approved with only a couple of dissenting votes.

When the men returned to work, trouble began immediately. The management refused to honor some of the provisions of the contract which the workers had just approved - they thought. Fry said that there was no contract, the management hadn't actually signed anything. When people tried to get the truth out of Drews, he just talked around the issues. A few days later it was discovered that he had resigned the Presidency of the local and taken a job with the International. The new Acting President knew nothing about the status of the Fry contract. Now, more than a month later, a contract has finally been produced, but it is different in significant details from the contract which the men voted on before they returned to work. At present, the Fry workers are looking for ways to challenge this threadbare fraud. They are considering legal action and running a candidate for the union Presidency vacancy created by Drews' resignation.

THE COLLECTIVE'S STRATEGY

We have general agreement that we cannot accept any variation of the traditional left priority on the trade union as an organizing area. The work that we are doing confronts the union structure from outside, rather than as a left caucus or a left center coalition within it. To put it another way, our emphasis is not on parliamentary politics within the trade union, but on the development of core organizations of radical workers out of (and into) programs of exemplary action.

Our priority is on the immediate development of cadre, activity models, and organizational models, which create a dual power potential at the point of production, not on "radicalizing" or "reforming" or "revitalizing" the labor movement. This isn't a rejection of trade union organization or trade union struggles, nor does it mean that we don't attempt to develop left caucuses that fight for leadership in the union. It means that we place our priority elsewhere.

Our aim in the Fry strike was to make it an exemplary class action, and to develop some communists prepared to join in initiating and implementing other class struggles. We wanted the Fry strike to demonstrate solidarity in action and we wanted to demonstrate that working people can run their own affairs. The pattern is to let strikes like the one at Fry get broken. Organized workers are a little more easily satisfied with small gains if they have a number of 19th century remnants, like Fry, to remind them how bad it might be.

There were no women in the bargaining unit at Fry, and we didn't do very well in involving the wives and girlfriends of the strikers. We did organize one action - as a confrontation between some business agents for the Building Services Union, the local, which had organized the Wallace guards, and some of the strikers' wives and girlfriends, along with some other women.

This was good, but it happened too late in the strike and had the weaknesses of all initial confrontations. The people were not prepared to deal with the official's attempt to evade all responsibility. Since the end of the strike, we have developed relationships with some of the women. One has joined a women's liberation group and others are taking part in a variety of movement activities and functions.

COPS AND COURTS

The cops and the courts posed major questions for us, both tactical and ideological. The issues of the courts and the police were distinct in this case and I would like to deal with them separately.

The anti-mass picketing injunction is one of the most



common manifestations of the class character of the state. Like any left group would, we expected that there would be an injunction as soon as our line began to hurt Fry. The initial temporary restraining order fit right into the pattern, but then the injunction was thrown out of court. This contains a couple of lessons for us. First, it clarifies some internal tensions of the capitalist structure. For a host of reasons the actions of the Fry management were an embarrassment to the ruling class. The Association of Oregon Industries attorneys wrote the worthless anti-pollution statutes which Fry was violating, and this violation was exposing just how worthless they were and was tending to crystallize sentiment for some measures which could very well wind up costing the big corporations some money.

The dominant corporations are not anti-union in the same way as Fry. In fact, they are quite open to moderate unions which can play an important role in disciplining the work force. Therefore, we should understand the denial of the injunction as a demonstration of the class essence of the courts in a more subtle sense. It was a class action against a member of the class which had broken ranks.

This flexibility was definitely a limited and temporary thing. It is almost certain that the second restraining order would have been upheld. However, the flexibility was sufficient to have ruined us, if we had blasted Drews for attempting to defeat the injunction through the courts. We must always be aware of the continuing capacity of the system to make concessions, even in areas which are traditionally associated with repression like injunctions in labor disputes. If we do not, an approach which hopes to expose the class character of the state can do the exact opposite. It can support a liberal interpretation of the neutrality of the state and provide evidence of the foolishness of the left at the same time.

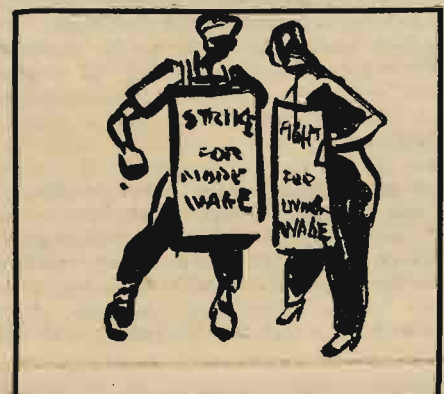
BLACK SCABS AND PANTHERS

The issue of black scabs requires a little factual background. Few Black people had worked at Fry - none of the strikers were Black. The strikers were infected with racist ideas to one degree or another, although Fast Freddy's group was much less so. When Fry began to advertise for scabs, the advertisements emphasized the "equal opportunity employer" bit. Both the strikers and ourselves were quite worried about the possibility of a large number of Black workers crossing the picket line. Actually, the practical problem didn't attain any seriousness. There were only three Black scabs and these showed up for work only about half of the time. We often saw them with brooms sweeping the warehouse floor. But despite the fact that the practical problem was not too great, the theoretical problem is extremely important and we spent quite a bit of time on it during the strike.

I have mentioned a number of times that we were involved in defense work, mainly with the Panthers, during much of the strike. The strikers knew this. We told some and the police told others. So virtually all the strikers knew our position, not just on "civil rights", but on "riots" and "law and order". The police also apparently showed around some of the anti-pig leaflets that we had been distributing. Later in the strike we had occasion to pass out the Panther Pocket Lawyer to the strikers. We also related to this question by putting out a special issue of the Willamette Bridge devoted to two issues, the Fry strike and the bust in the Black community. We made very little attempt at conversion through argument, perhaps we should have done more, but most workers see the Black-white issue as one of sides - they don't necessarily choose one themselves. And there is no doubt about which side we were on.

The strikers' attitudes on the question of race clearly did change. We could see this in a couple of ways. When some strikers joined in a picket line at Safeway for the grape boycott, they would tell Black customers that it was a "Panther supported line" - which, of course, it was. Perhaps a more accurate index of the change was that while initially individual strikers told us... "don't bring the Panthers"... (It was sort of we have enough trouble already line. The Panthers also had sufficient trouble...) further along in the strike, the same individuals asked us to get the Panthers to tell people in the Black Community not to scab, and were open to having them join the line.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Tom Hayden gave the following speech to a crowd at Boalt Hall (U.C. Law School) in the beginning of November. Here he outlines the Conspiracy's analysis of their situation and the strategy for stopping the trial.

First of all I'd like to give you the political background of the law and I'd then like to explain to you what we think is the government's intent in this case and what's going on. I'd like to say something then about the nature of our defense and the kind of things you can do.

We're being tried under a law which is a product of the outside agitator theory which we once felt was a joke when it was applied by southern governors. That notion that people can be stirred up by someone crossing state lines to create trouble as in the freedom rides always seemed preposterous. Now the southern way of life has been interpreted into the American way of life and we have a federal law which makes the outside agitator a federal criminal subject to \$5,000 and 5 years for crossing state lines to incite a riot and each of us are cited twice.

The law says that whoever travels from one state to another, or writes a letter, or sends a telegram, or makes a telephone call, or speaks on radio or television with the intention and it does not have to be an avowed intention of urging someone to participate in a riot, a riot being defined as an assembly of three or more people who act violently or injure the property or person of somebody or who threaten to break the law. That would make illegal every thing that has been done in protest movements throughout American history, because the law is so sweeping and so devastating in the kind of things that it makes criminal.

LEGALIZED POLICE STATE

Now this has made a lot of people feel that this will be thrown out by the United States Supreme Court that this law is not in the American tradition, that, therefore this trial in Chicago is not to be taken seriously but seen instead as a kind of carnival. Many of us felt the same way when we first met the judge and we named him "Magoo" because of the way he looked but now we see the case in a much more serious light, and think we can offer some explanation for why the case is serious.

This law was first introduced by a Florida congressman, Kramer, with the support of Strom Thurmond, and it became law after the 150 rebellions which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King.

If you remember there was a widespread public demand for legislation in tribute to Dr. King. I gather that this legislation is to enforce non-violence through the message of a police state.

The intent of this bill is to give the police state apparatus of the federal government, the federal government itself, the opportunity to move into local situations. Each of the fifty states has its own anti-riot laws which are somewhat tighter in their writing than this one, but the federal government has had difficulty finding a way to move in to crises on the local or state levels where they take on national proportions.

Step two in understanding the seriousness of it is government in the past year, in the Justice department in particular. That is the beginnings of the process of going beyond the formal constitutional system that we have to a more fascist legal system. The government has not found it possible to deal with the anti-war movement, with the black movement, with the youth movement, within the present confines of the law. I don't mean to endorse in the least constitutional traditions and the constitutional framework because what there is that's good about that has hardly been enforced. But what we're seeing is the government's running against its own policies and institutions and against its own traditional framework.

NIXON'S GANG

Let me give you what I mean concretely. You will remember that Richard Nixon among other things ran on a program of changing the Supreme Court of the United States and the Justice Department. He accused these of being permissive liberals. When he got in office one of the first moves that Nixon began to make was to rig the Supreme Court for the first time since the new deal in a definite political direction with the appointment of Burger and now the appointment of Haynsworth.

Secondly he put into office at the top levels of the Justice department a gang of reactionary politicians who are interested in the politics of law and order. These include John Mitchell, the Attorney General, who basically has been a business attorney and a political manipulator on Wall ST. and a Republican Party agent, professional hack for all his career. He is made number one man in the Justice Dept. In with him comes Richard Kleindienst who was defeated in a political contest in Arizona who has a long-standing hatred of everything unorthodox in American life who says publicly to the Atlantic Monthly that what the country is facing on the campuses, in the communities, in the ghettos, is a group of ideological criminals who should be rounded up and placed in detention camps which is in a strict sense a Nazi doctrine.

We have in charge of the criminal division which is on top of our case a person by the name of Will Wilson, who ran for Senate and Governor in the state of Texas and was defeated and who is on record as saying something to the effect that anybody who disturbs somebody else's comfort is a rioter. In charge of the Civil Rights Division is Jervis Leonard from the state of Wisconsin who publicly

testified that he belonged to several racially segregated social clubs, and who, as the chairman of the Wisconsin state building commission transferred \$200,000 in legal fees to John Mitchell while Mitchell was a New York bond attorney. He's the man who's declared that the government is moving too fast in school desegregation in Mississippi.

There's a number of other people in there - I don't want to detail them - one is Bill Renquist who was one of Goldwater's speechwriters in 1964, another is a man named Rucklehouse who was defeated for Senator and Governor in Indiana. What is being done is the transformation of our legal system from the top down into a reactionary - I think it would be fair to say a fascist - legal system.

ADJUSTING TO FASCISM

The evidence introduced against us in Chicago is a series of speeches we gave from early 1968 up to the convention declaring that we were coming to the convention. I gave a speech that was about two hours long in July of 1968 on the situation in Viet Nam. Almost the entire speech was about Johnson's new maneuvers, dropping out of office, stopping the bombing, the kind of things he was doing at that time. At the end I made a reference to Chicago saying that we can learn from the fact that the United States is attacking Vietnam in a war of genocide and from the fact that the Vietnamese people are shedding their blood - that we may very well have to shed our blood in this country because of what this government does to people who demand self-determination. And I said we may have to shed our blood in Chicago. FBI agent testified that this was the most inflammatory speech that he ever heard in his life. This is an FBI agent who was just standing with his son on a little league ball field seven years ago and he was approached by a man from the FBI and asked if he would mind going to some meetings and taking notes and turning in people on the left. He did it and this is the most inflammatory speech he'd heard in seven years.

You're probably wondering what conspiracy is. It's nothing. People who from circumstantial evidence are shown to have been moving in the same direction towards a common purpose are conspirators. It helps if they've known each other's names or met once or twice, but it's not necessary under the law.

I don't know how many FBI men were assigned to this case but they travelled all across the country while the grand jury met for six months. The judge, Judge Campbell, who was in charge of the grand jury said that the Walker report was an insult to the grand jury. He attacked Walker publicly, so publicly that he decided it would be better for him to withdraw from the case - he was going to try us - so after the grand jury indicted us the case was passed on to Judge Julius J. Hoffman.

Judge Hoffman is one of the younger men on the federal bench, he's 75, a conservative Republican, belongs to all the right social clubs in the city of Chicago, through his wealthy wife he purchased his judgeship fourteen years ago. He has, through his wife, stock-ownership in a variety of corporations including Brunswick corporation, that's getting Haynsworth in trouble, several corporations that produce equipment for Vietnam. He's known in the Chicago bar as the most vicious man on the federal bench. He has a habit of giving maximum sentences and denying appeal bond. So this is the man we're dealing with.

I'm beginning to understand how people adjust to fascism, I really am. I'm beginning to understand how you can simply kind of acquiesce and feel a curtain of exhaustion fall over your mind as you listen helplessly to people describe you, as you listen to people lie about what you've done.

Here we are up against a law that makes just about everything in the country illegal, up against a secret police apparatus that has collected the evidence, testified before the grand jury, now presents itself one by one as witnesses against us. And here we are with Judge Hoffman and here we are without Charles Garry.

By the way, that's another example of the fascism. It's a very normal request to ask for a delay if a lawyer has to have an operation and will be ready in six weeks. It's very normal for a judge to grant that. Many members of the conservative Chicago bar were very puzzled when Hoffman refused to let Garry have that six weeks. So Bobby Seale doesn't have the attorney who's closest to him.

We hear people around the country say several things. One is that Judge Magoo is a joke and the second thing is that this trial is so preposterous that obviously you'll get off. This is sort of the New York Times view, it can't happen in our country. Well I can't say what will happen, but I can lay out the government's intention. Their intention is to get us behind bars as quickly as possible and I think, in a way that stuns you as much as possible, so you feel that your every work, your every gesture, your appearance, is being watched.

BOBBY SEALE

You should also remember the situation of Bobby Seale, which adds to the seriousness of it. Bobby Seale has been railroaded without so much as a serious outcry of protest from the liberal community. Taken from San Francisco, grabbed off the streets, taken out of this jurisdiction, moved to Chicago, brought into this conspiracy trial without his attorney, Charles Garry, on a charge which is really preposterous since everybody knows that Bobby Seale was only momentarily in Chicago last summer, and had nothing to do with the demonstrations that took place there. Bobby Seale is being railroaded on a train that moves through Chicago to Connecticut where he faces the electric chair on a much more unbelievable charge; that he as Panther chairman would conspire to kill an agent



and leave the body so that the police evidently could pick it up and arrest everybody in the Black Panther Party that they could.

Now if you think that we're having an easy time relatively, developing support around our trial, I think that that may be only because of the fact that many of the people in the case are white, are radicals, have a history of legitimate activity in reform movements, and a couple of them are Yippies. And how could you possibly put Abby Hoffman behind bars for ten years, people think - "We've got to support this case. We've got to have a party for Abby". You've got to remember that the same people have a much more difficult time supporting Bobby Seale and that while we're enjoying ourselves and developing support around a relatively easy cause, the Panthers are being destroyed.

PRISONER EXCHANGE

That's why we're participating in an international project in which the US government would have repatriated to this country a number of prisoners from Vietnam if the US government would release Bobby Seale and Huey Newton back to the black colony inside the US. We don't take this lightly. We don't make it as a propaganda gesture. There have been actual discussions in different parts of the world about it. We have some positive indication that it would be possible if the US government was willing to make such a gesture. We're really only doubtful about the US government in this case.

YOU CAN'T JAIL THE REVOLUTION STOP the TRIAL FREE the CONSPIRACY

We take it very seriously as an educational point to make because we regard the Panthers, particularly Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, and other people in the black community, as actual prisoners of war - they're not just political prisoners. They are involved in a situation where the US government is waging a war against their organization - a war against the black community, in which troops have been sent into 100 or 200,000 black communities around the US in the last five years, in which several hundred black people have been killed and several thousand have been wounded - in a situation that is hardly one of peace. It may not be full-scale civil war, but we have defined it as a situation that is much closer to war than it is to peace. We feel that certainly people like Rap Brown, Huey P. Newton, and Bobby Seale are seen militarily as well as politically as enemies by the United States, by the Pentagon, by the FBI. They're prisoners of war.

We regard the US government as conducting an imperialist policy with respect to the entire third world, particularly with respect to Vietnam, and in the war in Vietnam, the war of resistance waged by the people of Vietnam against the US, they have taken prisoners. Prisoners of the US Army and Air Force. And since there's close solidarity between the Panthers and the Vietnamese, there's growing solidarity between revolutionaries in this country and people throughout the third world. It seems to us a matter of common sense for people to cooperate on an international basis against the US government where it's grabbing people off the streets or bombing

them.

CONSPIRACY VS. FASCISM

The people all across the world are ultimately going to be our jury. We don't say that in a rhetorical way - we say that in a political way. That if enough international pressure can be generated, around this trial and the trials of all the conspirators in this country, and the trials of all the political prisoners, that it can have an impact. I think the only thing keeping Huey Newton out of the electric chair was political pressure.

The only thing that will keep us on the streets is political pressure and it has to be on a worldwide basis and it has to be applied during the trial - so the government is put into a very difficult situation - if, by persecuting us, the government alienates the youth of this country, and alienates people around the world, and discredits its legal system in the eyes of the world - just as last year it discredited its political party system by doing what it did on the streets of Chicago.

That means that the government will not be succeeding, even if it puts us away, in making young people obey this fascist regime of law and order. In fact, by putting us away, in this situation, the government will be breeding more lawlessness, as the government thinks of it - instead of frightening and intimidating people. On the other hand, if the government should decide politically to cut us loose, on some appeal or give us appeal bond as some

kind of way to save the liberal community's belief in justice, then we will be back on the streets, raising more hell.

This political dilemma can be imposed on the US government, on the Nixon administration, if enough pressure is generated around this case. And obviously we do it for ourselves, in some sense. But we think that in this particular case, the rhetoric about everybody having a stake in it is literally true. This is the one political trial that it's possible to conduct on a national and on an international basis because of the defendants' being who they are, people involved in movements for many years, because of the tremendous national impact of the Chicago demonstrations, because of the tremendous national and international publicity already generated around this case, we think that it lays it on the line for the Nixon administration.

We think that it can be elevated into a case in which the people are lined up on one side or the other - for the conspiracy, for what the young people did in Chicago for what the young people are doing all across this country, or for John Mitchell, Richard Nixon, the rest of the Justice Department and fascism.

COURTROOM STRATEGY

What we're gonna do inside the court is pretty much what you can expect. We're gonna try to raise the political issues. The government is going to try to prevent us from airing them at all. It's not political, therefore you can't bring up the war in Vietnam, you can't bring up racism, you can't bring up the Democratic and Republican parties, you can't bring up political and economic institutions in this country. All you can bring up is whether your intent was to incite a riot, and whether you stand guilty or not on what the government has accused us of.

We will try our best to get around that, but we do not believe, just as we don't believe a fair trial is possible, we don't believe that it's possible to politicize the inside of a courtroom in any fundamental sense. I think a lot of people have seen too many TV shows about Judd for the defense or read books about Clarence Darrow and they kind of believe that that courtroom is a great place to give a speech. Let me tell you, if that was true, they'd suspend court proceedings altogether and institute something else. It's almost impossible to raise political issues in a court.

We intend to say that we had the right of revolutionary dissent. We intend to say that we must prove that our intent was to do something about imperialism in Vietnam, to do something about racism, to do something about the situation that young people face in this country and to do something about the totally rigged political apparatus that we have and that's why we came to Chicago. We intend to try to show how we organized the Yippies, how the organization of the Mobilization Committee was set up.

We intend to try to show how the government of the US deliberately intervened to prevent us from having permits because they were afraid of having hundreds of thousands of people coming to Chicago because they knew that if a quarter of a million people protested peacefully, that alone would fuck up the Democratic Party. It was therefore necessary to stall to the last moment so that we couldn't get permits, on the one hand, and on the other hand, to make all kinds of ominous statements about shoot to kill, about new shipments of mace coming in, and about National Guard coming in, and about barbed wire, and all the rest of it so that people with jobs or families would be afraid to come to Chicago - and so that our numbers would be materially reduced to a point where they thought they could politically isolate us and prove to a worried country, that when it comes to preserving law and order, the Democratic Party is better than Richard Nixon and George Wallace.

NO PIG RIOT

We want to try to show what happened was not a police riot. The police did NOT riot. The police acted in an orderly fashion. The police acted professionally. Just like the soldiers do in Vietnam or any country where they're sent to kill people or maim people or control people. There were a few incidents where the police went berserk. I'm sure they did not mean to beat into the ground the man from the University of California Criminology School who's the leading expert on crowd control in the US. On the whole, the police conducted themselves professionally. They followed orders, and we want the men who gave them the orders in the courtroom. We're sending subpoenas to Lyndon Johnson and Richard Daley. Lyndon Johnson will send his attorney to quash the subpoena and say that he's got nothing to do with this and so will Mayor Daley.

The only thing that we can hope for is creating a political effect by showing the jury and showing the press and showing the people how we're systematically stopped from putting our case on. That's our defense. We make no pretense of saying that we can put a case on in this courtroom. We can't do it. We can only attempt to do it and show how the government at every point insists on stopping it.

STOP THE TRIAL

So what we're intending to do in conclusion is take this case to you. We regard you as the people who are very fundamental to what happens. On the day that our lawyers were locked up, the students at Rutgers law school marched into a faculty meeting and demanded that the school be closed and the school was closed.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

STOP THE TRIAL!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

And we're trying to organize law students in other parts of the country to do the same thing. I think that this is a very revolutionary idea when it comes from law students and lawyers especially, to STOP THE TRIAL. There can be no such thing as a fair trial. No such thing as an appeal on this. The only way that these people are going to have justice is to STOP THE TRIAL. It's a practical proposition. The government, any time it wants, can stop this trial. The government can accuse us of having done something and move for a mistrial. We can move for a mistrial and the government can cooperate in that request. The government can tell Judge Hoffman to get conveniently ill. Any number of ways, the government can arrange to have this trial stopped.

A lawyers committee nationwide has been formed to stop the trial. They're working inside the courts and outside the courts. I had never seen lawyers in the streets before. I understand there was a big demonstration here in SF, there was a very large one in Chicago. Slowly, the cream of the crop, the law students who are supposed to run corporate capitalism for the next generation or two, are being alienated from John Mitchell and Richard Nixon, are being alienated from the Justice Department, and are getting a kind of proper dose of lawlessness in their veins.

It's not the only constituency, it's not the only kind of group that we're trying to work with. We're trying to work with the Vietnamese, we're trying to work with the Western Europeans, we're trying to work with the student groups, we're trying to work with everybody and anybody in this country. We spoke plenty of times at the Moratorium. We probably spoke to 150,000 people. And we're going to Washington on November 15th. Dave Dellinger is the chairman of the program and is going to speak about the necessity to withdraw troops from Vietnam. We expect 100-200,000 people to be in Washington.

We expect a significant number of those people to march on the Department of Justice to demand freedom for Huey and Bobby, to demand that the trial in Chicago stop and to demand general freedom for political prisoners everywhere and amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver.

This is the kind of thing that is absolutely necessary to put on the agenda. You can't expect to fight against the war in Vietnam without taking political casualties and nobody is going to continue struggling against these issues if they feel they're going to be railroaded to the penitentiary because of it. Maybe by tying our case to all these other cases, we can amplify the publicity about them, but it's very important to understand that hundreds of thousands of people in this country are being railroaded and only a few of them you've heard of.

We have the government that Richard Nixon has been putting together for a long time, from when he was on HUAC, from when he was chasing Communists in the 1940's and the 1950's. He's brought them all to Washington and they have a single-minded intention, no matter what the political cost, to put as many people away as possible. That's why Spiro Agnew, just like Judge Hoffman, is not a nut and is not a joke. He is very serious. He knows what he's doing. He's trying to mobilize fascist popular support for doing what he wants to do.

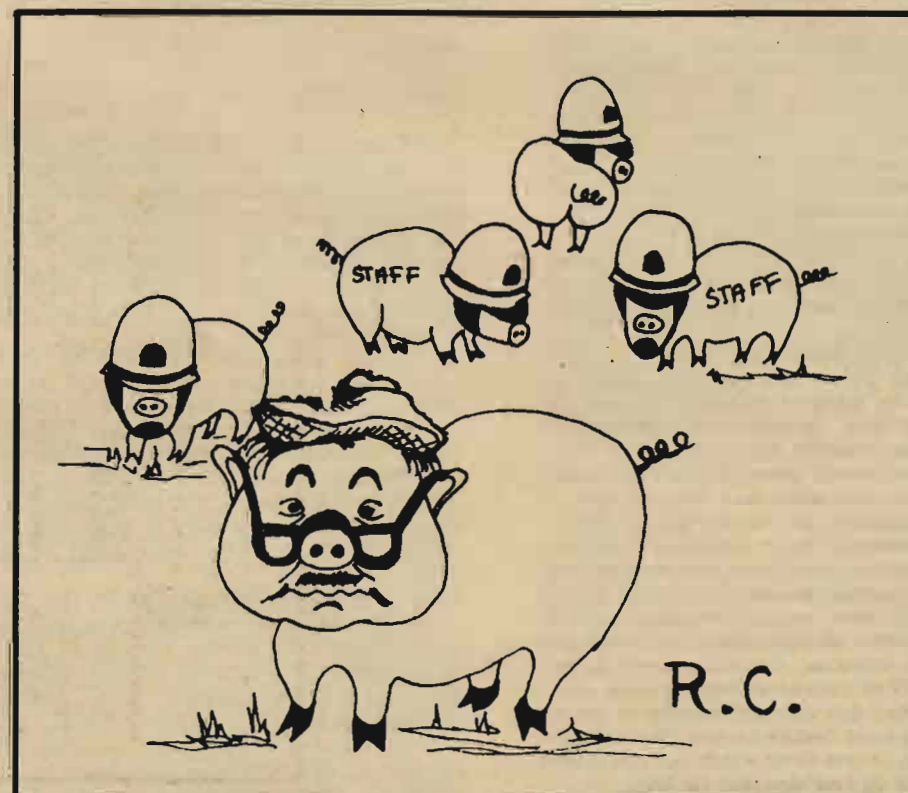
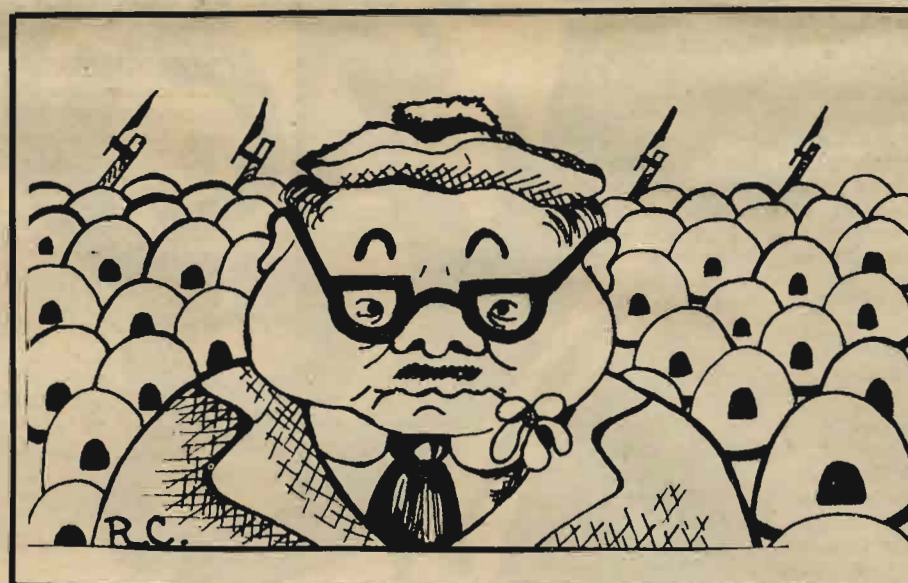
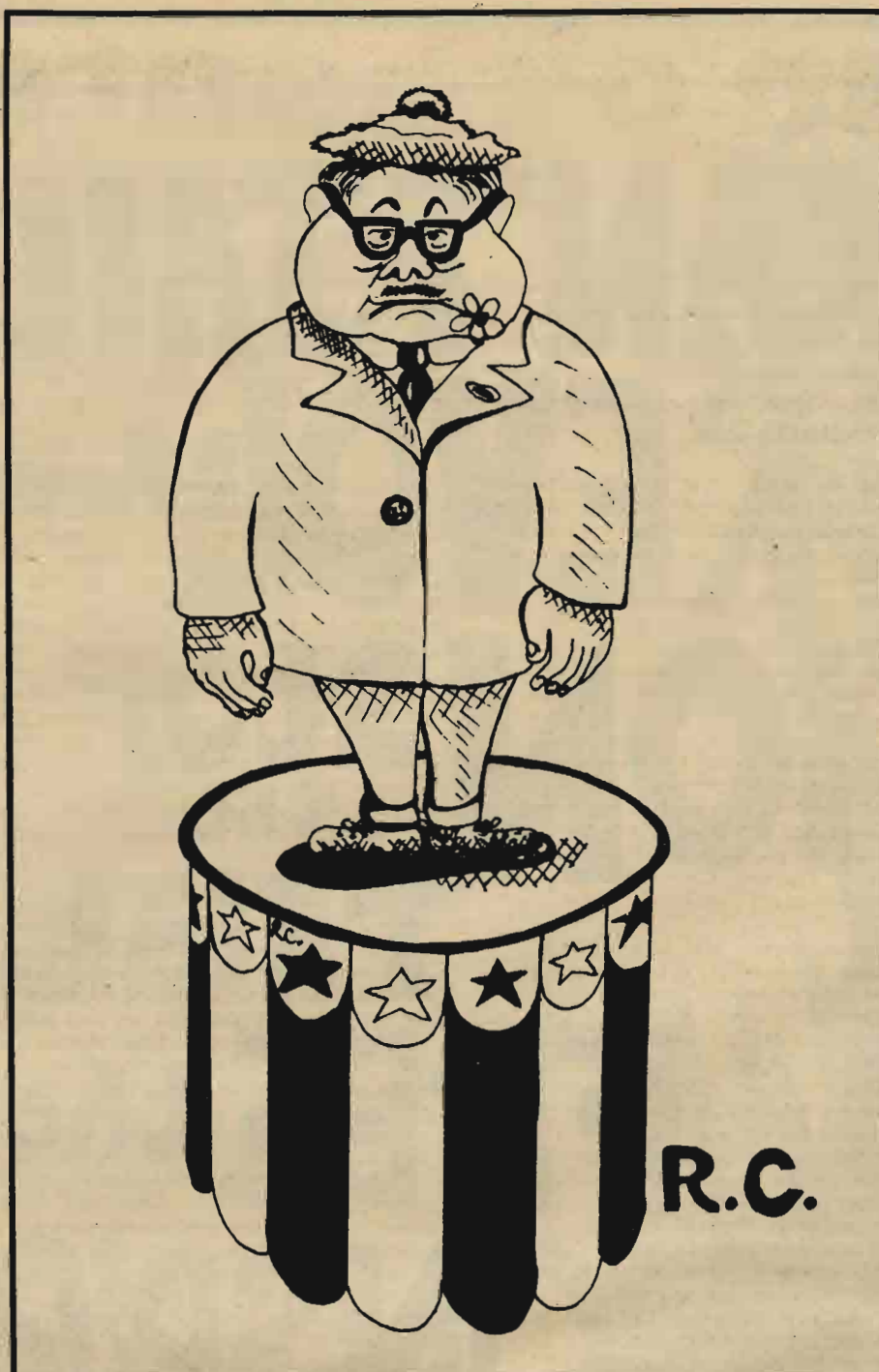
And therefore he has to play on the idea that we are effete snobs and you know that there's some truth to that and that we are misfits -- we can't fit into capitalism, we can't open stores and become businessmen - we are misfits in this system. Spiro Agnew is the wave of the future. I don't think he's the wave of the future of the people of the US. He is the direction in which the government of the US is going. I have great confidence that he cannot take the people with him, he can't even take his 14 year old daughter with him. It is sort of the last ditch campaign on the part of the forces of law and order to protect the remnants of their dying civilization.

LET US OUT

We have to understand what they regard as criminal is anything that outside the narrow definition of the Christian - American tradition. The only way we can stop them is by abandoning the notion of crime altogether and realizing that almost everything that people are arrested for has to do with politics, has to do with class injustice, has to do with who has contacts, who has lawyers, who has money to bail themselves out and proceed in that framework, knowing that we really do have support of people in this country in growing numbers and we certainly have the support of people in the world.

What we're doing is making the US into the outlaw power and the criminal power in the eyes of all of these people.

For that to happen, I would be very glad to spend time in the penitentiary. I know that everybody who's in penitentiaries now have only one hope - there's only one thing that can justify the time they spend in the penitentiary and that's that people on the outside make the government the outlaw, isolate that government and finally destroy it while we're in the penitentiary and then come and let us out. ♦



tam o'shanter fascism

by "the judge"

Fascism comes down in many ways. It may hit you over the head like the tanks in Berkeley or the chains on Bobby Seale. Or it may creep up, little by little, thru the traditional liberal democratic institutions, until it pervades the attitudes of the bureaucrats who run these institutions, and passively gains acceptance among the population controlled by them.

Since the end of the strike last March, and the withdrawal of the 600 stormtrooper, SF State has been transformed into a fascist enclave in a suburban desert, a concentration camp decorated with a tam-o-shanter instead of barbed wires.

The fascism being put into practice at State may prove to be a model for the fascistization of educational institutions throughout the country. It depends for its effectiveness on several factors: a pretense of maintaining the traditional institutional apparatus while actually concentrating power into the hands of one man; use of traditional academic myths to justify political repression; an occasional carrot doled out to insurgent groups to maintain the illusion of freedom; isolation of the most revolutionary sector of the movement; the Great Lie dished out to the media for mass ingestion; and, among the populace, instillation of an overwhelming fear of reprisal that breeds apathy, and a desire to shut one's eyes and forget that it's all happening.

All the old academic forms still exist - the academic senate, student government, student activities office, faculty and administrative committees with their traditional prerogatives and spheres of influence. But Hayakawa controls the entire apparatus, by the simple expedients of appointing people loyal to his position in all the key administrative positions, and by establishing an information and spy system that makes it impossible for us to push any old-guard liberals still left in the regime to accomplish anything constructive, without his finding out about it ahead of time. The plainclothes pigs all look like hip students, and many of the classes of the "radical" faculty contain at least one student informer.

Hayakawa and his administrators use the myth of "academic freedom" to weed out any faculty whose political positions challenge the notion that the function of a college education is to train observers, but not partisans; to study social problems, but not work to solve them. The toll so far includes Nathan Hare and Juan Martinez, and may soon encompass every faculty member who gave grades to striking students.

They used the myth of "academic competence" to prevent any students, particularly strike leaders, from teaching in the School of Third World Studies, because their diplomas come from the streets, not the classrooms.

Under the guise of "due process", all the arrested students are still grinding through the wheels of the Internal Security Division (student disciplinary proceedings), and the Financial Aids office is "reviewing" their applications for loans and work-study jobs to determine whether they are still "eligible" for financial aid from the college. Due process has already gotten several striking clerical and cafeteria workers fired from their jobs.

STICKS AND CARROTS

Last Spring, Hayakawa and the State Attorney General clamped down on the student government that had supported the Third World Liberation Front by confiscating all remaining student funds and placing them in "trust" with the Bank of America. When a "Power to the People" slate won the student elections, Hayakawa declared the election invalid, and put his puppet slate "Satyagraha" (non-violence) into office. Now the funds are slowly dribbling back into the hands of the new government, and Satyagraha has benevolently granted Student Mob and Legal Defense office space on the campus. Student groups can now pass out leaflets and hang up posters without getting busted (6 people were busted for poster-hanging last Spring), but the intelligence pigs get copies or pictures of everything that appears subversive. The Daily Gater, the college newspaper, is still outlawed from the campus because it is consistently critical of the Hayakawa regime, but thousands of copies circulate quietly among the students every week.

San Francisco millionaire Ben Swig recently gave Hayakawa \$25,000 for "bread and circuses" rock band programs on campus, while E.O.P. students are dropping out of school because there isn't enough financial aid to keep them going.

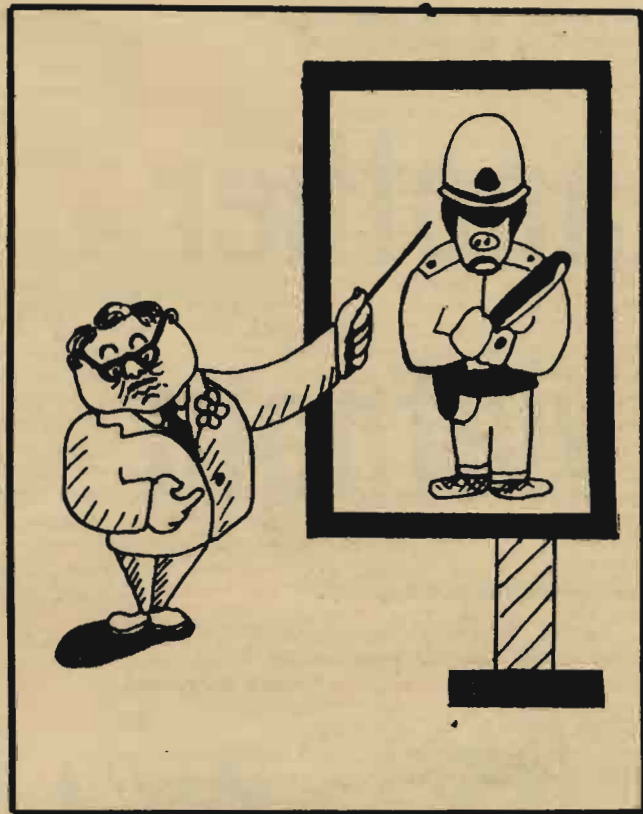
The School of Third World Studies, and the third world organizations which developed and fought for administration of its programs, still represent the major threat to a total fascist take-over of the campus. Key to the growing strength of the TWLF is the Equal Opportunities Program, through which third world students are recruited into the college. As long as T.W. organizations are in any way involved in the recruitment process, the campus is still open to potentially revolutionary students. Sacramento legislator Harmer decided to put a stop to this by passing a bill that puts sole jurisdiction for recruitment in the hands of high school principals and the heads of local Veterans Administration. In this way, all incoming third world students can be screened to make sure that they are susceptible to an education geared to achieving their "proper place" in a capitalist society, rather than seeing their education as a means to develop the skills to overturn that society.

Since the BSU survived the strike as the strongest organization on the campus, and the Black Studies Department has over 1000 students, third world and white, enrolled in its classes, Hayakawa has rightly seen it as his most powerful enemy on the campus. So Hayakawa has set out to smash the Black Studies Department. His technique is the same as Hitler's Big Lie - say it loud enough and long enough and the masses will believe it.

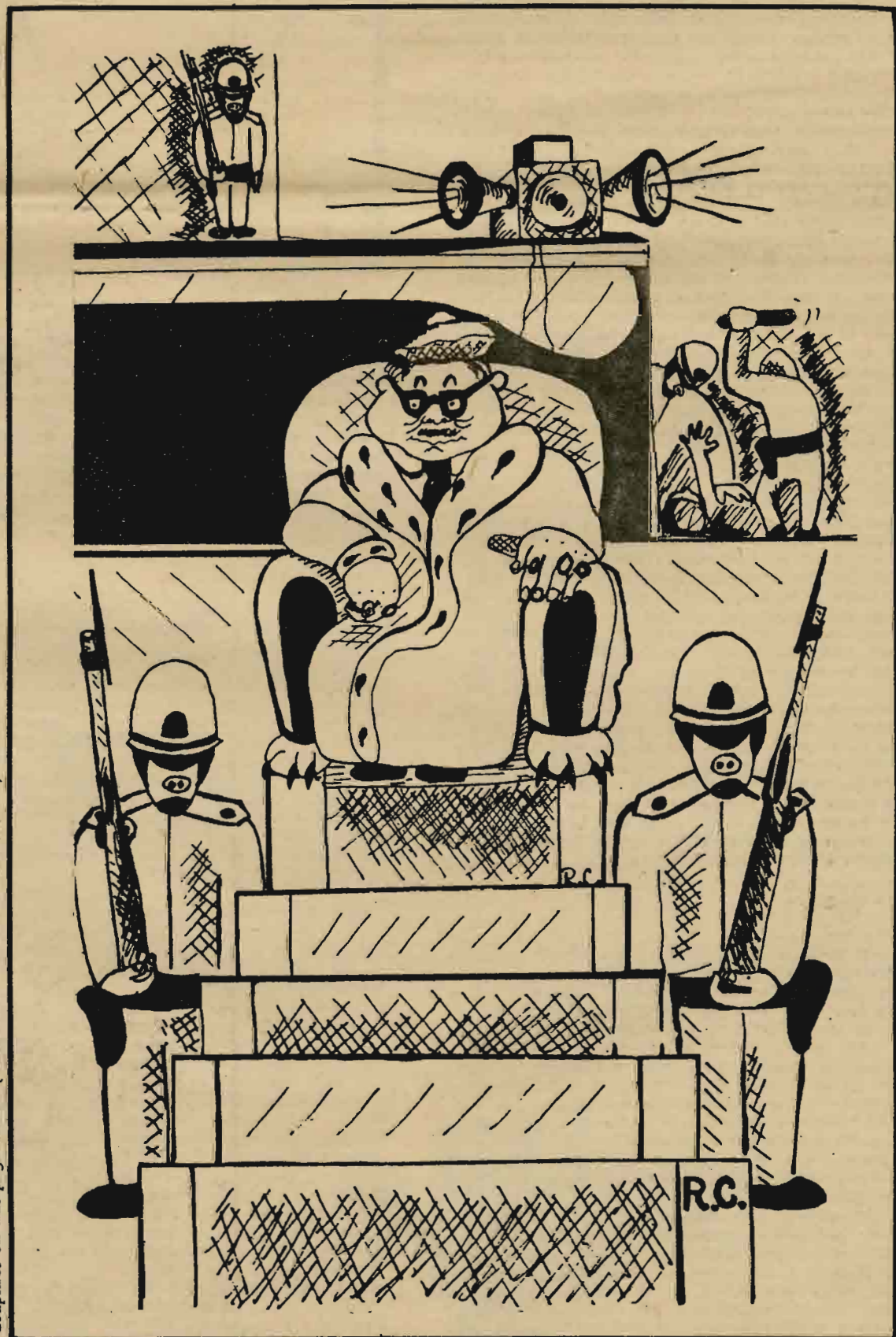
With the diligent assistance of our local technician of the big lie, Harvey York, Hayakawa's public relations man, Hayakawa is getting his face back on TV and the bourgeois press to convince the concerned public that the Black Studies program is being run by a handful of revolutionaries who are intimidating the black faculty - poor dupes - and all the students, into believing that a Black Studies program has the responsibility to tell the truth about the exploitation of black people by U.S. imperialism, and about the forces of liberation that are fighting this oppression.

Hayakawa's objective is to put Black Studies courses back under control of the faculty in all the tradition departments: to make sure that a Black Culture course is taught by a faculty member who subscribes to cultural nationalism - counterrevolutionary and safe; that a Black Economics course is firmly guided by a teacher who can extoll the virtues of black capitalism.

The Black Students Union does not intend to let this happen. ♦



Graphics on this page from "Quotations From Chairman S. I. Hayakawa"



laos- another vietnam

by Marlene Charyn

"'I Left My Heart in San Francisco' is the most popular tune in Laos today."

—S.F. Chronicle

Large parts of Laos, like many remote and primitive countries before it, have been penetrated and ravaged by American pilots and advisors and their native collaborators. Even the Neo Lao Haksat (the Patriotic Front of Laos), which is waging a fierce struggle against the imperialists, sadly admits that the zone under control of the U.S.-supported Vientiane administration has become "a disordered and corrupt society where robbery, gangsterism, alcoholism, drug addiction, gambling, illegal lotteries, and prostitution are spreading more and more."

Idaho-sized Laos has received \$2.6 billion from the Agency for International Development (AID) in the past five years. Yet Lisa Hobbs writes in the Aug. 14 Chronicle: "Looking at the hundreds of thousands living huddled along the Mekong River in one-room lean-tos, or at the slums proliferating like poisonous mushrooms around the swamps, one wonders where the money has gone." Other bourgeois sources don't wonder, they know: the AID money goes into the pockets of the military and political bosses that pander to the U.S. A New York Times reporter described "a young general who meets callers over whisky at the side of his swimming pool in the suburbs." Another Times reporter noted that Laotian Premier Souvanna Phouma vacations "at a home he maintains in the south of France." And the Los Angeles Times recently ran an Associated Press story that said: "Some of the aid makes possible imports of the foreign luxury goods which bulge the central market and shops along the sleepy streets." It's a cinch these luxuries aren't bought by the slum dwellers.

Meanwhile, in another part of the country, there is neither severe poverty nor corruption. Two provinces in the north, liberated by revolutionaries in the early fifties, are fighting an increasingly escalating war against U.S.-supported mercenary Laotian ground troops and against the U.S. Air Force. But in spite of the fighting, they are building a new economy and a new culture. Because of U.S. bombings, they live and work primarily in caves, and venture out only at night. The bombing raids began in 1964, and now average somewhere around 300 a day.

Although the U.S. insists it is trying to help Laos achieve "stability", in fact it has done just the opposite. U.S. intervention has polarized Laos politically and militarily, has made refugees of a quarter of the population, has ensured that the country must import rice, which it used to export, and through the CIA has helped overthrow two constitutional governments in the past 15 years.

HOW IT HAPPENED

"The state of Laos within its present boundaries possesses little or no nationalist tradition," a former U.S. official wrote in 1966. He calls Laos "an artificial state." Until it was taken over by the French, what is now Laos was a hilly jungle area inhabited by some sixty different peoples with a variety of languages, customs, religions, and ethnic origins. "The entity of Laos was created by gathering together the small kingdoms, tribal organizations, and racial confederations of interior regions of Indo-China under one governmental authority", says a U.S. government publication. Nonetheless, U.S. spokesmen today talk about the Laotian government and army as if they were stable institutions of long standing with the firm support of the people.

The Laotians, however, understood the peculiarities of their young nation and before the U.S. stepped in had built a surprising cohesion in a relatively short time. After World War II, the Laotians proclaimed their independence, and apparently without difficulty or outside help the neutralist forces of Prince Souvanna Phouma and the leftist forces of his half-brother Prince Souphannouvong joined with other patriotic groups to form a coalition government.



CIA MAP (NOT AT ALL SECRET)

But in 1946 the French, backed by U.S. money, reoccupied the country and the government established by the Free Laos forces was dispersed.

French influence in Laos, both before and after the war, seems to have been minimal. Apparently the French didn't pay too much attention to Laos because its main value was as a buffer between Vietnam and Thailand. When the French returned to Laos after the war, they recognized the Laotian king, who is mainly a religious figure, and in 1949, Laos became an independent state associated with the French Union under the protection of the French Union Army.

RESISTANCE BEGINS

By 1950, the forces of imperialism and anti-communism were beginning to show their hands. Prince Souphannouvong had learned in 1946 that the expansion-minded West does not intend to let Southeast Asians calmly set up governments and go about their business. His wife, a Vietnamese, had learned the same lesson. In 1950 Souphannouvong joined with other resistance leaders to convene the National Congress of Representatives of the Laotian People. The Congress drew up a broad national unity program and created the popular Neo Lao Itsala united front and a coalition government headed by Souphannouvong.

Three and a half years later, revolutionary forces had beaten puppet and French Union forces in the north, and had liberated half the country.

When the 1954 Geneva Conference reestablished the peace and neutrality of Laos, the New Lao Itsala immediately ordered a ceasefire. In October 1954, Prince Souphannouvong, in the name of the Laotian revolutionary forces he commanded, stated he would cooperate with the royal government in order to strengthen the peace, restore democratic liberties, and achieve national unity. On the basis of these principles, the royal government began to negotiate with the Pathet Lao.

It took two years to come to some agreement, and it was during these years that direct U.S. intervention began. At this time, American advisers ordered the royalist government, headed by Que Katay (whom the revolutionaries compare with South Vietnam's infamous Bao Dai), to attack the liberated areas. Other U.S. activity in those years came to light recently in the New York Times, which reported: "Americans are known to have helped organize, train, and equip Meo (Laotian tribesmen) fighters since the early 1950s."

In January 1956, the National Congress of the Representatives of the Laotian People met again, and this time it organized the New Lao Haksat party (NLH). Later that year, Souphannouvong and his half-brother Souvanna Phouma, leader of the neutralists, reached an agreement. They agreed that the government

would pursue a neutralist policy internationally and that the NLH would participate in elections as a recognized political party. In return, the Pathet Lao gave up its territory in the north, a portion of the revolutionary army was incorporated into the Royal Laotian Army, and the rest of the guerrillas were demobilized.

US MANIPULATION

The following year the coalition government began to function, with Souphannouvong as Minister of Planning, Reconstruction, and Urban Development. What happened next to disrupt the peace can perhaps be imagined from this passage by John Cady, a former State Department officer for Southeast Asia:

"Friction again developed on several issues. The ambitious planning program prepared by Prince Souphannouvong for agriculture, industry, and social services proved completely unrealistic both financially and technologically, especially in view of prevailing problems of disorder and corruption. The Pathet Lao faction also objected strongly to American efforts to develop and equip the royalist army. Another major factor of difficulty concerned the unfortunate tendency on Washington's part to view the local political situation exclusively in terms of the cold war."

So the U.S. put out money for the military but not for social services. Sounds familiar. Cady goes on to describe American manipulation of the Laos economy. He also mentions an American policy after 1956 "to develop a more effective Laotian fighting force." According to Cady, Laotians had little desire to fight, and so "In an attempt to develop an elite fighting corps, the American Central Intelligence Agency sponsored the creation of a youthful patriotic force headed by an anti-Communist 'Committee of Defense of the National Interest'. The body was led by General Phoumi Nosavan... an ardent rightist". Nosavan, a longtime comprador, had previously backed the French.

In the May 1958 elections, the NLH won 13 of the 21 seats to be added to the National Assembly. Two months later, Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma, probably prodded by his U.S. advisers, resigned and tried to form a new cabinet without the NLH. Soon thereafter, rightist general Phoumi Sananikone led a coup against Souvanna, and began a purge of the NLH leader. By the end of the year the guerrillas were fighting again.

The Sananikone regime, though thoroughly anti-Communist in its orientation, was corrupt and ineffective. In less than a year, CIA-sponsored Phoumi Nosavan took over. Nosavan was no improvement. His regime has been well described by Cady: "During General Phoumi Nosavan's period of prominence from 1960 to 1963, he had developed a lucrative chain of gambling casinos, controlled all liquor and perfume

imports, and had used the gold monopoly of the Bank of Laos for smuggling precious metal out of the country, all at great profit to himself."

In the ten years since Nosavan's coup, American involvement has increased steadily, and peace and stability have waned just as steadily. An NLH leader explains: "Laos has become an extremely important strategic region for U.S. imperialism. Yankee imperialism's invariable plan is to convert Laos into a neo-colony and a military base, to group Laos, Thailand, and South Vietnam into a network of military bases which will be used to provoke war and to menace the socialist camp, and to dominate the Southeast Asian countries and to prevent the revolutionary movement from developing there."

GENEVA CONFERENCE

In June 1962 a new Geneva Conference reestablished peace and neutrality, and a Tripartite coalition government was set up. Souvanna Phouma again became Premier, with rightist mafioso Phoumi Nosavan and the Pathet Lao's Souphannouvong as Deputy Prime Ministers.

The U.S. never had the slightest intention of heeding the Geneva agreements. Within two months of the new government's formation, U.S. supported rightist troops attacked the liberated zone in the northeast, and by April 1963, Prince Souphannouvong, once again betrayed, left his cabinet post and returned to the guerrillas. The coalition fell apart. (American newspapers, incidentally, still maintain the fiction that the coalition exists.)

From here on in, Souvanna Phouma requested the aid of the U.S. Air Force, which began bombing missions on Laotian territory at that time. The NLH sets the date of the first bombing as May 17, 1964 - before the Tonkin Gulf incident, and before the Ho Chi Minh Trail provided the U.S. with a ready excuse. "Since then," the government publication notes, "the Royal Laotian Air Force has been equipped with T-28 trainers to use as bombers. Two American airlines - Air America, reportedly operated by the CIA, and Continental Airlines - provide transport for supplies to government forces". It is hard to believe, but the puppet government and the Nixon Administration still claim that the U.S. has not violated the Geneva neutrality agreement since there are no U.S. ground forces in Laos - though even that is not true. The devastation of a country by bombs, to their way of thinking, doesn't infringe on its neutrality.

NO SUPPORT FOR SOUVANNA

In 1965, after two unsuccessful right-wing coups, Souvanna Phouma was still Premier. He called on the NLH to participate in elections for the National Assembly. His invitation was a hoax, since the bombs he requested were still being dropped on liberated areas. For the first time, the NLH didn't bite on an offer of a place in the government, and for two more years the Vientiane regime was in chaos. In 1967, Souvanna again asked the NLH to join a tripartite coalition. NLH was well aware that there was no hope for a three-part government since there were no longer any neutralists in Vientiane and again refused.

Nonetheless, in January 1967, Souvanna Phouma cleverly left four cabinet chairs open for NLH representatives, since he knew the NLH is the only party with any popular support. "The Pathet Lao is still the only organized political party in Laos," he admitted a few months later.

A U.S. government publication sheds some light on Souvanna's contradictory policies: "The Premier lacks the strength of a regional power base, but compensates for his power deficiency by the support of the new elite which provides most of the membership of the current National Assembly... His government has concentrated on building up the royal house as a new symbol of unity."

The capitalist press provides vivid descriptions of the new elite. Fortune says: "The Lao elite in the dusty capital of Vientiane enjoy a dazzling array of imported goods, ranging from French cognac and cheeses to American cigarettes and Scotch whiskey." The L.A. Times adds: "In the Lane Xang hotel bar, a Laotian general passes up his sista to chuck a bar girl under the chin and drink champagne glasses with an American who probably works for the CIA." And the Chronicle shows the relationship between the collaborators and the common people: "The Pontiacs and Buicks, and the extraordinary number of Mercedes Benzes that squeeze through the narrow streets of the towns, merely push a little extra mud into the natives' huts or send the children and chickens scattering."

And so Laos is very similar to Vietnam. The right-wing militarist government only survives because of U.S. support. The economy has been wrecked and replaced by U.S. aid, 50% of which goes for armaments. The U.S. has set Laotians against Laotians. The corruption of the ruling class is extensive. The poverty of the lower classes is increasing. And the old neutralists have taken sides, some with the U.S., some with the Patriotic Front - so that now the people have only two alternatives: to allow Laos to become a U.S. colony or to fight for their complete liberation.

LIBERATED ZONES

The Laotian revolutionaries have held a liberated zone for more than 15 years.

Two years ago, this zone, which borders on North Vietnam and China, included two-thirds of the land and half the people of Laos. Over the past six months, fighting has intensified, and reports indicate that the NLH may have won some land though it has also lost some people to the U.S. refugee centers. But even if many people have been forced to flee, half a million remain in the caves, fighting and working.

"One of the heaviest bombing campaigns in history is devastating northeastern Laos", a recent Chronicle article reported, "leveling towns and destroying farmland, forcing people to live like rats in holes and trenches. The refugees said the bombing had forced

them to live in holes and trenches six feet deep for the past three years. Since bombing intensified last December (1968), many had stayed in their burrows during daylight hours and ventured out only on moonlit nights".

In the face of Laotian resistance, and NLH military and political victories, the US has stepped up its attacks. The U.S. planes are now bombing the liberated zones around the clock. They're trying to destroy the rebel economy and the social fabric, just like they've been trying to do in Vietnam for years.

But the Laotians are used to caves. Even Prince Souphannouvong lives in a cave. Farmers work at night. Markets function from 4AM to 7AM. An atmosphere of surrealism pervades the landscape in zones where Laotian rebels live, work, and relax. Caves serve as eating and sleeping quarters, offices, hospitals, meeting rooms and centers for cultural and political gatherings.

Carlos Lechuga wrote in Tricontinental in Fall, 1967:

"Under the leadership of the Neo Lao Haksat, the people are uniting and helping one another, irrespective of nationality. If the harvest of one village is poor or some article is in short supply, other villages send aid... Substantial changes are taking place. Among these are the setting up of Mutual Aid Groups in which from three to five families combine forces, including their means of production, to cultivate their parcels of land collectively, although the harvest is divided on an individual basis. Each school produces its own vegetable throughout the year and also raises pigs and poultry. The defense of the Homeland is tied closely to production, and a new movement has been started under the name "Land and Ponds for the Front"... Bomb craters left by enemy aircraft are being used for planting or stocking as fish hatcheries. All this work is carried out on a collective basis, from harvesting or catching to transporting the products to the front."

In short, the rebels are finding new ways to preserve their freedom and continue the struggle against the American aggressors. The anti-imperialist movement should be raising a new slogan soon, "Immediate Withdrawal of all Troops from Laos, BRING THE WAR HOME!"

Program of the Neo Lao Haksat

1. To increase the unity of the people, and to actively mobilize all the forces of the country in order to defeat the aggression of the U.S. imperialists. To unite all social sectors, all nationalities, all religious beliefs, all political parties in favor of peace and democracy and opposed to the U.S. aggression. To respect the throne.
2. To establish equality in all fields and solidarity and mutual aid between the diverse nationalities in order to struggle together against the U.S. imperialists.
3. To respect and preserve the Buddhist faith.
4. To guarantee freedom to all citizens of Laos, of both sexes, to elect and be elected, freedom of association, assembly, demonstration, speech, the press, religion. To assure all citizens of Laos corporal inviolability, the right to hold private real estate and personal property, secrecy of correspondence, freedom to travel, freedom to work, and freedom of residence.
5. To demand liquidation of all the "refugee centers"
6. To maintain the equality of the sexes, to point up the role and capabilities of women in all fields of the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle.
7. To establish a democratic government. To elect through universal suffrage a true parliament that represents the interests of the various social strata of our multinational people.
8. To create a truly patriotic and people's armed forces and security force.
9. To build an independent, autonomous, and prosperous economy, encompassing industry, agriculture, timber, commerce, communications, transportation, the treasury, and currency.
10. To develop culture and education of a national and progressive nature, to raise the cultural and scientific level, to improve the public health, to better the hygienic conditions of the people. To struggle against the depraved, hybrid culture and against the poisonous education aimed at serving the neocolonialist population of the U.S. imperialists.
11. To establish justice and social progress. To guarantee the working class and the white-collar workers the right to work. To pass a labor law and establish social security, and above all, to establish a system of equitable remuneration for an 8-hour day with one day off a week.
12. To protect the interests of the citizens of Laos abroad and guarantee the legitimate rights of foreign subjects resident in Laos.
13. To put into effect a peaceful, independent, and neutral foreign policy.

To strengthen the solidarity and friendship on an equal and long-term basis with Vietnam and with the Khmer nation in the common struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and for the building of the country.

To respect and put into practice the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

To abstain from participating in any military alliance. To refuse to allow any foreign country to establish military bases on Laotian territory to be used in aggression against another country.

To support the liberation movement of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. To support all the movements struggling for the peace, democracy and social progress of the peoples of the world.

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zengakuren to zenkyoto

"Ampo-Hunsai!" (Smash the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty) is the 1970 battlecry of the Japanese Student movement. The Security Pact would give the American military continued use of bases in Japan and Okinawa and allow the build-up of Japan's own military forces. Japanese students have been fighting in the streets for ten years against their country's cooperation with American intervention in Asia. They have closed down more than 100 universities for periods as long as 6 months. Here is a history of the development of the Japanese Student Movement.

The Zengakuren (All Japan Students' League) was formed soon after the end of World War II. From the beginning it was dominated by the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) which gained popularity during the War for its stand against fascism. By the end of the Korean War the JCP was advocating "peaceful revolution".

In 1958, the Zengakuren split from the JCP and moved further left. It organized militant university strikes and demonstrations, but more importantly, rejected the JCP two-stage theory of revolution. The Communists believe that Japan must move from feudalism to bourgeois democracy, before there can be a socialist revolution. Zengakuren pointed to the fact that Japanese capitalism was perfectly developed as part of an international imperialist system.

The Zengakuren led the first major demonstrations against the Security Treaty in 1969. It was then that they first developed the snake-dance techniques. For days, 200,000 students and workers surrounded government buildings and battled riot police. The strong protest prevented President Eisenhower's visit that year and forced Kishi and his cabinet to resign - but the Security Treaty managed to stay intact along with the 170 US military bases in Japan and another 117 in Okinawa.

During the 1960 demonstrations, the Zengakuren tried to form a new student movement, "the Communist League", that wouldn't be influenced by the JCP. But one group within this new organization, the People's Youth League (Minsei), put itself under the direct control of the JCP. So the influence of the Communist Party continued to disrupt the movement and weaken strategy and morale. Other factions developed and the League soon split into separate groups. There were no major actions for several years.

HANEDA INCIDENT

A ten-hour struggle at Haneda airport marked a turning point for the movement. On October 8, 1967, Prime Minister Sato planned to leave from Haneda airport for a conference with LBJ on the issue of Okinawa. There, for the first time, students used helmets and wooden staves to try to prevent the

pow-wow. One student died in the battle.

This battle polarized students and the larger community. Campus struggles expanded and toughened and young workers began to break with the old left. The Anti-War Youth Committees of the trade union (Sohyo) were purged from the main organization, but continue to grow in power and militance.

Early in 1968, a large number of radical students from west and South Japan gathered at the American naval base at Sasebo, to oppose the docking of the American aircraft carrier "Enterprise". In May, 1968, student and community groups staged successive demonstrations in Tokyo to oppose the construction of a US field hospital for soldiers wounded in Vietnam. In August 1968, radical students led a demonstration which gained the support of local residents in the suburbs of Tokyo where a new airport was to be built.

The real significance of these actions was not so much the militant tactics as their politics. Although on the surface they were all anti-American, their basic aim was to oppose JAPAN's role in Vietnam and as an agent of US imperialism all over Asia.

STUDENTS REJECT PRIVILEGE

In January, 1968, a strike began in the Medical Faculty at the University of Tokyo, the most prestigious and influential university in the country. The origins lay in the conditions that interns were forced to endure (low pay, terrible hours, harsh pressure from older doctors). For several months, the strike was limited mainly to the medical school, with elements of the School of Economics taking an active part. But the facilities of the med school were barricaded, and research was stopped. Eventually the administration ordered the Kidotai (riot police) to break down the barricades. The conflict immediately expanded. An emergency sub-committee of students drew up seven demands on July 7 and called for a university-wide strike. The response was only partial. Summer vacation was close and a cooling off period followed.

The politics of this strike were basically "student power". But the actions spread to other universities and the politics changed. Beginning in the School of Economics at the University of Tokyo, they drew a parallel between Japan's self-righteousness over the Vietnam War and the students' privileged position in an oppressive society. Many students originally wanted just to change the university. But now many want to destroy the university. They close them down for months and use them for bases in their struggle over the Security Treaty.

The students of Tokyo University - most of them non-sect radicals - decided to form their own intra-university organization to carry on the strike. The new organization was called the Students' Conference for All-University Struggle (Zenkyoto). This group included elements from all the factions (except Minsei, the pro-JCP faction) and non-sect radicals.

In November, 1968, Minsei and Zenkyoto battled for several nights on the campus. The JCP brought in students from Minsei groups from campuses all

over the country. The Zenkyoto joined with the workers' union called Sohyo. (Sohyo, the largest and most influential union in Japan, began the move to wear helmets in demonstrations and to use direct action against Japan's involvement in the Vietnam war, as far back as 1965) Within several months the ties between Zenkyoto and Sohyo had become very strong.

In January, 1969, the Kidotai entered the Tokyo University campus again, this time to take back the main administration building from Zenkyoto, which had barricaded and occupied the building for over half a year. For several days the two forces fought. The Kidotai finally retook the building, using tear gas dropped from helicopters. This action led directly to the widening of the Zenkyoto and extension of the struggle to universities throughout Japan.

In April, 1969, students from Zenkyoto factions of various universities in Tokyo and the surrounding region participated in the Okinawa Demonstrations. These demonstrations had been organized by other groups, but the students chose to participate since the purpose of the demonstrations was to protest the American occupation of Okinawa and use of Okinawa bases for bombing flights to Vietnam. This was the first time the new Zenkyoto joined in open activity with other leftist groups, mainly Hansen, the workers' anti-war movement, and Beheiren (Citizens' Union for Peace in Vietnam), a group mainly composed of intellectuals and social critics.

On June 15, 1969, a memorial day was held for Kamba Michiko, who had died in the 1960 Ampo demonstrations. About 30,000 people gathered in Hibiya Park in central Tokyo. The group was composed mainly of students, workers, and intellectuals. Plans were laid for an independent force, unrelated to either the JCP or the SDP, to prevent a continuation of the US - Japan Security Treaty.

NEW UNITY

On September 15, 1969, at a conference in Tokyo, the All-Japan Zenkyoto was formed, including all old factions of Zengakuren, except Minsei and the pacifists.

According to the announcement of the conference office, 178 universities have already organized Zenkyotos. Among them, 34 universities sent formal delegates to the conference.

26,000 students attended the conference, including representatives from eight new left political factions, non-sect students from many Zenkyotos, students from Beheiren (The League for Peace in Vietnam) and unaffiliated students. The turn-out was particularly impressive because most universities were still on vacation and because radical students can hardly spare any man-power on the campuses. Radicals have been fighting through the summer and are now combatting riot police unleashed by the repressive University Law.

Five thousand riot police surrounded the entrance of the Concert Hall. They checked identifications and searched each student for weapons. They were looking for Yoshitaka Yamamoto, the principal organizer and

chairman of the All Japan Zenkyoto League. Yamamoto went underground in January after leading the famous Yasuda Auditorium Battle of Tokyo University. The police did find and arrest him on a variety of warrants without the anticipated battle.

The central part of the conference hall was occupied by students of the political factions, each group wearing its distinctly colored helmets. The number of non-sect students was surprisingly large, numbering about two-thirds of the participants. The strong attendance of non-sect students indicates the growing support and strength of Japan's new left. In past years, factionalism and militancy have kept the new left relatively small. It is precisely their serious politics and will to fight that now increase their numbers. By contrast the larger and more conservative Minsei who have been advocating peaceful protest inside the establishment are rapidly losing strength.

The factional tradition to be exclusive and self-righteous is giving way to an attitude of flexibility and a willingness to discuss differences together. Although there is no guarantee that this situation will continue, everyone in the conference, whether sectional or not, was clearly hoping to maintain and strengthen this new unity. Ten slogans dominated the conference. They were hung above the stage on banners and they were the subject of most of the days' discussion. They were:

1. Destroy the Security Pact in 1970 and Win Victory in Okinawa
2. Stop Prime Minister Sato's visit to the U.S. in November.
3. Prepare for major demonstrations on October 10 and October 21. (ed. note: Oct 10 was to be a memorial demonstration for a student who was killed in the Haneda demonstration two years ago. Oct. 21 was international anti-war day).
4. Destroy the Subversive Activities Prevention Law and the Riot Law.
5. Destroy the University Law and win all university struggles in Japan.
6. Support the N.L.F.
7. Fight together with the people of all Asian countries.
8. Fight with the workers of the Hansen group.
9. Barricade and occupy all universities in Japan.
10. All students in Japan: let's unite under the flag of the Zenkyoto and join the battle to destroy the Security Pact.

While there are varying degrees of support for these goals among the general public, the support of the NLF and the demand for an end to U.S. control of Okinawa is widespread. The large demonstrations, the alliance with militant workers and seizure of universities are seen as steps to force Japan out of the U.S. military orbit.

The organization of the new Zenkyoto was clarified, and there was extensive discussion of its advantages and dangers. The old Zengakuren system was based on limited membership. Students elected a delegate from their department to the student executive committee of the university. In turn, elected delegates from all university student executive committees formed the All Japan Student League called Zengakuren.

Because of its tight pyramidal structure, this organization can function only if there are no factions or one dominant faction. It cannot work with the appearance of many equally strong factions as was finally the case.

The All Japan Zenkyoto League will hopefully solve the problem which made the recent university struggle so chaotic. Each local Zenkyoto will include representatives of all factions as well as non-sect students without forcing anyone's participation. This looser coalition can be more representative and flexible, but will have to work hard to maintain unity.

But people realize the importance of militant unity. As one Japanese artist said, "People began to feel that Japan was moving towards fascism... Faced with fascism, mild protesting like singing and dancing seems kind of absurd now."

As the student struggle grows and more and more workers fight against the Security Pact, the Japanese government faces a dilemma. It may have to resort to the one reserve of official violence, the Defense Army, whose existence is theoretically unconstitutional. At that point more people will realize the extent of the recovery of old Japanese fascism. At that point, many more people will join the struggle for a revolution in Japan. ◆

NOTE: The above is adapted from a Special Supplement on the Japanese Student Movement which appeared in THE PLAIN RAPPER.

LATEST ACTION

On October 21, about 10,000 university students young workers, and high school students struggled against 25,000 armed security police all over Tokyo.

Their slogans were the following: Prevent Prime Minister Sato from going to the US for negotiation about the Security Treaty, liberate Okinawa Islands from US military rule, down with Japanese imperialism.

Before that day, the Tokyo police bureau declared an emergency and mobilized all their forces under 45. They occupied almost all colleges and universities and arrested the activists they could find. They locked up the main transport stations, and all the shops and restaurants on the main streets. They intended to separate the students from the common people.

Under these conditions, students and young workers made city-wide guerrilla warfare, attacking security army quarters, U.S. military bases, the office of the Japanese Federation of Business (Nikeiren), the National Broadcasting corporation and burning down many police stations.

But the main battle fields were Shinjuku and Takatanobaba stations. About 200 students invaded Shinjuku Station and confronted the police with sticks, stones and molotov cocktails. Almost all of them were arrested. At Takatanobaba Station, students and workers defeated the police, occupied the station and stopped almost all train transportation for about five hours. (The next day when the security police invaded the office of one of the organizing groups, a young worker was critically wounded)

This demonstration was about the same size as the big one last April (28th), but more workers and high school students participated, and the struggle was far more militant.

青中 ド ケ バ
春の の リ

lom poc

"It is only a matter of time until the question of the prisoner's debt to society versus society's debt to the prisoner is injected forcefully into national and state politics, into the civil and human rights struggle, and into the consciousness of the body politic"-- Eldridge Cleaver

LOMPOC F.C.I., Cal.(LNS)--Prisoners at Lompoc Federal Correction Institution went on strike for a week in August in a spontaneously organized act of defiance against the oppression of the prison system.

Prison officials had been waiting anxiously for a racial battle between blacks and white prisoners, but instead the inmates united and turned against their real enemies.

On Wednesday August 6, over a hundred prisoners refused to return to work in the afternoon because they had not been credited with their pay at the commissary. (Industry workers get up to 17¢ an hour which they can spend on such things as cigarettes.) That night the strikers talked with other inmates and on Thursday nobody went to work at all. The prisoners drew up a list of demands which included setting up an elected inmates council, amnesty and looser restrictions on correspondence and visiting.

(In a subsequent press statement, a prison official said that the prisoners had asked for a swimming pool and a color TV.)

The prison administration put twenty men in solitary, but didn't deal with the remaining 1000 strikers until Friday, August 8. The warden declared the situation to be a riot, despite the absence of violence, and sent in his goon squad armed with clubs and gas. One inmate reported that the gas was stronger than tear gas. Prison officials admitted that six men had to be sent to the hospital after the guards attacked.

Several hundred prisoners were subsequently placed in solitary, many for as long as a month. More than 150 strikers were transferred to stricter correctional institutions; the remainder were threatened with suspension of parole.

Most of the prisoners of Lompoc FCI are under 25. There are Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and whites. Many are draft resisters. The draft resisters reportedly played an important role in helping to organize other prisoners after the first day of the strike.

The importance of this action lies in its implications for the prison system and the oppressive social order that supports it. Groups that have been historically turned against each other in this society united and struck back at that society, acting in their common class interest.





FORT LEWIS

"MILITARY JUSTICE IS TO JUSTICE WHAT MILITARY MUSIC IS TO MUSIC".

Clemenceau

On Monday, October 20, the American Servicemen's Union held a meeting at the Cascadian Service Club on Fort Lewis. There were 35 GIs and three civilians at the meeting, which had been underway for about 30 minutes when a platoon of MP's descended upon the service club. SSG Bostick, the sergeant in charge of the MP's, arrested five people he considered to be the leaders of the meeting and took them outside to waiting squad cars. The meeting continued without these "leaders." It was decided by the rest of the men that the best action would be to return to their different units and start spreading the word about the tapo tactics of the military police. As they began to leave the men were told that they too were under arrest. A 2-1/2 ton truck was brought to the service club and the men were herded onto it for a ride to the Provost Marshall's Office. The men in the truck sang songs and greeted people with V signs and raised fists during the ride.

The next five hours was a really fantastic show of solidarity. We were all put in an 8 by 10 foot cell where we continued the meeting that the MPs had tried to break up. We discussed the ASU - its purpose and goals, we made plans for the next issue of the local's newspaper, FED UP; and we discussed plans for an action at Fort Lewis in November in connection with the nationwide moratorium. One additional matter was brought up. We decided to have another meeting on post in two weeks, the regular meeting day. After the meeting was over we began cheering and shouting and singing and just generally making a lot of noise. Because of all this noise, the MPs couldn't make phone calls or conduct any normal business. They just couldn't understand why our morale was so high. I mean we were supposed to be scared and worried because we all were in jail. After about an hour the three civilians were released. They were escorted off post and verbally told not to return.

SSG Bostick then began to interrogate the men. He would pick one man from the cell and the rest would yell, "Article 31!" (the military version of the fifth amendment) and cheer. After about two minutes he would return to pick another man for questioning and the same thing would happen. After

questioning about 15 men, all he had was 15 names, ranks and services numbers, and units and Article 31s. No one was answering any questions. SSG Bostick talked with Major Miller, the officer in charge, and they decided that since they couldn't break our solidarity and they had no reason to charge us with anything, they would have to release us. As groups of men were released to their units, the rest would cheer. We knew that we had nothing to be afraid of because we had done nothing wrong.

The first thing all 35 men found out the next morning was that they were confined to quarters, "pending investigation." Some of the men had to sign in every hour, others didn't. Some were constantly questioned, others weren't questioned at all. An official press release said that the men were returned to their units where it was up to their commanding officers whether or not any action would be taken, but one group was informed by their commander that the order restricting them had come from General Pearson, the post commander.

The civilians, who had been released, went to the Shelter Half, a GI coffee house, and began calling the press and preparing a leaflet for distribution at Fort Lewis. The next day the leaflet was all over the fort and a press conference had been set up. The staff at the coffee house had a list of the names of the 35 men and the rest of the week was spent on post visiting the men and acting as liaison between the men and between the 35 and the press. Most of this work was done on the sly because whenever the MPs found out that a staff member was on post, they were hassled and followed. A lot of the men really felt isolated and were being harassed and intimidated, but the visits by the Shelter Half staff really helped keep up our morale.

A few of the men were told that charges were being brought against them for disobeying orders or not getting a haircut or having a rust lock on their locker. The only reason for these absurd charges, most of them false, is because the Army cannot punish a man for going to a meeting and speaking out against the war or the Army, so they'll find something else to punish them for. Officially, the reason for a man being busted will be because he didn't get a hair cut, but the real reason will be because he

IN THE FACTORY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

One problem is that people on the job dig talking about football and girly magazines more than anything else. If you got a group of people into one of those conversations, it's impossible to break into it. I found there have been whole lunch hours where I just sat listening staring into space. Of course, I'm not the only one, a lot of guys just sit and eat. Two or three guys get into something about how many yards so and so ran and I don't even know the names of the god-damned teams.

Normally you can really get into it with one or two workers, or sometimes you can get a conversation going with a group in one way or another. Like someone was talking about that LOOK magazine article about Alioto being in the mafia. That was a big conversation one lunch time. I said "It don't really matter whether he's in the mafia or not, we all know he's a fucking fascist." The guys thought that was real funny. And that got us into a conversation about facism and the second world war and concentration camps for Japanese-Americans and stuff like that. So sometimes you can get into it - like when people talk about the union.

About the women - it's probably the most up-tight thing that you gotta deal with, because we're all real conscious these days of trying to deal with male chauvinism, yet it's really complicated by the idea that men are enslaved to the idea of having sex with a sexy woman. So it's hard to attack male chauvinism without sounding prudish or faggish. But we have gotten into the question in terms of child care and women staying home. But we've never been able to sharply confront it, when just some out and out chauvinist statements come out. Although I have at times talked about how men are brought up in this society to think of women as "broads" or a "piece of meat" or something like that and that that's bullshit and it divides people up.

attended a meeting of the American Servicemen's Union on post. Most of the men are not making any compromises by allowing themselves to be falsely charged.

About half of the 35 arrested at the meeting were taken off restriction by the end of the week, but the next day they were all confined to quarters again. This was done because another Monday night meeting was planned. Only at the Shelter Half this time. We wanted a chance to get together and talk about what had happened, but the Army doesn't like us getting together at all. They can't legally tell us not to attend a meeting, but we can be put on restriction or extra duty so that it's impossible to go anywhere.

Since Monday night the Army has been steadily backing down. The first official press release said that we were arrested for having a "meeting of a political nature" on post. The most recent press release says that MPs were called to the service club because "boisterous activities" were reported and that men have always had the right to hold meetings on post. By forcing the Army to say that we have this right, we have won it, but those meetings are not just gatherings! they serve a purpose. Actions can be planned to protest a war that we don't want to fight just to line the pockets of a few already rich men. Plans can be made for local newspapers. Men can get together and discuss actions against a totalitarian army where the rank and file enlisted man is nothing more than an animal; a replaceable cog in a gigantic death machine.

This incident is not over. Men are still confined to quarters and charges can still be brought against us. You can help us by contacting the public information office at Fort Lewis with inquiries about the meeting and asking them why the men are still restricted. The Army doesn't like publicity, so you can help us by spreading the word.

For more information, contact the Shelter Half at 5437 South Tacoma Way in Tacoma. Phone: GR 5-9875.

Bruce Frederick
One of the 35

reprinted from HELIX

I had one pretty good argument about women having the right to equal pay. Especially since they've been grumbling about how the women are willing to settle for less and keep the wages down. I wouldn't say that we've really gotten a grip yet on how to deal with the question of male chauvinism.

THE UNION

There's really not a whole lot to say about the union. The union is as ineffectual as anything could be, I suppose. The guys talk about the President of the union being owned by the company and stuff like that. There's a fantastic lack of democracy. We haven't seen the international rep yet, though I'm sure he's gonna come on with a lot of smooth shit about selling us a contract. A lot of "we can't tell you about this and we can't tell you about that." There's not a lot of interest in union elections. There's a lot of bureaucracy and self-perpetuating leadership. They let a woman be the only nominee for a shit job like recording secretary - though I guess that's an improvement since the last recording secretary was a man - and there were no women on the last executive board.

Union meetings are very bureaucratic, the president has his gavel and lectern. The recording secretary reads the minutes in great detail and they ask for additions and comments in the minutes. Then they go thru about seven pieces of business and nobody has anything to say - blah, blah, blah. Then there's some mealy-mouthed conversation about the contract negotiations - but not very much information and not a whole lot of rank and file participation. I imagine there'll be some debate when the contract comes up - but there hasn't been any yet.

We haven't tried to raise the issues at the union meeting cause we were so new and also because we've been expecting a big struggle over the contract where it would be easier to raise the issues. But we did give away a lot of fist buttons at the meeting. Some guys asked for them after they saw us wearing them. Some white workers even asked for the Panther button with Huey and Power to the People on it.

We've talked about the war and the moratorium a whole lot. Leaflets have been distributed and we've really talked a lot about the war. One thing - someone was talking about the "Vietnam Memorandum" and I realized that the word "moratorium" didn't mean much to him. But what can you expect from the names "liberals" give to demonstrations.

CHANGES AND HANG-UPS

All I can say is that working in a plant makes you go through some changes. I know I look at my watch a whole lot more than I used to. The day is only 15 hours long and I gotta sleep during that time. It's a lot more hectic.

Also, at first I was super conscious of what I thought of as bourgeois hang-ups. If something goes wrong, you think it's because you're only a bourgeois student and not really a worker. Like I stuck my finger in a machine once. It wasn't a very ferocious looking machine - (they have machines there that are so ferocious looking that I wouldn't have a finger near them), but this one didn't look very bad and I was just fucking around. But all of a sudden, my finger was close to being broken off.

I had all sorts of reactions. On the one hand, I was very angry with myself that I could be so stupid. Second, it hurt like hell, and third, I only had a short time til my shift was over. I continued to work cause I was afraid if I reported it to the foreman, I would get thrown out. (I was still on trial period). So all these things were going thru my mind. But then I started thinking that only a bourgeois student could be so stupid as to stick his finger in a machine - that workers naturally know that you don't stick your fingers in these places. But on further investigation, you see people in the plant with no fingers and you go around after you've done something like this hearing stories about people who had worse experiences than mine.

Another example is when I rammed a fork-lift into the wall at full blast. Everyone looked and I felt real embarrassed. It made a big noise and I figured the foreman would be around and I stalled the engine. Then I got the engine going, but the thing wouldn't move so I really got panicked, until I realized that I didn't have it in the right gear. I learned that things like that happen all the time. People slam into things and bust up things all the time.

FRYING PAN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

(The Panthers did convince some Black guys not to apply at Fry and were willing to come to the line to talk to the Black scabs. The strike ended before this was possible.)

What about Black scabs? We had two predictable positions to deal with. "A Black scab is a scab" and "Black people have a 'right' to scab".

To say "A black scab is a scab" implies that a racist working class can make a revolution. To say that "Black scabs have a right to scab" means that a revolution can be made against the non-third world majority of the working class (and third world workers too). Both are nonsense.

OUTREACH

We attempted to capitalize on the exemplary possibilities of the Fry strike in plants where we had people working thru leaflets and personal contacts. We got fantastic commitments, but only handfuls of people showed at the line. (If we could have materialized the promises of support and the suggestions - mortar attacks etc - we would have been able to launch the revolution.) When it got right down to it, people didn't have the confidence that their involvement would make enough difference to compensate for getting out of bed early. They were also afraid.

We didn't really expect anything different. It is a big break from most worker's normal situation to choose to put themselves in constant danger of arrest or injury to help some people you don't even know. Just getting a large number of workers to pay attention to what was happening at Fry, even without taking part, was important. When the strike was a qualified success, we were able to use the "Where were you?" line with some of the bullshitters.

In one foundry close to Fry where we had a couple of people working, we were able to get some people to come to the line. It became a small issue at that plant because the foremen and supervisors drove

past the line every morning and saw the people there. When things worked out so that people were late for work at the foundry, they got hassled for being on the Fry line by the management. One of the people working at the foundry was arrested on the conspiracy charge. He got a lot of support from guys on his shift, so much that the company still hasn't attempted seriously to fire him, although he is a "troublemaker". In this plant also, the Fry strike helped get people interested in general left stuff by introducing them to the Willamette Bridge.

FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS

I would like to deal in closing with two general questions which both have been mentioned in passing a couple of times: the development of revolutionary class consciousness, and the building of organizational forms for workers. We were fortunate in that the Fry strike lasted long enough and was varied enough to provide something of an initial laboratory in which we could attempt and evaluate various approaches in a more substantial way than would be possible with any one-shot action.

Consciousness can't be raised unless it is understood. False consciousness is not eliminated thru abstract intellectual confrontation which does have some effect on students. Workers normally act as if they were pro-capitalist, but they have not "decided" to act this way, and they won't stop thru a process of "undeciding". Their position is much too contradictory, and eclectic for this to happen. Assumptions and premises are implicit. They won't be eliminated just by winning arguments.

It is possible to convince almost any worker that socialism is preferable to capitalism. But it's more difficult to convince him that socialism can "work" and that it will make a difference if he struggles for it. Cynicism and passivity is the major content of workers' false consciousness. So, in the first place, we must see "raising consciousness" as challenging this cynicism and passivity thru demonstrating the possibility and power of collective action. This is more important than training people to respond correctly to some verbal stimulus like "Black Panthers" "student revolt", or "communism".

Given the small size of the group of strikers

with which we were working, we will have had substantial success in developing continuing political relationships. If we had not gotten a contract at Fry, a number of strikers were interested in getting jobs where they could help us in other organizing efforts. As it is, we are closely related to the continuing work being done inside the Fry plant and in the ICWU local. The strikers are supporting our continuing fund-raising efforts for our people who were arrested at Fry. Strikers and their families are participating in women's liberation activities, free medical care activities, a poor peoples alliance, grape boycott stuff, and high school organizing. Some of them regard themselves as, and act as, members of the "movement". We involve some of the strikers in left social-educational things, and one of them is teaching a karate class to us. In short, the core of strikers is pretty much in the entire spectrum of movement activity in the area.

A few of the strikers will probably become communists, but most won't and it would be wrong for us to attempt to make them. The activity spectrum is too narrow in the area, and too biased in directions which will limit the participation, and, particularly, the leadership of the sort of people who were politicized at the Fry strike. We don't have the proper options available. The only real choice is participating in the ongoing activities and single issue groups or joining a disciplined communist collective. But we already have a problem with the lack of coherence and consistency in the rest of the movement, and the transition to a communist grouping will be too abrupt for many workers who want to become more coherently and consistently involved.

These considerations, combined with the general ideas about strategic approach outlined earlier are leading us to place major organizational priority on building an organized movement of radical workers with an on-going program of activity, but which, though organized and clearly left, does not put unrealistic organizational and ideological standards for membership. We want a movement organization which will function in its own name, both at the point of production and at other points of class antagonism, emphasizing actions which demonstrate the role and potential which we see for the class. That's the sort of stuff which I hope that we will decide to spend a lot of energy on from now on. ♦

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IN CONTEMPT

WHEN THE CHAIRMAN IS IN CHAINS
DENIED HIS RIGHTS
HE STANDS AND SPEAKS.
DEFIANT MAN AMONG DEFIANT MEN.

IN THE BEGINNING
IT WAS JUST HUEY AND ME
THEN THERE WAS LITTLE BOBBY.
NOW WE HAVE A PARTY
THE CHAPTERS SPREAD
ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

WHEN THE CHAIRMAN IS IN CHAINS
IN NAZI COURTS
HE STANDS AND SPEAKS
DEFIANT MAN AMONG DEFIANT MEN.

THERE IS NO JUSTICE
FOR BLACK PEOPLE, NO LIBERTY
I DEMAND
THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE
NO FASCIST PIG
CAN TAKE AWAY MY DIGNITY.

WHEN THE CHAIRMAN IS IN CHAINS
BOUND IN CONTEMPT
HE STANDS AND SPEAKS
DEFIANT MAN AMONG DEFIANT MEN.

WE HAD TO SPEAK
WHEN WE BEGAN TO SEE
LIBERATION IN THE COLONY
THE ROOTS OF REVOLUTION
IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY,
WHEN WE DEFINED THE ENEMY.

WHEN THE CHAIRMAN IS IN CHAINS
AND FRAMED
HE STANDS AND SPEAKS
DEFIANT MAN AMONG DEFIANT MEN.

WE UNDERSTOOD WHEN WE BEGAN
NOW YOU CAN UNDERSTAND
YOU'RE EITHER PART OF THE PROBLEM
OR PART OF THE SOLUTION,
THEY CAN JAIL A REVOLUTIONARY
BUT NOT THE REVOLUTION.

WHERE WERE YOU ?
WHEN THEY CHAINED HIM TO A CHAIR ?
WHERE WERE YOU ?
WHEN THEY DENIED HIM AIR ?

HE CANNOT BE GAGGED
BECAUSE HIS VOICE IS OURS.

THE CHAIRMAN IS IN CHAINS
ALL OF US MAKE THE ATTEMPT
TILL HE IS FREE AND WE HAVE WON
ALL OF US STAND IN CONTEMPT.

THINK OF WHAT THEY DID TO HIM
WHEN YOU PULL THE TRIGGER.

Lincoln Bergman