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MOVEMENT

JANUARY 1970 VOL. 5 NO. 12

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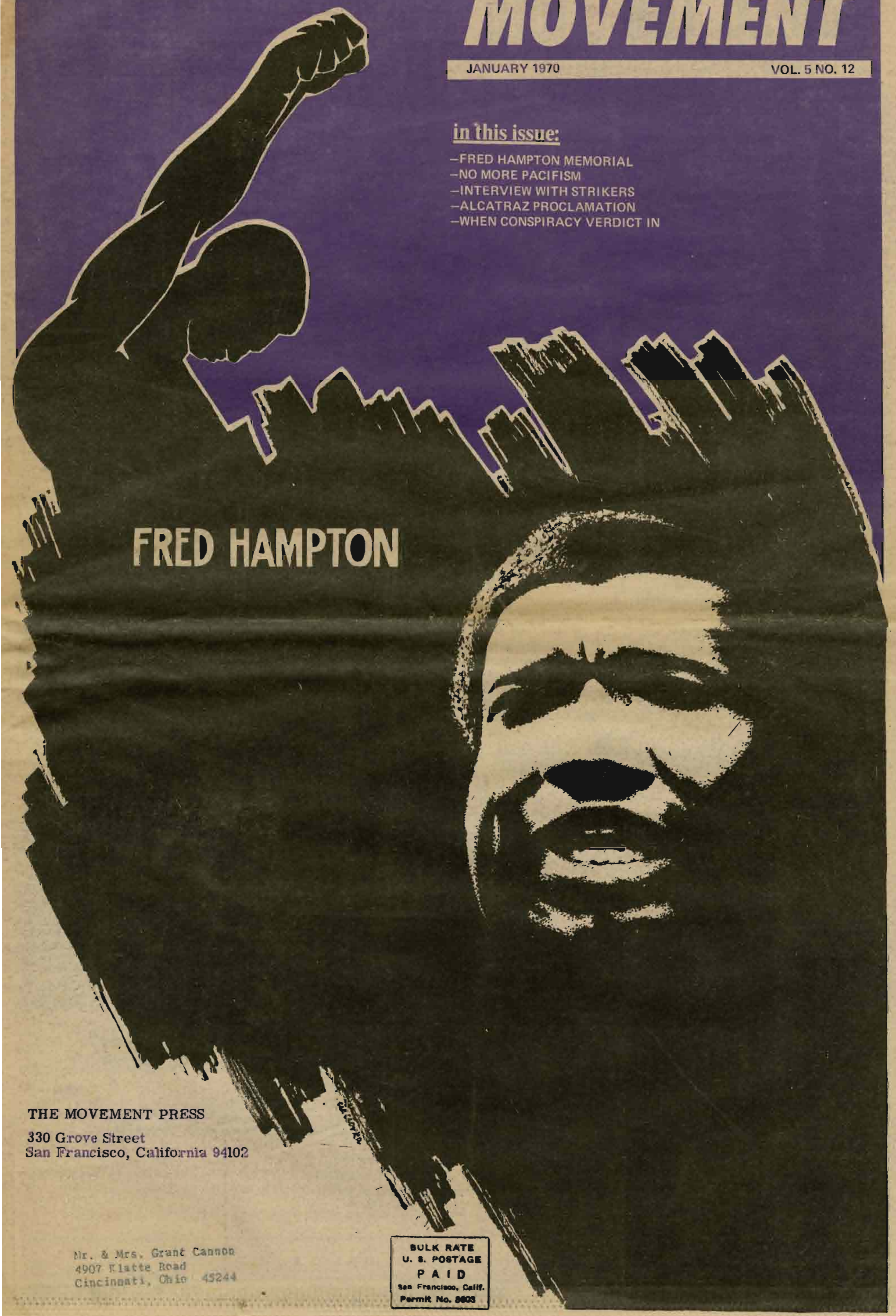

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Seize the Time

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 piggish. The same people who consider themselves radicals applauded Wayne Morse when he praised the American flag and hooted David Hilliard down in the name of "Peace". 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 arrest, Alioto beamed and said, "He marred OUR demonstration."

About two weeks later, Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton was murdered in his sleep, Mark Clark was murdered, several other Panthers were wounded and Panther headquarters in Los Angeles were ravaged by pigs. Panthers wounded in Chicago and Los Angeles were all busted for attempted murder. All this is part of a well-executed plan of the government 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 disgruntled American people. This meant separating legitimate (peaceful) demonstrations from revolutionary political activity, channeling the diffuse discontent of the majority of American people into innocuous forms of dissent. The Moratorium provided the model form. At the same time, the plan calls for heavy repression against revolutionaries, to make sure nothing spills over the channels the Moratorium so conveniently provided. This process appeared pretty successful. Hilliard sent out "bad vibes" to both peace freaks and pig Alioto. The Mayor wasn't jiving when he talked about "our demonstration."

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 liberal lines, and if we do our job, it 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.

Serving the people can never be separated from revolutionary internationalist politics. In the mother country, Serve-the-People-Programs must be consciously launched to meet the needs of poor people, but never allow those people to forget the needs of the third world and who the common enemy is. For example, a day care center for white working class mothers could be used to expand our contact with the people, serve them, and also free oppressed women from the daily chores that make it impossible for them to spend much time as revolutionaries.

The point is that we, as revolutionaries, must reverse what happened at the San Francisco moratorium. The pigs' plan of action is pretty far advanced with the Panthers. After isolation comes annihilation. We cannot allow them to continue to murder and imprison our revolutionary sisters and brothers.

The fascism we are feeling now is unprecedented. Never before in recent times has a revolutionary organization inside the United States received the blows the Panthers are now receiving from the government. And it's all legal. The repression is unprecedented precisely because the challenge that the Panthers represent to the imperialist system, from inside the US, is unprecedented.

As the contradictions of imperialism heightened and the Vietnamese people showed up the system for what it is: ruthless, yet beatable, the Panthers provided an ideology and organization for revolution at home. In a situation where the United States is clearly being defeated in Vietnam, the pigs simply must do everything in their power to crush revolution inside the US. And it is precisely for this reason that we cannot allow them to get away with it.

RACISM IN THE MOVEMENT

The pigs are having an easier time dealing with the Panthers than with the Vietnamese because of racism, the racism of the American people. This racism is still rampant in the white movement. Fifty thousand people marched during the People's Park crisis—mostly because it was the first time a white brother was murdered by pigs. The response of the white movement to Hampton's murder compared to that was nil. Why has our support for the Panthers been so weak? What did we do when the Panthers were ripped off in Connecticut and New York? What did we do when Bobby was kidnapped and gagged? What are we doing now. A few rallies, a few vigils around Panther headquarters. It's outrageous.

The attitude that "the shit that comes down on the Panthers is expected but that sort of thing can't happen to us" is implicit in our relative apathy. It's racism pure and simple. And racism is not a moral shortcoming. It is downright counter-revolutionary. If we cannot move to protect the vanguard of revolutionary struggle, how the hell can we talk seriously about smashing imperialism?

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

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 means by which movement organizers, participants and sympathizers 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-ism (people become afraid to make even tentative evaluations of their struggles for fear of being labelled "racist", "Economist" etc etc).

It seems to us that the newspaper cannot fulfill its purpose (so why 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 try 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 thru? We don't know. The only indicator we have is the fact that circulation of the paper has gone way 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 a problem that's here to stay?

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 investigating trip and because it may be the last and we would need time to make the last issue special.

THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO FRED HAMPTON AND THE TWENTY-SEVEN OTHER PANTHER VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE

"We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing 'em all and getting complete satisfaction."

—Fred Hampton

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Arlene Eisen Bergman, editor. Editorial Staff: Johanna Alper, Barabara Baran, Lincoln Bergman, Joe Blum, Jerry Densch, Jessica Lipnac, John Donley, Hank Reichman, Comalana Smith and Nick Thorkelson. Gary Grimshaw

Distributors:

Los Angeles - Bob Niemann, 1657 Federal Avenue, (213) 478-9509

Detroit - NOC, Box 9571 North End Station, Detroit, 48202.

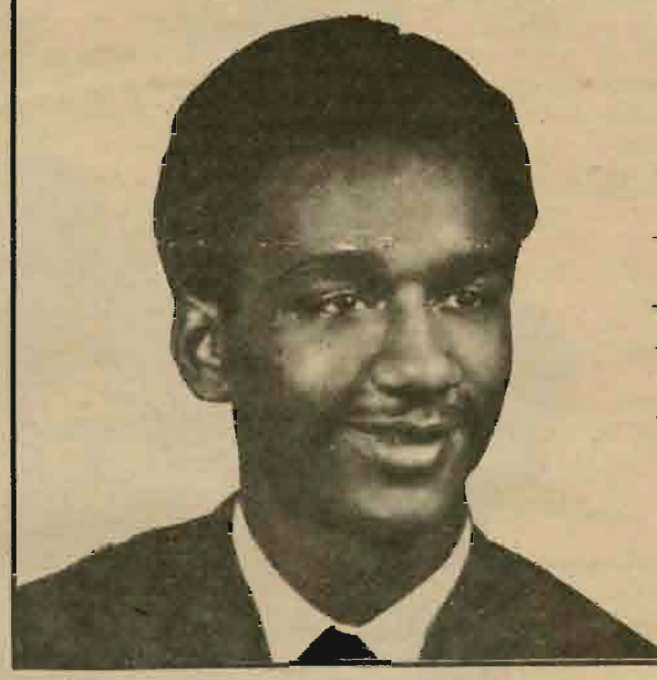
WE NEED MORE DISTRIBUTORS! HELP!

To Be Avenged

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 murders were the latest in a systematic murder and imprisonment of Panthers in Illinois. Fred must be avenged.

Three days later, in Los Angeles, the kill-all-burn-all-destroy-all mission continued. Pigs raided three Panther offices. At the main headquarters eleven warriors of the people held off 350 pigs for over five hours. Three pigs were wounded, one critically. Three Panthers were less seriously wounded. Tear gas, beatings, shooting (but no wounds) took place at other headquarters. 24 Panthers have been arrested. The ones 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 broke through the door and began to rebuild. Pigs used tear gas, and that night, as several hundred community people gathered to help get the office functioning and to protect it, pigs vamped on people indiscriminately, beating them, including a black State Senator. The next day, about 10,000 people, with representatives of many black community groups, held a rally at the LA Hall of Injustice to condemn the fascism of the pigs, to support the Party, and since then the strength of the community has helped the LA Panthers push their programs forward.

JAKE WINTERS



Live Like Him

"The Racist Dog Policeman must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of Black People or face the wrath of the Armed People."

Because of this statement made by Huey P. Newton, our Minister of Defense, and point seven of the ten point program and platform that says, "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people," we must stand firm on the ten point program which was canvassed from the Black community by the founders of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

JAKE WINTERS, a brother, a much beloved brother, a revolutionary, a Black Panther made of red-hot nigger steel, and the baddest son of slaves that ever came from the womb of woman. I have said these things about JAKE WINTERS because they 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 Daley's murderous task force. He defined political power by blowing away racist pig Frank Rappaport and racist pig John Gilhooley and retired 8 other reactionary racist pigs before he was shot down.

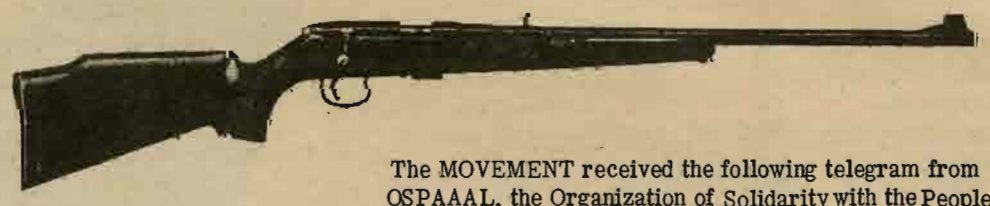
It is also a proven fact and reality that Daley's task force makes daily and weekly raids on the Black community. They murdered Michael Soto, 20 years old, and shot wildly and unconcerned through every window in one of the buildings in the Henry Honer project, injuring scores of children. They murdered Jimmy Tucker and untold others.

JAKE WINTERS understood that the only way to stop fascist pig forces from invading and slaughtering Black people and people period and that is by defending yourself with arms in hand. He didn't talk about Black Capitalism for surviving nor did he talk about teaching "Pork Chop" culture nationalism for surviving like Ron Karenga's US organization in L.A. JAKE WINTERS was 18 years old and he made a far greater commitment than most men will ever make in their entire life time. This brother was an honor student, a graduate of Engleworth High School who turned down five scholarships to work for the People. He helped as much as he possibly could at the Free Breakfast for children Centers, plus he worked seven days a week at the Post Office to bring in money to keep the Centers operating.

JAKE WINTERS is the highest personification of Huey P. Newton and Malcolm X. The spirit of these revolutionaries is manifested in each member of the Black Panther Party and we will always remember JAKE WINTERS. Because of JAKE WINTERS we will intensify the struggle; because of JAKE WINTERS we will continue serving the poor oppressed people —— the Proletariat.

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF JAKE WINTERS
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
RIGHT ON, JAKE
SEIZE THE TIME

Deputy Minister of Information
R.Chaka Walls
ILLINOIS CHAPTER BLACK PANTEER PARTY
2350 W. MADISON CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

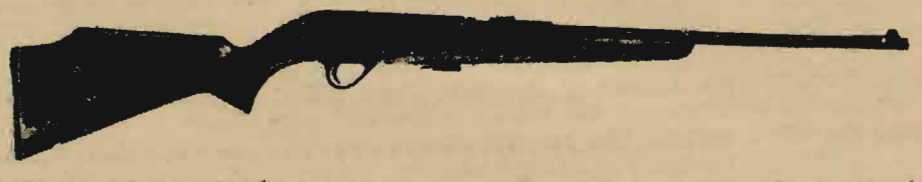


OSPAAAL

The MOVEMENT received the following telegram from OSPAAAL, the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"Latest police aggression against Party's Chicago Chapter and arrest of David Hilliard fully confirms government policy aimed at destroying Black Panther Party and eliminating its most outstanding militants and leaders by means of imprisonment and murder. We strongly condemn this policy and reaffirm our solidarity with the Afro-American people and U.S. anti-imperialist forces and vanguard organizations.

OSPAAAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT



BAIL MONEY NEEDED

SEND CASH, CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94705

THE SANE BOMBERS

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 shone 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 movements, 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 sporadic acts of violence which had been occuring broke through the nation's consciousness, not only as an act of 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 of antiwar protest, we set off explosions in offices of Chase Manhattan, Standard Oil and General Motors.

"Guards of all three buildings and news offices throughout the city were telephoned 30 to 60 minutes in advance to ensure that the building would be clear of people.

"The Vietnam war is the most obvious evidence of the way the country's power destroys the people. The giant corporations of America have now spread themselves all over the world, forcing the entire foreign economies into total dependance 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.

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

"The empire is breaking down as people all over the globe are rising to challenge its power. From the inside, black people have been fighting a revolution for years. And finally, from the heart of the empire, white Americans, too, are striking blows of liberation."

The full text of the letter was printed in pig newspapers across the country. The bombings, which took place on November 11th, set off a wave of bomb threats in New York City, the nerve center of imperialism. The bomb squad reported itself "exhausted." There was another explosion at the Criminal Courts building the next day. An FBI and police emergency dragnet went into effect. There were 300 bomb scares in one day. The New York Times Building, Pan Am, schools and commuter trains had to be evacuated.

They had to make arrests. They made four and are still looking for one more. Jeff Shero, 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 m ust be shut down. As Kenneth O'Neil 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 Armory. John Hughey and Jane Alpert 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 organizing. John Hughey 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 pressured into deserting one of the best underground papers in the country but the RAT, though hassled, has continued to publish, to attempt to cut through the media lies about the bombing and help in raising bread.

Bail for each of the four was originally set at 500,000 dollars. The indictment was scheduled to be handed down on November 18th, but on November 17th there was a secret indictment...no evidence presented in public, just the charges. They were charged with conspiracy to destroy government and corporate property (not actually doing so, which indicates a lack of evidence). They pleaded not guilty.

The U.S. attorney claimed that Sam Melville confessed to all eight bombings, but whether or not that is true, he has pleaded not guilty, and if there was a confession it was done before an attorney had been consulted and is invalid. The government said that Jane and John were "at the very heart of the plot." The judge noted that no evidence supporting that allegation was presented. The government backed down, saying the case was still under investigation. The judge lowered Jane's bail to $20,000 and John's to $25,000.

Following the indictment and lowering of the bail, George Demerle was released on his own recognizance without bail...at the request of the prosecution. The minutes of the release proceedings were sealed. He has now disappeared, been identified as a police informer, and presumably will reappear to testify for the government at the trial. He has been a well known figure in New York, with a knack for the colorful, erratic politics, a bravado mixed with accusing others of being pigs, and complete shifts in life style and politics on occasion. Right, there are some freaks and plenty of "erraticism" in the movement, but accounts of his career by those who knew him suggest that while the connection to the pigs may not always have been formalized, he was never to be trusted and as one account puts it —— no matter how you look at it, he was objectively a pig.

PANTHER SISTERS & JANE

Jane is out on bail now and participated in the successful demonstration in New Haven in support of the Panthers. After her arrest she was at the Women's House of Detention, where two of the women from the framed Panther 21 are being held. She says → (NEXT PAGE)

"I was expecting to stay in the House of Detention for quite a lot longer than the week I spent there. When the bail was lowered it blew our minds to think of the Panther 21, in jail on no evidence since April 1st on 100,000 dollars bail each which the state has again and again refused to lower. It disgusted us to think of taking advantage of the racism that would enable at least two of us to get out while black people could rot in prison on totally un—raisable ransoms.

Two of the Panther women arrested on those charges are still in the House of Detention — Joan Bird and Afeni Shakur (known to her sisters as Power). They've done some far out things in their seven months of incarceration. Although we were on different floors, couldn't see each other and could communicate only with great difficulty and danger, I heard about Power and Joan constantly from the sisters on my corridor since every inmate knows who they are after a week. I managed to let Power and Joan know that we planned to stay in until bail was raised for their case. Then I got worα back from them and the Panther brothers. They said, "go if you can. Revolutionaries belong on the streets, not in the jails. But you've got to talk to the people about the racism that keeps us in here."

At a speech after he was out on bail, David Hughey said this:

"A lot of people in the movement are really scared because of what's been happening in the last few months. They're afraid that the actions of Weatherman and the things that have been going off around the city will escalate the repression and lead to a destruction of the movement the way it is. The problem with the movement is that it is afraid to let go of itself.

One of the foundations of any repressive society is that it makes people hold on to things the way they are. For this fucking

system here to survive it's absolutely necessary that people hold on to their jobs, their private homes, private cars, private bodies; that men hold on to their domination over women, and women to their submission to men; that whites hold on to their white skin privilege. But most important: that people hold on to the definition of life that this system has given them. Namely that life is that 70 or 80 years after which you die a natural death. So that an 80 year old man who lives 80 years of boredom but dies a natural death is said to have lived a full life. But if an 18 year old kid dies a violent death, that's considered tragic.

As long as people hold on to that de— finition oflife obviously no one is going to challenge the existing order. Because challenging the existing order means putting that thing which they call life on the line and probably losing it in the process.

So for this movement of resistance and protection to join the revolution, it has to start letting go of some of its institutions and the whole way it defines r ality. Our little individual consciousnesses whose main concern is to be protected and to stay alive have to start giving way to a broader consciousness, a collective consciousness and a cosmic consciousness where the individual rather than constantly escaping from life and death and trembling at the slightest signs of repression —— lets go and flows into life and into death. And in the context of repressive Amerika this flow into life and death amounts to a very deep and strong desire to fight."

There have been at least eight bombings in the New York area since July 27th, all of them with accompanying letters which said why the target was chosen, and what the act of violence represented —— the movement of third world, working people and youth toward the destruction of the monster.

It seems obvious on the face of it that

there are plenty of aspects of frame up and informer-conceived fantasy connected to the arrests that have been made. Be that as it may, the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect, the people are a bomb, and U.S. imperialism the criminal. The bombings were important political acts, and are representative of the beginnings of new stages of struggle around the corner.

On the night of the arrests, this letter was sent to the media: "The establishment is in for some big surprises if it thinks that kangeroo courts and death sentences can arrest a revolution. The anger of youth and all oppressed peoples is mounting against this mockery of justice. There' one thing the cowards who rule the world might as well know: the will to freedom of the people is stronger than any repression. Liberty or death." —

Jane writes, "The movement moved outside the law some years ago, but we're still hung up on our middle class-ness and we've got plenty to learn from people who've been outside the system far longer than us. All of us were in the House of Detention for the same reason, I never felt like a special case. We had to be locked up because none of us can deal with this system and the system couldn't deal with us outside the jails. Some day soon it won't be able to deal with the sisters in jail either. What I heard most in the House of Detention was "Hey, Conspiracy, I know you had nothing to do with those bombs, but if you can find that girlfriend of yours who split, tell her to come back and BLOW THIS MOTHERFUCKER UP."

The people who were busted need support and money. Contributions can be sent to THE RAT, 241 East 14th Street, New York, N.Y.

all The Low Down on the Blow Down

July 27—a United Fruit Co. pier on the Hudson River

August 20—the Marine Midland Grace Trust Co. in the Wall St. area

September 19—the Federal Office Building in lower Manhattan

October 7—the Whitehall Selective Service center in lower Manhattan

November 11—the Standard Oil (of New Jersey) offices in the RCA Building in midtown Manhattan

the General Motors Building in midtown Manhattan

the Chase Manhattan Bank Building in the Wall St. area

November 12—the Criminal Courts Building in lower Manhattan

The bombs which have shaken New York City for five months ripped into the steel and concrete guts of Amerika. They exploded in the office buildings and corporate headquarters where the business of the Amerikan empire is carried out.

Each day those buildings suck in human energy and spit it out again in a regular nine-to-five rhythm. Then they stand idle and aloof, empty of humanity, while the rest of Manhattan swells to the point explosion. During the day, the decisions made and carried out in these anonymous executive suites and administrative offices affect the lives of millions of people. It is important then to examine the particulars of their functioning.

Whitehall, the Federal Building, and the Criminal Courthouse are understandable enough as bombing targets. Their operations are more or less public. Whitehall takes the men who are needed in Amerika's wars, the courthouse flushes away the men and women who are disfunctional. The Federal Office Building is the embodiment of Amerikan government, spreading its bureaucratic pall over the nation. But it is those other places—GM, Chase Manhattan, Etc.— that require more ample descriptions.

Those private corporate entities house the men who make the critical decisions about the economic life of the empire. They live in fancy estates like the Rockefeller's Pocantico in Tarrytown, N.Y.; they meet in the plush lounges of clubs like the Links and Knickerbocker, and they make their plans in gatherings of groups like the Council on Foreign Relations. Their news is printed in the Wall Street Journal and Fortune magazine and they use a language spiked with monopoly game phrases which is more obscure than the language of any youth culture.

The mass of Americans are powerless and raised to be powerless. They are not meant to understand the workings of Chase Manhattan or General Motors, and ideally they are brought up not to care. The bombings focused attention on some of those corporate giants we have come to treat as part of the scenery. We buy their brand-name products every day, consume their ads everywhere, and even walk by their buildings occasionally.

UNITED FRUIT

United Fruit is perhaps the best known name in Amerikan imperialism, famous for its role in perpetuating feudalism in Central America. For decades the company has monopolized most of the arable land in Central America in its pursuit of profits from Chiquita bananas. The company also owns 900 miles of railways in that part of the world and is moving into t ie business of mass communications with its Tropical Radio Telegraph Co. The company's tracts of land are so vast, that Central American peasants often live their entire lives without leaving United Fruit property. The company benevolently provides some schools and hospitals and even contracts out their workers (like slave labor) during off seasons. In 1954 when the liberal regime of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala pressed for land reform that would take some of the company's land, the CIA graciously aided United Fruit by ousting Arbenz through a coup.

United Fruit has an absolute stranglehold on the banana market (90% of the bananas sold in North America are Chiquita brand), but the company isn't just bananas. It is a major producer of edible oils (like margarine) in Central America; it just recently bought out an eighty-year-old Mexican company which produces and markets a full line of process foods (canned goods, milk, etc.) in Mexico; it has interests in a plastic products company in Central America and in a pulp mill in Pine Hill, Alabama; and it's moving into the tourist industry by buying up Swiss Chalet, a company which operates hotels and restaurants in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

United Fruit also produces Revere Sugar, instant "Right-Away" salads, and ice cream toppings and owns the 3000 A&W Drive-Ins in the U.S. and Canada and the more than 600 Baskin-Robbins (with 131 ice cream flavors).

And lo and behold!! according to their 1967 Annual Report: "thirteen of the company's eighteen American flag vessels continue under charter to the U.S. Navy carrying supplies in connection with the military efforts of the U.S. in Southeast Asia." You just can't seem to get away from the war, even if you're in the banana business.

United Fruit, with headquarters in Boston, had 1968 revenues of $509.5 million. Its charman is John M. Fox; its president Herbert C. Cornuelle; and one of the company's directors—until he took a leave of absence to become Under Secretary for Inter-American Affairs (!) was Charles A. Meyer.

MARINE MIDLAND GRACE TRUST

Amerika's nineteenth largest bank with assets of $2.5 billion is in turn owned by the holding company, Marine Midland Banks. The bank is the financial outcropping of the far-flung empire of J. Peter Grace, Jr. Also included in the empire is W.R. Grace and Co. whose $1.7 billion worth of sales in 1968 earned it place 45 in Fortune's rankings of industrial corporations.

The Grace dynasty, which is an essential part of Latin American imperial history, was launched in 1854 by William Russell Grace, grandfather of the present J. Peter. Grandad arrived in Peru as an Irish immigrant and started a ship supply company (which was aided by a timely marriage into a New York shipbuilding family). A less often mentioned part of the dynastic origins is W.R.'s entrance into the business of birdshit. The collection of guano from the Pacific islands off Peru proved highly profitable and gave the new company a sound basis in shipping, finance and fertilizer.

In 1879, Grandad got the contract to sell muni-

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During the 1960's the Amerikan 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 the 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.

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S JURY

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 doin'," 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, whatever is appropriate, seizing some space and occupying it for the length of time the jury is out. Turning that area into an area of festival and revolutionary planning, for discussions on what to do when the jury comes in with a verdict. Those areas could be launching bases for street action. What those actions are, would be locally determined by who the local pigs are and so on. It'll be a national jury sentencing the government.

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 seeing the trial as very important.

There's recently been a coming together of different political groups. There has been concentration on the faction fighting and breaking up that's going on, but around Chicago, there's been forces coming together. Like The White Panther Party starting to relate to the Weatherman. They have certain differences, but would like to work together on joint actions. Also the Yippies, White Panthers, and Weatherman . . . tendencies in the cultural revolution pulling together.

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.

TRIAL ENDS IN THE STREETS

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 juries 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 copping 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. Struggle 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 harder 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 already engaged in armed struggle (Remember Chicago in October, and how Panthers in LA held off the pigs for 5 hours, and 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 Rector, allowed the tone of the march to be set by the "beautiful people" giving flowers (lots of them) to the pigs. 300,000 people went to the free Stones concert at Altamont and were more upset by a few accidental deaths than by Hampton's murder. (Mick Jagger, by the way, refused to make any announcement about what was coming down on the Panthers, and went even further and said if any political announcements were made, the Stones would not play). And if Alioto hadn't been encouraged by the peacenik's response to Hilliard, the pigs might have been more hesitant to pin another felony rap on the Panthers. Pacifism is a bourgeois ideology. (See Cauldwell's essay in this issue.) It can only help the pigs. It is our responsibility to join the Panthers (and the New York bombers and the weather people) and all others who take armed struggle seriously, if we take the idea of revolution seriously. There is no middle way—either you're for revolutionary violence or you're a bourgeois pacifist.

But what does it mean to be 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 happening 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 clear political meanings like the bombing of the Haymarket statue and the headquarters of the ruling class in New York City. It also means that people prepare 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 rap 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. In 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 corect 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 hard in practice, often times, a few days "retreat" for political discussion is good to straighten out people's heads and learn. (Burchett talks about how sometimes the Vietnamese units leave the battlefield for extended periods for political discussion). But, now it seems that many people and collectives 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. No one should be surprised at what is coming down now on the Panthers. Fred Hampton was the 28th 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 and feel very strongly that people should read that article seriously, if they haven't already.)

Correct line-ism breeds and perpetuates the current 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 unprincipled unity. But we will offer two transitional suggestions.

SURE TO WIN

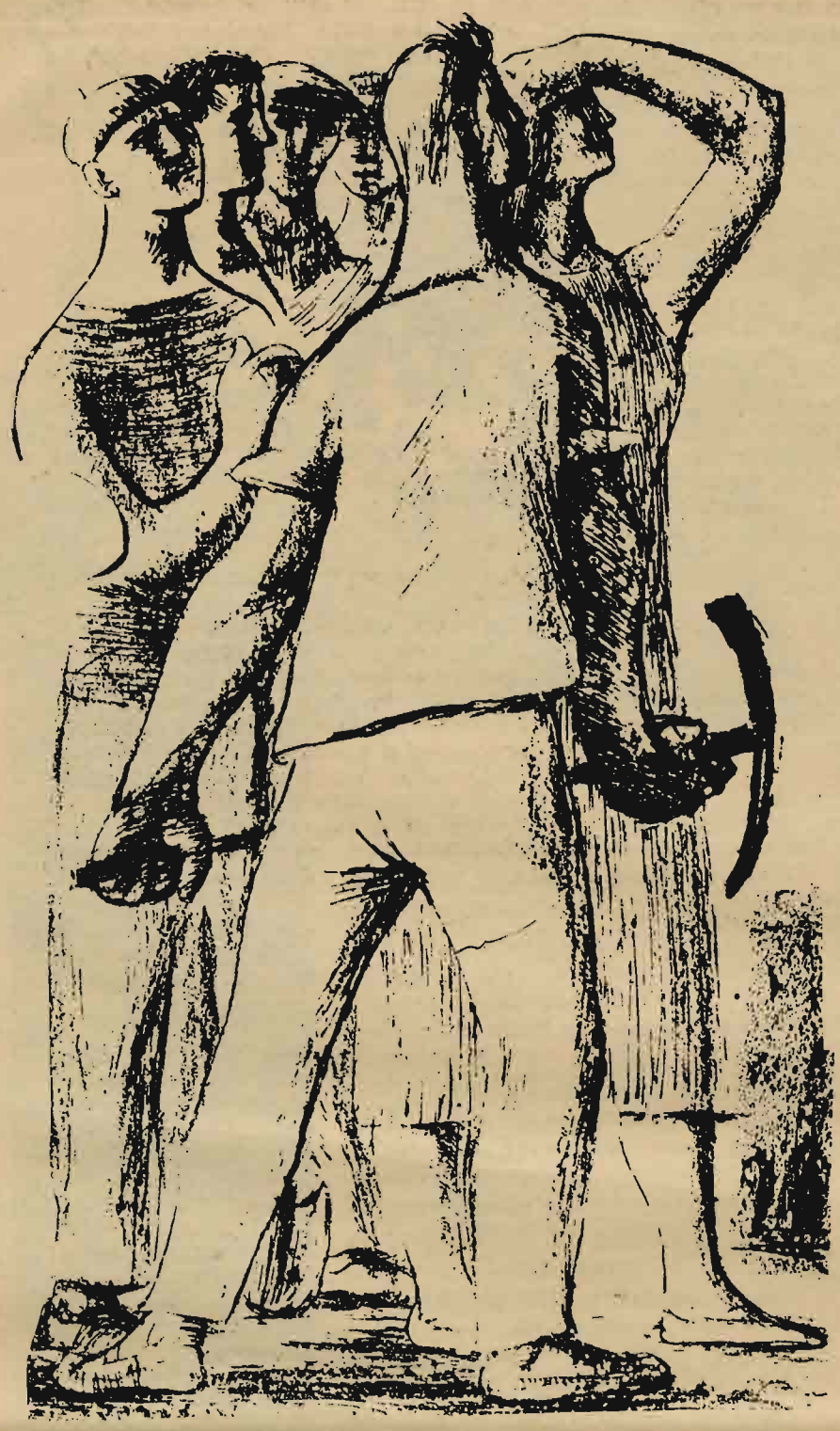
One, just as we have been able to maintain a modicum of unity in working together in support of the Vietnamese, we should do that for the Panthers. There's a lot of talk going around about "the cutting edge" in defining who is revolutionary and who is not. These principles are important, but active support 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. 26. Everyone should go—but go with a comradely attitude. It's clear that 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 clear-headed enough to know that continued hostility among comrades is suicide. We have all made mistakes. Criticism and self-criticism must be made with the purpose of strengthening revolutionaries and helping new people to become revolutionaries—not destroying them.

All this doesn't deal directly with the question of fear and feelings of impotence. But if we moved towards dealing with the problems of pacifism, correct line-ism and fragmentation, we 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 1959 after Diem had almost totally annihilated the revolutionaries in the South. Fidel launched armed struggle confidently with the twelve survivors of the Granma landing. It was precisely at these low periods when revolutionaries were forced to go militantly to their people. Revolutionaries only dare to struggle when they are sure they can win.

SEIZE THE TIME



strikers speak

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 Pittsburgh 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 Santa 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 men—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 crossing the picket line every day and that a court injunction had limited the strikers to four pickets. It was obvious that outside support would be useful. To get student support the reporter arranged for a PDM striker to speak about the strike at a demonstration against the International Industrial Conference in San Francisco in early Septemper. Though the speaker—like all union members—was prohibited from soliciting picket line support, he made the need clear and collected money for the strike fund. Soon afterwards, radicals from Stanford, San Francisco State College, San Jose State and Berkeley began holding regular weekly demonstrations at the PDM gates to discourage scabs.

The PDM strikers have been militant from the start—they have a "night shift" that takes care of cars that have run into pickets—and the student support demonstrations picked up some of the militant spirit. After one of the demonstrations, thirty scab cars had flat tires; at another, a freight train was stopped on PDM's driveway, blocking traffic for miles. Pickets and students are frequently arrested, and strikers, students and strikers' wives have all been clubbed. The week before thanksgiving, PDM's scabs organized a counter-attack and jumped the picket line; the union was prepared and after the free-for-all six scabs had to be hospitalized, while only one union man was seriously hurt.

Striker and student militance eventually led to police reprisals. On October 31, the police, who had been out in force since the students started coming down, took advantage of a phoney picket line incident and rioted. Several strikers were beaten, as well as students, and ten people were arrested. The police singled out union militants for arrest.

It is clear that part of the reason for the intense police hostility to the strikers, and for the willingness of the local authorities to play PDM's game and let the police loose, is the political coloring the worker-student contact has given to the strike. The contact has gone both ways. Members of the PDM strike committee joined the protest against the International Industrial Conference in San Francisco. The Santa Clara County Workers' Committee, a militant rank-and-file organization that grew (partly) out of the PDM strike, joined the San Francisco Moratorium March in November. And at least two of the PDM strikers joined the December 8 vigil outside the San Francisco Black Panther Party office when it looked as if the police were about to bust the office.

On November 13, two weeks after the police riot, MOVEMENT interviewed PDM strikers and their wives. Most of the men interviewed were from the hard-core "permanent pickets"—the young guys who have been sustaining the strike (and getting busted). One of the men interviewed (Phil) is on the union's negotiating committee. Several of the others and some of their wives have been very active in setting up and working with the Santa Clara Workers' Committee, in contacting other PDM locals and persuading them to strike, and in talking on the Bay Area campuses. The names have been changed. ◆

MOVEMENT: There have been a lot of radicals and SDS people down here. What do you think of them?

JOHN: I think they've done a lot of good. By coming down here they showed that there was some support here other than just 113 men in one union. A lot of their ideas I agree with.

JACK: I think it's a good thing for the students to be down here so that the workers can see what the students are really like and the students can see what the workers are really like. They've never been together before and they don't know anything about each other. Since this has started I've learned a lot about them. I learned not to believe the papers or television for one thing. All you ever hear on the news on television is strictly all bad, all against the SDS as an organization. Just like the papers and television print lies about the pickets at PDM.

MOVEMENT: What kind of effect has students being here had? Has it made any kind of dent in the company?

JACK: Yes they have. They've been a great help to keep out scabs. While the students were here, we didn't have a lot of scabs. We just about kept the company closed down. But since the students haven't been around, in the last two weeks, they have hired about 25 scabs.

PHIL: As far as the union is concerned, it's the students' privilege to come down any time they want. For my part, it's all right. It doesn't bother me, and I definitely think it's done some good. They've helped picket, helped hold up traffic. In general they've helped harass the company.

As far as harassment goes, our pickets are really getting harassed out there by the Santa Clara police dept.

JACK: By the Santa Clara pigs!

MOVEMENT: What have they been like?

RON: Pure hell.

VERA: Like mad dogs, that's what they are.

MOVEMENT: What were you expecting from the police?

VERA: To be treated as humans at least. And that they have not done.

JACK: We thought the police were always our friends and would be now.

MOVEMENT: Are you serious?

JACK: We thought that. I don't say we feel that way now.

JIM: The first day a Santa Clara County police captain came to the picket line and gave us his card. He said the company was on Santa Clara property and if there was any trouble the police department was going to be neutral. They were not going to get involved between the pickets and the company.

Next day, he asked me to move my car to the other side of the road so it wouldn't block people coming out. I did and the next day my car was torn up by a truck coming out of PDM, rented by the company to deliberately tear it up.

GOODNIGHT COMMIES

JACK: If the police weren't there, we'd have the company closed down. There would be no scabs whatsoever.

MOVEMENT: Is PDM controlling the police?

JIM: Not directly, but because PDM's a corporation with plenty of money, they can control the police chief down at the station and he's telling his police officers what to do.

TERRY: The day the police had their riot, when they singled people out and started beating on them, was two days after we turned down a contract that the company was sure we would take. And it was one day after the Sacramento steelworkers local, with the encouragement of John and Jim, had voted to go on strike against PDM there. They are out now.

MOVMENT: Did students being there make the pigs more vicious?

JIM: They'd come down to the picket line at night and call our wives commies. 'Goodnight Commies'. That was because of the students.

JACK: The police department, espécially the lieutenants and captains, have spoken to several of the pickets on the line, after students have left, to get out of us why they were there and to try to tell us they were nothing but a bunch of communists and trouble makers. They said the students were just using us and weren't doing us any good. They said the students were an organization who want to take over the government, and they would drop us or use us, just like a bunch of slaves.

I told him I didn't know how he could feel we were that stupid to believe him.

JIM: John and I went down to San Jose State College to speak at a SDS meeting and correct a mistaken story that had appeared in a local underground paper. The personnel manager of PDM's Western Division got to hear of it through his daughter, who was there, and told the police. So the President of our local and some of us went to talk with the Chief of Police. He was sitting in his office with the officer in charge of the county tactical squad and the officer in charge of the plain clothes, and they told us that the SDS

wouldn't do anything but hurt us, and the company, and they didn't want us making speeches at the colleges any more.

They said they didn't want the students down on the picket lines anymore, and that theywere just using us.

I told them this was a free country and I'd make speeches anywhere I felt like it. Since then, the police chief won't talk to me. He won't even see me anymore.

MOVEMENT: But you've been giving speeches?

JIM: We've been as many places as we can. Stanford, Berkeley, San Jose State, San FranciscoState, several others . We haven't been asking for support but we've been telling the students that if they wanted to learn anything, and wanted to come down here, we couldn't stop them.

MOVEMENT:What kind of reception did you get'?

JIM: Real good. They all came.

VERA: I have been asking for their support in collecting food and money for strikers in the Santa Clara Workers' Committee. And they've been doing real well at it. They've also offered babysitters for the wives, printed leaflets to give to the scabs,written us up in papers and been a big help in a lot of ways other than just coming down on the picket lines.

MOVEMENT: As a result of the police attack on Friday, the students were asked to pull off ?

PHIL: Yes, they were. The company made suggestions that they wanted to talk. That is, if we would slack off, they would slack off. If we would slack off on picket line activity, they might be a little bit willing to talk. Well, in negotiation you have to be willing to bend and weave. So we did. We asked the students to pull off and they did, they cooperated very well. And in turn, the company turned around and hired more scabs.

MOVEMENT: You got suckered?

PHIL: I guess you could say we did. You could say it was a mistake. But you have to be willing to bend to find out what the other guy is willing to do.

(Editors note: Students are still supporting the PDM strike)

PHANTOM WEATHERMAN

VERA:I don't think it was a mistake. I think it was a good tactic. It closed the plant down, which was the one thing we'd never been able to do before. The Tuesday after the police attack, thepolice heard the 'Weathermen from Berkeley' were ready, and they were coming down armed and ready to start shooting the minute the police walked on the line. So they brought two bus loads of police in there and they shut the plant down at two thirty and they were running around like chickens with their heads cut off wondering where the Weathermen were. And that brought the men's morale back up.

TERRY: Students HAD left Berkeley, but they were going to the General Electric Plant in Oakland. Of course, there aren't any Weathermen at Berkeley but the police aren't too bright.

JIM: There's a good reason why students can do things like that, which the union men can't do. There's the injunction that only allows four pickets at one time. There's no injunction against four hundred students.

TERRY: There was one good thing about having the students go away for a week, which was that it showed the union men once again that we have to win the battle; the strikers have to lead it. Unless the union hangs together we can have a million students down there and not win. We're the ones that are stopping work, withholding our labor.

VIETNAM

MOVEMENT: John, you're a Vietnam vet. There have been accusations from some guys from Vietnam that the students and SDS people don't really understand what's happening over there.

JOHN: To some extent students don't know what's going on over there, but I'll give them credit for doing their damndest to find out. They're mostly right, according to my way of thinking, but there are some things we disagree on. Themain thing is a complete pullout of troops, which I don't think should come about. It should but yet shouldn't. The people should have their have the troops over there to influence their decision in anyway. But if we pull out of there, somebody's going to come right in and they might be influenced the other way.

JACK: John, how do you think the Vietnamese people feel about the US Government, and having our troops in their country.

JOHN: Talking to just Vietnamese people, I've run into both sides, for and against. I think all the people would like to see the troops leave but they are like me; they want a solution but don't see how it's going to come about. They don't want to go on fighting the war for ever.

JACK: I believe complete withdrawal is what the people over here want. I don't believe we should have any troops over there. I don't understand what's going on, I don't know nothing about it, but speaking as a worker I think this war is just too costly in lives and money, and causing families in the US too many hardships.

JIM: I feel somethin like Jack . I know very little about it. I'm very uneducated on the Vietnamese war; I took very little interest in it. I'm a high school drop out. I don't read the political part of the paper. I read the funnies. I'm a high school dropout and I'm not ashamed of it. But first of all, if it's a war it should be won. How much trouble would it be for the United States to blow it right off the map? If they don't want the war to stop, which apprently they don't, there must be a reason for it.

WAR WILL NEVER END

MOVEMENT: Who makes out of the war?

JIM: Who's making out of it? The business people and the corporations, everybody knows that.

JACK: The capitalist of the United States.

JIM: I don't know if they're capitalists. I don't know what the definition of capitalism is. But the fact remains, the people making money off this war are the business people and the corporations. That's why the war will never end. There's a lot of money to be made and the U.S. is going to make every penny they can off this war.

JOHN: I believe they aren't trying to stop it.

PHIL: If it's over tomorrow, the day after we'll be involved with the Arab nations. That's the way this country is; it gets involved with other nations.

MOVEMENT: Anybody going to the Moratorium march?

JIM: The Santa Clara workers Committee is going as a group. Including me.

JACK: I'll be there.

JOHN: I was going but I can't. There's one next month, and I'll be there.

WORKERS' COMMITTEE

JIM: The committee was formed by a group of people who were on strike at PDM and General Electric. They decided that people needed help during the strikes, and that all working people needed help, even when they were working.

MOVEMENT: So the committee grew out of being on strike?

JIM: I believe the committee started because a few of us went to a meeting of the Richmond Workers' Committee, which they started up after the Standard Oil strike.

They came down here, then we went up and talked to them and found out what they were doing. The main reason for the committee is strike support, but there are other things. Things like unsafe conditions in the shops - people don't realize how things like that can be taken care of, legally. Or like organizing people working in non-union offices. The office workers at PDM who want to join a union can come to the workers' committee and we can try and help organize unions.

MOVEMENT: What about the political future of the committee?

JIM: I don't know, but I believe what's happening at PDM is becoming a political affair, because of the involvement we have had with the students and the moratorium. Also the strike has caused an awful lot of talk in the Bay Area. I believe the companies have got the idea of waiting to see what PDM does. If theywin this strike, they can use it as a club against the other unions when they negotiate.

If we win this strike, which I've got a real good idea we will - I know we'll win it, we can say to other unions, stay out on strike and win yours.

PHIL: The point is, scab labor has never been used before here in Santa Clara County. If it breaks the union, other companies will start doing the same thing.

JOHN: I think the first meeting of the workers committee was a tremendous success. We had the right push from the Richmond Workers' Committee. We saw that we needed a little more support from workers, and that we would have to get together and really find out what was going on before it was too late. Our first meeting, we had people from Fibreglass , PDM, Ford, General Motors, General Electric and Stanford Press. Just by working together we ought to be able to accomplish something and push the workers a little bit, so they can see what's going on.

For example, the companies put out a lot of stuff working one union against the other, working blacks against whites, Chicanos against whites. If you ask

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HAD IT COMING!

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

According to the San Francisco Chronicle— Examiner, the Indian who lives on a reservation earns an average of $1500 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. Life expectancy on the reservations is 44 years.

The US Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) proudly boasts that tuberculosis and infant mortality have been drastically reduced in the last five years. They have. TB on the reservations is now only five times as frequent as anywhere else in the country. The BIA also points to the increase in college enrollment, from 400 in 1960 to 5000 now. They don't mention that only 58 percent of Indian children ever graduate high school. (The national average is 74 per cent, counting all minorities.) Meanwhile Indian children may have to travel 40 miles to get to the nearest school.

The Indians have been allowed to retain a certain amount of land, but most of the 50.5 million acres owned by Indians is infertile and lacking in minerals, timber, or water. (Most of it is officially classified as desert.) They can't sell or lease the land without Federal approval. In Palm Springs, where it turned out that the Indians possessed some very valuable land, the BIA decided the Indians were incapable of managing their own affairs and appointed trustees. One third of the revenue from this land was later found expropriated by individual bureau members.

In cases where Indians have tried to exercise their traditional rights to the land they have met with Federal resistance. In Washington, where the Indians may not fish to supplement their diet, the state spends $2000 for every salmon to protect the fish for sportsmen and commercial fishing.

The focus for Indian resistance has been the BIA as the repressive agent of the Federal Government. Technically, tribal councils on the reservations function 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 emasculation' leading to 'apathy, indolence, alcoholism and disintegration.' There are some who say these traits 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 soaks up a large fraction 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 per cent of them were un-employed.) Young militants see no 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 heritage is taking place on Alcatraz.

proclamation:

To The Great White Father And All His People

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 Manhatten Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of $1.24 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 - for 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 our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state. We offer this treaty in good faith and wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with all white men.

We feel that this so-called Alcatraz Island is more than suitable for an Indian reservation, as determined by the white man's own standards. By this we mean that this place resembles most Indian reservations in that:

1. It is isolated from modern facilities, and without adequat means of transportation.
2. It has no fresh running water.
3. It has inadequate sanitation facilities.
4. There are no oil or mineral rights.
5. There is no industry and so unemployment is very great.
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. The population has always exceeded the land base.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others.

Further, it would be fitting and symbolic that ships from all over the world, entering the Golden Gate, would first see Indian land, and thus be reminded of the true history of this nation. This tiny island would be a symbol of the great lands once ruled by free and noble Indians.

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 educate them to the skills and knowledge relevant to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples. Attached to this center will be traveling universities, managed by Indians, which will go to the Indian Reservations, learning those necessary and relevant materials now about.

2. AN AMERICAN INDIAN SPIRITUAL CENTER which will practice our ancient tribal religious and sacred healing ceremonies. Our cultural 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 young people in scientific research and practice to restore our lands and waters to their pure and natural state. We will work 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 desalt sea water for human benefit.

4. A GREAT INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and to end hunger and unemployment among all our people. This training school will include a center for Indian arts and crafts, and an Indian restaurant serving native foods, which will restore 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 the world. Another part of the museum will present some of the things the white man has given to the Indians in return for the land and life he took: disease, alcohol, poverty and cultural decimation (As symbolized by old tin cans, barbed wire, rubber tires, plastic containers, etc.) Part of thie museum will remain a dungeon to symbolize both those Indian captives who were incarcerated for challenging white authority, and those who were imprisoned on reservations. The museum will show the noble and the tragic events of Indian history, including the broken treaties, the documentary of 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 for our Indian nations, for all these reasons, 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

moving on the MORATORIUM

Hayward:

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

Hayward, California is part of a sprawling suburb, interlaced with industrial parks, located a few miles south of Oakland. In the last ten years, white 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 were barely aware of the October moratorium; we woke up just in time to issue leaflets at the high schools and shops and hold 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 SDS, a teach-in followed by a march to the local draft board was planned. The SDS 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 the kids from the school. Heavy leafletting and impromptu rallies were scheduled for the high schools; leafletting was planned for the factories; and rallies were set up at GM, co-sponsored by the Black Panther caucus there.

A leaflet about Bobby Seale, put out at GM, tied the Panthers and the war together. The leaflet calling for the rally explained who we were fighting (Vietnamese working people), why (US imperialism), what the Vietnamese are fighting for (what communism is about), and ended by saying that we should be fighting with them, not against them.

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 vets in the plant that it seemed important to have vets 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 100 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 much too long. Four were issued: one on tracking, which drew heavily from the "Rising Up Angry" article; one called "Fighting Women", with a picture of an armed Vietnamese woman, ran down the material basis of the oppression of women and offered examples of fighting women in the U.S. as well as 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 15th, 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 dug on a 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 HSU is a radical Bay Area high school organization—newly 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 HSU kids, maybe 8 or 10 in all, led over 200 kids inside their school out to join them. Three hundred strong, they marched to the junior college chanting "Power to the People". Along the way, they passed a junior high school and kids clambered 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 JC.

When the 300 arrived at the JC, the teach-in was still in progress. The leadership group of SDS was not together enough to respond to the onslaught of high school kids, so the teach-in went on. Both JC and high school kids drifted away. By the time of the march, about 300 people 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 skit 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 imperialist connections of various stores and banks in the shopping center where the draft board is located. They chanted "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" and "The revolution has come; it's time to pick up the gun" and they cheered when the American GI, in a guerrilla skit, turned his gun around and shot the pigs behind instead of the Vietnamese brothers and sisters in front of him. Then everyone split up and leafletted the shopping center.

Evaluating our work, we felt good that the actions had happened but we also understood that we had made a lot of mistakes. In both the J.C. and the high schools, the mistakes centered around a lack of audacity and the absence of a cohesive leadership cadre. The fact that high school kids joined the J.C. demonstration meant that its level of militancy could have been raised, but there was no group capable of making that decision and carrying it through. In the high schools, even more than the J.C., we underestimated and tailed our base. We were also confused about what we should expect to come out of a jailbreak. Too much time before the action was spent on leaflets and too little on cadre development. Immediate follow-up was weak. Without heavy political education before and after the action, the message most of the kids got was little more than anti-authoritarianism.

As rank and file demonstrations against the war, the GM rallies were significant, but here, as in the high schools, we fell down in terms of follow-up. Holding rallies at the plant instead of urging workers to leave was important; many of the most receptive young guys were reached; an anti-imperialist presence linked to the black liberation struggle was established; and the response inside the plant was good. Unfortunately, we didn't have the foresight to get names and numbers from the guys at the rallies so, with the exception of 4 or 5 guys, the rest were lost temporarily in the huge, five or six thousand man plant. Similar rallies, though, will be held soon in connection with the December moratorium and the GE strike. Hopefully, the core of an on-going organization can be pulled together in the near future.

They Killed A Revolutionary But .....

SPEECH BY FRED HAMPTON APRIL 27, 1969

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

What we are basically going to be talking about today is what the pig is doing to the Panthers all around the country. We are going to have to talk about what we are going to have to do about the repression that they are putting on the Black Panther Party. We are not worried about getting off it—let's try to deal with it.

We got to talk first of all about the main man. The main man in the Black Panther Party, the main man in the struggle today--in the United States, in Chicago, in Cuba and anywhere else--the main man in the liberation struggle is our Minister of Defense, and yours too, Huey P. Newton. He's the main man because the head of the imperialist octopus lies right in this country and whoever is dealing with the head of the octopus in this country is the main man. He's in jail now. We must tell the world that Huey P. Newton was tried by the pigs and they found him guilty. He was tried by the people, who found him not guilty, and we say let him go, let him free, because we find him not guilty. This is our relentless demand. We will not let up one day, we will not give up the struggle to liberate our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton and we will continue to exert pressure on the power structure and constantly bombard them with the people's demand that Huey P. Newton be set free.

It was Huey P. Newton who taught us how the people learn. You learn by participation. When Huey P. Newton started out what did he do? He got a gun and he got Bobby and Bobby got a gun. They had a problem in the community because people was being run over--kids were being run over--at a certain intersection. What did the people do? The people went down to the government to redress their grievances and the government told them to go to hell: "We are not going to put no stoplights down there UNTIL WE SEE FIT." What did Huey P. Newton do? Did he go out and tell the people about the laws and write letters and try to propagandize 'em all the time? NO! Some of that's good, but the masses of the people don't read--that's what I heard Huey say--they learn through observation and participation. Did he just say this? NO! So what did he do? He got him a shotgun, he got Bobby and he got him a hammer and went down to the corner. He gave Bobby the shotgun and told him if any pig motherfuckers come by blow his mother fuckin brains out. What did he do? He went to the corner and nailed up a stop sign. No more accidents, no more trouble. And then he went back--another situation like that. What'd the people do? They looked at it, they observed; they didn't get a chance to participate in it. Next time what'd they do? Same kind of problem came up. The PEOPLE got THEIR shotguns, got THEIR nine milimeters, got THEIR hammers. How'd they learn? They learned by observation and participation. They learned one thing. When there is a fire you gather round the fire. Huey got a shotgun and everybody gathered round him and Bobby. They saw what was going on and they had a chance to participate in it. As the vanguard leader he taught the people about the power structure; he led the people down the correct road of revolution. What are we doing?

BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

Our Breakfast for Children program is feeding a lot of children and the people understand our Breakfast for Children program. We sayin' something like this,--we saying that theory's cool, but theory with no practice ain't shit. You got to have both of them--the two go together. We have a theory about feeding kids free. What'd we do? We put it into practice. That's how people learn. A lot of people don't know how serious the thing is. They think the children we feed ain't really hungry. I don't know five year old kids that can act well, but I know that if they not hungry we sure got some actors. We got five year old actors that could take the academy award. Last week they had a whole week dedicated to the hungry in Chicago. Talking 'bout the starvation rate here that went up 15%. Over here where everybody should be eating. Why? Because of capitalism.

What are we doing? The Breakfast for Children program. We are running it in a socialistic manner. People came and took our program, saw it in a socialistic fashion not even knowing it was socialism. People are gonna take our program and tell us to go on to a higher level. They gonna take that program and work it in a socialistic manner. What'd the pig say? He say, "nigger--you like communism?" "no sir, I'm scared of it." "You like socialism?" "No Sir, I'm scared of it." "You like the breakfast for children program?" "Yes sir, I'd die for it". Pig said, "Nigger, that program is a socialistic program." "I don't give a fuck if it's Communism. You put your hands on that program motherfucker and I'll blow your motherfucking brains out." And he knew it. We been educating him, not by reading matter, but through observation and participation. By letting him come in and work our program. Not theory and theory alone, but theory and practice. The two go together. We no only thought about the Marxist-Leninist theory--we put it into practice. This is what the Black Panther Party is about.

SUBVERSIVES

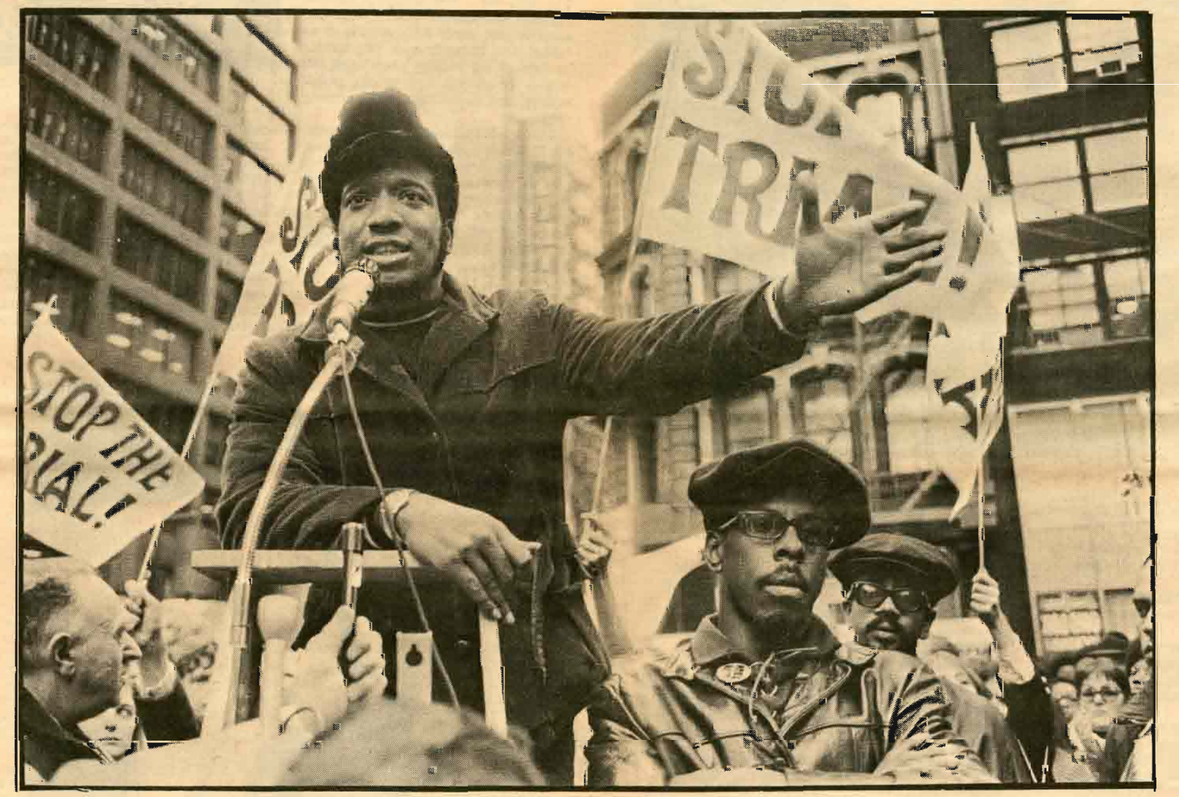
Some people talk alot about communism, but the people can't understand and progress to the stage of communism right away or because of abstract arguments. They say you got to crawl before you can walk. And the Black Panther Party, as the vanguard party, thought that the Breakfast for Children Program was the best technique of crawling that any vanguard party could follow. And we got a whole lot of folks that's going to be walking. And then a whole lot of folks that's gonna be running. And when you got that, what you got? You got a whole lot of PIGS that's gonna be running. That's what our programs about.

The Black Panther Party is about the complete revolution. We not gonna go out there and half do a thing. And you can let the pigs know it. They come here and hide--they so uncomfortable they sitting on a taperecorder, they got their gun in their hair--they got to hide all this shit and they come here and do all this weird action. All they got to do is come up to 2350 West Madison any day of the week and anybody up there'll let them know, let the motherfucker know: Yes, we subversive. Yes, we subversive with the bullshit we are confronted with today. Just as subversive as anybody can be subversive. And we think them motherfuckers is the criminals. They the ones always hiding. We the ones up in front. We're out in the open, these motherfuckers should start wearing uniforms. They want to know if the Panthers are goin' underground--these motherfuckers IS underground. You can't find 'em. People calls the pigs but nobody knows where they at. They're out chasing us. They hiding--can't nobody even see 'em.

When people got a problem they come to the Black Panther Party for help and that's good. Because, like Mao says, we are supposed to be ridden by the people and Huey says we're going to be ridden down the path of social revolution and that's for the people. The people ought to know that the Black Panther Party is one thousand percent for the People. They write a lot of articles, you know, niggers'll run up to you in a minute--when I say niggers I mean white niggers and black niggers alike--niggers'll run up to you and talk that shit about , Man, I read in the Tribune today. Well you say , Man, fuck it right there. If you didn't read it in the BLACK PANTHER paper, in the MOVEMENT--then you ain't read shit.

MICKEY WHITE

We in the Black Panther Party have



another brother I want to take some time to rap about. This brother is constantly on our mind. This brother's name is Michael White--Mickey White. This brother is beautiful. He's being held now in jail for one hundred thousand dollars bail. Some of you who listen to the radio might have heard about brothers in the state chapter, our field secretary of Defense Captain, brother Nathaniel Junior and brother Merril Harvery being laid up on some phoney gun charge. We don't say the Panthers don't want guns, but we already got guns and we don't have to go and try and steal or connive to buy any guns from anybody. What they are trying to do is to squash out the Black Panther Party--they're trying to squash out the leadership. Trying to squash out Bobby Rush, the Deputy Minister of Defense. Trying to squash out Chaka and Che, the Deputy Minister of Education.

Mickey White was in that bullshit with Nathaniel Junior and Merrill Harvey. Last week when they went to court even the judge in court said, you all gonna get a fair trial whether you deserve it or not. These are the types of actions we are confronted with. Mickey White is in solitary confinement and doesn't get to come out of his cell for anything at any time. And he might be in that cell for the rest of his life. His bail is $100,000. That's $10,000 cash.

Mickey White is a proven revolutionary. He's not nobody we THINK is going to be a revolutionary. He's not nobody we trying to make a revolutionary. He's a proven revolutionary. Alright you have to understand that Micky White is a Panther in ideology, he's a Panther in word and he's a Panther indeed. He's a Panther that understands it's a class struggle--not a race question. You have to understand the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through saying this. You can see the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through by making a coalition with whites.

You can see that we had a group in California who committed their first acts of violence on the Black Panther Party. Ron Karenga and US never shot nothing but dope until they shot them brothers. They been an organization longer than the Black Panther Party. When the Black Panther Party stood up and said we not going to fight racism with racism US said "NO, we can't do that because it's a race question and if you make it a class question then the revolution might come sooner. We in US ain't prepared for no revolution because we think that "power grows from the sleeve of a Dashiki." They are armed with rhetoric and rhetoric alone. And we found that when you're armed with rhetoric and rhetoric alone a lot of times you get yourself hurt. Eldridge Cleaver told them, even though you say you fight fire with fire best, we think you fight fire with water. You can do either one, but we choose to fight with water. He said, we're not going to fight racism with racism, we're going to fight racism with solidarity. Even though you think you ought to fight capitalism with black capitalism, we're going to fight capitalism with socialism.

We got a whole lot of people being busted and you don't even know about all these people. There's one here you definitely have to know about and that's our Deputy Minister of Defense--Bobby Rush. Our Deputy Minister Bobby Rush was busted on some bullshit with a gun thing. He's got three gun charges. He's been convicted of one with a six month lead. He's out on appeal now. I know a lot of you people say, well goddamn, you got a Mickey White defense fund, an Eldridge Cleaver defense fund, a Merill Harvey defense fund, a Nathaniel Junior defense fund, a Huey Newton defense fund, a Fred Hampton, Jule, Che, and Chaka defense fund--and I just can't keep up with all these defense funds. But since we the vanguard party we try to do things right, so we got one defense fund so you don't get mixed up on what name to send it to. We'll decide who it goes to. You can just send it to Political Defense Fund, 2350 West Madison. If you want to send something to Breakfast for Children, you can send it to 2350 West Madison also, and you can earmark that money to go to the Breakfast for Children program.

We got Mickey on our mind tonight--and everybody knows we got Huey P. Newton on our mind tonight. We got every political prisoner in jail on our mind tonight. Eldridge Cleaver--all of these people either dead, or in exile or in jail. A lot of people understanding this will lose real faith in the vanguard by not understanding what we're talking about.

A lot of these people will go up to you in a minute and say, "Why all these people being taken, why haven't they shot it out with some pigs." Well, what do we say? If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing 'em all and getting complete satisfaction.

GO WITH THE PEOPLE

So what should we do if we're the vanguard? What is it right to do? Is it right for the leadership of that struggle to go faster than the followers of that struggle can go? NO! We're not going to be dealing in commandism, we're not going to be dealing in no tailism. We say that just as fast as the people can possibly go, that's just as fast as we can take it.

While we take it we must be sure that we are not missing the people in the valley. In the valley we know that we can learn to understand the life of the people. We know that with all the bullshit out there, you can come to consider yourself on the mountain top. I may even consider myself one day on the mountaintop. I may have already. But I know that in the valley there are people like Benny and there are people like me, people like Mickey White and people like Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. And that below the valley are people like Bobby Hutton, people like Eldridge Cleaver. We know that going into the valley is a dangerous thing. We know that when you go out to the valley you got to make a commitment.

A lot of people think the revolution is bullshit, but it's not. A lot of us think that when you get in the revolution you can talk your way out of things, but that's not true. Ask Bobby Hutton, ask Huey Newton, ask Eldridge Cleaver, Mickey White and Dennis Mora. Ask these people whether it's a game. If you get yourself involved in a revolutionary struggle then you've got to be serious. You got to know what you're doing. You got to already have practiced some type of theory. That's the reason we ask people to follow the leadership of the vanguard party. Because we all theorizing and we all practicing. We make mistakes, but we're always correcting them and we're always getting better.

We used to run around yellin 'bout Panther Power--the Panthers run it. We admit we made mistakes. Our ten point program is in the midst of being changed right now, because we used the word 'white' when we should have used the word 'capitalist'. We're the first to admit our mistakes. We no longer say 'Panther Power' because we don't believe the Panthers should have all the power. We are not for the dictatorship of the Panthers. We are not for the dictoatorship of Black people. We are for the dictatorship of the people.

The difference between the people and the vanguard is very important. You got to understand that the people follow the vanguard. You got to understand that the Black Panther Party IS the vanguard. If you are about going to the people you got to understand that the vanguard leads the people. After the social revolution, the vanguard party, through our educational programs--and that program is overwhelming--the people are educated to the point that they can run things themselves. That's what you call educating the people, organizing the people, arming the people and bringing them revolutionary political power. That means people's power. That means the people's revolution. And if you're not about being involved in a people's revolution then you got to do something. You got to support the people's revolution.

COMPLETE SATISFACTION

The BlackPanther Party is the vanguard party. You better get on the Black Panther Party. If you can't get on, goddamit you better get behind. If you can't get behind goddamit, you better get behind somebody else so you'll at least be able to follow indirectly, motherfucker. We ain't asking you to go out and ask no pig to leave us alone. We know that the pigs fuck with us cause they know we're doing something.

Cause a lot of dudes walk around and write articles about it. I know some revolutionary groups say these niggers are runnin around saying these things--the PL motherfuckers talking that bullshit, couldn't even find things to criticize. They was so far in the ground. What was they doing? Organizing groundhogs, educating groundhogs, arming groundhogs and teaching groundhogs revolutionary political power.

I say that we're the first group to come above ground where the people can follow you and see you. And if you make a mistake it's better than not even being at all. When I made that mistake I made it for the people, and I correct it for the people. You don't hear there was a raid on PL's office last night. You ain't never heard that. When you hear of PL busted in New York, PL's leader in jail with no bars, PL leader run out of the country, PL leader shot 18 times while he was running with his back turned and hands tied up, PL leader gets breakfast for children for 1800 people a week. You ever hear it? Ya never heard it. I want to hear it. If you do hear it, it'll be because of the Black Panther lead. I'm not putting all these things out and saying PL doesn't know 'em. But I'm saying that when people write something like this, a lot of people don't understand it. And I wanted to take the time to explain it.

There are some things that PL says that are valid. Don't misunderstand me. We don't get mad because in some way or another PL is trying to better the Black Panther Party by trying to criticize it. But I just want to let you know, ain't nothing all right and ain't nothing all wrong. We're not all right--though we trying to get that way. We make mistakes but we understand that we gonna make some more mistakes. And we gonna try and correct these mistakes and we gonna try and keep on moving.

So what do we say? Don't get the pigs offa us cause we can stand em. We jail Mickey White, we should let em murder Bobby Hutton, we should let em run Eldridge Cleaver out of the country. Why? Because you can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution. You can run a freedom fighter around the country but you can't run freedom fighting around the country. You can murder a liberator, but you can't murder liberation.

Kill a few and get a little satisfaction. Kill some more and you get some more satisfaction. Kill 'em all and you get complete satisfaction. We say All Power to the People--Black Power to Black People and Brown Power to Brown Power People, Red Power to Red People and Yellow Power to Yellow People. We say White Power to White People EVEN. And we say Panther Power to the vanguard Party and we say don't kill a few and don't kill some more. As a matter of fact we rather you didn't move until you see we ready to move, and when you see we ready to move you know we not dealing with a few, we not dealing with some more. You know that when we get ready to move we dealing from complete--that's what we're after--total, everything, everybody--complete satisfaction.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

..... They Can't Kill The Revolution

teach viet nam

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 that aims to organize teachers so 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'? Discussions of the war in and out of the classroom usually focus on why we are in Vietnam and what we can do to get out. 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 empathize with the 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.
2. Selections from the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
3. Selections from 'Twelve Recommendations', Ho Chi Minh's recommendations 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 par t 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 don't understand that we are trying to help them.

Most of the people fighting against us are outside forces like the Chinese.

4. The teacher should not debate these responses at this point, but should ask the students where they got their information and should list their sources on the board.
5. Ask the students if they have ever read or heard an NLF or a North Vietnamese account of why they are fighting. Most students will reply no.
6. The teacher at this point should distribute the mimeographed material (cited above), explaining that these are written by the people we are fighting in Vietnam.
7 Ask a student to begin by reading aloud the excerpt from the diary of the dead Viet-cong soldier.
8. Raise the following questions with the students:

A. Why did the soldier leave the North?

B. What kinds of hardships did he have to endure ?

C. Why do you think he was willing to make these sacrifices?

9. Read with the class the selections from the Vietnamese Declaration of Independence. Some questions for discussions:

A. In his diary theViet-cong soldier said that this was the third time he was fighting. From the document can you figure out when and why he fought before and why he may have felt it was so important to fight again.

B. Why might other Vietnamese have fought against the French ? (Note to teacher: The students should now understand that the struggle of the Vietnamese has been a long one and that for many of them the fight against US imperialism is an extension of their fight against French imperialism.

10. 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.

11. Now ask the students to rewrite their answers to the original question: Why are the Vietnamese fighting against the Americans?
12. Have the students read their answers and compare their original responses to their final conclusions. Ask them why they think there is a difference, and how their understanding of the war has been changed by the documents. This is also a good place to point out how and why the American press portrays the NLF as terrorists and the war as a righteous struggle against Communism.

Note to the Teacher: This lesson outlines one way of using the material and can be expanded to any time length desired. Teachers should feel free to discuss other questions which will arise out of the material and to supplement what is presented here. With this in mind here are further suggestions of sources and projects.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Books:

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Browne, Malcolm. New Face of War, Bobbs Merrill.
Burchett, Wilfred. Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War. International.
Burchett, Wilfred. Vietnam Will Win.
Gettleman, Marvin. Vietnam: History, Documents, and Opinions on a Major World Crisis. Fawcett.
AFSC. Peace in Vietnam, Hill and Wang.
Hanh, Thich Nhat. Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire, Hill and Wang.
Hickey, Gerald C. Village in Vietnam, Yale U.P.
Schell, Jonathan. The Village of Ben Sue, Yale U.P.

B. Newsreel films

This film service will provide a projector and a person to show and discuss films.

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, &c.), and the US and compare them with the NLF.
3. Students could study the life and ideas of Ho Chi Minh.

Lacouture, J. Ho Chi Minh.

Ho Chi Minh. On Revolution: Selected Writings. Praeger.

4. Have the students write a letter or a play from the perspective of a member of the NLF.
5. Encourage the students to compare the American Revolution to the Vietnamese Revolution.

TEXTS

1. Excerpts from the diary found in the uniform of De Luc, a dead Viet-cong soldier Sept. 3, 1961.

"Leaving temporarily the beloved North to return to my native South to liberate my compatriots from the yoke of misery imposed by MY-Diem (U.S. Diem). This 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

of boiling oil and burning fire is necessary! A situation which husband is separated from wife, father from son, brother from brother is necessary. I joined the ranks of the liberation army in answer to the call of the front for liberation of the South.

"Now my life is full of hardship—not enough rice to eat nor enough salt to give a taste to my tongue, not enough clothing to keep myself warm! But in my heart I keep loyal to the Party and the people. I am proud and happy. I am writing down this story for my sons and my grandsons of the future to know of my life and activities during the revolution when the best medicine available was the root of the wild banana tree and the best bandage was the leaf of rau lui, when there was not salt to give a taste to our meals, when there was no such food as meat or fish like we enjoy in a time of peace and happiness such as I have known and left behind."

2. Selections from the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Sept 2, 1945)

"All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: "All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights." Those are undeniable truths.

Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of Humanity and justice. In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty.

They have enforced inhuman laws; they have set up three distinct political regimes in the North, the Center and the South of Vietnam in order to wreck our national unity and prevent our people from being united.

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood. They have fettered public opinion; they have practiced obscurantism against our people. To weaken our race they have forced us to use opium and alcohol.

In the fields of economics, they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land.

They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests, and our raw materials. They have monopolized the issuing of bank-notes and the export trade.

They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to a state of extreme poverty . . .

A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eighty years, a people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, solemnly declare to the world that Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country—and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty.

3. On April 5, 1948, Ho Chi Minh issued an order to his troops which he called "Twelve Recommendations." The "Recommendations" indicate vividly the kind of grass-roots war the resistance movement was engaged in.

TWELVE RECOMMENDATIONS

Six Forbiddances

1. Not to do what is likely to damage the land and crops or spoil the houses and belongings of the people.
2. Not to insist on buying or borrowing what the people are not willing to sell or lend.
3. Not to bring hens into mountainous people's houses.
4. Never to break our word.
5. Not to give offense to people's faith and customs (such as to lie down before the altar, to raise feet over the hearth, to play music in the house, etc.)
6. Not to do or speak what is likely to make people believe that we hold them in contempt.

Six Permissables

1. To help the people in their daily work (harvesting, fetching firewood, carrying wood, sewing etc.)
2. Whenever possible to buy commodities for those who live far from markets (knife, salt, needle, thread, paper, pen, etc.).
3. In spare time to tell amusing, simple, and short stories useful to the Resistance, but not to betray secrets.
4. To teach the people the national script and elementary hygiene.
5. To study the customs of each region so as to be acquainted with them in order to create an atmosphere of sympathy, then gradually to explain to the people to abate their superstitions.
6. To show the people that you are correct, diligent, and disciplined.

Characteristically, Ho Chi Minh finished this order to his troops with a poem:

The above mentioned twelve recommendations
Are feasible to all.
He who loves his country
Will never forget them.
When the people have a habit,
All are like one man,
With good army men and good people,
Everything will be crowned with success.
Only when the root is firm, can the tree live long,
And victory is built with the people as foundations.

4. Excerpts from the Program of Action of the PRG of R of SV, June, 1969.

—To abolish the disguised colonial regime established by the U.S. imperialists in South Viet Nam: to overthrow the entire structure of the puppet administration . . .

To build a really democratic and free republican regime, to organize general elections according to the principle of equality, real freedom, and democracy, without foreign 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 corporeal punishment, wage stoppages, and sackings 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 a land policy consistent with the specific conditions of South Viet Nam; to improve the living standards of peasants.

(To confiscate the lands of the U.S. imperialists and the die-hard cruel landlords, their lackeys, to allot those lands to lackland or land-poor peasants.)

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

To heal the war - wounds and restore to normal the life of the people. To give devoted care and wholehearted help to war invalids and the families of fighters who have died for the Fatherland.

—To re-establish normal relations between South and North Viet Nam, to guarantee freedoms of movement, of correspondence, of residence, to maintain economic and cultural relations according to the principle of mutual benefit and mutual help between the two zones. The two zones will come to terms on the statute of the demilitarized zone, and work out modalities for the movements across the provisional military demarcation line.

The reunification of the country will be achieved step by step, by peaceful means, through discussions and agreement between the two zones, without constraint from either side.

PHAN THI QUYEN

(Widow of Nguyen Van Troi)

to American Youth and Students

Dear Friends,

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

I am 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 beloved man right during our honeymoon. His death and my own days in jail have helped me to see more clearly the root cause of all the sufferings and injustices heaping upon my people. As he rightly 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 thinking of the millions of other victims of the aggressive war. I think of the innocent women and children now being massacred in South Viet Nam. I also think of those who commit the crime — young Americans who kill and get killed everyday in Viet Nam without even knowing what for. I think of their mothers, their wives, their girl friends and their sisters back at home, who are longing 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 follow with the deepest sympathy your brave and responsible activities against that war. This sympathy I 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 belief of mine 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 meaninglessly in Viet Nam. President Nixon has 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 Viet Nam. Every passing day means more mourning and destruction caused by them to the South Vietnamese people. Every passing day brings more losses to their own ranks. Every passing day brings more suffering, longing and anxiety to their mothers, wives, girl friends and sisters back in America, who yearn to see them home again, safe and sound.

As you already know yourselves, mourning and destruction only strengthen the Vietnamese people's will to struggle still harder, to put an end to the war of aggression and the presence of aggress armed forces. Such, I believe, is also the way for ordinary, honest Americans early to free themselves from suffering, longing and anxiety. Therefore, I welcome your efforts for an end to the Viet Nam war and the rapid repatriation of all your GI's from South Viet Nam, as well as your actions against trials of the "Chicago Eight" and other Americans cherishing peace and justice. I wish you good health, much energy and great success in this Fall Offensive. Please convey my best regards to your families.

September 24, 1969

by Christopher Caudwell

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 "idealism."

I call it a distinctively bourgeois doctrine, because I mean by pacifism, not the love of peace as a good to be secured 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 must be *passively* resisted because to use violence to end violence would be logically self-contradictory. I oppose pacifism in this sense to the Communist belief that the only way to secure peace is by a revolutionary change in the social system, 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 modern European warfare should be confused with feudal warfare. 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 content also is different. The historic example of bourgeois pacifism is not Gandhi but Fox. The Society of Friends expresses the spirit of bourgeois pacifism. It is individual resistance.

BOURGEOIS VIOLENCE

To understand how bourgeois pacifism arises, we must understand how bourgeois violence arises. It arises, just as does feudal or despotic violence, from the characteristic economy of the system. As was first explained by Marx, the characteristics of bourgeois economy are that the bourgeois, held down and crippled productively by the feudal system, comes to see freedom and productive growth in lack of social organization, in every man's administering his own affairs for his own benefit to the best of his ability and desire, and this is expressed in the absolute character of bourgeois property together with its complete alienability. His struggle to achieve this right did secure his greater freedom and productive power as compared with his position in the feudal system. The circumstances of the struggle and its outcome gave rise to the bourgeois dream—freedom as the absolute elimination of social relations.

But such a program, if carried into effect, would mean the end of society and the breakdown of economic production. Each man would struggle for himself, and if he saw another man with something he wanted, he would seize it, for by assumption no such social relations as cooperation exist. The saving and foresight which make economic production possible would cease to exist. Man would become a brute.

But in fact the bourgeois had no desire for such a world. He lived by merchandising and banking, by *capital* as opposed to the land which was the basis of feudal exploitation. Therefore, he meant by the "absence of social restraint" the absence of any restraint on his ownership, alienation, or acquisition at will of the capital by which he lived. Private property is a social "restraint," for others not owning it are "restrained" from helping themselves to it by force or cunning, as they could in a "state of nature"; but the bourgeois never included the ownership of capital as one of the social restraints that should be abolished, for the simple reason that it was not to him a restraint at all. It never therefore entered his head to regard it as such, and he saw nothing inconsistent in calling for the abolition of privilege, monopoly, and so forth, while hanging on to his capital.

Moreover, he had a cogent argument which, when he became more self-conscious, he could use. A social restraint is a social relation, that is, a relation between men. The relation between master and slave is a social relation and therefore a restraint on the liberty of one man by the other. In the same way the relation between lord and serf is a relation between men and a restraint on human liberty; but the relation between a man and his property is a relation between man and a thing, and is therefore no restraint on the liberty of other men.

THE THING IS MAN

This argument was of course fallacious, for there can be no universal relations of this kind as the fabric of society, there can only be relations between men disguised as relations between things. The bourgeois defense of private property only applies if I go out into the woods and pick up a stick to walk with, or fashion an ornamental object for my adornment; it applies to the possession of socially unimportant trifles or things for immediate consumption. As soon as bourgeois possession extends to the capital of the community, consisting of the products of the community set aside to produce goods in the future (in early bourgeois civilization, grain, clothes, seed, and raw materials to supply the laborers of tomorrow, and in addition machinery and plant for the same purpose today), this relation to a thing becomes a relation among men, for it is now the labor of the community which the bourgeois controls. This social relation is only made possible by—it *depends on*—the bourgeois ownership of capital. Thus, just as in slave-owning or serf-owning civilization there is a relation between men which is a relation between a dominating and a dominated class, or between exploiters and exploited, so there is in bourgeois culture but whereas in earlier civilizations this relation between men is conscious and clear, in bourgeois culture it is disguised as a system free from obligatory dominating relations between men and containing only innocent relations between men and a thing.

Therefore, in throwing off all social restraint, the bourgeois seemed to himself justified in retaining this one restraint of private property, for it did not seem to him a restraint at all, but an inalienable right of man, the fundamental natural right. Unfortunately for this theory, there are no natural rights, only situations found in nature, and private property protected for one man by others is not one of them. Bourgeois private property could only be protected by coercion—the *have-nots* had to be coerced by the *haves,* after all, just as in feudal society. Thus a dominating relation as violent as in slave-owning civilizations came into being, expressed in the police, the laws, the standing army, and the legal apparatus of the bourgeois state. The whole bourgeois state revolves round the coercive protection of private property, alienable and acquirable by trading for private profit, and regarded as a natural right, but a right which, strangely enough, can only be protected by coercion, because it involves of its essence a right to dispose of and extract profit from the labor-power of others, and so administer their lives.

ELABORATE AND CRUEL

Thus, after all, the bourgeois dream of liberty cannot be realized. Social restraints must come into being to protect this one thing that makes him a bourgeois. This "freedom" to own private property seems to him inexplicably to involve more and more social restraints, laws, tariffs, and factory acts; and this "society" in which only relations to a thing are permitted becomes more and more a society in which relations between men are elaborate and cruel. The more he aims for bourgeois freedom, the more he gets bourgeois restraint, for bourgeois freedom is an illusion.

The whole bourgeois economy is built on the violent domination of men by men through the private possession of social capital. As long as the bourgeois economy remains a positive constructive force, that violence is hidden. Society does not contain a powerful internal pressure until productive forces have outgrown the system of productive relations.

But when bourgeois economy is riven by its own contradictions, when private profit is seen to be public harm, when poverty and unemployment grow in the midst of the means of plenty, bourgeois violence becomes more open. These contradictions drive the bourgeois states to imperialistic wars, in which violence reigns without a qualifying factor. Internally, violence instead of "reason" alone suffices to maintain the bourgeois system. Since the capitalistic system is openly proving its inefficiency, people are no longer content with a form of government, parliamentary democracy, in which economic production is run by the bourgeois class, leaving the people as a whole only the power to settle, within narrow limits, through parliament, the apportionment of a merely administrative budget. They see this to be a sham, and see no reason to tolerate the sham. There is a growing demand for socialism, and the capitalist class where this grows pressing, resorts to open violence. They use the revolt against ineffectual democracy to establish a dictatorship, and this dictatorship, which seizes power with the cry "Down with Capitalism," in fact establishes capitalism still more violently, as in fascist Italy and Germany. The brutal oppression and cynical violence of fascism is the summit of bourgeois decline. The violence at the heart of the bourgeois illusion emerges inside as well as outside the state.

BOURGEOIS ETHICS

The justification of bourgeois violence is an important part of bourgeois ethics. The coercive control of social labor by a limited class is justified as a relation to a thing. Even as late as Hegel, this justification is given quite naively and simply. Just as I go out and break off a stick of wood from the primitive jungle and convert it to my purpose, so the bourgeois is supposed to convert the thing "capital" to his use. Domination over men is wicked; domination over things is legitimate.

Bourgeois ethics include the more difficult task of justification of the violence of bourgeois war. The Christian-bourgeois ethic has been equal even to this. Consonant to the bourgeois illusion, all interference with the liberty of another is wicked and immoral. If one is attacked in one's liberty, one is therefore compelled to defend outraged morality and attack in turn. All bourgeois wars are therefore justified by both parties as wars of defense. Bourgeois liberty includes the right to exercise all bourgeois occupations—alienating, trading, and acquiring for profit—and since these involve establishing dominating relations over others, it is not surprising that the bourgeois often finds himself attacked in his liberty. It is impossible for the bourgeois to exercise his full liberty without infringing the liberty of another. It is impossible therefore to be thoroughly bourgeois and not give occasion for "just" wars.

Meanwhile bourgeois discomforts generate an opposition to bourgeois violence. At each stage of bourgeois development men could be found who were impregnated with the bourgeois illusion that man is free and happy only when without social restraints, and who yet found in bourgeois economy multiplying coercions and restraints. We saw why these exist; the bourgeois economy requires coercion and restraint for its very life. The big bourgeois dominates the *petit bourgeois,* just as both dominate the proletariat. But these early bourgeois rebels could not see this. They demanded a return to the bourgeois dream—"equal rights for all," "freedom from social restraints," the "natural rights" of men. They thought that this would free them from the big bourgeoisie, and give them equal competition once again.

LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

Thus originated the cleavage between conservatives and liberals, between the big bourgeois in possession and the little bourgeois wishing to be in possession. The one sees that his position depends on maintaining things as they are; the other sees his as depending on more bourgeois freedom, more votes for all, more freedom for private property to be alienated, acquired, and owned, more free competition, less privilege.

The liberal is the active force. But so far from being revolutionary, as he thinks, he is evolutionary. In striving for bourgeois freedom and fair competition he produces by this

very action an increase in the social restraints he hates. He builds up the big bourgeoisie in trying to support the little, although he may make himself a big bourgeois in the process. He increases unfairness by trying to secure fairness. Free trade gives birth to tariffs, imperialism, and monopoly, because it is hastening the development of bourgeois economy, and these things are the necessary end of bourgeois development. He calls into being the things he loathes because, as long as he is in the grip of the bourgeois illusion that freedom consists in absence of social planning, he must put himself, by loosening social ties, more powerfully in the grip of coercive social forces.

This "revolutionary" liberal, this hater of coercion and violence, this lover of free competition, this friend of liberty and human rights, is therefore the very man damned by history not merely to be powerless to stop these things, but to be forced by his own efforts to produce coercion and violence and unfair competition and slavery. He does not merely refrain from opposing bourgeois violence, he generates it, by helping on the development of bourgeois economy.

Insofar as he is a genuine pacifist and not merely a completely muddled man hesitating between the paths of revolution and non-cooperation, his thesis is this: "I hate violence and war and social oppression, and all these things are due to social relations. I must therefore abstain from social relations. Belligerent and revolutionary alike are hateful to me."

TO ABSTAIN FROM LIFE

But to abstain from social relations is to abstain from life. As long as he draws or earns an income, he participates in bourgeois economy and upholds the violence which sustains it. He is in sleeping partnership with the big bourgeoisie, and that is the essence of bourgeois economy. If two other countries are at war, he is powerless to intervene and stop them, for that means social cooperation—social cooperation issuing in coercion, like a man separating quarrelling friends—and that action is by his definition barred to him. If the big bourgeoisie of his own country decide to go to war and mobilize the coercive forces, physical and moral, of the state, he can do nothing real, for the only real answer is cooperation with the proletariat to resist the coercive action of the big bourgeoisie and oust them from power. If fascism develops, he cannot suppress it in the bud before it has built up an army to intimidate the proletariat, for he believes in "free speech." He can only watch the workers being bludgeoned and beheaded by the forces he allowed to develop.

His position rests firmly on the bourgeois fallacy. He thinks that man as an individual has power. He does not see that even in the unlikely event of everyone's taking his viewpoint and saying, "I will passively resist," his purpose will still not be achieved. For men cannot in fact cease to cooperate, because society's work must be carried on—grain must be reaped, clothes spun, electricity generated, or man will perish from the earth. Only his position as a member of a parasitic class could have given him any other illusion. A worker sees that his very life depends on economic cooperation and that this cooperation of itself imposes social relations which in bourgeois economy must be bourgeois, that is, must in greater or less measure give into the hands of the big bourgeoisie the violent issues of life and death. Passive resistance is not a real program, but an apology for supporting the old program. A man either participates in bourgeois economy, or he revolts and tries to establish another economy. Another apparent road is to break up society and return to the jungle, the solution of *anarchy*. But that is no solution at all. The only real alternative to bourgeois economy is proletarian economy, i.e., socialism, and therefore one either participates in bourgeois economy or is a proletarian revolutionary. The fact that one participates passively in bourgeois economy, that one does not oneself wield the bludgeon or fire the cannon, so far from being a defense really make one's position more disgusting, just as a fence is more unpleasant than a burglar, and a pimp than a prostitute. One lets others do the dirty work and merely participates in the benefit. The bourgeois pacifist occupies perhaps the most ignoble place of a man in any civilization. He is the Christian Protestant whose ethics have been made ridiculous by the development of the culture that evolved them; but this does not prevent his deriving complacency from observing them. He sits on the head of the worker and, while the big bourgeois kicks him, advises him to lie quiet.

Pacifism, for all its specious moral aspect, is, like Protestant Christianity, the creed of ultra-individualism and selfishness. This selfishness is seen in all the defenses the bourgeois pacifist makes of his creed.

The first defense is that it is wrong. It is a "sin" to slay or resort to violence. Christ forbids it. The pacifist who resorts to violence imbrues his soul with heinous guilt. In this conception nothing appears as important but the pacifist's own soul. It is this precious soul of his that he is worrying about, like the good bourgeoise about her honor which is such an important social asset. Society can go to the devil if his soul is intact. So imbued is he with bourgeois notions of sin, that it never occurs to him that a preoccupation with one's own soul and one's own salvation is selfish. It may be that a man is right to save his own skin before all; that the pacifist above all must prevent the contamination of his precious soul by the moral sin of violence. But what is this but the translation into spiritual terms of the good old bourgeois rule of *laissez-faire* and bourgeoisdom—may the devil take the hindmost? It is a spiritual *laissez-faire*. It is a belief that the interests of society—God's purpose—are best served by not performing any action, however beneficial to others, if it would imperil one's own "soul." This is crystallized in the maxim, "One may not do ill that good may come of it."

Some pacifists, however, make a different defense. They are not concerned with their own souls. They are only thinking of others. Pacifism is the only way to stop violence and oppression. Violence breeds violence; oppression breeds oppression. How far is this argument well grounded and not merely a rationalization of the bourgeois illusion?

No pacifist has yet explained the causal chain by which non-resistance ends violence. It is true that it does so in this obvious way, that if no resistance is made to violent commands, no violence is necessary to enforce them. Thus if A does everything B asks him, it will not be necessary for B to use violence. But a dominating relation of this kind is in essence violent, although violence is not overtly shown. Subjection is subjection, and rapacity rapacity, even if the weakness of the victim, or the fear inspired by the victor, makes the process non-forcible. Non-resistance will not prevent it, any more than the lack of claws on the part of prey prevents carnivores battening on them. On the contrary, the carnivore selects as his victim animals of the kind. The remedy is the elimination of carnivores, that is, the extinction of classes that live by preying on others.

Another assumption is that man, being what he is, the sight of his defenseless victims will arouse his pity. Now this assumption is not in itself ridiculous, but it needs examination. Is it a historical fact that the defenselessness of his victims has ever aroused man's pity? History records millions of opposite cases, of Tamburlane and his atrocities. Attila and his Huns (checked only by violence), Mohammedan incursions, primitive slayings, the Danes and their monastic massacres. Can anyone in good faith advance the proposition that non-resistance defeats violence? How could slave-owning states exist, if peaceful submission touched the hearts of the conquerors? How could man bear to slaughter perpetually the dumb unresisting races of sheep, swine, and oxen?

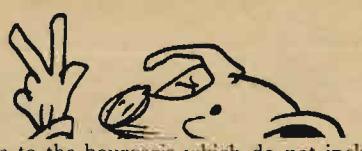
Moreover, the argument makes the usual bourgeois error of eternalizing its categories, the belief that there is a kind of abstract Robinson Crusoe man of whose actions definite predictions can be made. But how can one seriously subsume under one category Tamburlane, Socrates, a Chinese mandarin, a modern Londoner, an Aztec priest, a Paleolithic hunter, and a Roman galley-slave? There is no abstract man, but men in different networks of social relations, with similar heredities but molded into different proclivities by education and the constant pressure of social being.

Today, it is man in bourgeois social relations with whom we are concerned. Of what effect would it be if we no longer resisted violence, if England, for example, at the beginning of the Great War, had passively permitted Germany to occupy Belgium, and accept without resistance all that Germany wished to do?

NO LIFE WITHOUT ACTION

There is this much truth in the pacifist argument: that a country in a state of bourgeois social relations cannot act like a nomad horde. Bourgeoisdom has discovered that Tamburlane exploitation does not pay so well as bourgeois exploitation. It is of no use to a bourgeois to sweep over a country, to lift all the wine and fair women and gold thereof and sweep out again. The fair women grow old and ugly, the wine is drunk, and the gold avails for nothing but ornaments. That would be Dead Sea fruit in the mouth of bourgeois culture, which lives on an endless diet of profit and a perpetual domination.

Bourgeois culture has discovered that what pays is bourgeois violence. This is more subtle and less overt than Tamburlane violence. Roman violence, which consisted in bringing home not only fair women and gold, but slaves also, and making them work in the household, farms, and mines, occupied a mid-position. Bourgeois culture has discovered that those social relations are most profitable to the bourgeois which do not include rapine and personal slavery, but on the contrary forbid it. Therefore the bourgeois, wherever he has conquered non-bourgeois territory, such as Australia, America, Africa, or India, has imposed bourgeois, not Tamburlane, social relations. In the name of liberty, self-determination, and democracy, or sometimes without these names, they enforce the bourgeois essence, private property, and the ownership of the means of production for profit, and its necessary prerequisite, the free laborer forced to dispose of his labor, for a wage, in the market. This priceless bourgeois discovery has produced material wealth beyond the dreams of a Tamburlane or a Croesus.



Thus, even if the pacifist dream was realized, bourgeois violence would go on. But in fact it would not be realized. How could a bourgeois coercive state submit to having its source of profits violently taken away by another bourgeois state, and not use all the sources of violence at its disposal to stop it? Would it not rather disrupt the whole internal fabric of its state than permit such a thing? Fascism and Nazism, bloodily treading the road to bankruptcy, are evidence of this. Bourgeois economy, because it is unplanned, will cut its own throat rather than reform, and pacifism is only the expression of this last-ditch stand of bourgeois culture, which will at the best rather do nothing than do the thing that will end the social relations on which it is based.

Have we the courage to realize forcibly our views? What guarantee have we of their truth? The only real guarantee *is* action. We have the courage to enforce our beliefs upon physical matter, to build up the material substratum of society in houses, roads, bridges, and ships, despite the risk to human life, because our theories, generated by action, are tested in action. Let the bridge fall, the ship sink, the house collapse if we are wrong. We have investigated the causality of nature; let it be proved upon ourselves if we are wrong.

Exactly the same applies to social relations. Bridges have collapsed before now, cultures have moldered in decay, vast civilizations have foundered, but they did not decay uselessly. From each mistake we have learned something, and the Tamburlane society, the slave-owning society, the feudal society, proved upon the test of action have failed. Yet it has only been partial failure; with each we learned a little more, just as the most recent bridge embodies lessons learned from the collapse of the first. Always the lesson was the same, it was the violence, the dominating relation between master and slave, lord and serf, bourgeois and proletarian, which was the weakness in the bridge.

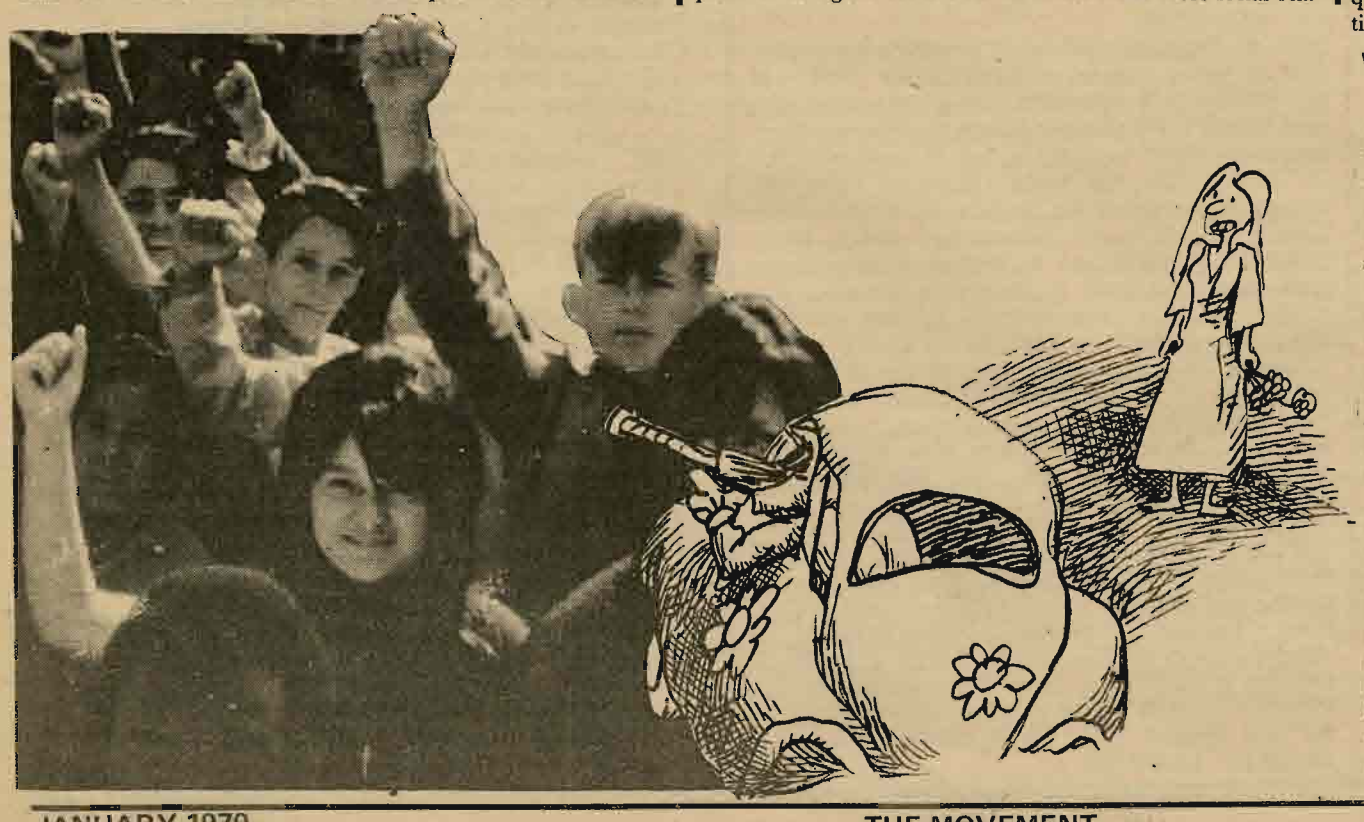
But the pacifist, like all bourgeois theoreticians, is obsessed with the lazy lust of the absolute. "Give me," they all cry, "absolute truth, absolute justice, some rule-of-thumb standard by which I can evade the strenuous task of finding the features of reality by intimate contact with it in action. Give me some logical talisman, some philosopher's stone, by which I can test all acts in theory and say, this is right. Give me some principle such as: *Violence is wrong*, so that I can simply refrain from all violent action and know that I am right." But the only absolute they find is the standard of bourgeois economy. "Abstain from social action." Standards are made, not found.

Man cannot live without acting. Even to cease to act, to let things go their own way, is a form of acting, as when I drop a stone that perhaps starts an avalanche. And since man is always acting, he is always exerting force, always altering or maintaining the position of things, always revolutionary or conservative. Existence is the exercise of force on the physical environment and on other men. The web of physical and social relations that binds men into one universe ensures that nothing we do is without its effect on others, whether we vote or cease to vote, whether we help the police or let them go their way, whether we let two combatants fight or separate them forcibly or assist one against the other, whether we let a man starve to death or move heaven and earth to assist him. Man can never rest on the absolute; all acts involve consequences, and it is man's task to find out these consequences and act accordingly. He can never choose between action and inaction; he can only choose between life and death. He can never absolve himself with the ancient plea, "My intentions were good," or "I meant it for the best," or "I have broken no commandment." Even savages have a more vital conception than this, with whom an act is judged by its consequences, even as a bridge is judged by its stability. Therefore it is man's task to find out the consequences of acts: which means discovering the laws of social relations, the impulses, causes, and effects of history.

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

Thus it is beside the point to ask the pacifist whether he would have defended Greece from the Persian or his sister from a would-be ravisher. Modern society imposes a different and more concrete issue. Under which banner of violence will he impose himself? The violence of bourgeois relations, or the violence not only to resist them but to end them? Bourgeois social relations are revealing, more and more insistently, the violence of exploitation and dispossession on which they are founded; more and more they harrow man with brutality and oppression. By abstaining from action the pacifist enrolls himself under this banner, the banner of things as they are and getting worse, the banner of the increasing violence and coercion exerted by the *haves* on the *have-nots*. He calls increasingly into being the violences of poverty, deprivation, artificial slumps, artistic and scientific decay, fascism, and war.

Or he can enroll himself under the revolutionary banner of things as they will be. In doing so he accepts the stern necessity that he who is to replace a truth or an institution or a system of social relations, must substitute a better, that he who is to pull down a bridge, however inefficient, must put instead a better bridge. Bourgeois social relations were better perhaps than slave-owning; what can the revolutionary find better than them? And, having found them, how is he to bring them about? For one must not only plan the bridge, one must see how it is to be built, by violence, by force, by blasting the living rock and tugging and sweating at the stones that make it.



Black In Army

by F.T. Andrews

Racism has been heavy at Selfridge Air Force Base, twenty miles north of Detroit, for quite a while. Especially in the last year, there have been numerous incidents and a great deal of harrassment and intimidation of black airmen and air women (WAFs).

Colonel Harold Lund, the commander at Selfridge, is completely ineffectual in dealing with the problem, although one is not sure whether it is through incompetence or design.

The incidents are as varied as the honky mind. Repeated incidents, however include threats to blacks who wear Afro hair styles, both through discipline and physical threats.

The former generally come from the brass and NCOs, the latter from the enlisted personnel who know that very little if anything will happen to them so long as they limit the outlets for their aggression to the black GIs.

Other incidents include the assignment of blacks to jobs of lower responsibility than whites of equal rank; the condoned failure of whites to follow the orders of black NCOs; intimidation of blacks who gather together socially (when a group of blacks got together in the servicemen's club to plan a charity campaign for some starving children in Georgia, they were investigated by CID-intelligence, and accused of holding "black power meetings".)

Finally, on August 26 of this year the final straw occurred.

Four Black WAFs came out of their barracks planning to drive over to the servicemen's club.

When they arrived at Sgt. Marion Whitfield's car, they found it sprayed heavily with shaving cream and the phrases "NIGGER" and "QUIET NIGGER" clearly etched in the foam. They called the Security Police, who told them to "forget it".

No real investigation was conducted. However, the four black women had had trouble for months with a group of white WAFs who consistently bombarded them with racial epithets and other absue.

In June, Marion Whitefield had a fight with Nancy Morin, one of the ringleaders of the white group.

So when, after leaving the scene of this latest incident, they came upon Morin and another WAF rummaging around in the trunk of Morin's car a few blocks from the scene of the "spraying", they stopped to ask her if she knew anything about the incident.

Morin and her companion, Sara Jones, had been drinking beer since about 4:30 that afternoon. It was now almost 10:30 and they were quite well juiced.

When Evelyn James, a 20 year old black WAF, and friend of Whitfield, went up to the car to ask Morin about the spraying of Whitfield's car, Morin said, "I don't have to tell nothing to no nigger."

Repeated inquiries led to nothing but further abuse, so the four blacks turned to leave. Morin then charged Evelyn James. A fight ensued. As described by Sgt. Bracely, a black member of the Security Police force who happened to see the fight:

"Well, how should I describe it. Morin lowered her head like a bull and came for James. But James-I don't know-James did a fancy little side step and when Morin swung, James caught her with a left hook and Morin went down. Three times Morin tried to charge James and three times James got the best of her."

Finally the fight was broken up and all parties were ordered back to their barracks. The four black WAFs obeyed, but Morin and Jones did not.

They went and cried on the shoulder of their Lieutenant, a honky who has since been transferred on orders from Washington because of her blatant racism. (Lund, the base commander, did nothing about her).

Then they went, probably in the company of at least five to ten other WAFs, to the barracks where James, Whitefield and two other friends were in their room.

They entered the barracks and pounded on the door. "You black ass nigger come on out," they screamed, Morin in the lead. For about five minutes they banged on the door and screamed until the police, called by Whitfield, came to the barracks.

Then, when James and Whitfield came out to explain to the police what had happened, they were ordered back in the barracks, told to stop making trouble, and the whites, not the blacks, were questioned about what happened.

A few days later James was charged with disorderly conduct for the fight with Morin.

Although Morin admitted her guilt and accepted a mild administrative punishment, James, with the support of many brothers and sisters on the base, decided they'd had enough of that shit. They turned down the administrative punishment, and demanded a special court martial.

They then sought out two civilian attorneys, Marc Stickgold, who had previously beaten the brass at Selfridge when they unsuccessfully tried to court-martial an anti-war GI for distributing underground papers, and Herman Anderson, a black lawyer recommended by Rep. John Conyer's office.

Then, together with the white GIs who publish "Broken Arrow", the underground anti-war paper at Selfridge, they began to organize for the day of the court martial. Brothers and sisters were urged to fill the courtroom. A civilian demonstration outside the base was planned. And the list of witnesses, to include Colonel Lund, was prepared.

The court martial was going to become a trial of the racism at Selfridge.

The Air Force freaked out. They flew in a military Judge from an air base in Florida. They flew in a military prosecuter from an air base in Virginia. They had to borrow a court reporter from the Army.

On October 7, the day of the court-martial, about forty to fifty pickets showed up outside the gate protesting the trial of Evelyn James, racism in the Air Force, and the war in Vietnam.

The popular slogan "NO VIETNAMESE EVER CALLED ME NIGGER" was the theme. There were probably more different kinds of pigs at that demonstration than any demonstration since Chicago. Air Force Intelligence, Security Police Macomb County Sheriff, Mt. Clements Police, all made their appearance.

The first day of the court martial was spent arguing over many legal motions. The two most important were that the defense insisted on trying the issue of "racism," since only in its full context could the fight between James and Morin be understood.

Second, the defense insisted that a key witness, Eva Griffin, who had been mysteriously transferred to Alaska two weeks after the fight, be returned to testify, since her testimony clearly established who started the fight.

The judge gave in half-way on both motions. He allowed a tape recording of a long distance telephone conversation with Griffin, arranged on his order, to be introduced instead of her actual testimony. And he allowed racism to be an issue so long as it related to the defendant, Evelyn James.

The second day the prosecution pranced out seven witnesses, each one of whom told a completely different story.

The defense attorneys, Stickgold and Anderson, took turns mutilating the stories of the first five. The last two, two black Security policemen who just happened on the scene, told a more truthful story and established that a drunken Morin had been the clear aggressor and that the incident was a racial one. Then the prosecution rested its case.

The first defense witness was to have been Colonel Lund. They were going to establish not only that the prosecution of James was based on her race (you can't let a "nigger" get the best of a white in a fight), but that there was a long history at the base of his overlooking incidents of attacks on blacks, and condoning harrassment of blacks.

Evidence was available to prove that the Air Force ordered an investigation at Selfridge some months ago because of the racial trouble, and that the major who visited the base recommended a full-scale investigation. Nothing was done.

Many other such proofs were available to slaughter Lund on the stand. But the defense never got the chance.

After the prosecution's case, the defense moved for a judgement of not guilty on the grounds that the government hasn't proved anything-let alone beyond a reasonable doubt. The testimony was conflicting and obviously full of lies, and the only two witnesses who could be believed fully substantiated James' side of the story.

The judge saw an easy way out. He could save Lund his embarrassment, smooth over the situation temporarily, and get back to Florida. He granted the motion and entered a not guilty verdict. James was free.

The case has significance far beyond the courageous black woman named Evelyn James who stood up to the brass' shit and won. It accomplished two very important political goals.

First, it pulled the blacks on the base together as never before. They now fully realize that power comes through mass political struggle, and are committed to support any brother or sister who gets hassled.

Second, a previous understandable distrust of whites, even the anti-war GIs who write the "Broken Arrow", has broken down and the blacks are willing to work with them on political issues.

Reprinted from THE FIFTH ESTATE, Detroit

BLACK GI'S ORGANIZE AGAINST RACISM

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 racist genocidal war comes along or when it's needed to help keep the troops from getting too far out of hand.

Lately it's been coming in handy in both 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 racism and, in some places, black and white GIs are recognizing the brass' tactics of divide-and-continue-to-rule and are fighting against it. The accompanying article on Selfridge Air Base discusses the manner in which racism was exposed there and used to further organization of the GIs against the brass.

In another, similiar, case the brass charged four black men with rioting, conspiracy and assault following a fight between blacks and whites at Millington Naval Air Station near Memphis. None of the whites involved have been charged although they had reportedly spent the day planning for the fight. A fifth black man who had been charged died on Oct. 31 and charges against five others have been dropped. No white GI support has been reported, but a lawyer from the Southern Conference Education Fund managed to get a mistrial declared after a member of the all-white jury admitted to being prejudiced. The men, all at the Millington hospital recovering from wounds received in Vietnam, are facing a retrial.

At Fort Dix, the Black Liberation Party was founded in September for the purpose of "Protective Defense, Black Legal Defense and Advice, Black Cultural Awareness and to prevent more brothers from being brutalized in Nam". On November 8 a soldier who had returned from Vietnam and was under armed guard at Fort Dix for having missed formation was shot in the back of the knee as he walked out of his barracks. The guard's comment: "I should have killed the black bastard". An officer was put in the hospital trying to make the soldier's comrades disperse and the guard was quickly removed from the reach of the men.

According to the New York POST, black men in Vietnam have begun to register some emphatic protests against racism and general officer harrassment. Quoting one source, "it has become common to first issue a warning to a non-commissioned officer or an officer. This is usually done by tossing a smoke or tear gas grenade under the man's quarters. The inference is that if a man keeps up his harrassment, the next grenade could be an explosive one. Too often it is." RIGHT ON

Sisters

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 are brutalizing fourteen Panther sisters and brothers. In New Haven they have held women in jail, courageous 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 toward freedom. Far too little has been done. One of the most successful demonstrations so far against the systematic attempt to destroy the Panthers was the demonstration in New Haven in November.

A coalition of women's liberation groups and the Black Panther Party brought more than 5000 people to New Haven on November 22 to support the five women among the fourteen Panthers currently in jail in Connecticut's Niantic State Prison.

The fourteen have been in jail for eight months on trumped-up murder and conspiracy charges stemming from the death of Alex Rackley last May. The demonstrators were demanding the release of the Panthers and protesting the inhuman treatment of the Panther sisters in jail.

BROTHERS TO THE BACK

Two thousand women from the Panther Party, women's liberation groups, welfare rights groups, and the Young Lords Organization led the march through downtown New Haven to the State House. New York Panther Communications Secretary Beth Mitchell made it clear to the men supporting the march that they would have to stay back. "We're stopping this march right here until the brothers go to the back," she warned through a megaphone at one point.

Three of 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. Two days later she was back in her cell. She is now suffering from an infection which may make her sterile.

SEEDS OF REVOLUTION

The conditions under which Peggy was forced to give birth are consistent with the way the sisters have been treated since their arrest. They are isolated from other prisoners, kept awake all night by constant noise and bright lights, denied choice of doctors, and prohibited from getting exercise, fresh air or adequate food. None of this is conducive to a healthy pregnancy. Panther Rose Smith weighed 132 pounds when she was jailed; now, in her seventh month of pregnancy, she weighs only 133.

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 homes considered "suitable" by the State Welfare Department their babies will be taken away from them and put in foster homes. Even if they are found innocent, the women will have to fight the courts to get their children back, and the courts insist on proof of a "stable family relationship" and income before they will return a child.

"These women in jail are carrying the seeds of revolution," said Beth Mitchell when the marchers reached New Haven Courthouse, "and we're going to support them." She read a list of six demands: Immediate freedom for the Fourteen and for all political prisoners; an end to the sister's isolation and deprivation of sleep; adequate diet, exercise and clothing; the right to choice of counsel; adequate medical care by doctors of the sisters' choosing and the right of the mothers to arrange for custody of their children.

PIG JUSTICE

Meanwhile, the New Haven pig power structure continues its repression. The fourteen are being held without bail, their reading material is heavily censored and they are denied visitors outside their families and lawyers present at their arraignment—they are unable to talk to other lawyers crucial to their defense. Early in November, the government, through Judge Aaron Parsons, issued a court order designed to strip the fourteen and their supporters of one of their last weapons—publicity.

According to the order no public statements may be made by anyone officially connected with the case. No demonstrations may occur within 500 feet of the courtroom, no photography or sketching is allowed in court, no one can enter the courtroom without being searched and no one can enter or leave while the court is in session. This order is designed to prevent the kind of daily press conferences that have exposed what was going on in the courtroom in the Chicago Eight trial.

Left liberals in New Haven have rallied to the Panthers' defense. The Coalition to Defend the Panthers and the People's Commission to Free the Panthers are working now to expose these latest injustices. Law students at Yale and the New Haven Human Relations Council are supporting the Panthers.

The sisters demonstration was good, but the struggle in New Haven and nationwide must be intensified. The demonstration spoke first to the need to stage large demonstrations of militant support for political prisoners and for basic human rights. It also spoke to the heart of the meaning of revolutionary women's liberation, as opposed to what might be called the bourgeois or cultural feminist forces within the women's movements. That's because it placed women from different classes and races in Babylon on the line in support of four sisters who because of their courage, leadership, and political understanding have suffered intense oppression, as revolutionaries and as black women actively engaged in struggle. It helped catalyze wide support for all 14 of the brothers and sisters, spread a revolutionary understanding of the methods used by the pig to murder freedom.

The pigs have now attempted to implicate the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, recently chained and gagged and enslaved in a lynch court, now in solitary confinement in a shit and piss filled cell, in the New Haven frame. People say that the movement to Free Huey helped save him from the electric chair . . . the movement to Free Huey, Bobby, David, the Panther 21, the 14 in New Haven, and all the other political prisoners must do more than that—it must bring the struggle to a higher point, must in fact free the people who are the vanguard of our struggle. 28 Panthers have been murdered. The strength, courage, and revolutionary determination and sacrifice of Bobby Hutton and Fred Hampton give the Panther brothers and sisters now up against the wall a revolutionary spirit no matter what the oppression and danger they face. That is the spirit we must build in our efforts to free all political prisoners.

HE'S IN THERE FOR YOU! YOU'RE OUT THERE FOR HIM!

EDITORIAL NOTE: The sisters and brothers from the Oleo Strut asked us to circulate this petition. We are printing it so you, too, can circulate it. Completed petitions should be sent to Defense Committee, 101 Ave D, Killeen, Texas 76541.

A GI, Pvt E-2 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 Sargeant. In June 1969 he became active in the anti-war, GIs rights movement and wrote for the Fatigue Press, the E.M. paper here at Fort Hood.

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.

Chase has been in the Stockade over a month and while in "C" Compound (the box) was beaten four times. These beatings are not isolated incidents.

Also, Chase like all other GIs cannot receive a fair trial in the Kangaroo General Court Martial.

Therefore, we the undersigned demand the following:

1. FREE RICHARD CHASE
   a. Drop all charges against Richard Chase
2. END BRUTAL AND INHUMAN CONDITIONS IN THE STOCKADES
   a. A senatorial investigation of the Ft. Hood Stockade should occur immediately.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!

NAME ADDRESS, CITY, STATE

ABOLISH THE PEACE CORPSE

By Rita and Joe Sklar

"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 inquisitive new-comers 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 1966. 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 Committee, Crossroads Africa, International Voluntary Service, and a limited number from VISTA. According to the bylaws, at least 85 percent of a chapter's membership must be returned volunteers from service in Third World countries.

In 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 cold war anti-communism. It favored multi-national aid through agencies like the United Nations. It also stated:

The US must accept that unilateral military intervention in the affairs of their nations is not in their best interests nor in ours. 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 radicalness 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 first 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 smarting 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 the Wallace campaign') further speeded up the process. 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 supporters) who chose to refuse to submit themselves to induction. One of the first volunteers to be drafted from the field was Fred Lonidier 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 sueing 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. Thenew 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 manufactures 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.

The CRV is also continuing its educational work. Returned volunteers have had direct experience in the Third World, which helps our educational work.

The New York chapter has published an excellent analysis of the Mozambique liberation struggle and is raising money for FRELIMO, the guerrilla force. The CRV co-sponsored a well-attended conference in Washington designed to expose the United States' imperial designs in the Pacific Basin. And of course, talks on Cuba are being given throughout the country by the participants in the two trips this summer.

Experience is not a radicalizing factor in itself however. It is the analysis of that experience which completes the process. And the debates within the organization, on the local and national level have been very significant. One of the earliest debates which still continues is to what extent the CRV will emphasize American imperialism in Third World countries over exploitation or fascism at home. Some chapters have worked on mother country problems like the grape boycotts, community control of schools, and white racism. The emphasis however, has been elsewhere. One position in this debate is that the role of theCRV within themovement is to underline the intimate relationship between US imperialism abroad and racism and exploitation at home.

The dynamic within the CRV has enabled us to use this debate as well as other discussions about projects and strategies as educational tools. The political thinking of CRV members is far from homo geneous. New members, recently returned from overseas work, are continually joining the group. Quite often they are bewildered if not upset by the discussions they hear. As they work on projects, and participate in general discussions, they are confronted with new ideas and new ways of looking at their volunteer experience.

The CRV represents a unique organization to its members in that all of them have done similar voluntary work, most of it in underdeveloped countries. This common experience which has been very significant to the individuals establishes a strong bond among them.

This combination of influences has gradually molded CRV into the organization which it is today. It has been a long, and at times, painful process. While the increasingly blatant orientation of US imperialism opened many eyes, the opportunity to discuss and analyse within CRV has helped many members to comprehend more fully the nature of the system which surrounds us. This understanding has moved many people from being agents of imperialism to being enemies of imperialism.

Venceremos!

PDM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

almost any white man how he feels about standing around with three or four blacks, he gets a feeling of how he shouldn't be associated with those people - his standards of something.

I think the committee should do something about that. Talk to the people, show the workers, set them straight.

JIM: Power to the People.

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

JACK: Well, that's what we're doing, unions and workers and committees.

PHIL: 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.

JOHN: I feel that there is a common treading ground, but the unions are behind in 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. But there is a common ground where the unions and the corporations can get together, to set wages according to profits, so the corporations won't make outstanding sums. It should be spread out to a few more people.

JACK: 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. But the bosses dont 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.

ON WOMEN

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.

JACK: 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 to 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 of the others didn't want them to come or what. There's lots of things the women could do, like picketing the Dove employment agency that's hiring scabs. But with the number of women we've got now it's as much as we can do to have one women 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? Picket 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 let look after 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

JACK: 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 and as the breadwinners of 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.

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

SUE: A lot of the men say they want their wives out there when they are talking to a group of people, 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 hit.

PHIL:But when you get all the students down, and maybe there are ten or twelve wives there, the pigs aren't going to look around to see who's a wife and who's not. And if you fight back you've got four of them on you and they start swinging. You could see that happen last Friday when one of the girl students was fighting with a cop...

VERA: The cop was beating her husband.

PHIL: They just cut loose. You're not going to be able to win. I could see this: strictly wives out there. That's great because then they are afraid to push anybody around.

MARY: I don't think the students should get beaten up either. It's not a question of whether women should be out there or not, or whether students should be out there or not, it's a question of whether you've 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 scabs, and helping with the pickets, that's a thing you can get away with. Or picketing the employment agency.

MOVEMENT: Students have been talking about womens' liberation lately.

JOHN: 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.

JACK: I'm not for womens' liberation, I'm for peoples' 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 suppressed as far as being at home than a man is. And if you call it liberation, people 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.

I enjoy being in the house. My husband knows I like it there and he doesn't even want me working. But he volunteers my services for anything to get me out of the house once in a while. 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.

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Bombed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

tions and ships to Peru in her war with Chile. Peru lost, but Grace turned defeat into victory (for himself). The war left Peru with $250 million in foreign debts which Grandad graciously assumed, thereby securing a virtual mortgage on the nation and receiving tremendous concessions in return. Peru for her part, however, has begun to get back. In August of this year the Peruvian government seized $25 million worth of W.R. Grace & Co. sugar lands as part of its sweeping land reform.

The Grace empire is perhaps best known for the companies it has now gotten rid of: Grace Shipping Lines, Panagra Airlines (sold to Braniff) and Miller Brewing Co. (sold to Pepsico). But the company is hardly going out of business, just growing in other directions.

In 1958, Grace Lines produced 18% of the company's revenue, while chemicals, foods and consumer products made up less than 50%. By 1967, steamship operations brought only 7% of the company's total and chemicals accounted for 58% while food and consumer products, were the fastest growing area in the company, for 26%. So, the company is primarily into chemicals with diversified holdings in food, oil, textiles, transportation and advertising. It produces: paint, coffee, cocoa, chocolate (Van Houton), rum, industrial alcohol, flour, cooking oils, light bulbs, cement, paper, caustic soda, chlorine, tungsten and vinyl plastic.

But to inject a personal note into the impersonality of corporate life, we should look at J. Peter Grace himself. His 281,834 shares of W.R. Grace stock alone is currently worth $8.9 million. So he is rich. He is also a fervent Catholic. (Grandfather Grace was New York City's first Catholic mayor. One of J. Peter's best friends is Father Patrick Peyton who he praises for personally persuading seven million Latin Americans to say the rosary: "If those people didn't have the rosary, they'd have nothing.") He is also a fervent anti-Communist. (When asked by the *Catholic Reporter if* he equated Russia generally with murderers and criminals, he replied, "Yes, yes. Very definitely. I don't see any difference." He is also chief fund-raiser for the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which financed by U.S. Big Business and some CIA dollars, organizes anti-Communist labor unions in Latin America on the principle of cooperation with management.)

This combination of traits made J. Peter a likely associate of another rich, anti-Communist Catholic, John F. Kennedy. In fact, Grace's booklet, "It's Not Too Late in Latin America" presents a detailed program which was largely incorporated into the Alliance for Progress. Grace advocates a U.S. propaganda campaign utilizing movies and one-frequency radios and lays out a program for incentives to U.S. business. 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 th $1.3 billion in export sales for American firms. Among other items, AID financed the export of $109 million in *fertilizer*, $150 million in *chemicals* . . . In addition, American *shipping lines* earned about $90 million in AID dollars for carrying these products to their destination in the less developed countries."

The last four corporate sites of bombings—Standard Oil (of New Jersey), RCA, GM and Chase Manhattan—involve institutions which are so mammouth they defy easy description. United Fruit and Marine Midland could be described somewhat neatly as discernible corporate entities. The last four giants aren't so easily contained—their directors slip and slide from corporate positions to governmental positions and back again. In the cases of Chase Manhattan and Standard Oil, both are tied in tightly with the Rockefeller family and function as complimentary units along with other companies (Metropolitan Life, Eastern Airlines, Consolidated Natural Gas, etc.) in making up the single most powerful and wealthy interest group in the world. The corporate assets of each of the four surpass the Gross National Products of most of the world's nations. Their power and impact on Amerikan life make distinctions between public and private interests impossible.

STANDARD OIL OF NEW JERSEY

The company is a direct descendant of the original Standard Oil trust, founded in the 1870's by Nelson's grandfather, John D. Rockefeller, Sr. The trust-busting period splintered it into several companies, but the Rockefellers, with a network of over 13 foundations, 75 family trusts and other mechanisms of high finance, still maintain dominant interests in most of the splinters: Standard Oil companies of New Jersey, Indiana, and California and Mobil Oil.

Jersey Standard operates under several subsidiary aliases. In Venezuela, the company subsidiary is Creole Petroleum, and Creole in turn owns a shipping company and two investment companies. In Ecuador and Colombia SONJ uses the subsidiary name, International Petroleum Company. (Peru nationalized its IPC subsidiary a year ago). In most of the rest of the world, Jersey Standard is known by the Esso brand. the Venezuelan economy is virtually a slave of Standard Oil. The country is the world's largest exporter and third largest producer of oil, but foreign oil companies have been extracting at fantastic rates which, if maintained, will deplete the known reserves in about 14 years.

The vital statistics of SONJ are incredible. As of December 1967, 52% of the company's assets were abroad and the company was the world's largest private overseas investor, with operations in over 100 nations. (A sizeable stake in Amerikan 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 of $13.3 billion earned it the Fortune ranking of Amerika's second largest industrial corporation. SONJ's president is J.K. Jamieson.

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

In the late 1800's Marconi succeeded in sending wireless messages across a pond, and the possibility of instant global communication was born. But Amerikan corporations were quick to put all that good potential to bad use. A half century later, we have to live with airwaves cluttered with mindless programming and inane commercials. RCA was an important part of that process.

The chairman of the board of RCA, General David Sarnoff, is one of those Horatio Alger classics. He arrived in Amerika at the turn of the century, penniless, a Russian Jewish immigrant; turned out to be a brilliant electronic genius; and worked his way up in the ranks of RCA to become chairman of the board (with a minor assist from an upper class marriage). The company is now the 20th largest industrial corporation in Amerika according to Fortune, its 1968 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 Defense contractor with contracts totaling $255 million in 1968. It owns the National Broadcasting Co., Random House and Hertz-Rent-A-Cars. The company used to be the proud parent of two television networks (the red and the blue), but a 1943 antitrust suit forced them to dispose of the Blue Network (which is now the American Broadcasting Co.)

CHASE MANHATTAN BANK

David Rockefeller, the youngest of the Rockefeller brothers, is the largest individual stockholder and chairman of the board of Chase Manhattan. Chase is Amerika's third largest commercial bank (with assets of $20 billion) ranking behind the Bank of America and First National City Bank. (First National City is run by David's cousin, James Stillman Rockefeller). But Chase is probably the most influential U.S. commercial bank in international operations. It holds a commanding lead in two key areas of major league banking: 1) loans to business and 2) correspondent banking. Chase performs assorted chores for 5,900 correspondent banks around the world; it has 150 New York City area branches and 54 foreign branch banks. In countries where laws prohibit or impede branch banking, Chase acquires "affiliates" by buying a controlling interest in an already-established local bank.

Chase is famous for shoring up racism by giving financial aid to the Republic of South Africa when that apartheid regime was undergoing economic difficulty and in danger of falling. Chase also holds great influence in the municipal bond market of New York City. The city is dependent on banks like Chase to underwrite municipal bonds when city funds are needed. Chase, for its part, gets a high commission for selling the bonds (which are tax free) and in addition sells them in large blocs to individuals in its own Trust department. So the city goes deeper and deeper into debt and the control of the debt becomes more and more centralized in the bank's hands. On an international level, Chase has tremendous influence on the World Bank which guarantees international bonds against defaulting. Both John J. McCloy and Eugene Black have gone to the presidency of the World Bank from the chairmanship of Chase.

The bank's power is augmented by the personal power of its chairman. According to Finance magazine (January 1969) David ". . .has long held the equivalent of a cabinet status in the society of his peers." And as if the Rockefeller nexus of power were not enough, the Chase board of directors brings together most of Amerika's other powerful: the chairmen of U.S. Steel, of General Foods, of AT&T, of Metropolitan Life, and of Penn Central; the presidents of Allied Chemical and Anaconda; an ex-Secretary of the Treasury; and the president of Standard Oil (New Jersey) and the chairman of Standard Oil (Indiana).

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GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION

When E.C. Wilson (a former chairman of GM) was Secretary of Defense he said, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country." It was an order, not a statement of morality.

Death trap cars which belch out air pollutants and come out in newly planned obsolete models every year are good for the country. GM and its three directors who represent oil companies—Albert Williams of Mobil Oil, Howard Morgens of SONJ and Richard K. Mellon of Gulf—are involved in an international conspiracy to keep the world tied to gasoline engines and private (as opposed to public) transportation. General Motors produces Buicks, Cadillacs, Chevrolets, Oldsmobiles and Pontiacs; and in England, Vauxhall cars and Bedford trucks; Opels in West Germany; Holden cars in Australia; and Chevrolet Opalas in Brazil. Most of them are badly put together. When Ralph Nader began to investigate the defects, GM employed a private eye to investigate Nader.

But General Motors is not just in the business of private automobiles for death; it also is the 10th largest Defense contractor in the country. With defense and space sales worth $777 million. It produces engines for close-support fighter-bombers and Main Battle Tanks. Nonautomotive products comprise 10% of GM sales—items like Frigidaires and locomotive engines.

General Motors is the largest industrial corporation in Amerika, according to Fortune. 1968 sales totaled $14 billion. (Only AT&T rivals General Motors in size. And GM executives are rewarded in proportion to the company's size. GM chairman, James M. Roche, earns more than any other corporate executive in salary—$794,934.

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SORRY

We've been
We've been promising
an article on Chicago
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strategy for two months
but the brothers and
sisters of the
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finished it yet—
Better Luck
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One afternoon a thousand years ago a Chinese administrator named Cao Bien was sitting by the River Lo in Vietnam. He had been sent by the Emperor of China to conquer Vietnam and make it part of China.

As he sat there on that afternoon, 500 years before the first white man ever set foot in America, scheming of ways to get the riches of Vietnam back to China, he saw something huge and terrifying.

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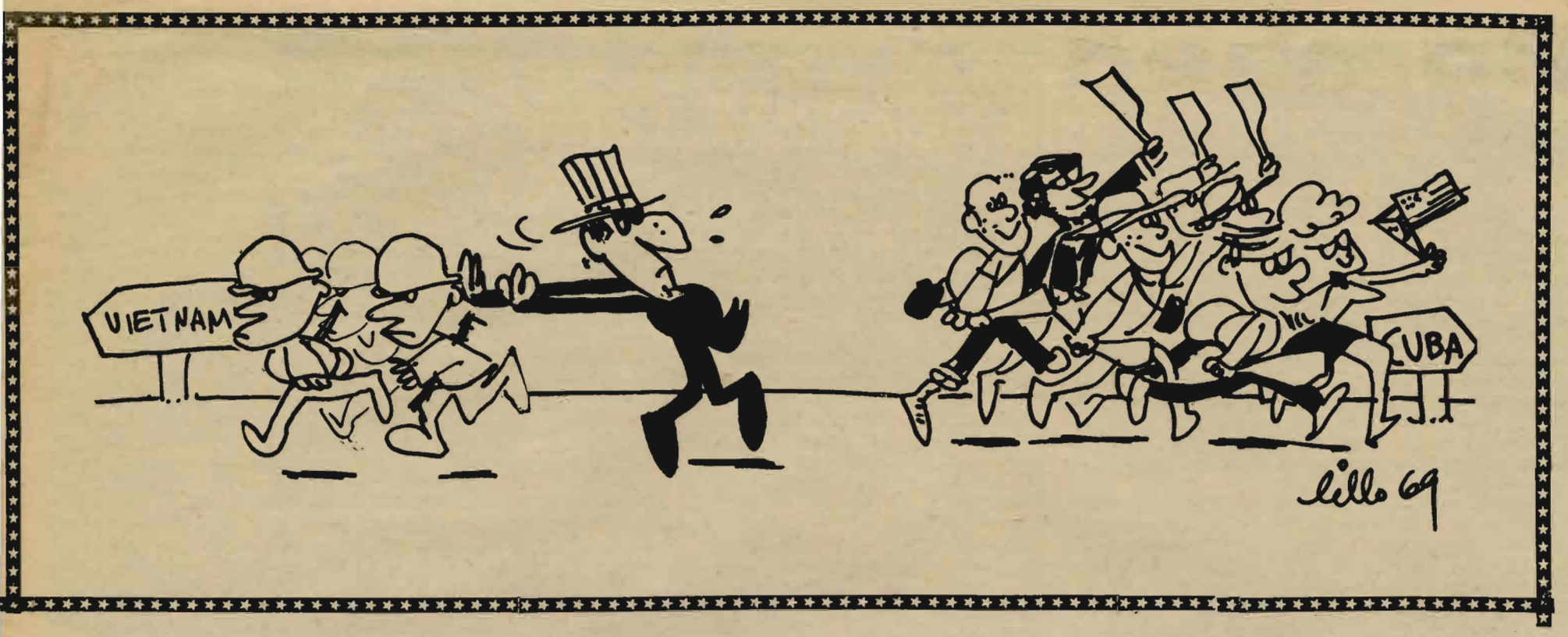

help

Coming out of the energy of a successful year of low-level agitating on a large university campus, a small number of one-time SDS 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 66:25. Thus far, working around racism, a police training facility and the Moratorium, we have had little effect.

We have had almost no impact on the 8500 women and men studying in technical or vacational programs, the majority of whom will fit 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 aeromechanics 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.

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FOR CHAIRMAN FRED

WEIGHTIER THAN MOUNT TAI

You jive ass fools
Who practice genocide
Shall surely die
Us brothers and sisters
Shall surely survive
And dig it
No matter who you kill
The revolution stays alive.

Power to the People!

Wherever death
May down us
It'll be welcome
So long as this

Power to the People!

Our battle cry
Is picked up on
That another hand
Take up our weapons

Power to the People!

That sisters and brothers
Step on up to sing
Our funeral spirituals
With the rat tat tat of

Power to the People!

Machine guns
And new cries
Of battle
And of victory.

Power to the People!

You jive ass fools
Shall die
We shall survive
No matter who you kill
The revolution stays alive.

II

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

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

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

The times are heavy and indigo the mood
The times are heavy and indigo 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 slavemasters shall die and we shall survive
The slavemasters 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
He'd cut through from the blues
To rapping melodies
That wailed on freedom.

Get into it he said:
"We saying somethin 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 learn.
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 five year 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 mother fuckin academy award.

Last week they had a whole week
Dedicated 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 into it he said:
"We say that just as fast
As the people can go
That's just as fast
As we can take it.

We must be sure we ain't missin
The people in the valley.
In the valley we know that we
Can learn 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 Huey and Bobby
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."

Man, that cat was 21 years old, could talk
Could organize, and fight, and lay it down
That's cause from way down 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 coffin
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 spit upon.
They knew him
And he knew them.

They are the men on the street
Who stand around the liquor store
And fill the street
With the laughter of oppression
And sometimes shake their heads
And sing a down home blues.
Hoping for the sun
While being spit upon.
They knew him
And he knew 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 field niggers
And some house niggers
Who, seeing through the jive
Have walked into the valley.
All hoping for the sun.
They knew him.
And he knew 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 heights?
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 conquers strife
A valley, when it rises, there are no heights
A revolution, when its needed, it stays alive.

by Lincoln Bergman