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- WHEN CONSPIRACY VINDICT IN

FRED HAMPTON

THE MOVEMENT PRESS
330 Grove Street
San Francisco, California 94102
The next day Alioto called for the arrest of Hilliard for threatening the life of pig Nixon. When asked by reporters, what he thought of Hilliard's murder. All this is part of a clear mission to smash the Panther Party, the leader of all revolutionary forces in this country.

But before Nixon's plan could go into full swing, the pigs had to be sure that they could draw a wedge between revolutionaries and the masses of disoriented, or just plain American. That meant separating legitimate (peaceful) demonstrations from revolutionary, political activity, channeling the disaffected energy of hungry, warring American people into innocuous forms of dissent. The Moratorium provided the model form. At the same time, too, police called for repression against revolutionaries, to make sure nothing spills over the channels the Moratorium so carefully planned. The pigs' radical apologists appeared pretty successful. Hilliard sent out "bad vibes" to both peace and war camps alike. The same people who were talking about that. Serves us right.

SMASHING THE PIG PLAN

We're not trying to put down the masses, but to organize them. The masses of working people and poor people, especially youth, were not at the Moratorium. Their discontent has not yet been channeled along middle class lines, and if it does, our job, never will be. We must have faith in the people and understand that they can grasp, more quickly than any of us, the needs and full extent of the struggle, and are, in fact, the weapon that ensures our strength. Here too, the Panthers have pointed the way. Never, even at the most difficult points of struggle, at times when they have been the most isolated, never have they lost faith in the people or stopped the programs which concretely serve the people-breakfasts for children, health clinics, political education. Some have mechanically applied the Panther example and set up these programs as a substitute for struggle. We are not talking about that.

Seizing the Time

On November 15, a quarter of a million people marched in the Moratorium in San Francisco. Even for those cynical about demonstrations, the sheer mass of the crowd was impressive. But before long that impressive crowd became disgustingly pigish. The same people who considered themselves to be the impromptu Wendell Willard's arrest photo beamed and said, "He marred OUR demonstration." The day before, Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton was murdered, his 17 year-old girlfriend, Gwendolyn Waller, was also murdered, several other Panthers were wounded and Panther headquarters in Los Angeles were ravaged by pigs. Panthers wounded in Los Angeles were all bussed for attempted murder. All this is part of a well-executed plan of the government to disarm the Panther Party, the leader of all revolutionary forces in this country.

WHAT NOW, PEOPLE?

The editorial staff of the MOVEMENT and the people close to the newspaper have been discussing a heavy question—that is, whether or not we should continue to publish the newspaper.

We have always viewed the function of the newspaper as providing a medium for organizers, participants and sympathizers who could learn from each others' experiences. Our ideal article is one which is written by a participant in some struggle or project that analyzes the struggle in such a way that organizers in other places could apply the lessons of that struggle in their own practice. We have also tried to provide informational and agitational articles that would be useful for organizers to have—And in each issue, we try to have at least one piece that can be used directly in mass work.

For those of you who have been following recent issues of the newspaper, it should be obvious that we are having an increasingly hard time fulfilling this function. This, we think, is mostly due to the political problems that the movement in general faces: fragmentation, the inner directedness and changing priorities of collectives, and correct line-following. We do not attempt to make even tentative evaluations of their struggles for fear of being labelled "nacist", "Economist" etc. etc.

It seems to us that the newspaper cannot fulfill its purpose (no keep printing?). If this situation continues, we recognize that the newspaper can play an important role in communication when organizational communication at a national level has broken down and while repression increases and it's because of this that we are willing to hang on to the newspaper. But it's silly to hang on for the sake of tradition.

Maybe a new form is needed to correspond with the changes the movement is going through. We do not know. It is perhaps one of the tasks of the Panthers to figure it out. There are perhaps people who have the fact that circulation of the paper has gone down. We get letters like, "We think your newspaper is great, but our group is having so many hassles now, we have no time to distribute the paper." What we want to find out is if people would really miss the paper if it weren't published? Would organizing suffer? Or is the paper just another thing people read? And, are the answers to these questions based on passing crisis situations or long-term problems that we have to work with?

The answers to these questions will determine whether or not we continue. We are going to make a trip east as soon as this issue goes to press (Dec. 16) to try to investigate these questions. But obviously, in a three-week trip, it will be impossible to learn the answers. We are asking all movement readers to write to us about these questions and tell us who you are, what you're doing and how you think that relates to the newspaper. We are hoping for 12,000 replies, cause that's what our circulation is now.

Also, if you decide that the newspaper is important politically and should survive, you must help. That means taking responsibility for bulk distribution in your area and writing or soliciting articles from your area. Also, we need people to suggest ways of improving the paper.

In any case, the February issue may be late because of the investigatory trip and because it may be the last and we would need time to make the last issue special.

WE NEED MORE DISTRIBUTORS! HELP!

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The pigs have moved fast in the last two weeks, in an attempt to completely destroy the Black Panther Party, continuing their genocide against black people.

In Chicago a special squad of Chicago pigs attached to the State Attorney's office got their orders from the Injustice Department and kicked in the door of an apartment. They murdered Illinois Chairman Fred Hampton in his sleep, murdered Peoria Defense Captain Mark Clark. Four brothers and sisters were wounded, three more people arrested. The pigs claim the brothers and sisters opened fire ... all the evidence shows otherwise. They jumped in the door, using machineguns. Reaction to the Gestapo attack mobilized mass black community support, with many groups, including the City Council of Fred's hometown, Maywood, demanding that the pigs be tried for murder. 6000 people marched in a memorial to Fred and Mark; countless more visited the scene and saw the proof for themselves, visited the funeral home. The murderers were the latest in a systematic murder and imprisonment of Panthers in Illinois. Fred must be avenged.

Three days later, in Los Angeles, the pigs raided Panthers offices. At the main headquarters eleven warriors of the people held off 33 pigs for over five hours. Three pigs were wounded, one critically. Three pigs were wounded. Tear gas, beatings, shooting (but no wounds) took place at other offices and Panther offices. At the main headquarters eleven others inside the headquarters have been charged with attempted murder. Pigs used huge amounts of tear gas and some dynamite at the main headquarters. The next day the building was condemned, but the people refused to let the pigs move in. The pigs are already a fact. It's objective reality, proven by words and actions in defending the Black community.

On November 13, 1969, JAKE WINTERS stood face to face and toe to toe, his shotgun in his hand, with Pig Dufty's murderous task force. He defined political power by blowing away racist pigs Frank Spaugh and racist pigs John Gillisby and killed 6 other reactionary pigs before he was shot dead. It is also a proven fact and reality that Dufty's task force did not only and weekly raids on the Black community. They murdered Michael Soto, 20 years old, and shot wildly and unconcerned through every window in one of the buildings in the Henry Street project, injuring scores of children. They murdered Jimmy Furman and conduct officers.

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During the past year, draft boards in many cities were attacked. Bombs brought down electric transmission towers in Colorado and on the West Coast. ROTC buildings on campuses were badly damaged or destroyed. A number of campuses shook with small explosions or shots with fire.

There has been a continuous increase in selective and highly political terrorist activity. The news of an explosion or other planned violence has been a kind of undercover roar beneath the mass movement, sometimes providing encouragement, sometimes doing important or symbolic damage, and usually bringing forth the remark — "sure glad somebody's got their shit together."

The recent bombings in New York evoked that response, and a whole lot more. They marked the first time that the specific acts of violence which had been occurring broke through the nation's consciousness as mass and revolutionary violence, but also as a clearly-stated and well-planned action that was anti-imperialist, humane, and revolutionary. The tone of the letter accompanying the bombings was one of clarity and confidence.

BLOWS OF LIBERATION

During this week's antiwar protest, we said off ourselves in offices of Chase Manhattan, Standard Oil and General Motors.

"Guardians of all these buildings and news offices throughout the city were telephoned at 30 to 60 minutes in advance to ensure that the building would be clear of people. The Vietnamese war is the most obvious symptom of the way the country's power devours the people. The giant corporations of America have now spread themselves all over the world, forcing the entire foreign economies into total dependence on American money and American goods.

"Here at home, these same corporations have made us into useless consumers, devouring increasing quantities of useless credit cards and household appliances. We work at mindless jobs. Vast machines pollute our air, water and food."

"Spyro Agnew may be a household word, but it is the rarely seen man like David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan and James Roche of Michael Haider of Standard Oil that run the system behind the scenes."

balances, and in various symphony halls, including the Crazies. The RAT's distributor has been pig-prepared into deserting one of the best underground papers in the country but the RAT, though harassed, has continued to publish, attempting to cut through the media lines about the bombing and help in pulling threads.

They had to make arrests. They made four and are still looking for one more. Jeff Shaar, the editor of the RAT tells the story like this:

"A new logic emerged: if the destruction of Vietnam couldn't be halted by choosing between Nixon or Humphrey, or by staging the largest peace marches in history, then the hour had arrived when the machine itself must be shut down. As Kenneth O'Neill Chief of the police bomb squad said, "There's no doubt in my mind that if the bombings had continued, they would have crippled the economy of New York City. They had to make arrests or watch the collapse of orderly city functioning."

The papers and the pigs claim that two men, Sam Melville and George Demmerle, were caught throwing canvas bags of explosives into the back of Army trucks near an Army. A man and Jane Agnew were busted at their apartment on the Lower East Side and charged with conspiracy. Pat Swinton is still being sought.

All four of those arrested have been movement people in New York. Jane works as a writer and researcher for the RAT. She has done a lot of writing and work on women's liberation, the draft, and high school organizations. John Hangly does art work for THE GUARDIAN. Sam Melville worked for the Free Store and THE GUARDIAN. Pat Swinton, who has not been found, also worked for the RAT, as its Advertising manager. And George Demmerle has been active in various and sundry things, including the Crazies. The RAT's distributor has been pig-prepared into deserting one of the best underground papers in the country but the RAT, though harassed, has continued to publish, attempting to cut through the media lines about the bombing and help in pulling threads.

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At a speech—after he was out on bail, the week of Detention for quite racism that keeps us in here."

It is important then to examine the particulars of their each other and could communicate only.

They were busted need support and money. Contributions can be sent to:

\text{THE ESTABLISHMENT}
During the 1960's the American government was on trial for crimes against the people of the world.

We now find the government guilty and sentence it to death in the streets.

The Conspiracy

by Stu Albert

We're gonna make the government's plan boomerang. One of the major reasons that the government has put people on trial is to stop people they consider key to the demonstrations in Chicago. The second thing is that, by punishing them, they think they can intimidate other organizers. On another level, they're trying to force the movement into its categories of the establishment. The court is a ruling class court and its procedures are ruling class procedures. It's a way to break revolutionary spirit. Another thing is to frighten people and attempt to stop large numbers of people from taking to the streets. The government hopes that this trial will be a major move in blocking mass action.

We want to make the government lose on every count, by using the trial to organize mass national political actions. So the government will have to face in the future, the prospect of large national actions whenever they indict, which is what they don't want. So by taking the offensive, it's the best way to block the rise of this repression. Within the courtroom there's been good forms of "misbehavior". Some compromise is unavoidable, but the revolutionary spirit is very alive in the courtroom.

There's never been a trial, as far as we can remember that's been as well followed as this one. People in Chicago greet the defendants on the street, "how are you doing?", it's weirdly friendly and sympathetic. All over the country there's a lot of interest. When the jury goes out we want to organize a National People's Jury. People taking over areas, and so on. It'll be a national jury determined by who the local pigs are on what to do when the jury comes in to an area of festival and revolutionary planning, for discussions based party. The Weatherman can help organize. The Conspiracy can help organize. The Weathermen have taken up on Che's thing, that revolutionaries have to learn to hate, but they also have to learn to love.... so they're giving off very good vibes to a lot of people. Perhaps a national Youth International Party, whose symbol would be the White Panther, will be founded, a fusion, in a broad based party. The Weatherman could work within that. It'd be a MOBE of the Crazies, a cultural revolutionary SDS.

The Conspiracy would also like to have SDS itself re-emerge and exist, but not like old times, too many changes have happened. The Youth International Party could appeal to high school kids. If you read the present White Panther Program, or the Berkeley liberation program, or Abby Hoffman's Woodstock Nation, or the anti-imperialist spirit in FIRE, the Weatherman paper, you could roughly see what a program would look like. It would develop a program and try to organize around it, it won't just be aimless, and also develop a sense of international solidarity backed by actions.

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S JURY

The government has been on trial for the past ten years in this country. The government's main witnesses have been tear gas, dogs, fences, guns and napalm. The attitude is the government is guilty. We'll begin the 1970's by sentencing it to death and then by attempting to carry out the sentence. The national street actions will be the beginning of the implementing of the sentence. Some heavy action may take place in Chicago, many political groups there are noting the trial as very important.

The trial has taken a very healthy turn since the defense began. Allen Ginsburg and Phil Ochs really changed the mood of the courtroom, Ginsburg chanting OM OM, and some of the jurors who seem sympathetic have been responsive. The way the law is written in this case, if the jury follows the judges instructions they can't help but find everybody guilty. So we have to be revolutionary agitators in the courtroom who are trying to get the jury to rebel, to find against the judge. The whole function of the defense is to create a revolutionary spirit, an image in the courtroom, so that some of the jurors can turn on to it, so that they can stand up... the courtroom is a microcosm of revolutionary energy... maybe the jurors (like there are a lot of older people now go to foreign films, fool around with pot) maybe the jurors might say... well I can't do that, but it's different I like it.

People feel a good mood now, they're now on the offensive, and that will generalize over into the streets. People should take responsibilities to see that the people's jurors happen, should keep their areas really informed about the trial, using all the college and high school press, and the underground papers. We'll create a trial consciousness in the base areas, a conspiracy consciousness and a peoples jury consciousness.

This happens to be the end of the decade, and people are always saying, you can see it on TV and the radio... the whole bourgeois trip... hey what are the '70's gonna be like... we had troubles in the 60's. We can say... the government's been on trial in the 60's, the people will decide, and this trial will end in the streets. And what this will mean for the '70's. A major national action.

The Conspiracy can help organize. When Fred Hampton was murdered we were able to do some good support activities... publicity and press conferences. It's ad hoc and has some skills to do certain things. We're hoping that for people who haven't known what to do with the breakup of SDS, that this will break through demoralization and help regain a united movement. Maybe a lot of people will get turned on by this and turn it into a major action. It may be like I used to say when I was in PL and quoted Mao all the time... Mao said, take a bad thing, like an indictment, and turn it into a good thing. Try to bring forces together for the action, which may turn into something more permanent.
Seize the Time
continued from page 2

But our coping out on the black liberation struggle is more complicated than that. Racism combines with a bourgeois mentality which keeps us from taking risks. We do not see struggle as a necessity for survival. SDS is something we decide to do because we know it's politically correct. We are also bogged down in a lot of other problems that make it hard for us to deal with the basic problems of race and class privilege.

PACIFISM

One of these problems is pacifism. Now most people reading this editorial probably don't consider themselves pacifists, but many people reading this editorial probably don't take the idea of white people engaged in armed struggle very seriously. While black people are ready engaged in armed struggle (Remember Chicago in October, and how Panthers in LA held off pigs for hours, or remember Jake Winters), for most white radicals it is an abstract question. This, in essence, is pacifism. A lot of people also think pacifism is harmless. When our demonstrations became defensively violent, a lot of people assumed pacifism had become irrelevant. But the 50,000 who marched for dead夜ector, allowed the tone of the march to be set by the "beautiful people" giving flowers (lots of them) to the pigs. 500,000 people went to the free Stones concert at Altamont and were more upset by a few accidental deaths than by Hammar's deaths. Mick Jagger, by the way, refused to make any announcement about what was coming down on the Panthers, and went out on stage and said if any political announcements were made, the Stones would not play). And if Ali/Fox hadn't been put under the peacemac's response to Hilliard, the pigs might have been more hesitant to pin another felony rap on the Panthers. Namely, the development of revolutionary politics based on marxist-leninist theory and practice, has turned into a bad thing, namely, an obsession with advancing an absolutely correct political line (for all phases and times) of the struggle—in the abstract, completely divorced from practice. When people have been struggling in practice, often, a few days "retreat" for political discussion is good to straighten out people's heads and learn. (But we talk about how sometimes the Vietnamese units leave the battlefield for extended periods for political discussion). But, now it seems that many people and groups that call themselves revolutionary, are on a perpetual "retreat." Collectives turn inward, and struggle much more sharply among themselves than with the enemy.

The effect of correct line-ism has been devastating. One problem is that people who considered themselves revolutionary are deeply disappointed, and the struggles of Black People take a lot of the major people who consider themselves revolutionary are disappointed, and the struggles of Black People take a lot of the people who consider themselves revolutionary as well. The important thing is that this can only help the pigs. It is our responsibility to join the Panthers in New York (New York bombing and the weather people) and all others who take armed struggle seriously, if we take the idea of revolution seriously. The pigs might have to me for armed struggle or revolutionary violence. Some people are tripping out now on the idea of violence without understanding it. Others can't relate to it because when they hear talk of armed struggle, all they can picture is full scale revolution and it's obviously not going to happen now. We think that to be for armed struggle means several things. It means we understand that to defeat imperialism there must be a violent revolution that allies itself with the people of the world, and, therefore, our duty as revolutionaries is to do everything possible to bring more people to that position and prepare for the struggle itself. It also means we recognize that the time to intensify the struggle is now—in a variety of ways: exemplary violent actions, raising the level of militance of mass demonstrations, acts of terrorism that have political meanings like the bombing of the Haymarket statue and the headquarters of the ruling class in New York City. It also means that we prepare people to themselves to put these ideas into practice through organization and technical training. Here it's important to reaffirm the need for different levels of struggle. At the same time we move towards the highest level of struggle, we must intensify legal mass work to expand our base and make the armed struggle meaningful to masses of people. To make the point with an example at the same time that someone-offed the pig statue in Haymarket Square, there were people doing heavy work on the picket lines of striking workers. The fact that people had the statue to rape about helped to raise revolutionary questions with the strikers. The fact that there were people working with strikers helped the bomber to spread the political message—to interpret the violent act positively to the masses. Is other words, different levels of struggle complement each other—providing the people working at each level are clear about the common end.

CORRECT LINE-ISM

Another problem we must deal with is correct line-ism. A good thing, namely, the development of revolutionary politics based on marxist-leninist theory and practice, has turned into a bad thing, namely, an obsession with advancing an absolutely correct political line (for all phases and times) of the struggle—in the abstract, completely divorced from practice. When people have been struggling in practice, often, a few days "retreat" for political discussion is good to straighten out people's heads and learn. (But we talk about how sometimes the Vietnamese units leave the battlefield for extended periods for political discussion). But, now it seems that many people and groups that call themselves revolutionary, are on a perpetual "retreat." Collectives turn inward, and struggle much more sharply among themselves than with the enemy.

The effect of correct line-ism has been devastating. One should be sure that coming down worn out on the Panthers. Fred Hampton was the 26th Panther murdered. The pictures of the raided apartment look like the fulfillment of the Berkeley Pig Department's planned raid—a plan that was exposed several months ago. Even before that plan was exposed, the Panthers called a Conference for a United Front Against Fascism (and even before that a whole lot of shit had come down). But people found it easier to pick holes in the line of the Panthers and their temporary allies than to support the Panthers in practice. (We have said a lot of this before in a lot more detail in an article in the October 1969 issue of THE MOVEMENT). We feel very strongly that people should read that article seriously, if they haven't already.)

Correct line-ism breeds and perpetuates fragmentation of the movement. This is a very complicated question, and we can't pretend to even begin to deal with it here. If we knew the answers, so would a lot of other people and the problem might not exist. It's obvious that we can't achieve unity by calling for it and that we don't want an unrealized unity. But we will offer two transitional suggestions.

SURE TO WIN

One, just as we have been able to maintain a modicum of unity in working together in support of the Vietnamese, we should do that for the Panthers. There's a lot of talk going around about "the cutting edge" in defining who is revolutionary and who is not. These principles are important, but active support for the Vietnamese and the struggles of Black People take priority. All our principles won't mean shit if we can't come together long enough to show the pigs that we won't allow them to off any more of our revolutionary sisters and brothers.

Two, there is going to be a National Council meeting of SDS beginning Dec. Everyone should go—but go with a different attitude from that of those groups who have labeled the SDS leadership (Weatherpeople) as the new PL (pigs) probably won't do this. But we are convinced that the majority of people who consider themselves revolutionaries are cleaved enough to know that continued hostility among comrades is suicide. We have all made mistakes. Criticism and self-criticim must be made—we think this is crucial. We are strengthening revolutionary and helping new people to become revolutionaries—not destroying them. All we can't deal with is the question of fear and feelings of impotence. But if we moved towards dealing with the problems of pacifism, Correct line-ism and fragmentation the pigs would be much stronger. We think that the Weather people have taught us an important lesson. That is, we cannot eradicate fear, but if we are determined that we are right, we can suppress it long enough to move and gather strength. (Of course, developing technical skills is also crucial.) In all revolutionary struggles in China, Cuba and Vietnam, defeatism on the part of a revolutionary was one of the worst possible errors.

Dare to struggle, Dare to win was not meant to be a childish dare. Armed struggle began in the countryside in China when the revolutionary forces were at their weakest point. The Vietnamese decided on armed struggle in 1957 after Diem had almost totally annihilated the revolutionaries in the South. Fidel launched armed struggle with the twelve survivors of the Granma landing. It was precisely at these low periods when revolutionaries were forced to go militantly for their Revolutionaries only dare to struggle when they are sure they can win.
BACKGROUND FOR INTERVIEW

In Santa Clara, California, 113 members of Local 4028 of the United Steelworkers of America have been striking the Pittsburgh, Des Moines Steel Company (PDM) since September 1. The main strike demand is for a wage increase that would bring the steel-workers up to local industry standards, but the strikers are also holding out for common contract expiration dates with the fourteen other PDM plants. PDM's home plant in Des Moines has been out since August 1 and its Sacramento, California, warehouse was struck November 1. These three plants could now negotiate for a common expiration date. If the strike lasts through the spring, PDM plants at Stockton and Fresno, California, may join in.

The threat of common contract expiration dates has caused PDM to take the San Clara strike very seriously. The company has been using imported scab labor—for the first time in the area in recent years, according to union man—and the strike is being followed closely by other local companies.

Radical involvement in the PDM strike began when a reporter from the San Jose Maverick (a local radical paper) discovered that about forty scabs were working at fourteen other PDM plants. PDM's home plant in Des Moines has been out since August 1 and its Sacramento, California, warehouse was struck November 1. These three plants could now negotiate for a common expiration date. If the strike lasts through the spring, PDM plants at Stockton and Fresno, California, may join in.

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JIM: We've been as many places as we can. Stanford, San Jose State, San Francisco State, several others. We haven't been asking for support but we've been telling the students that if they wanted to learn something, they didn't want us making speeches at the colleges. They didn't want us making speeches anywhere I felt like it. Since then, the police chief won't talk to me. He won't even see me anymore.

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Once there were 10 million American Indians. Now there are 650,000.

According to the San Francisco Chronicle, the Indian who lives on a reservation averages an income of $2000 a year, less than half the national per capita average of $3500. The official poverty level is $3150 for a family of four. Two out of every five HEALTHY adults are unemployed, and healthy refers to only a proportion of the population. In 1960, the reservations were 44 years.

The US Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) proudly boasts that tuberculosis and infant mortality have been drastically reduced in the last few years. They have. But the reservations are still desperately poor as frequent as anywhere else in the country. The BIA also points to the increase in college enrollment, from 7,900 in 1953 to 27,900 in 1963. Meanwhile it is true that only 58 percent of Indian children ever graduate high school. (The national average is 74 percent, counting all minorities.) Meanwhile Indian children may not fish to supplement their diet, the state spends $1000 for every salmon to protect the fish for sportmen and commercial fishing.

The focus for Indian resistance has been the BIA as the representative agent of the Federal Government. Technically, a trial commission for reservations was created for the Indians to control their own affairs. But all council decisions are subject to veto by the Bureau. The young Indians say the effect of this has been "spiritual concentration" leading to "apathy, bastardization, alienating and disintegration." They say these tribes have been purposely fostered to keep the Indians passive so they won't fight against their oppressors.

Meanwhile the Bureau has one employee for every eighteen Indians, which suggests a great deal of its inadequate budget. (A report on the Oglala Sioux reservation said that there was one Bureau employee for each Indian family. The Sioux Indians' median income was $2000 a year and 60 percent of them were unemployed.) Young Indians see so prospect for change through normal channels and are not misled by the illusion that they can appeal to their congressmen. The most dynamic of the recent attempts by young Indians to regain their stolen heritages is in taking place on Alcatraz.

We, the native Americans, re-claim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.

We wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with the Caucasian inhabitants of this land, and hereby offer the following treaty.

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars ($24) in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. We know that $24 in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of $24 per acre is greater than the 47 cents per acre the white men are now paying the California Indians for their land.

We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of the land for their own to be held in trust by the American Indian Affairs and by the bureau of Caucasian Affairs to hold in perpetuity - as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve their full potential. We will train and support our youth to be Indian in mind and in spirit. We will go to the Indian Reservations, learning those which will practice our ancient tribal religious and social rituals.

What use will we make of this land?

Since the San Francisco Indian Center burned down, there is no place for Indians to assemble and carry on tribal life here in the white man's city. Therefore, we plan to develop on this island several Indian institutions.

1. A CENTER FOR NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES will be developed which will involve them in training in government, business, and sciences. This training school will include a center for Indian arts and crafts, and an Indian restaurant serving native foods, which will restore the Indian culinary arts. This center will display Indian arts, and offer Indian foods to the public, so that all may know of the beauty and spirit of the traditional INDIAN ways.

2. AN AMERICAN INDIAN SPIRITUAL CENTER which will provide a center for all Indians of all tribes and all nations. This center will provide a place for prayer and meditation, and the celebration of Indian holidays, and will feature Indian religious and sacred healing ceremonies. The spiritual arts will be featured and our young people trained in music, dance, and healing rituals.

3. AN INDIAN CENTER OF ECOLOGY which will train and support our people in scientific research and practice to restore our lands and waters to their pure and natural state. We will seek to de-pollute the air and water of the Bay Area. We will seek to restore fish and animal life to the area and to revitalize sea life which has been threatened by the white man's way. We will set up facilities to deplete sea water for human benefit.

4. A GREAT INDIAN TRADE CENTER will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and to work together as a people. This Great Indian Trade Center will deal in Indian arts and crafts, and in Indian restaurant serving native foods, which will restore the Indian culinary arts. This center will display Indian arts, and offer Indian foods to the public, so that all may know of the beauty and spirit of the traditional INDIAN ways.

Some of the present buildings will be taken over to develop an American Indian Museum, which will depict our native food & other cultural contributions we have given to this country. This museum will present some of the things the white man has given to the Indians in return for the land and life he has occupied for so long. It will be a museum that will present the life of the Indian as it is now (as symbolized by old tin cans, barbed wire, rubber tires, plastic containers, etc.) Part of this museum will remain a dungeon to symbolize both those Indian captives who were incarcerated for crime, and those who were imprisoned on reservations. The museum will show the noble and tragic events of Indian history, including the Trail of Tears, the Massacre of Wounded Knee, as well as the victory over Yellow Hair Custer and his army.

In the name of all Indians, therefore, we re-claim this island by right of discovery. We ask all Indians to support us in this endeavor.

We feel this claim is just and proper, and that this land should rightfully be granted to us for as long as the rivers shall run and the sun shall shine.

Signed,
Indians of all Tribes
November 1969
San Francisco, California

proclamation:
To The Great White Father
And All His People
very great.
1. There are no health care facilities.
2. The soil is rocky and non-productive, and the land does not support game.
3. There are no educational facilities.
4. There are no industrial facilities.
5. There are no educational facilities.
6. There are no health care facilities.
7. The soil is rocky and non-productive, and the land does not support game.
8. There are no educational facilities.
9. There are no agricultural facilities.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners by the white man's own standards. By this we mean that only 58 percent of Indian children ever graduate high school. (The national average is 74 percent, counting all minorities.) Meanwhile Indian children may not fish to supplement their diet, the state spends $1000 for every salmon to protect the fish for sportmen and commercial fishing.

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moving on the MORANTORIUM

Hayward:

Editorial note: We solicited reports from around the country about how revolutionaryists tried to relate to the Moratorium. This is one report we received. We hope other collective members will send in other reports that will help us to move when the next Moratorium comes.

Hayward, California is part of a sprawling suburb, interspersed with industrial parks, located a few miles south of Oakland. In the last ten years, while working people have moved to the area in large numbers to escape from the blacks. The town has a long history of racism, reaction, and anti-communism. In the late summer and early fall, several of us moved here to begin work with various sectors of the working class: men and women in shops, high school, junior college, and street kids, and women in the home.

Like a lot of other brothers and sisters, the Hayward Collective was so involved in internal struggle during the early fall that we barely heard about the October moratorium; we woke up just in time to finance leaflets at the high schools and shops and held a rally at the local junior college. By November, we were better prepared to move.

THREE FRONTS

Two of our sub-collectives were engaged in concrete work around the moratorium: youth and labor. They worked on three separate fronts: the factories, the high schools, and the junior colleges. At the J.C., where some of our people are actively involved in S.D.F., a teach-in followed by a march to the local draft board was planned. The J.C. women's caucus also planned to take over the quad for free child care, as part of a child care campaign, and demanded and received free lunches for kids from the school.

Almost all the speakers at the rallies, both black and white, were Vietnam veterans and all are active in either the black or white movement. There are so many young men in the plant that it seemed important to have voices speaking to them. All three rallies, unauthorized by the union, were held at shift changes in the parking lot of the union hall right across the street from the plant. About 250 guys attended in all—a little over half of them white. The speakers ran down the reasons why workers should be opposing the war and supporting the NLF. A speech calling for concrete organization and international working class solidarity was surprisingly well-received.

The leaflets put out at the high schools were good and heavy but not much too long. Four were issued: one attacking the "Fighting Up Against Friends" article; one called "Fighting Women" with a picture of an armed Vietnamese woman, ran down the material facts of the oppression of women and offered examples of fighting women in the U.S. and in Vietnam; one talked about Bobby in Chicago ("You can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail the revolution"); and one tried to explain imperialism and people's war.

JAILBREAK

The morning of the 25th, we took sound trucks carrying our high school organizers and a couple of outside speakers to two of the high schools—one of them 60 percent Chicano. We played music to draw a crowd and held an impromptu rally. The women in the crowd ran a day on speech running down where they were at and why. Afterwards kids were urged to split to a third school where members of the High School Student Union were holding a sit-in. The sit-in was a radical Hay Area high school organizational novelty (formerly formed and largely middle class). Sixty or seventy kids from the heavily Chicano school split in cars to the sit-in. Excited by their arrival, the 180 kids, maybe 8 or 10 in all, led over 500 kids inside their school out to join them. These most strong marched to the junior college shouting "Power to the People!" Along the way, they passed a junior high school and kids climbed over the fence to join them. At the third school, where the sound equipment didn't work, about 25 kids finally jumped into cars headed for the sit-in.

When the 300 arrived at the J.C., the teach-in was still in progress. The leadership group of its formers not together enough to respond to quota count of high school kids at the teach-in. Both J.C. and high school kids split away. By the time of the march, about one hundred were left about half of them from the high schools.

The march and demonstration were both short and lively, in more the mood of an extended guerrilla shift than real guerrilla fighting. Kids with no political experience dug on a speech given by one of the women in the collective which ran down the important connections of various events in the Bay Area: the March on Washington, the March on the State Capitol, the March on the Local Draft Board, and the March on the General Motors plant; all three rallies, unauthorized by the union, were held at shift changes in the parking lot of the union hall right across the street from the plant. About 250 guys attended in all—a little over half of them white. The speakers ran down the reasons why workers should be opposing the war and supporting the NLF. A speech calling for concrete organization and international working class solidarity was surprisingly well-received.

The leaflets put out at the high schools were good and heavy but not much too long. Four were issued: one attacking the "Fighting Up Against Friends" article; one called "Fighting Women" with a picture of an armed Vietnamese woman, ran down the material facts of the oppression of women and offered examples of fighting women in the U.S. and in Vietnam; one talked about Bobby in Chicago ("You can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail the revolution"); and one tried to explain imperialism and people's war.

JAILBREAK

The morning of the 25th, we took sound trucks carrying our high school organizers and a couple of outside speakers to two of the high schools—one of them 60 percent Chicano. We played music to draw a crowd and held an impromptu rally. The women in the crowd ran a day on speech running down where they were at and why. Afterwards kids were urged to split to a third school where members of the High School Student Union were holding a sit-in. The sit-in was a radical Hay Area high school organizational novelty (formerly formed and largely middle class). Sixty or seventy kids from the heavily Chicano school split in cars to the sit-in. Excited by their arrival, the 180 kids, maybe 8 or 10 in all, led over 500 kids inside their school out to join them. These most strong marched to the junior college shouting "Power to the People!" Along the way, they passed a junior high school and kids climbed over the fence to join them. At the third school, where the sound equipment didn't work, about 25 kids finally jumped into cars headed for the sit-in.

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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

What we are basically trying to say is that the pig is doing a report on what we are doing. We are not saying that we are going to talk about all the things that we are doing. We are not saying that we are going to talk about all the different groups that we are involved with. We are not saying that we are going to talk about all the different people that we are involved with. We are not saying that we are going to talk about all the different things that we are involved with.

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Editorial note: The following is a lesson plan for junior high and high school teachers, written by the Radical Teachers Organizing Committee (RTOC). RTOC is a new Bay Area organization of teachers, librarians, and other educators who believe they can be solid allies of the high school kids rebelling around the country.

The lesson plan is detailed so that teachers will have time to do background reading on imperialism, rather than spend time figuring out exactly how to use the material. The documents for the lesson plan are at the end of the article. Teachers who want to have copies of the documents to hand out to their students should request additional copies of this issue from The Movement.

Title: Who is the enemy and why does he fight?

Imperialism results in the destruction of the war in and out of the classroom usually focus on why we are at Vietnam and what we can do to end it. Very infrequently do we examine the war from the point of view of the people whom we are fighting.

PURPOSE OF LESSON

1. To enable the student to see the war from the perspective of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the North Vietnamese.
2. To break down feelings of national and racial superiority by getting the students to identify and sympathize with people the US government is fighting.
3. To help the students understand why the NLF has so much popular support.
4. To begin to develop an understanding of the connection between American imperialism and the war in Vietnam.
5. To have the students examine and evaluate their sources of information on the war in Vietnam.

MATERIALS & SOURCES

1. Excerpts from the diary of a dead Viet-Cong soldier.
3. Selections from 'Twelve Recommendations', Ho Chi Minh's letter to his troops.
4. Excerpts from the Program of Action of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (the program of the NLF and other liberation forces fighting the Americans in Vietnam).

METHODS

1. Introduce the topic. The teacher may do it verbally or write the title of the lesson on the board.
2. Have the students write a paragraph on why they think the Vietnamese are fighting against the Americans. Allow them about ten minutes to complete this part of the lesson.
3. Discuss with the students their responses. The teacher might want to list on the board some of the students' answers.

These answers will probably include:

- The Vietnamese who fight against us are forced to fight by communist terrorists.
- The Vietnamese do not understand that we are trying to help them.
- Most of the people fighting against us are outside forces like the Chinese.
- The teacher should not debate these responses at this point, but should ask the students where they got their information and should list sources on the board.
4. Ask the students if they have ever read or heard an NLP or a North Vietnamese account of why they are fighting. Most students will reply no.
5. The teacher at this point should distribute the annotated material (cited below), explaining that these are written by the people we are fighting in Vietnam.
6. Ask a student to begin by reading aloud the excerpt from the diary of the dead Viet-Cong soldier.
7. Have the students read the next two documents, After reading, point out to them that the soldier whose diary they read earlier is only one of many Vietnamese who are fighting the US. Ask them if the documents offer an explanation of why the NLF would receive popular support.

A. Who would support and join the NLF? (Compare the probable views of a wealthy landowner and a landless peasant. Who would be more sympathetic to the NLF and why?)
B. Why might the programs of the NLF appeal to the average Vietnamese?
C. From reading the "Twelve Recommendations" by Ho Chi Minh, explain why the behavior and the attitudes of the Viet-cong would gain popular support.
D. What are the probable views of the American press toward the NLF as terrorists and the war as a righteous struggle against Communism?

PROJECTS FOR STUDENTS

1. Have the students research the way in which the newspapers and other media present the NLF. Compare this with what the NLF say about themselves and what is said about them by the underground press.
2. Students can begin to research liberation forces in Africa, Latin America (Bolivia, Guatemala, etc.), and the U.S. and compare them with the NLF.
3. Students could study the life and ideas of Ho Chi Minh.
4. Have the students write a letter or a play from their perspective of a member of the NLF.
5. Encourage the students to compare the American Revolution to the Vietnamese Revolution.

PROJECTS FOR STUDENTS

1. Excerpts from the diary found in the uniform of Du Toi, a dead Viet-Cong soldier Sept. 5, 1961, "Leaving temporarily the beloved North to return to my native Scent to liberate my compatriots from the yoke of misery imposed by the U.S.A..."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Books:
- Hickey, Gerald. Village in Vietnam, Yale U.P.
- Schull, Jonathan. The Village of Ben Sue, Yale U.P.
- B. Newswreel Films
- This film service will provide a projector and a printout to show and discuss films.

TEXTS

1. Excerpts from the diary found in the uniform of Du Toi, a dead Viet-Cong soldier Sept. 5, 1961, "Leaving temporarily the beloved North to return to my native Scent to liberate my compatriots from the yoke of misery imposed by the U.S.A..."

This issue has been my ideal for a long time ... For the third time my life turned to war again. For the liberation of our compatriots in the South, a situation
Dear Friends,

This letter is coming to you from a young South Vietnamese woman. I am writing it on the eve of your Fall Offensive to end that war, now continued and intensified by President Nixon. Allow me to send to all of you my warmest regards and best wishes.

I was a worker; so was my late husband, Nguyen Van Troi. Like all other young friends, we did have dreams for the future and happiness, quite ordinary yet really beautiful dreams. But, the aggressive war of the White House and the Pentagon has shattered all these dreams. It has even robbed me of my bearded man right during our honeymoon. His death and my own days in jail have helped us to see more clearly the root cause of all the sufferings and injustices heaped upon my people. As he softly said to policemen who tortured him then tried to corrupt him under my eyes, "So long as the aggressors remain, nobody can have happiness.

Every time I think of him and his words, I cannot help feeling of the millions of other victims of the aggressive war. I think of the innocent women and children who have been imprisoned in South Vietnam. I also think of those who commit the crime - young Americans who kill and get killed everyday in Vietnam without even knowing what for. I think of their mothers, their wives, their girl friends and their sisters back at home, who are crying day and night for their return. I think particularly of peace-loving and justice-minded persons in America, young people included, now under repression and persecution for being opposed to the Viet Nam war. And I think of you my dear friends, who have made and responsible activities against that war. This sympathy already had the opportunity to express to you once in December 1967, on the occasion of your 'Stop the Draft - End the War Week'. Recently, during a visit to Cuba, I had the pleasure to meet a few young Americans. We exchanged opinions and the warm feeling we had for each other, and I was happy to see a bolt of news confirmed, which is that in the United States itself, we also have many friends.

My husband died a heroic, meaningful death. Yet, I do understand the feelings of the thousands upon thousands of American women whose dear ones have died meaningless in Viet Nam. President Nixon and the Vietnam South Vietnamese have withdrawn from South Vietnam a number of troops, and announced recently that he would pull out some more. However, nearly half a million young Americans still have to remain in South Vietnam. Every passing day means more horrifying and destruction caused by them to the South Vietnamese people. Every passing day brings more house to their own ranks. Every passing day brings more house to their own ranks.

As you already know yourselves, mourning and desolation only encourage the Vietnamese people with more efforts, more struggle harder to put an end to the war of aggression and the presence of aggressors armed forces. Such, I believe, is also the way in which American workers can free themselves from suffering, hunger and anxiety. Therefore, I welcome your efforts for an end to the Viet Nam war and the rapid repatriation of all your GIs from South Vietnam, as well as your actions against trials of the "Chicago Eight" and other Americans cherishing peace and justice. I want to say again, that your support of our struggle in this Fall Offensive. Please convey my best regards to your families.

September 24, 1969

PHAN THI QUyen
(Widow of Nguyen Van Troi)

The above mentioned twelve recommendations are for all to follow. He who loves his country Will never forget them.

When people are in a habit, All are like one man, With good army men and good people, Everything will be crown.

Only when the root is firm, can the tree live long, And victory is built with the people as foundations.

4. Expects from the Program of Action of the PNC of RV, June, 1969 - To abolish the disguised colonial regime established by the U.S. in South Viet Nam to overthrow the entire structure of the puppet administration... To build a really democratic and free republic regime, to organize general elections according to the principle of equality, real freedom, and democracy, without interference.

- To achieve equality between man and woman in all fields.

- To pay the greatest attention to the interests of all strata of townspeople, first of all, the right to a decent life and democracy. To improve the living conditions of the workers and labouring people. To amend labour legislation and fix minimum wages, To fight against corporal punishment, vagrancy stops, and massacres of workers and labouring people the workers enjoy the right to take part in the management of enterprises, and freedom to join trade unions.

- To create conditions for the building of an independent and self-supporting economy... To carry out the policies of national independence, and the rapid repatriation of all your GIs from South Vietnam and the immediate release of all prisoners of war.

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

- To heal the war - woums and restore to normal the life of the people. To give devoted care and whole­hearted help to war invalids and the families of fighting men-women.

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Combat Pacifism

Pacifism, always latent in the bourgeois creed, has now crystallized out as almost the only emotionally charged belief left in Protestant Christianity or in its analogue, bourgeois humanism. It is called a distinctively bourgeois doctrine, because I mean distrust not the love of peace or a wish to secure it by a definite form of action, but the belief that any form of social constraint of others or any violent action is in itself wrong, and that violence, such as war, is morally pernicious. But if we use violence to end violence would be logically self-contradictory. This social relation is only made possible by— \( \text{it existed on—} \) the bourgeois ownership of capital. Thus, just as in slavery and serfdom—this is a relation between men which is a relation between a dominating and a dominated man, and that ruling classes resist revolution violently and must, therefore be overthrown by force.

Bourgeois pacifism is distinctive and should not be confused, for example, with Eastern pacifism, any more than the conscientious objector of the past centuries with the conscientious objector of the present day. It is not merely that the social manifestations of it are different—this would necessarily arise from the different social organs of the two cultures. But the causes are different. The historic example of bourgeois pacifism is not Gandhi but Fox. The Society of Friends expresses the spirit of bourgeois pacifism.

The whole bourgeois economy is built on the violent domination of men by men. The bourgeois wish to be in possession. The one sees that his freedom is an illusion. The whole bourgeois economy is built on the violent domination of men by men. The bourgeois wish to be in possession. The one sees that his freedom is an illusion. The whole bourgeois economy is built on the violent domination of men by men. The bourgeois wish to be in possession. The one sees that his freedom is an illusion.
very action an increase in the social restraints he hates. He builds up the big bourgeoisie in trying to support the little, and
alcohol, in the interest of a few, and the decent man, like the good bourgeoisie about her honor which is such an important social

to go to the devil if his soul is intact. So im-
primed is he with bourgeois notions of sin, that it never occurs to
him that a procrastination with one's own soul and one's own
//obstacle is it to do so? This is a situation whose
tal is the bourgeoisie, which lives on an

there are the necessary end of bourgeois development. He calls
ings, physical and moral, of the state, he can do nothing real,

violence, which sustains it. This is more subtle and less overt than

1. The answer is that in absolute laissez-faire and bourgeois
economy, that one does not oneself wield the bludgeon or fire

Bourgeois culture has discovered that what pays is bourgeois

The first defense is that it is wrong. It is a "sin" to slay or

It is a situation whose aftermath is only easily discovered,

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The same applies to social relations. Bridges have
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Racism has been present in the United States' military machine for a long time. Sometimes it's just around, being generally ugly, but it's always there; another reserve force for the pigs to use when a racistgendral war comes along or when it's needed to keep the troops from getting too far out of hand.

We have seen, and been handling in handy hard in those ways—don't let the black and white troops get together on much other than killing gooks—but it's also being dealt with here and there by some of its victims. On some bases black organizations are being formed to fight for equal rights, in some places, black and white GI's are recognizing the brats' tactics of divide-and-conquer, and fighting against it.

One of the most significant events in the struggle was the trial of a black Security policeman from McGuire Air Base in New Jersey at Selfridge, when they unsuccessfully tried to court-martial one of the black policemen. The prosecution of James was based on her actual testimony. The testimony was conflicting, with the black policemen in the background of the incident, and the black policemen in the foreground of the incident.

The case has significance far beyond the court-martial, as it was a test of the government's commitment to the principle of equality before the law. The government had asserted the principle of equality before the law, but the case was a test of the government's commitment to the principle of equality before the law.

The judge saw an easy way out. He could save the Air Force's embarrassment, smooth over the situation temporarily, by telling the black policemen to stop their actions and to give up their struggle. The judge's decision was not only a victory for the government, but also a defeat for the black policemen.

The case is significant for the reasons that the government has not acted on the principle of equality before the law. The government had asserted the principle of equality before the law, but the case was a test of the government's commitment to the principle of equality before the law.

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In Jail

NEW HAVEN!

The pigs have incarcerated heroic men and women, leaders of the American revolution, and tried to frame them on murder charges, jailed them on bullshit charges, shot them in the street and in their sleep. The pigs in New Haven have held women in jail, courageus women who are pregnant with the freedom fighters of the future.

Not enough has been done to expose the lies of the pigs to massively demonstrate support for the people being murdered and brutalized, to fight the pigs until our sisters and brothers are set free, to organize around the injustice they face so that all of us march the demonstration in New Haven in November.

The systematic attempt to destroy the Panthers was underway. In New Haven they have held the fourteen Panther sisters and brothers for thirty hours of labor under heavy armed guard, Panther demonstrators were demaning the release of the thirteen of us from our arrest.

Two thousand women from the Panther Party, women's liberation groups, women's rights organizations, the Young Lords Organization and the National Women's Association marched through downtown New Haven to the State Houses. New York Panther Committee for Political Prisoners Secretary Beth Mitchell made it clear in the move supporting the march that they would be这也是 that march right here until the brothers go to the back; “We're stopping this march right here until the brothers go to the back,” she warned through a microphone at one point.

The five jailed Panther women were pregnant at the time of their arrest. On November 21, after thirty hours of labor under heavy armed guard, Panther Peggy Carter gave birth to a boy by Caesarean section.

heid the word that Peggy Carter's baby is now with her family but the two other pregnant sisters don't know who will care for their children. Unless they can provide better conditions considered "suitable" by the State Welfare Department their babies will be taken away from them and put in foster homes. This, they are in jail because they feel that the people the riot troops are used against have good reasons for resisting.

Therefore, we the undersigned demand the following:

1. FREE RICHARD CHASE
2. END BRUTAL AND INHUMAN CONDITIONS IN THE STOCKADES

A GI, Pvt E-Z Richard Chase came to Ft. Hood in January 1969. At that time he stated that he was a Conscientious Objector and would not participate in riot control training, and he was granted unofficial Conscientious Objector status by his Commanding Officer and First Sergeant. In June 1969 he became active in the anti-war, GI's rights movement and wrote for the Fatigue Press, the E.M. paper he helped edit at Fort Hood. At Fort Hood, Chase was active in the anti-war, GIs rights movement and wrote for the Fatigue Press, the E.M. paper he helped edit at Fort Hood. Chase has been in the Stockade over a month and while in "C" Compound (the box) was beaten four times. Due to the Army's knowledge of his increased activity in the GI movement, Richard Chase was given a direct order on September 11, 1969 to participate in riot control training as a dissident. He refused the order and is now being held in pre-trial confinement at the Ft. Hood Stockade. He refused the order because he feels that the people the riot troops are used against have good reasons for protesting and he supported them.

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ABOLISH THE PEACE CORPS

By Rita and Joe Shklov

"None of our goals—self-determination, the equitable distribution of the world's resources, the new society and the new man—will be achieved until the international system of imperialism led by the United States is defeated...we call for the abolition of the United States Peace Corps. We call upon present volunteers to subvert the Peace Corps and all other institutions of United States imperialism."

This sentence is part of a political position paper adopted by acclamation at the first General Assembly of the Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV) in September, 1969. Another position paper calling for the abolition of the Peace Corps as an instrument of US imperialism was passed at the same gathering. This, in an organization composed primarily of returned Peace Corps volunteers, represents a major break with a liberal past.

An examination of the process of radicalization is important to the development of the movement's and our attempts to radicalize others. Too often we forget our own liberal origins, rejecting people who do not agree with or even understand our position. We expect immediate newcomers to accept our conclusions without bothering to answer the arguments we ourselves raised not too long ago. Understanding the evolution of the CRV might provide insights into the process of radicalization in general.

LIBERAL BEGINNINGS

CRV was organized in New York City in late 1965. During the first few months a position paper on the Vietnam War was written, which although it called for immediate withdrawal of US troops tended to view the US involvement in Vietnam as a mistake and read generally like a liberal's critique of the war. Most of us considered it quite progressive at the time.

Membership grew rapidly as signatures in support of the position paper were solicited, before it was finally published in RAMPARTS (Sept.1967) within two years the group in NYC had developed into a national organization with ten chapters and a dues-paying membership of approximately a thousand.

From the very beginning the overwhelming majority of the members were drawn from among returned Peace Corps Volunteers, with perhaps 25 percent from other organizations like American Friends Service Committees, Caribbean Africa, International Voluntary Service, and a limited number from VISTA. According to the bylaws, at least 45 percent of a chapter's membership must be returned volunteers from service in Third World countries.

The original statement of purpose, the CRV spoke out in favor of the right of self-determination for all nations, asserting that revolution is frequently legitimate and necessary, and rejected the traditional arguments of anti-communism. It favored multinational aid through agencies like the United Nations Relief and Work Agency.

The US must accept that unilateral military intervention in the affairs of their nations is not in the best interests of the people of the world. The same respect for their autonomy and self-determination should be shown as that demanded by the US when it was an emerging nation.

All in all, despite flashes of radicalism it was a progressive liberal document which implied faith in the system, and in the possibility of educating people to bring about change in US foreign policy.

LEARNING THRU STRUGGLE

Looking back, there seem to have been two outstanding factors working to radicalize the CRV. Firstly, and perhaps most important of all, the imperial nature of the US because increasingly apparent—especially in Vietnam, but in Thailand, Laos, North Korea, Greece, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, and Cuba, etc. The events throughout the Third World, and the struggle here at home of third world people and of white middle class students, became part of our history and our education.

Secondly, our attempts to change US foreign policy and domestic policy as well, and the resulting frustration of our efforts to change anything, changed us. We learned more about Guatemala and Thailand and the difficulty of educating the public when we researched and prepared our kits on these countries. We wrote letters to our 'Representatives', and even, on several occasions visited them in an effort to influence their votes (re the U.S. boycott of Rhodesia for example).

The peace marches, the demonstration at the Pentagon, and the counter-inaugural all had CRV support and participation. A number of CRV members participated in student rebellions on their respective campuses and had their eyes smarred from tear gas. This was especially true at Columbia in 1968.

The Presidential campaign of 1968 was another crucial point. Some members supported McCarthy, some Kennedy; others worked for the Peace and Freedom Party. Still others repudiated traditional electoral politics. The police riot in Chicago brutally educated our CRV contingent. Fearful and very angry they learned about the powers that be and what they will do to protect themselves. We were defined by out government as a threat to that government. Subsequent encounters with 'agents of repression' on local issues (from welfare rights to arrests, beatings, and court cases resulting from these encounters persuaded us further.

Court proceedings also played an important role in the radicalizing of those members (and their sympathizers) who chose to refuse to submit themselves to induction. One of the first volunteers to be drafted from the field was Fred Lottieri who was sentenced in San Francisco on the day of the first Moratorium, Oct. 15, 1969, to two years in prison. Another important case is that of Bruce Murray who was sent home and drafted because he had written a letter in a Chilean newspaper opposing the US role in the war in Vietnam. He is suing the PC for denying him his constitutional right of free speech.

CUBA

Another major event in the life of CRV was the trip to Cuba made by 40 members this summer. It blew people's minds. Cuba was doing all the things the Peace Corps and other organizations claimed they would do in underdeveloped countries. It exposed the Alliance for Progress, and other US development schemes in general, as shams and mere palliatives to further US penetration and control.

While still in Cuba, CRV members began to work on drafts for policy statements on the Peace Corps and US imperialism; the need for a new statement of purpose for CRV was discussed. Upon returning to the US, the impact of the group on the organization was significant. Most of them attended the general assembly as delegates or observers, constituting almost one-third of the participants.

Their influence in support of the positions adopted by the assembly was decisive. Although a statement for the Abolition of the Peace Corps was expected to pass, the strong wording of the final document was a surprise to many. The new Statement of Purpose and the position paper on US imperialism were logical extensions of the Cuba trip.

ACTION

The CRV lost little time in putting its new position into practice. As a finale to the assembly, we sponsored a demonstration at the Honeywell plant in Minneapolis, (Honeywell manufactured anti-personnel fragmentation bombs.) A group then went to Washington, D.C., where Richard Nixon was playing host to PC Directors from around the world. As the directors entered and left the White House, they were there to pray with Nixon—they were confronted by guerrilla theatre depicting the hypocrisy of the Peace Corps. Along these same lines, CRV members are taking advantage of every opportunity to challenge PC recruiters and training programs on college campuses.
almost any white man how he feels about standing around with that. And he gets a feeling of how he shouldn't be associated with those people - his standards of something. If the committee should do something about this. Talk to the people, show the workers, not them.

JRN: Power to the People.

MOVEMENT: Jack, you said something like 'white capitalism'.

JRN: Well, that's what we're doing, union and workers' running the factories.

PHL: I don't exactly think we're doing that. The whole economic structure of this country is based on capitalism. If you smash it, what have you got left.

JOIN: I feel that there is a common trending ground, but the unions are behind what they should be getting and the corporations are getting much more money than they deserve - a few of the taxes ought to be put on the corporations rather than the people. If there is a common ground where the unions and the corporations can get together, to get wages according to profits, so the corporations won't make outstanding sums. It should be spread out to a few more people.

JRN: I think all the people should get part of it.

VERA: I think anybody working for any company realized the company has to be able to make some profit. The houses don't have to run around doing more or less nothing and making a hundred thousand dollars a year while one of their workers is making 74 dollars a week.

OWEN: MOVEMENT: Someone suggested women have played a fairly important role in this strike.

VERA: I don't know that we have done a lot. We have cut down on their food bill since the women have gotten together and organized their group and taken turns bringing food down there.

JRN: The women have done a lot more than feed us better. They've been out on the picket lines, showing support. They've been doing many things that the workers just don't think up.

VERA: We have just begun to fight.

MARY: I don't think the women have done enough. I don't think there have been enough women on the picket line, and that's because some of them have children and can't get away. And some of them are working. If they don't come down to the picket line, how are we going to meet them and tell them there are things they can do. We did telephone all the women one time and ask them to come to a meeting, and about twenty said they would. But only ten showed up, and they were women we had already met. I don't know if the husbands want them to come or what. There's lots of things the women could do, like picketing the movie employment agency that's hiring scabs. But with the number of women we've got now it's so much as we can do to have one woman with a movie camera down at the picket line and cook the food. We don't have enough to picket other places.

MOVEMENT: Would you do that? Picketing the employment agency?

SUE: I can't. I wouldn't mind. But with the baby, it's kind of hard.

MOVEMENT: You need someone to look after the baby?

SUE: I'm too particular. We have a friend that's the only person I'd let near the baby.

MARY: A lot of women feel like that. I know a lot of the students have got the idea it would be a good thing to set up day care centers, and it would be a real good thing, but youcan't just walk in on someone and say 'Hey, I'm going to take care of your kids.' That's crazy. How's someone going to let you take care of their kids if they don't even know you, and you don't know what the kid is used to and how to treat it.

WEAKER PART OF THE FAMILY

JRN: I don't think that's the only reason. A lot of the men don't want their wives on the picket lines because there has been a lot of violence down there. This is their fight with their bosses. The family they don't like having the weaker part of their family come down and do their job as far as picketing or fighting is concerned.

JOIN: I think that's true. The violence that is going on down there is - I don't like to see any woman get hit with one of those clubs.

SUK: A lot of the men say their women are their own wives. That's true, but when they are alone they say forget it. They don't want them out there. Mine's done it.

MARY: But today, when there were ten or twelve women on the picket line, it looked as if the police didn't know what to do. They were just standing there and there wasn't any harassment because there were just women there.

VERA: This is one wife that is going to clobber back if she gets upset. If she gets upset, I wouldn't like to do it. She's going to clobber back. That's great because then they are afraid to push anybody around.

MARY: I don't think the students should get beaten up either. If not just a question of the men should be out there or not, or whether students should be out there or not. If you're smart about it or stupid about it. If you do the things the women can do themselves, like being in a small group harassing the cops, and being around the pickets, that's a thing you can get away with, or picketing the employment agency.

MOVEMENT: Students have been talking about women's liberation lately.

JOIN: I'm all for women coming out and forming their own unions and getting paid more, getting paid equal pay for equal jobs, all that.

JRN: I'm not for women's liberation. I'm for people's liberation. I'm not going to fight for women's liberation because I don't think the men are liberated.

VERA: I don't think a woman is more oppressed as far as being at home than a man is. And if you call it liberation, think the women are trying to run over the men and the men start saying things they don't even believe in, they don't practice in the first place.

PHL: Being in the house, my husband knows I like it there and he doesn't even want me working. But when he offers me services for anything to get me out of the house one way or another, I don't call this being oppressed, I like being in the house.

SUE: It doesn't bother me too much as long as I have someone to talk to besides the babies.
tions and ships to Peru in her war with Chile. Peru lost, but Grace turned defeat into victory for herself. The war left Peru with $250 million in foreign debts which Grandaul graciously assumed, thereby securing a virtual monopolization of the nation and receiv- ing tremendous concessions in return. Peru for her turn used her new status to get back. In August of this year the Peruvian government seized $25 million of W.R. Grace & Co. sugar lands as part of its sweeping nationalization campaign.

The Grace empire is perhaps best known for the operation of a shipping line, Grace Lines, which became Grace-Shipping Lines, Panagra Airlines (sold to Braniff) and Miller Breeding Co. (sold to Peaso). But the company is finding itself engaged in activities as diverse as producing synthetic cement, paper, caustic soda, chlorine, tungsten and vinyl plastic.

But to inject a personal note into the impersonal- ity of corporate life, we should look at J. Peter Grace himself. His 281,834 shares of W.R. Grace & Co. alone is currently worth $8.9 million. So he is worth $1.3 billion in export sales for American firms.

Grace, like his father, was not a liberal in his thinking. For him the word "antisemite" meant "pro-Jewish". He was, rather, an ardent anti-communist who was involved in various activities designed to prevent a "Communist" take-over of the world. He was a staunch supporter of the Alliance for Progress and the United States in its war against "Communism".

Grace Lines produced 18% of the company's total revenue from transportation and advertising. It produces: cement, paper, caustic soda, chlorine, tungsten and vinyl plastic.

And indeed the Alliance for Progress worked quite well for Grace. According to the AID publication "The Task of Development", July 1968, "in fiscal year 1967, AID economic programs financed more than $13 billion in AID dollars for carrying these products to Latin America. The 1967 sales totaled $3 billion. RCA had its big growth spurt during World War II when defense contracts swelled the corporate coffers. The company is now the nation's 26th largest Dfence contractor with contracts totaling $235 million in 1967. It owns RCA International Broadcasting Co., Random House and Hertz-Resorts. The company used to be the proud parent of two television networks, the NBC and the Blue Network (which is now the American Broadcasting Co.)... But General Motors is not just in the business of providing personal transportation. It is now the nation's largest Dfense contractor in the country. With defense and space sales worth $777 million. It produces: "I am the spouse of one of the largest American and third largest producer of oil, but foreign oil companies have been extracting at fantastic rates..."

The vital statistics of SONJ are incredible. As of December 1967, 62% of the company's assets were abroad and the company was the world's largest private overseas inves-tor in over 70 countries. (A state bank in American imperialism), its assets were greater than the U.S. government's gold supply. It had a tanker fleet of 126 ships and operated 65,000 service stations. Its 1968 sales were $14 billion. (Only AT&T rivals General Motors in size. And GM executives are rewarded in proportion..."

The chairman of the board of RCA, General David Sarnoff, is one of those Horatio Alger classics. He arrived in the United States at the turn of the century, penniless, a Russian Jewish immigrant; turned out to be a brilliant electronic genius; and made his way up to the ranks of RCA to become chairman of the board (with a minimum of one class upper management). The company is now the 20th largest industrial corporation in America according to Fortune, its 1968 sales were $14 billion. RCA had its big growth spurt during World War II when defense contracts swelled the corporate coffers. The company is now the nation's 26th largest Defense contractor with contracts totaling $235 million in 1967. It owns RCA International Broadcasting Co., Random House and Hertz-Resorts. The company used to be the proud parent of two television networks, the NBC and the Blue Network (which is now the American Broadcasting Co.)... But General Motors is not just in the business of providing personal transportation. It is now the nation's largest Defense contractor in the country. With defense and space sales worth $777 million. It produces: "I am the spouse of one of the largest American and third largest producer of oil, but foreign oil companies have been extracting at fantastic rates..."

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Coming out of the energy of a successful year of low-level agitating on a large university campus, a small number of one-time SL6 members in Seattle are beginning to do "junior college" organizing. We see this as a bridge in reaching out to working people, as a transition for us.

The school is the only technical-vocational training ground in the city; the ratio of technical to academic programs is approximately 60:40. Thus far, working around racism, a police training facility and the Morgue, we have had little effect. We have had almost no impact on the 1500 women and men studying in technical or vocational programs, the majority of whom will hit into Seattle's main industries, aerospace and transportation. The large commercial production system at Boeing is now laying off some 900-1200 workers per month, and we are beginning to raise the contradiction to students in mechan- ics and assembly courses.

This is the first attempt by most of us to do full time political work and our lack of experience shows sadly. We are working together as a group and attempting to draw in working class participants before solidifying ourselves into a collective structure. We badly need to learn of the experiences of other communist organizers in such an environ, as the last three months have been little more than a series of experiments in method, style and issues. If you or your group has concrete experience in trade school organizing, please contact us.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Radical Peoples Movement
106 Edison South
Seattle Community College
Seattle, Wa. 98122

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FOR CHAIRMAN FRED
WEIGHTIER THAN MOUNT TAI

VIII
The streets are screaming and the lights are out
The streets are screaming and the lights are out
People get so much to do, so much to figure out.

The times are heavy and indig the mood
The times are heavy and indig the mood
When they took him they took a heavy dude.

They shot him in his sleep, vefle at his side
They shot him in his sleep, vefle at his side
She carries a new revolutionary deep inside.

He was dreaming how power could conquer sorrow
He dreamt about how power could stomp sorrow
His head and body getting ready for tomorrow.

They shot him in his sleep, vefle at his side
They shot him in his sleep, vefle at his side
Now she carries the revolution deep inside.

The times are heavy and indig the mood
The times are heavy and indig the mood
When they took him they took a heavy dude.

The streets are screaming and the lights are out
The streets are screaming and the lights are out
We got so much to do, so much to work on out.

The daveners shall die and we shall survive
The daveners shall die and we shall survive
No matter who they kill, the revolution stays alive.

III
Man, that cat could talk
Could really lay it down
That’s cause he’d been there
Talk about payin your dues
He’d been down so long
Head cut through from the blues
To rapping melodies
That wailed on freedom.

Get into it he said,
“You sayin sometin like this
We sayin that theory’s cool
But theory with no practice ain’t shit.
You got to have both of them.

We have a theory about feedin kids free
What’d we do? Put it into practice
That’s how people learns.
A lot of people don’t know how serious it is
Maybe think the children we feed ain’t hungry.
I don’t know no free your olds
That can’t act well, but I do know
That if they not hungry we sure got some actors.
We got five year olds that could take
The motherfuckin academy award.

Last week they had a whole weak
Disenfranchised to the hungry in Chicago
Talkin bout the starvation rate
That went up fifteen percent
Over here where everybody should be eatin’
Why? Because of capitalism.”

Stay in it he said,
“We say that just as fast
As the people are go
That’s just as fast
As we can take it.

We must be sure we ain’t missing
The people in the valley.
In the valley we know that we
Can listen to understand the life of the people.
What with all that bullshit out there
You can come to consider yourself
Up on the mountain top.
I may even have sometimes considered myself
Up on the mountain top
But I know that in the valley
There are people like Henry and Baby
And that below the valley
Are people like Eldridge and Bobby Hutton.

Going into the valley is a dangerous thing
When you go out to the valley
You got to be serious, you got to be ready.

So I say power to the people
Kill all the pigs and
You get complete satisfaction.
I am so revolutionary proletarian intoxicated
That I cannot be gastronomically intimidated.
Right On.”

Men, that cat was 21 years old, could talk
Could organize, and fight, and lay it down
That’s cause from very deep in the valley
Talk about payin your dues
Been down so long
He’d cut through from the blues
To rapping melodies
That wailed on freedom.

We shall survive
No matter who they kill
The revolution stays alive.

IV
In Chicago
The people come
To see the place
Where a leader
Was murdered.
The people come
To pass the coffee
Crying
With their fist raised high.

Who are they?
They are the mothers
Whose souls are scarred
Who’ve had to scrub
The Man’s floors
And raised their children
Hoping for the sun
While being split upon.
They know him
And he know them.

They are the men on the street
Who stand around the lie-in store
And fill the street
With the laughter of oppression
And sometimes breaks their heads
And sing a down home tune.
Hoping for the sun
While being split upon.
They know him
And he know them.

They are the young, the old
The pimps and prostitutes
The Nurses and the mailmen
Welfare and unemployed
The rebels and resistors
The children
The whites who have begun.
To act outside their history
The black minors
And some house niggers
Who, seeing through the jive
Have walked into the valley,
All hoping for the turn.
They know him.
And he know them.
Our work has just begun.

We shall survive
The revolution stays alive.

V
How can there be a murder, and yet a life?
How can there be a blues, without no strife?
How can there be a valley, without no insights?
How can there be a revolution, with all their might?

A murder when avenged, it brings forth life
A blues, when it is over, it causes strife
A valley, when it rises, there are no heights
A revolution, when its needed, it stays alive.

by Lincoln Bergman