Above is a French student poster. "Chienlit" is slang for bedwetters. You know who they are.
DISARMING AN ARMY BASE

In recent months the movement has begun to take seriously the idea that we are to go anywhere we must begin to talk to our brothers in the military. This is a very healthy development. The first week in November was declared National GI Week and during that week movement people around the country were supposed to visit army bases, raise some hell with the brass and most importantly try to talk with the enlisted men.

The MOVEMENT newspaper supports this action, but we wish to point out that if our movement is going to be taken seriously by the guys in the army it must relate to them more than once a year. Even the government sponsors National Brotherhood Week and a Kind to Animals Week once a year. With these thoughts in mind we report the following suggestions on visiting an army base by John Davis. It originally appeared in the Moldtizer to Get U.S. Out of Vietnam, organ of the National Mobilization Committee.

By submitting any week in the year for National GI Week we think the suggestions in this article can be helpful to movement people around the country. The Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays are fast approaching and many soldiers probably will not be able to get home to spend those days with their families. We urge that as many movement people as possible go to army bases before these holidays and invite guys to spend the holidays with them in their homes.

We can't emphasize enough the importance of getting a group together to travel to a military base during National GI Week. Five people can have a major impact on a fort of 50,000. Military officers can be counted on to issue absurd orders to their men upon the arrival of any peace group, particularly if you give them plenty of advance warning. The underground reporter circuit has a way of reporting your every move to every GI, especially if the commanding officer has confined all military personnel to their barracks against the threat of four weeks and two months. But the unknown has a way of keeping the movement from pushing into a new frontier. Therefore we offer these suggestions and information in the hope of reducing uncertainties arising from the idea that we make the presence and support of our movement felt at bases around the country during National GI Week.

"Open" or "Closed" Base?

Most military installations in the continental U.S. are "open" bases, meaning civilians are allowed to visit friends, relatives, or to stroll around the army park. However, when asked, certain areas are clearly marked "off-limits." A private may be charged with criminal trespass for entering such areas. A "closed" base is a military installation (Army, Navy, Air Force) that civilians are not permitted to visit without special permission from the Commanding General of that fort. Before sending a delegation to a base, find out if it is closed or open.

Preparing The Fort For Your Arrival

Some groups may want to slip quietly onto a base and begin distribution of leaflets, or whatever. Generally, however, we recommend avoiding a confrontation with the brass. If you have a doctor or two on your delegation, you may want to visit the base hospital, to inspect conditions and inspire some possible change. Your mission might include investigation of conditions in the stockades. Or you could inform the Commanding Officer that you want to post the base armory to put on a rock concert and love-in, as a gesture of support to soldiers. Whichever the purpose, contact the base directly. Ask to speak to the Commanding General, the Post Information Officer, the Provost Marshall. While waiting for some general to take you, explain your purpose to the secretary who is holding the phone.

When your request is turned down, call the Commanding Officer to say that you will be organizing your church service (love-in, speak-out, leafletting, etc.) just outside the fort. Ask him where you can park your car (or your ten busses). Can you stay overnight on the base? How many people get over on a Sunday afternoon? Can you be informed of an MP orders you off a base, tell him you have official permission from the Commander General to be on the base. A Private First Class doesn't have the power to order you off the base. Any confrontation should be with ranking officers or NCOs, who are the recognized escort of every GI on the base.

The first fact that any delegation should keep in mind is that the army is just one big stifl. If you are asked to leave a base, find out who is ordering you. A Private First Class doesn't have enough power to order his own aide lance, much less ask you to leave the base. Any order has to come down through a complicated chain of command. If an MP orders you off a base, tell him you have official permission from Commanding General in and to Demad that you see the Commanding General. Ask the guard to bring the Commanding General and when you have made contact with him, if the contact comes with you, they may be helpful in forcing the brass to let you on. If you are essentially forced off the base, you may not return without facing heavy federal charges.

If you are asked to leave, you may try setting up some equipment to help with the men on their way to and from official business. (Sunday afternoon, a good time). If the men are raid about to the base because of your "premise," you might march around the entire perimeter of the base with signs of support -- PTA, Jobs USA; Support Our GIs, Bring Them Home: We Came to Have a Love-In-How About It? If the men are not confined, spent the afternoon around guitars and some good conversation about what can be done inside the army to end the war.

SHOTGUN WEDDING

A lot of people in the movement have been talking about reaching Wallace supporters. But the prospect of our actually doing something is limited, partly by our fear and partly because we see few concrete ways to make contact with "those people.

The Movement has heard about a concrete strategy to begin to talk to Wallace folks. One of the things we have in common with them is our opposition to racism. A lot of any county gun fan would be enough to convince us that the issue is a major concern to a large section of the people. Some movement people have organized groups to protect the rights of certain citizens to bear arms. But their propaganda begins to move beyond that issue. Here's what the masses of black militants and so-called right-wing extremists, scare stories in the press and TV make this easy, often other citizens do not see the common threat and will not react at this stage. Our rulers turn us against each other as one of their main techniques to extend their power and reduce ours. These forces (the police and military) have been used against the people before -- to break up legal strikes, to harass working class people, students' groups, and strikers.

We can recognize our potential strength -- the many people of diverse racial, ethnic and economic backgrounds who share our concerns. It is now clear that existing groups of sportsmen and gun extremists face forces which are too powerful for them to do the job of defending their rights alone. New forces must join the struggle. Black militants, so-called right-wing extremists, students and working people, housewives and professional men.

group in the wealthy... they will always have the political influence to have a person authorized and the money to buy a permit no matter how expensive it becomes, and they will also have the money to buy expensive hunting rifles (which prices go up as surplus and other used firearms are eliminated from the marketplace).

"The first groups to be affected are unpopular minority groups, particularly black militants and so-called right-wing extremists, scare stories in the press and TV make this easy, often other citizens do not see the common threat and will not react at this stage. Our rulers turn us against each other as one of their main techniques to extend their power and reduce ours. These forces (the police and military) have been used against the people before -- to break up legal strikes, to harass working class people, students' groups, and strikers.

"The men who control the TV and newspapers (who control the political office in the first place) are trying to whip up public hysteria in order to railroad base repressive laws through. It's safe to say that three groups will not have their freedoms curtailed. (The police, the criminals).... The third
by Bob Feinglass

Twenty-seven GI's at San Francisco's Presidio Army Base Stockade face the death penalty for staging a non-violent sit-down to protest the murder of a fellow prisoner on October 11.

The victim, Richard Bunch, 19 years old, was mentally ill. When he had gone AWOL, he returned to his home in Ohio and told his mother he had gone AWOL. He returned to the base of his choice. No charges were brought for disobeying orders to Vietnam. Evidently, they are trying to throw the book at anyone who challenges their rule.

They have good reason to fear. Discipline is terrible among enlisted men and morale is dropping daily. Nearly everyone in the Army, except for career officers, is against the war and hates the military. The protesters are typical soldiers. All are in for violations of discipline as are most of their brother prisoners. More than 80% of them are in for going AWOL, for most, it is not the first or even second time. One is in for slugging a sergeant and a lieutenant, another for disobeying orders to Vietnam. Their average age is 18. All are white, nearly all are high-school dropouts. None graduated from college. A little more than half were drafted. Others enlisted to avoid the draft. Most had their first encounters with anti-establishment anti-military attitudes in the Haight-Ashbury, where the harboring of fugitives from the military is a frequent practice.

Only ministers, lawyers and families may visit the prisoners. The name of two of the prisoners who participated in the sit-down are Steve Rowland and Keith Mather. Letters should be sent to The Stockade, San Francisco Presidio, San Francisco, California 94129.

The Murder

That day Bunch was working on a shotgun detail (four prisoners and a shotgun-toting guard), he asked the guard, "What will you do if I run?" The guard replied that Bunch would have to run to find out. Bunch ran. The shotgun blast tore off the back of his head. The range was so close that pellets entering his back came out the front of his chest.

The other prisoners on the detail witnessed the murder. They were outraged. That night there was a minor riot in the stockade in which windows were broken.

The following day, Saturday, October 12, during the GI Peace March, 4 AWOL GI's turned themselves in. They were outraged. That night there was a minor riot in the stockade in which windows were broken.

The actual charge of mutiny was not placed against them until ten days later, apparently after consultation with Washington and the Pentagon. The charge carries a possible death penalty. It is a "lesser" sentence of perhaps 20 years at hard labor.

It is clear that the brass fear these protests. The Court Martial will be conducted by senior officers whose life commitment is to military discipline. Evidently, they are trying to throw the book at anyone who challenges their rule.

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ELECTION NIGHT USA...(MOVEMENT)...

SAN FRANCISCO

Election Day began with an afternoon rock concert in Civic Center Plaza. The music wasn’t bad, the pot was plentiful and the old men who usually gather in the plaza sat and stared into the distance as if nothing unusual were happening.

After the concert, we marched to Montgomery Street, the financial district, where we planned to play *people’s music* under banks and brokerage firms as part of the garden. Only 500 or so showed up for the concert, but several hundred more joined the march along the route.

About a block from Montgomery, two pigs tossed a guy and got in a fight with some of the demonstrators who were paced off at the arrest. They lasted in full view of hundreds of the marchers and changed the entire mood of the crowd. Up until this time there was a festive spirit — people chanted *Fuck the Elections, vote in the streets!* and flashed fists and V-signs at bystanders. We had accomplished two things, it turned the people into a tense angry group and it focused attention on the pigs rather than on the financial interests of Montgomery Street.

The notorious *Tactical Squad* was waiting for us when we arrived at Montgomery Street. They boarded up the four corners of the intersection, where we stayed for over two hours glaring at the pigs, shuffling aimlessly. Some of the play money we had (with pictures of the candidates, Rockefeller, and other pigs) was burned along with newspapers. Some people were hustled for violations and arrest. We were not particularly effective nor were we having fun.

In the evening there was supposed to be a rally at Civic Center and then a nighttime parade to the candidate’s headquarters where the candidates would be burned in effigy. Only a handful of people showed up at Civic Center. The pigs were there in force, It would have been suicidal to stage an illegal rally at that point. We dispersed and went on to watch the better showmen on TV.

The Best Local Plans

Of course, we didn’t plan for election day to be this way. We had, we thought, an ingenious plan to implement the Johnson resolution at the last SDS NC. The resolution suggested regional mass actions on election day and a national student strike to demonstrate our rejection of the winner-take-all electoral maneuvers. We were going to “Vote in the Streets” because there is no legitimate way to vote in an election, because demoralization and racism and have that vote counted, we decided that the best way to get our points across was to have militantly effective demonstrations.

Regional elections at various political targets: Montgomery Street (home of the ruling class), Hall of Justice (seat of racist courts), The Presidio (Army base) etc.

The success of these plans depended on a fair amount of people showing up and careful preparation for each target. Few showed up and none of our plans were the ones who wanted to groove in the park. The abyss between SDS election rhetoric and the actual scene in Civic Center Plaza was tremendous.

The Region That Wasn’t?

When we first adopted the Election Proposal we thought it would help pull the people together. We had been wrestling in abstract discussion and faction fights for a long time. We needed some action.

The Bay Area has been the scene of the largest and most militant demonstrations in the country, and it seemed logical to assume that another massive demonstration could be pulled off on election day. We didn’t consider the possibility, which now seems very much to be reality, that the strategy and tactics of the SDS movement are stereotyped, frozen in a mold creased two, three, four years ago.

The dramatic call for confrontation to the masses no longer works in San Francisco-Berkeley. In Palo Alto, thirty miles to the south, 2,000 people turned out for an all night demonstration and hundreds fought with cops. But Palo Alto is a different scene — a lot of new people are being reached, people who haven’t been exposed to new actions in the past, and the pigs are helping to organize them every time they had a rally.

San Francisco and Berkeley have been through this scene too often in the past. The election day demonstration turned out hardened-pig-batterers, gave us another chance to test our spleens, but little more.

One, or two of the junior colleges in the area utilized the wallflowers we put out to help their local work, and a lot of high school kids in San Francisco dug the wallflower but didn’t show up on election day because it was midterm day and no unified walkout had been organized.

But the region certainly wasn’t pulled together. The most that can be said is that a small group, through working on the demonstration, was able to get one another and to realize the need to think strategically about a Bay Area region.

We’re not going to pull a region together by pulling another demonstration. We’re going to have to organize on a grander scale around a core of SDS members.

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A student strike at Eastern Michigan University served to unify and expand our movement which was desperately seeking direction. Although the majority of students did not stay out of class, many did, and many more heard, and were receptive, to our ideas.

It also served the function of showing the repressive nature of our administration to everyone; faculty positions threatened, police were sent to most of our meetings, sometimes in uniform, and the effect of the action was the presence of the President’s house.

Our planning went from fifty to one hundred and fifty at times. We worked hard, uniting the radicals and the SDS, and the preparations. They took responsibility for organizing the action at the Presidio.

Our program went from fifty to one hundred and fifty at times. We worked hard, uniting the radicals and the SDS, and the showmanship at the Presidio was plentiful and the old men who usually gather in the park. The abyss between SDS election rhetoric and the actual scene in Civic Center Plaza was tremendous.

Showmanship

When a group of isolated individuals try to organize a mass event, they are forced to rely on the media for publicity of their plans. In about a week before the big day Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden and Eldridge Cleaver spoke at a rally on the Berkeley campus. The rally announced, in a rather confused way, the election day plans. There was a huge rollout to the big thing. More of the radicals, the radicals, we obviously didn’t relate to the election day plans.

The big three(Rubin, Cleaver, and Hayden) also held a press conference. Peter Stone from Berkeley SDS was also there, but his time was predicted ignored. The reporting of the day was that there was nothing about making love in the voting booths, but not much else goes across in the press. And people still didn’t know what they should do election day.

We made up wallnewspapers which run downs the planks and the political line, but the distribution was atrocity. If people showed up at the rally, we figured we could launch the multi-target thing from there.

But most of the people who showed, a small number by Bay Area standards, were the ones who wanted to groove in the park. The abyss between SDS election rhetoric and the actual scene in Civic Center Plaza was tremendous.

by John Daniel

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Our action started with a planned walkout of the dorms election eve to meet downtown. After meeting in all the dorms we found that the girls were not yet ready so we have to approach the strike in other ways. We used guerrilla actions, leafleting and talking in classrooms by teachers' instruction, and a great deal of publicity in the students' papers for the first time.

Our action started Monday night with a coffin march around campus followed by a symbolic burning of the *death of the SDS, the death of 10,000 lawyers, millions of pigs.* We got a sound core that understood the objectives of the demonstration is trying to accomplish, and this core supports our wishes, it only through closer contact with our base.

Arlene Eisenberg and Jack Gerson

Photo: Larry Hardisty, S.F. Newsweek
On November 4 and 5 Ann Arbor, Michigan was the scene of large, militant demonstrations. The demonstrations, which were the first successful actions here in a number of years, were called as a part of the nationwide SDS campus strike around the elections.

Local SDS had called for a student strike before the proposal was ratified at the SDS national Council meeting at Boulder. The strike was called because SDS people felt that no one had accurately gauged the discontent in this country and the deep opposition to the Vietnam War as well as the lack of choice in those elections. It was our intent to involve masses of people in demonstrations and other activities which would give meaning to our struggle and would help develop anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, revolutionary ideas.

Shortly after the strike program was passed—locally the leadership of SDS people who had controlled the chapter for a number of years (some of whom were associated with the Independent Socialist Club), left SDS and formed their own organization. This move created a split in the SDS campus at which guerrilla theatre and some entering of classrooms was the most exciting rally we've had in Ann Arbor for quite a while. SDS people learned to start digging themselves, to teach new people the techniques, to do new things, and to enjoy their work.

Pigs At The Polls

The week before the strike, Michigan's Democratic Secretary of State, James guided tours of the university. We had expected to mobilize thousands of solid movement-types and believe that our movement will grow and deepen through these activities.

We also learned that we have to be more careful in our planning. Defense, for example, was terrible inadequate. By Tuesday we were organized, but on Monday the jocks ratted us. The detective group which I understand that the jocks aren't our enemy, but that we are forced to deal with them if they endanger our people. There is no Victorian sense of honor as we struggle; if five people throw rocks into our group, we send fifty to deal with them.

Mainly, the movement grew and deepened through the action. We are discussing what to do about the repressive bombings, the possibility of a new invasion of Cuba, and classroom democracy. And we are blaming how appropriate it would be for Nixon to be inaugurated behind a bunker.

by Bill Ayers

Ann Arbor
Con. Fr. P. 4

Many people attended. It was at this point that things began to move. We didn't provide an alternative for the students who on campus. Liberation classes or a teach-in should have been held. A teach-in may have brought fifty people to attend, and very few students attended the university's activities. At the end of the rally we encouraged people to come to Ann Arbor for the rally and temporary occupation of the administration buildings. About one hundred people came. Our mistake again was lack of local support.

Gaining Confidence

At a celebration party later in Ann Arbor about seventy-five people from Eastern Michigan were present. The results were clear from the party where morale was at all-time high. First, we proved to ourselves that our campus wasn't an apathetic place where people just don't give a shit. Second, that we were really together and supported in our thinking. Third, that we need to be here as we gained confidence in ourselves.

I think I can safely say that this is the beginning, the struggle will continue.

NOTE: PRIOR TO THIS YEAR EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY HAD NEVER HAD A CONSISTENT MOVEMENT ON THE LEFT.

More Election News

On Pages 20-21
The Movement December, 1968

Last Year We Told You to Join The Dodge Rebellion

Well, the Hamtramck Auto Workers Did, and Now?

For 1969...turns up the heat...

by Donna Shoemaker

A group of militant black workers have begun to organize at a Detroit auto plant and have thrown both the union and the company into a near panic. It is called the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), and is local 3 of the United Auto Workers. Another wildcat, over similar issues, was militant blacks had helped lead a wildcat strike over the Foundry. In many plants where black workers are not simply bread and butter issues and management.

many black workers are clearly the majority, and where the union is controlled by whites, black workers have organized themselves into caucuses which press for demands. A recent example of this is the black car drivers’ strike in Chicago where black workers walked out over demands against the company and the union, shutting down 50% of the operation.

From time to time black caucuses have emerged in UAW locals in Chicago and Detroit, but have found it difficult to remain as permanent groups when faced with the combined opposition of union and management. DRUM is the most defiant group yet formed among the black workers.

In Detroit, as in most urban centers, the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations in most basic industries are being steadily taken over by blacks. The concerns of the black workers are not simply bread and butter issues but involve job conditions and the racism of both the unions and management.

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DRUM was formed last spring shortly after young militant blacks had helped lead a wildcat strike over issues of speed-up on the line and blatant racism in the shop. Another wildcat, over similar issues, was initiated by DRUM this summer. Since then the group has been publishing its own newspaper which is widely read by black workers at the plant.

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dope on dodge

Since no candidate won a majority, March was placed in a run-off with a local leadership-backed candidate on October 3. Although no arrests were made during this election, all parking lots in the area were barricaded and the plant remained swarming with police.

March lost the run-off. Hundreds of re- tirees were brought in for the run-off. More important, they did not consider him the first time were afraid to vote because of the mass of police around the plant and because of the police riot the week before, DRUM plans to contest the election in court.

Not a Failure

Although DRUM lost the election they did not view their efforts as a failure. Their existence was dramatized by the event and the injustices surrounding the election have been good educational and organizing issues. In addition, other small insurgent groups of black workers, influenced by the example of DRUM, have been forming in plants around Detroit, The Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (FRUM) is one of these groups.

The appeal of DRUM is primarily to young black workers. In discussing why DRUM lost March said, "DRUM has formulated its plans around three factors: black unity, black awareness and black identity. All the young blacks dig the program. It is real to them because of the constant intimidation by manage- ment and the putting around of the workers by the supervisors that goes on all the time. Only the old guys can't accept the identity part because they don't want black identity. This system has taught them to identify with white and integration all their lives. Now they have to dig a big hole to move anything. So, they'll slip everybody in DRUM a little bit and never show their faces at election time."

Political Scope

Because of DRUM's dual appeal, some members are attracted only by its program of black consciousness, others by its wider revolutionary content. Therefore the political scope in DRUM ranges from winning equal opportunity in the capitalist system for black to des­ troying the system altogether with blacks arising as the vanguard of the revolution. The more radical members are trying to develop an overall class consciousness in DRUM. They are studying their own his­ tory and reading Frans Fason.

The White CRU

The strong anti-white bias in DRUM has been new by a development in the plant. Not long before the election a handful of young militant white workers formed a counterpart to DRUM called the Committee for a Real Union (CRU). CRU's immediate aim is to fight against the racism of management and to orga­ nize white workers around DRUM's demands concerning job conditions. In its leaflet CRU attacks working class factions: "We feel that there are things to this plant and in our local that the black workers and the white workers must fight against. Hamtramck is run by racists! Anyone who thinks this isn't true should ask themselves how many white people get placed on the line in the body shop!"

There is some tension between the groups. CRU expects to organize both whites and black while DRUM is concentrating only upon blacks. As yet, both groups see a need to work together on issues which concern them.

Although it is small and underdeveloped, CRU is very important in the face of what is happening now in the plant. With the class with the Wallace movement, both black and white workers are enflamed by this society, but while black dissatisfaction is being organized by groups like DRUM, while disfranchisement is being channeled into "Stand up for America!. The need for white working class organizers is immense. As Doug Youngblood, a com­ munity organizer in Chicago, has put it, "We must go to our people and organize them to either being to assist our people in becoming involved in the fight against the system that victimizes them in the same way that it does black people". Since the election when CRU supported the DRUM candidate, the hard-nosed-white line in its newspaper and to Zer rhetoric has been toned down. There is a growing feeling that although blacks must orga­ nize blacks, redlicts of all colors will create a new society.

Problems

One of the problems DRUM faces is that even though they may gain control of local, the corporation and the union can replace them if necessary. Another problem is that DRUM's appeal is personal to those who attract large numbers initially and create the illusion of suc­ cess, DRUM could find itself operating on the assumption that it had a large number of committed people when it had actually organized a few. And difficulty in the hatred of whites among a lot of blacks. "You could cause internal dissention and ultimately weaken the organization, DRUM will have to redirect this into a positive thing: a sense of their own history and of the class nature of this society, leading into a program for radical change.

The organizers in DRUM are not romantic, but are conscious of each step they take. Although they are inspired by Malcolm X and Fran Fran, they are organizing according to the specific realities of Hamtramck and though they seek revolutionary change they don't pretend revolution around the corner. They are hopeful at this point and have not yet lost their cool.

Union struggle in Laurel Mississippi against the Masonite Corporation has, after a long up and down struggle, brought black and white workers together.

The story was reported in an article by Herbert Analavage of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT on the breaking of a strike in the Masonite plant.

Masonite obtained court injunctions against the strike and hired security guards from all over the south...as well as guards from Mississippi univer­ sities. The company continued in splitting many black and white workers by playing one group against the other.

After nine months of struggle and five fer­ rences in the internal affairs of the local 3, the corporation and the union can replace them all if necessary. A­ nother problem is that DRUM's appeal is personal to those who attract large numbers initially and create the illusion of suc­ cess, DRUM could find itself operating on the assumption that it had a large number of committed people when it had actually organized a few. And difficulty in the hatred of whites among a lot of blacks. "You could cause internal dissention and ultimately weaken the organization, DRUM will have to redirect this into a positive thing: a sense of their own history and of the class nature of this society, leading into a program for radical change.

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The members of Local 5-443 have taken other steps to strengthen their cause. It is no secret that Masonite was able to split many black workers from their union brothers because the local itself had not fought discrimination and injustice.

Today, however, the local has a five­ nased to a great extent upon certain --which includes all workers in delib­ erations. It is an initial, but imperative step for their own common interest, the final step, the workers are pub­ lishing their own newsletter to keep the members informed.

The local paper is hostile to their cause (it is controlled by Masonite), and the strikers see the need to speak out with their own voices.

In the town, the strikers have taken their leaflet that "the struggle is not over! It can't be over as long as we are living. The paper is our tool. We use it to carry the message of the struggle to the local. But our paper is not a weapon of war. Masonite; they indicate what we believe to be the most of the cars. The Masonite company has been bad shas financially and its credit threatened."

Bob Analavage
SOUTHERN PATRIOT
How'd You Like To Make A Deal?

SAN FRANCISCO—A "deal" is when the District Attorney and the defense lawyer agree not to take a case to trial. It usually means that the DA drops or lowers a charge on condition that the defendant pleads guilty. No trial, no fuss.

The DA is happy: he's got a conviction. The lawyer is happy; he doesn't have to lose a case and he can get business. But while he loses business, The judge is happy; he doesn't have to deal with the courtroom at the taxpayers expense while the case is in the dock. Is the defendant happy? That depends.

The Cannon Trial

The last week in October Terry Cannon and Dick Epstein went to trial in San Francisco. They were two of the seventeen men charged during the summer street fights and beatings by police in San Francisco as the SF Tactical Squad (see the MOVEMENT, September, 1968). The trial itself was fraught with tick-tocking with riot, resisting arrest, interfering with an officer and probability. They were also using the city for $20,000 a piece for police brutality.

They had tried to make a deal before the trial. Cannon is about to be tried for the Oakland Seven; a conviction in this case would have hurt him in the conscience. But the DA would have none of it. He was "shocked" that the two would complain about police brutality and wanted to prosecute. So they went to trial.

Bad Karma In Court

It looked bad for the defense from the start. The DA just had to make the two challenges to bump off the prospective jurors who were new to over 50 and respectable-looking. The prosecution has only the same California jurors who had arrested and beaten the defendants. The defense had known for his anti-movement sentiments.

The cops had a well-rehearsed, detailed story. These were secondary cops. They were the New Action Army, sophisticated, unruffled. They knew how to testify. They sounded as if they had studied books and then tried the same story. And how to know how to avoid the traps the defense lawyer might throw. The defense story was detailed and complete. One cop conclusively put his hands in front of his arm where Cannon supposedly grabbed him.

They had just enough fabrication to explain anything. Epstein had been "broken loose from our grasp" and went running up the hill. The prosecutor had to make up the story. The prosecuting officer was pushed into deal making with a pipe", which explained his smashed face. Another had been "hit cannon in the "rear area", explaining his smashed testicles. And so forth.

The jury itself was probably inexperienced. Many old people lived through the 1964 General Strike when cops were the enemy. The Tac Squad had been known there a bit recently. Fighting was universal. Crawford was escaped an off-duty cop's car for shooting a woman in the best while aiming at a noisy alleycat; for beating up 16 year old white kids. People are afraid of that: it's know of your gut. But the cops are the ones who trust you. And you can't trust the cops. Without the defense, the defense lawyer, many jurors had decided that the cops were lying.

Charges Dropped

Then on the fifth day of the trial, after the DA had presented his star witnesses, he dropped all of the charges against the two, inciting, resisting arrest, interfering, and repressing the law. The judge had to bring in a higher-up in the DA's office to convince the judge that the judge was wrong in the jury's mind, seemingly bored. The defendants and their lawyers were convinced by the fifth day that the jury was convinced that the close-out straight-talking cops were more dangerous, long-haired defendants guilty of violence against the place.

The defense had been playing it safe. It is not always the best policy to play it safe. In a climate of repression you're never going to win. So making a deal may be a good idea. But the left is more legitimate than it often thinks. The chances of winning may be better than we imagine. They certainly were in this case, which is to say that the case is another one of Crime in the Streets meeting law and order on a 100-foot-gauge.

Take our advice: think twice.

7 UP AGAINST THE WALL

OAKLAND, CALIF.—Last Month we said that the Oakland Seven were going to trial November 18. Not so. It looks like the magic date is December 2—the same day that Elderidge Cleaver is scheduled for trial and HIAC begins hearings to investigate Dave Dellungen et. al. Black Monday for the movement.

The defense lawyer for the Seven will be C. Max Newfield, San Francisco lawyer who defended Huey Newton, Gary was one of the very best trial lawyers around. From all indications the trial will be dramatic, solid and God knows maybe even successful.

Precedent Setter

The trial is shaping up to be one of the most important for the white movement. Since the Conspiracy indictment of the Seven, for leading the Stop the Draft Week demonstrations at the Oakland Induction Center last October, many more conspiracy raps have been handed out of movement activity. The latest is a conspiracy charge faced against the leaders of the Mountain Fall sit-in on the Berkeley campus and of Eldridge Cleaver's class on racism. What happens to the Seven or at best a conviction for some of the Seven, may bring the conspiracy law and is being used against even the most unmilitant of demonstrations. They will show that the conspiracy law can and is being used against even the most unmilitant of demonstrations. As well, they will show that the law is used, not only against political acts but against non-political acts. They will show that the conspiracy law is used in the open and in front of the public. The Seven do not intend to claim that they did or organized STDW. They did and are proud of it. They will claim that they did not secretly conspire, that everything they did was done in the open and in front of the public. They will show that the Conspiracy law can and is being used against even the most unmilitant of demonstrations. It will be argued in court that the actions of the Oakland Seven, the Induction center demonstrations, the Math­er-who-petitioners, sit-inners and street activities are the ones we really brought about the heat in bombing, the peace walls, the candidacy of McCarthy and Kennedy. They are to be praised, says Sarry, not condemned. The United States ought to put a man on them, instead of indicting them for conspiring...
Lee Otis Johnson

from the SOUTHERN PATRIOT

AUSTIN, TEX.—Officials throughout Texas seem to be bent on crushing various units of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and Afro-Americans for Black Liberation.

SNCC officials say that Governor Connally has promised to destroy their organization in Texas.

SNCC has been gaining strength in the state, and is doing organizing work in at least seven cities around issues of community control. Organizers have been subject to constant harassment, which has become more intense in recent weeks.

In Austin, SNCC, SDS, and Afro-Americans for Black Liberation demonstrated at a gas station. The owner, an open racist, refused to serve anyone with long hair or a beard. Larry Jackson, head of Austin SNCC, was arrested on a trumped-up vagrancy charge.

When he was arrested the other demonstrators—about 20 of them—sat down; they were arrested under a Texas anti-labor law that prohibits obstructing the labor of others. Larry was released the next day; two years, probation, and a $500 fine. Many of the others stayed in jail, unable to provide bond totaling $20,000.

In Dallas, SNCC led demonstrations demanding black control of supermarkets in ghetto areas. A number of people were arrested at the Black Nationalist Hall, SNCC Field Secretary, and his aide received TEN-YEAR sentences for "destruction of private property worth over $50 (that is, dropping merchandise)." More arrests are expected. Those already jailed have been harassed by unnecessarily high bail and lack of funds for legal defense. They need money—about $5,000—and political and moral support. The address is: Austin SNCC, 1311 Rosewood Avenue, Austin, Texas 78702.

NOC ORGANIZERS FIRED, JAILED

HOUSTON, Tex.—In the past six months, police have placed more than 16 different charges against Lee Otis Johnson, chairman of Houston SNCC and a member of the Black Panther Party. They wanted him very badly. They got him. He is now serving 30 years in prison.

He was convicted of selling one marijuana cigarette to an undercover agent. The agent was black. He was the only witness the prosecution produced. His testimony was the only evidence the prosecution entered. For the jury, it was enough.

After the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Lee Otis Johnson organized and led a memorial march out Texas seem to be bent on crushing their organization in Texas.

Lee Otis Johnson was arrested on a trumped-up assault charge. The jury believed him.

After the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Lee Otis Johnson organized and led a memorial march.

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Four movement organizers were fired on Nov. 4, from the staff of the Gladden settlement house in Columbus, Ohio. Two of those fired, Jim Buckley and Dana Tabacoff, are organizers for the National Organizing Committee (NOC), (see story page 12).

The firings at Gladden and Maynard's apartment go much deeper than handing out obscene literature. The authorities fear he may carry on his organizing work among the inmates. He has written a letter addressing his people.

In it he says, "We still got house niggers running around here. Just as the slave masters used TOM in those days, here. Just as the slave masters used TOM in those days—"he is still using the ole house nigger today to keep us in check. If the same situation, he loved his master then, he loves his master now. He betrayed his people then; he was dangerous, he is a danger to all of us today."
FRANCE

OCTOBER '68

WE SHOULD HAVE WHEN WE HAD

October '68

THE CHANCE

LA VIE REPUBLIQUE

There were some differences, a lot of maneuvering and group politics, but overall the student movement was very successful. The end result was a student revolution that changed the course of history. The students had achieved their goals and were ready to move on. For the first time, students were able to put an end to the system of authoritarian rule and to create a new society. The future looked bright for the students, and they were determined to make the most of their victory.

Resistance

Faced with this situation, the students were forced to make some key decisions. They decided to continue their protests and to demand further changes. They wanted a new education system, one that was more democratic and participatory. They refused to accept the status quo, and they were determined to fight for their rights.

In summary, the student movement of 1968 was a major turning point in French history. It was a time of change and upheaval, but it was also a time of hope and possibilities. The students had achieved their goals and were ready to move on. For the first time, students were able to put an end to the system of authoritarian rule and to create a new society. The future looked bright for the students, and they were determined to make the most of their victory.

The Streets

The streets were filled with students and workers who were determined to make their voices heard. The government was put on the defensive, and it was clear that it was losing control of the situation. The students were determined to win, and they were not going to back down.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the student movement of 1968 was a major turning point in French history. It was a time of change and upheaval, but it was also a time of hope and possibilities. The students had achieved their goals and were ready to move on. For the first time, students were able to put an end to the system of authoritarian rule and to create a new society. The future looked bright for the students, and they were determined to make the most of their victory.

The End

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by Jean Pierre Lentin
Movement people asked Peggy and National Organizing Committee (NOC) organizers why we decided to run. A situation came up and we used it. Peggy Terry, active in Chicago's Uptown where JOIN had worked for several years, was nominated at the P&F Party's convention in Ann Arbor. The nomination was offered at the time NOC was formed. Forty midwestern factory, neighborhood, army and high school organizers met at a farm in Fairborn, Ohio on the weekend of September 20th. The decision to go ahead with the campaign was made there.

"George Wallace says there ain't a dimes worth of difference between the other two candidates; we say there ain't a nickel's worth of difference between the three of them." Peggy Terry, Vice Presidential candidate with Eldridge Cleaver on the Peace and Freedom ticket.

"It's not only Blacks & college kids who want to turn things around. Other working people & young people—we know we're being done the same way. And we don't need any politicians to tell us what we want. We know! WE WANT TO RUN OUR OWN LIVES!"

- Peggy Terry, Chicago
ANIZING ITH A

 attempt ing to develop a sense of move­
in other midwestern cities. (See THE
time in different ways. Most felt ex­
and other segments of the movemp.nt.

Potential For Organizing

Objective conditions and organizing efforts in are the essential for radical organizing in the working class. They have no organized the natural ally of the Black, Chicano and
exploited, but Unlike Blacks and students
they have no radical political frame of
way of getting on with this task. The
sent not to do the difficult groundwork
among the people; they have not taught
politics, nor of the organizational form
started, to pull a loose network of working
class organizing conta c ts around the
campaign as an excuse to move, to get

Continued from page 17

contemporary strategy.

NOC's participation in the Cleaver­
was clear to most of us that

 Bibliography

1. Wallace is a phony, but he talks to our people. We felt it our respons­
much as we could in areas where our
people are working. Peggy's speeches would be political attacks on Wallace and other representatives of the ruling class.

2. The Fairborn meeting involvetl people
It would give us a legitimacy attracting

3. The group discussed collective prob­

4. Peggy spoke in front of an integrated
the theme areas of organizing materials (news­
pamphlets).

5. Wallace, as a recruiting and training operation

6. We wanted to tie ourselves together,

7. The campaign would allow
the left of the students.

8. We were to meet them
during lunch period at a drive-in rest­

9. They arrived as large numbers of kids came

10. We were to meet them

11. We were to meet them

12. We were to meet them

CONTINUED ON PG. 18

GANIZING COMMITTEE & THE PEGGY TERRY CAMPAGN WITH A TRAVELLING MISTRASH 
REVOLUTIONARY JUBGAND

anti-police, anti-military and mater­

EXPERIENCES WOULD HELP DEVELOP A STRONG

the right to work. We wanted to tie ourselves
together, so that a regional structure could be
developed. The campaign would allow us
the left of the students.

1. We wanted to tie ourselves together,

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CONTINUED ON PG. 18

PAGE 13

by Bob Lawson, Diane Fager and
Mike James

photo: National Organizing Committee
Gas Station And A Suspension

But less than one year passed between Grand Opening and the first student suspensions. The administrators capitalized all, built a gas station on the campus square, and a coffee house. A few faculty, demonstated and picketed, but due to ignorance, got assimilated into committee work by the administration and purged eventually. The station stood, but the administration bought silence.

In the spring of 1967, they blew it the way they knew how. A high school student in town had been suspended for writing a letter criticizing the headmaster and the student government. He was expelled; faculty organized support for him. Beaten and broken, he and what police could find of him was expelled. The five were summarily fired by the Board of Governors (BoG). SFU students, remembering their high school English teachers, came out solid behind the fired students. A C.A.T. took over the BoG and shut down the emergency senate sessions. Those students scared of the hairs, songs and torches, ready to vote, the five fired stood for them, and the station was not closed.

In this with the business precept that computers cannot rule a world. Every year round on the tri-sectional semester. These teachers (professors/laws/junior/senior-submission) developed and movement organizing can go on in the empty hall of the administration. The administration made notes to keep student and interrupt the student, interrupting a fait accompli and en mass after avoiding impeachment by a techniqu from the corrupt and the irrelevant student council of 1967. They had been "reformed" tickets, student moderates and latenight bar-roomers as campus politicians.

Secondly, there were the errors in the long- lasting faculty of the University. Faculty in the Political Science department and in the Education department (O'Leary) who had voted to hire Dr. Andre Comer Frank, author of a book of importance and in scholarly sympathy with third world countries. He (he had been from Montreal's St. George Williams University), being organized an anti- Dow demonstration. But higher univers- ity committee could stall a students' motion process; seeing in the frame image of man, they tried to fit into the fire where much of the more militant faculty and student anti-administration opposition was concentrated.

Hunt-Witch

Fourteen of PFA's 23 faculty issued an appeal public document of the university. On presidential instiga- tion, the university convened an emergency Senate meeting to "investigate" the authenticity of the alleged "virement" in PFA. Knowing a witch hunt when they saw one, student senator Sharon Yanow, and SFU faculty, in the approaching event to massifying attendance of students. A sit-down took place outside the meeting, at the end of which friends (deliberately breaking student confidence) released the faculty members' files to the press. The rumors were spread among students informed, PFA faculty printed the "charges" and the faculty agreed to them. This had the effect of maintaining student confidence in faculty and of decreasing the attack.

Taking the offensive, PFA moved to raise funds to hire Frank safely to un-犹豫cealness (Frank eventually accepted a post in Chile instead). PFA forced the resignation of its head, placed an elected chairman of the students (Mordecai Lessen), 80-year-old vet- eran liberal politician and head of theไหวร์ Frank movement, and opened its meetings and committees to students. By constantly moving toward greater openness, the PFA faculty majority seized students' support from its own survival. At the same time it provided students not only with an education in society, but also with education in student power.

Student Power

These changes produced the Student Power movement. Catalyzed by the ar- rival of John Conway, a radical of gas par from the east, the student radical move- ment inside and outside SDU decided to run a student power slate in the student elections. Conway was convinced that through its successful election in 1969, SDU's reputation was made (near the end of the first Student strike) and that the student body had been won over to the coalition. The student opposition to the administration had broadened and deepened as a result of the attempted anti-PFA vote: it was only Senate and committee radicalism that kept the board from diminishing returns and was headed for the same irrelevance as "reform" student government.

Faculty opposition to the administration was growing and swayed much student sentiment.

The liberal campus politicians had lost their credibility. PFA's reputation on the rise, and non-SDU leaders Conway and Morris Loney (spokesman for the five T.A.'s fired the previous year) could count on heavy moderate support, in part by sheer personal magnetism. Those SDU members who preferred the tactical flexibility of minority status were won over to the coalition. It was not thought that they would win the elections, but that the campaign would be an excellent organizing tactic. A student power program was drawn up ranging from economic points through curricular to abolition of Business control over the Board of Governors.

Surprise Success

Headed by Loney and Conway, the ticket was won by a near-landslide in the presidential election. Loney became president of a council in which only two members were not SDU leaders: Conway, first, a member of the student power movement, was elected president of a council in which only two members were not SDU leaders: Conway, first, a member of the student power movement.
The Hardest

majority, this referendum (so council
peachable legitimacy and moderation.
"free university" concept, could be un­
on faculty. "Boycott" or "m'or:atorium"
were preferred, since these milder
and goals in lectures to be given by
aim was to discuss educational values
liberal faculty.
This proposal was purposefully pru­
tions had received heavy adverse pub­
struture would be absent.
mosphere from which administrative
shut down the university without daring
to a vote. There was a heavy turnout, and
ordinary and required two-thirds.
Loney. The boycott was declared de-
DECEMBER, 1968

Back To Normsly

in Black America's great
possibly shoulder the tasks assigned
need for self-criticism, in our org­
order to advance.

military affairs are only one means
recognize that military affairs are only one means
organizing the people, arming the people, and helping
its existence.
They do not want to distribute leaflets, sell- news­
do minute and detailed work among the masses.
e. They become conceited when a battle is won and
f. Unable to see beyond their limited environment

4. Selfish departmentalism--they think only of the
3. At the same time in propaganda work they over­
look the importance of propaganda texts. They also
neglect the organizing of the masses. Therefore,
without these objectives fighting loses its meaning

and etc. They have to realize Panthers are all .one
nified form.
e. Some Panthers disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of rev­
olutionary impetuousity. They will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses.
They do not want to distribute leaflets, self-news­
er, etc. These things seem small although they are very important. Yet they are riddled with illusions, and
must only be done from the point of view of the mass of the people.
3. Overconfidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people.
This arises from the preceding three.
2. The mentality of mercenaries.
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BRINGING A LOT OF IT

Todd Gitlin
For Joe Blum, Bronx High School of Science '58

New York, a gargantuan dog-corpse of wires and dark places, churning itself. Still there, New York, and will be until the great tidal wave -- when, o Lord? -- bounds up one inch too many and suddenly all the victims are lady against David Goliath Rockefeller, everyone goes out for all but eleven days. Images of

Teachers

I come from a teacher family. Tolteim the strike is a vast and fateful interrup­ tion, but a necessarily too, because the ugly black governing board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville had asserted its right to fire and hire teachers and nothing is more needed to a New York teacher than security. The New York teachers have built a system to safeguard their status and they now insist, brandishing their normal-school certificates, that they and only they know what and how and why to teach. Not a ma­ natlile toward the teachers: they wanted all that time in school, they have never had there was a purpose to it. The teachers are connected to the myth that professional status confers purpose; how can you think your work is waste or worse than useless teachers usually exhibit to out­

One day in late October I had occasion to call the office of Liberation News Service, and was referred to the person on the phone asked my name, "Miss Gitlin?"

"Oh, Hey, you were once a valedictorian at the Bronx High School of Science. And why, in the name of heaven, did you not persevere the subject matter?"

"I knew I would feel the liberated, not the oppressed, and locked the doors, whereupon I recognized an old math teacher (a left­

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The Bronx High School of Science looks to have a special event or announcement in addition to the regular updates.

The school had been open now for three weeks. The strike was illegal, the schools were legally open, and authority devolved on the teachers and the unions. The "special schools" (Science, the Promised Land. Students walking through, "I have a thousand students in the diffused class-size: teachers were en­

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The striking teachers seemed especially determined by the notion that tradi­tionnal class trajectories would be disrupted; that fear lurked behind their hierarchy. A popular young social-studies teacher named Schwartz was doing the best he could in front of the building, smoking, Rossner noticed two students walking faces at him from inside, only reminding them that the cops were on the outside, something good must be going on in the school, but the local board thought it had to reinstate a definite class schedUle.

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Weber concluded that the students were more likely to have seen Aretha Franklin records: "The striking teachers were listening to Aretha Franklin records: we heard her version of 'Respect,' as if to say, 'We, in our community, have the right to be treated with respect.'"

The striking teachers were not the only ones who were affected by the strike. "The Gladden staff already have among them radical organizers, who in the last week have organized meetings to discuss ways to improve the community's living conditions," reported the Daily Chronicle. "The Gladden staff have already suspended several members of the faculty for their involvement in the strike."
there had a small base and we gave the letting. A number of NCO and SCEF Who? We learned a lesson in leaf­

dent. A lot of the discussion that went on was about how to work off the edges of a neighborhood; it seemed very clear about not wanting to talk to people in any large scale way. It is our job as an organization to begin to confront people who support Wallace. It is extremely important to confront people who support Wallace. It is extremely important to confront people who support Wallace.

moving on to Detroit. Our people had planned a number of things, but the groundwork was sloppy and this caused considerable discouragement. In addition, the group was too large, generated high tension and we were all suffering from fatigue. While none of the planned other, than a pleasant fund-raising dinner really came off, some important things did happen.

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Organizers got to know some of the neighborhoods they didn't know, they checked out bars, met new people, learned a lot about the kind of people that are involved in the movement, and also learned to deal with some of the problems that arise in the movement.

A major unresolved question emerged in Detroit, where a number of issues were raised that need to be addressed in the future. We discuss these issues in more detail in our future reports.

Where Are We At Now?

Evaluations are going on in each city, but there is no significant progress. The campaign is over. There was virtually no national coverage, very little local coverage, no significant breakthroughs, but the campaign was a success in terms of building an organized, well-organized, well-coordinated campaign that has the potential to grow.

In ten weeks we feel that a good beginning has been made. This is the first time in the formation of NOC in Fairborn that the group has had a significant impact on the local community. Over one of our people, 17 old people, two young people, two women, and a man who was in a coma for a year, and the group's efforts have paid off.

The election is over. We're still in a campaign mood, but we're looking forward to a new beginning. We're looking forward to a new beginning.

November 5. Thus NOC must further develop with new organizers, educational materials and the like.

"Going Back Home"

On the campuses students were receptive, some thinking about working class candidates for the first time. The more sophisticated listeners described their demand for a movement of power. We suggested that some of the local NOC groups work with the white class groups, whether it be the army, factory, neighborhood, as a teacher, parole officer, lawyer, etc. We found that people were working barriers, who would come talk about the campaign. Other NOC groups have made it clear that for some students talking about "going back home".

We produced a newspaper that can be used among college students in working class class. The special issue of the November 5 issue of the paper will focus on sell-out seniority-entering unions, the use of the media, the political implications of the university, high schools and colleges. We are working with students in the development of a journal oriented working class paper. People like us TEMPORARY 13 program. Among those of us who had been to one or two of the conferences that relate to the movement now know that there are more than isolated individuals. They are part of a small but struggling movement.

The campaign has helped us define and develop our ideas. This means that when people come to us, they must gain a collective sense of identity and responsibility. We must show them that there is a movement.

We don't reject a free wheeling, lany loose style. It means to be specific, articulate, why are we saying? and what do we mean? Why? Where?"
“We here in our invaded land have been without voice for so long, have been deceived for so long that we are forced to function in a dimension of action—a dimension of revolutionary action! We have not forgotten. The anger deep in our soul has risen.”—Manuel Gomez, Organizer for Brown Berets.

When Manuel talks about the Chicano soul he is talking about hundreds of years of Aztec history and legend. He is talking about the revolutionary history of the Mexican people. He is talking about Latin values of pride and honor. He is talking about the anger of his people—anger at the gringo invasion of their territory—anger at years of oppression and humiliation. He is talking about the awakening of a Chicano movement, and the growing awareness of the need for organization and unity of La Raza.

Role of the Brown Berets

But the minds of the young people are waking up as the Brown Berets teach them their history and about how the Anglo has played havoc with their identity. The Berets say that Chicano youth haven’t dropped out of school—they have been gyrated. They are hungry for education that relates to their needs and the Brown Berets bring that need.

The ultimate goal of the Berets is to bring dignity and justice. Manuel and Manuel has a very long range view of their struggle. “It will be protracted and it will be silent.” But they realize that this point the educational system is very important, for when the young Chicanos see how they have been messed over by the educational system and understand the need to fight it and the manner in which to fight it if they become active rather than looking for ways to escape.

History

The Brown Berets in Oakland are very young, hardly two months old. A group of Berets in Los Angeles became public last spring during the school boycotts. They swore to fulfill the specific need of protecting school kids from the pigs. Since then, groups of Chicanos have formed Beret chapters all over the state. The chapters have been formed almost spontaneously in response to local needs, urgently, almost frantically.

The Berets in Oakland formed after a number of Chicanos were murdered by cops. The example of the Black Panther Party, combined with the fame of the I.A. Brown Berets, made them realize that they had to organize for their own self-defense. Manuel had been the leader of the Brown Caucus of the Peace and Freedom Party. He says that he learned a lot about politics from them but that he left the PF because he wanted the Chicano community, could not relate to it. “All those meetings were divorced from the streets. We had to build our own organization and create our own movement.” A definitive program for the Berets in Oakland is yet to emerge. “We need more experimentation. We are unified by the knowledge that we have to take control of the educational system, that all Chicanos must be armed, that we need unity, education and protection.”

Organizing Strategy

The Brown Berets are a self-defense organization, but they have learned from the experience of other Chicano organizations. They have developed a strong sense of responsibility. “We don’t expect to go into any gun thing, although all of us have guns and discipline. We explain getting people behind us first, preparation.” They have served members of the Chicano community in many ways: providing jobs, teaching them to read, finding housing, defending kids against arbitrary arrest. “Since we have rebelled against the system, many organizations have rebelled against the legal system.”

The Chicano movement is still very divided. Many American illegal occupation of Mexican territory and try to make Chicanos into third-class citizens. “This has been a long time in the making, a long time to get turned off by the electoral process.

The Berets reject the two-party system, but they support emphasized this rejection. “We feel they must move closer to the people. The Anglos use our own language is an ability. They lie about the need to fight it and the manner in which to fight it if they become active rather than looking for ways to escape.

Sensitivity Sessions

Then the candidate attends the Berets’ sensitivity sessions. At these meetings the new Berets learn that the organization is not just another social club. Those who are not interested in joining a serious political organization drop away after attending these sessions.

“Sensitivity sessions are a kind of thinking. At these meetings they have attacked this strongly, we have established our own base. We are just learning now that we have to move against our internal enemies, the Tio Tacos Uncle Toms (and especially the Kenhedli.)

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Chicano Politics

In the political pecking order of radical consciousness, Chicanos are usually ranked fairly low because of their apparent attraction to the Democratic Party and especially the Kennedyes.

Manuel explains the reasons for Kennedy’s appeal among Chicanos. The Catholic Church is still a strong influence among his people. It’s a conservative influence because of the part of the system, especially when it becomes a saint. The Kennedy image also played on the Mexican values of honor and machismo.

“It’s all part of the trick bag I was talking about.” Kennedy was a phoney prophet. Among many Chicanos he had the charisma of a prophet. The theme of death is very much part of the Mexican culture. Most of Bobby’s charisma came from the martyrdom of this brother, whose Spanish-speaking voice was an added attraction.

The Bobby Kennedy campaign is still very fragmented. Many American illegal occupation of Mexican territory and try to make Chicanos into third-class citizens. “This has been a long time in the making, a long time to get turned off by the electoral process.

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Tuesday night kids from Mountain View, Redwood City, San Mateo and adjacent towns converged on Lytton Plaza in downtown Palo Alto. For two months, Lytton Plaza has been the scene of hassles with the pigs. It's privately owned, and Palo Alto officials decided to crack down on hassles, and to turn it into a public park.

The action day on the San Francisco Peninsula naturally centered here, tying the events logically in with ongoing struggle.

The kids in the intersections took the demonstration and helped police with traffic control, forming a chain in the intersections of Lytton Plaza with candles from the University of California, and San Francisco State University. At about 9:30 a fire truck showed up, accompanied by two police cars and twenty-five cops in riot gear. The kids had succeeded in getting through and putting out the fires.

Chief of Police Heidi told the kids that they were an illegal assembly, and ordered them out of the streets. Pigs told about 10 people that they could not get to out of the area, an indication that Palo Alto is a tolerance town.

The pigs proceeded to clear the intersection, but we protected other parts of the campus. A large carload of kids were caught in action before split. But the whole thing was a demonstration of the intersection, and it took forty more than twenty minutes.

At about 11:30, the entire gathering was declared an illegal assembly, and a few people were cited on charges ranging from refusal to disperse to belonging to riot and felonious assembly.

Three days after the demonstration, the pigs busted a guy for failure to disperse, and it's rumored that they have a warrant out on one or two others. These guys who are being busted after the demonstrations are well-known activists who the cops are obviously after.

Here Come The Pigs

The kids who showed up on election day never before faced the pigs before, except in the guise of a demonstration. The pigs in the streets of San Francisco have been caught in the same snare, and it took forty more than twenty minutes.

The pigs proceeded to clear the intersection, but we protected other parts of the campus. A large carload of kids were caught in action before split. But the whole thing was a demonstration of the intersection, and as the pigs got out of the streets, the kids had succeeded in getting through and putting out the fires.

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Here Come The People

At one point on Tuesday night, close to 2,000 people were at 1-Hill Plaza. Considerable preparations had been made to get this many people out. On Monday, the San Francisco Mime Troupe appeared at Stanford, drawing more than 500 people. Films, leaflets and wall newspapers, in addition to articles in the student newspaper, proved successful in the preparation.

On Tuesday morning there was a small-scale classroom speaking on the elections. The students were having an open forum, and discussing the needs of the working people. We spent three weeks around the city, working with the students, who were working with the students, who were working with the students, who were working with the students, who were working with the students, who had been involved in the convention actions.

We had scheduled a regional conference for the weekend in Boulder and we used this conference to plan out the election program, so that from the very beginning the entire region was aware.

Between 350-400 people attended session of the conference. Like many conferences we began with an agenda debate; there were two proposed agenda.

The one proposed by the PL, people had us talking abstractly about the SLAP program, labor organizing, relations with trade unions, etc. The other agenda, which was followed, made conference a working conference, emphasizing the election program, as the Working with school organizing, junior college organizing, several regional organizing young workers organizing, Internationalism, and creating a truly international action. Everything was tied together and not just telegrams of action and regional structures and institutions.

Let 1,000 Flowers Bloom

We came out of the conference having decided the essential form of the program -- local actions, strikes where possible, in general following a policy...
DECEMBER, 1968

THE MOVEMENT

IT'S ALL OVER... AMERICA LOSES

by Scott Brayle

Two weeks before the elections the Michigan State SDS chapter voted to take some kind of action. It was decided not to follow the strike proposal of the N.C. because it would be “unsuccessful”. Chapter members opposed to the strike felt that a strike would mean organizing a vast majority of the students around bread and butter issues. Elections they felt did not focus on immediate demands which would be able to mobilize a revolution, where the entire apparatus of legal hassles. Twenty cops did appear and tried to cut us off the street. After a moment of confusion, people decided to disperse around them.

We ended up going to the Federal Building and we held a meeting there to decide what to do next. We went back to the park after the Federal Building thing and everybody dug in. The time we were back at the park we had grown to 600-800. Everyone was talking about making the pigs leave. Pigs were beginning to gather in force so we broke things up and decided to show up at the winner’s celebration at ten that night. There were about 100-200 people at Nixon’s thing. Everyone’s thing was better.

Up against the Wall

Because of both L.A.’s history and politics and SDS’s history and politics, everyone knew that there was a good probability of doing something with the pigs, so people came prepared mentally and physically for a fight against the legal hassles. Twenty cops did appear and...
Coffee Off Limits!

PAGE 22

DECEMBER, 1968

Coffee Off Limits!

THE FOLLOWING IS AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN MICHAEL KLONCEY OF SDS AND JOSH GOULD, ORGANIZER OF STRUT COFFEE HOUSE AT FORT HOOD, TEXAS. JOSH IS PRESENTLY OUT ON $2,500 BOND, AFTER THE STRUT WAS RAIDED AND HE WAS ARRESTED FOR SUPPOSEDLY POSSESSING MARIJUANA.

Mike Kloncey: Josh, what kind of program do you have down in Killeen now that summer is over?
Josh Gould: Well, the strut right now, from coming down to the Strut. There's a little bit of a slump. There are about 400 people, down from about 700 people when it first opened, the NCOs, in command, have been intimidating the guys to keep them away from coming down to the Strut. There's been a long order. There's never been an official action making it off limits.

There has been a lot of cooperation between the civil and military authorities to intimidate people from going. The common reason amongst a lot of the guys is, "I can dig the strut, but it's a test." That's one of the things they're trying to overcome now by doing store open on base.

We've also had a lot of problems getting entertainers. The only kind of musicians that the restaurant supplier boycotted us, so we haven't been able to get the guilds, unless we want to take the risk of being broken into.

So right now we're in a little bit of a slump. We had a damn good summer, outside of trying to relate the movement over kind of ideas. We're just now solving the conflict between culture and politics.

We have one room that's culture and one room that's politics.

G.I. Week

Mike: How important was G.I. Week? Josh: Well, it's kind of hard to judge that, because people just didn't do a lot of the things we were trying to do.

We had a lot of problems relating to the conflict between the civil and military authorities. The main reason was the lack of cooperation from the guys who are involved in organizing the teach-ins here and down in Austin. We've also had a lot of problems with the NCOs, in command, who have been intimidating the guys to keep them away from coming down to the Strut. There's been a long order. There's never been an official action making it off limits.

Josh: As far as we're concerned down here, we seriously doubt that we're going to take part in any national actions for a little while, so we're going to go into a lot of refocusing. We're going to be doing a lot of talk among ourselves. That's has been a conflict between the ideas of organizing the Strut or the out of the Strut. We're continuing to work on that, and we're very optimistic. People are beginning to see that they have to go back to the barracks to talk things over.

About 40% of the guys here at Hood are not vets and they are in detir-control. And those are the issues, Nam and riot-control, the primary issues that are facing these guys.

Linking Up

Mike: Does that mean that you see little possibilities -- for linking up what's going on at Hood with the movement outside, like in Austin at the university there or in Dallas with the North Texas State movement? Josh: No, there's a lot of good guys going out on the weekends. When they go down, they go to see SDS people, people who are in the area. They're getting to know the anti-war people and I think that's great. I think that's one of the contributions of the movement that they've been isolated from for so long. That's one of the functions the Strut has served.

A lot of guys are short. They're getting out of the army now. We've managed to arrange things for them to do when they go home. They have contact with the movement through the Strut. The Strut is a movement linked. We talk about the movement a lot.

When guys get well, our -- one guy's working on the NEWSREEL project, one guy's working in Washington, one guy's working in the Tacoma coffee house that came out of Hood. So because of those things, we talk a lot about the movement that they've been isolated from for so long. That's one of the functions the Strut has served.

Army Organizing

Mike: What do you think about SDS people or organizers going into the army now and trying to organize instead of trying to resist the draft or in conjunction with draft resistance but instead of going to Canada or doing time in jail? Josh: Going to Canada, it seems to me, that you get to have a chance and it's your people, the people in this country. I think that's a good idea, and a lot of guys are more interested in Canada. It's a lot safer, I think people should stay in this country. I think that there are many young people who are able to organize in jail but I doubt if many people at home would think that we should resist the army as much as they can. They should try every possible way to get out. Guys in the army do relate to civilians very strongly. It's wrong to say that civilians can't work with guys in the army just like white people can't work with blacks. You can work with guys in the army, make a class background in the army. A place like the Strut is a place where people from those different backgrounds have been able to get together and talk and feel comfortable and that's been a very conscious thing that's why we play down the hippie thing, at times play down the left thing so that guys can feel comfortable.

I don't thing people should enlist. I think that going into the army specifically to organize is silly because the fruits of the people in the army are really set down. They're very arbitrary. They're personal tools. Like, you can get an NCO and he can fuck you over and I think that before any organizer goes in, he should have a very good understanding of what he can do and he can't do because you can be isolated very quickly, I think people should do their damnedest to stay out, but when the time comes, CONTINUED ON PAGE 2?

Felonies

Los Angeles, Calif. -- In response to a student occupation of the administration building, a new group of campus protesters has been set at San Fernando Valley State College. The student action, led by the Black Student Union and supported by SDS, took place on November 4th to protest:

1. an assault upon a 8SU member by the freshman football coach;
2. the placing of all campus activity on a police预先;
3. the withholding of funds for the minority admissions program;
4. the students occupied the administration building, acting president placed all campus activity on a police预先; and
5. the withholding of funds for the minority admissions program.

While the students occupied the administration building, acting president placed all campus activity on a police预先; and
5. the withholding of funds for the minority admissions program.

The new coalition called the November 4th Coalition of workers was started to bring this fight to the administration building. On November 8th they held a demonstration attended by about 1000 students. The police were also present in strength.

The SDS members were over the campus now, in and out of uniforms, Flat Foot Siddins announced last week that SDS was facing no campus disturbances in Los Angeles. That remains to be seen.

SDS in Kalamazoo

by Ed Jacques

The Municipal Employees Union Local 877 invited Kalamazoo SDS to join them on their picket lines and in demonstrations which are to continue each Saturday until the city agrees to negotiate a new contract. The Local is racially balanced: local 877's picketing invitation 'came after discussion by the workers; and after Secretary of State James Hare publicly announced that SDS was going to dynamite polling places on election day.

Kazo is the heart of John Birch country and SDS has made a lot of noise there recently. Seventy SDS people joined two hundred workers from all over the state. The workers didn't know what to make of us, but were friendly enough. We rapped back and forth. We invited NGO to send someone to speak at next Saturday's rally.

A majority of the City Commission are Birchers. The city claims the strike is illegal and refuses to negotiate, it's the longest municipal employee strike in the history of the state. --25 days of writing. The workers have no strike fund. The probable reason for the invitation to join the strikers came from a lucky break. An SDS member raked the City Commission over the coals during the Commissioner's meeting a few days before the invitation was made. The SDSer talked about the workers being isolated and in need of help. The lowest paid workers take home $75 a week.

The Commissioners' talked about changes that could be made, but "the procedures don't work and hence the procedures, not the workers." Apparently a number of workers were listening and recognizing the SDS person's name. It comes down to the fact that the workers seemed to feel that at least that guy could talk and understand what they were up against. The procedure about his politics; he understood they were up against it. So SDS is in the picket lines with workers who probably voted Solidarity Wallace.
Brasilian left has a long way to go before taking power.

Before The '64 Coup

In 1967 a group of student leaders founded UNEB (Uniao Nacional de Estudantes de Brasil), with Gastao Vargas, the Brazilian Fascist, to their left. In 1965, during General Dourado Vargas' rule, UNEB took an anti-Fascist and vaguely nationalistic position. UNEB officially denounced World War II and held several anti-Fascist demonstrations. But as some students were killed.

In 1964, with the military coup of 1964, UNEB raised the level of its political demands while reducing its base. The militarization and nationalized manufaturing of steel and iron industries, the belief in the basic corporate structure. This industries became a cornerstone of their strategic thinking.

By 1964, it attacked student power, type issues: participation in the Uni­versity administration, abolishment of book prices and scholarship funds. The students were involved in violent acts. Hence, UNEB also supported the Liberal Congress against the right-wing coup in 1964.

During this period, UNEB made alliances with workers and peasants over ever more demands like price stabiliz­ation, salary increases, rights forilliterates and agrarian reform. Students participated in actions called by workers and peasants around these issues.

In analyzing those times, the UNEB leadership, which was the level of political and ideological consciousness of the students, felt it was very easy to answer low, very low. The leadership was dispersed from their base. The only existing way was the liberal front and the large mobilizations were really only the result of a bureaucratic administra­tion. These forms of organiza­tion were not to have much importance in the future. Proof of this is that this apparatus was later used to organize and develop mass movements. The strategy

Flying UNEB

UNE was forced to be de-bureaucratized from its founding base, UNEB became UNEB-Volks (liber­ally flying UNEB), without headquarters, Congresses, formal relations at the national level, and the leadership level and hanging around the office were replaced by mass assem­blies, demonstrations, rallies and re­lations, at the mass level. This new kind of organizational form was the beginning of a political policy that was later to be developed in the "Mass line." The People's Center of Culture (CCP), founded at this time launched a national literary campaign and the student movement played an active role in this campaign.

These forms of organization which brought UNE leadership into contact with masses of people contra­dicted the fundamental content of student politics. By being with the people, UNEB learned that they couldn't be social workers, they had to be revolutionaries.

The military coup dramatized this lesson. Under Goulart, a government with strong political freedom, a growing econo­mic crisis was being discussed. Everyone talked about how a coup was imminent, but just as we all talked about increased repression...

Reformism had reflected the convic­tion that the national bourgeoisie of Brazil was anti-imperialist. Before the coup, the few people spoke of political power in the hands of the military, and they realized that the revolution had to be violent, the Generals Coup

The Generals conspiring with U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon and Colonel Vernon Walters, military assessor of the International Military Tribunal, their military dictatorship revolved all na­tionality. The coup was the most important of total U.S. domination of the economy. The so-called national bourgeoisie, with the support of the military, did not participate in the coup. They were being neutralized, or at worst, were cut out of the coup. The coup cut our class interests. They ignored the universal thesis that when faced with the alternative of revolu­tion or reaction the bourgeois will choose reaction.

Students and the Brazilian people in general were jolted out of the bourgeois illusion and were able to articulate a visible political alternative. UNEB realized that the people's current was not to be middle class.

Revolutionary Politics

Several weeks after the coup, UNEB

that people's political consciousness is raised in the streets and that they also learn to lose their fear of death and get used to violence. The people's army of the future is being trained today in the streets.

The Political Charter says that stu­dents study with workers and peasants as an auxiliary force, but also as a force fighting against a common enemy. Here, they combine revolutionary class issues with student grievances. They say that student grievances help to sustain the more political class struggle because they mobilize and organize the students and raise their consciousness. They say that the University is the fruit of a class society and through the streets of the ruling class. But the struggle against student grievances can never be separated from the larger political struggle.

An Example

How does a student grievance get articulated along with the larger po­litical struggle? The conditions in the student dining facilities were lousy. UNEB could have dealt with this griev­ance in a variety of ways: Send a letter to the dictator, asking for im­provement; form a commission to negoti­ate with the restaurant administration etc. But since they reject any dialogue with the dictatorship, they had to choose a revolutionary form.

UNEB didn't call a street demonstra­tion. First, they felt a street demon­stration would not be meaningful to the students, and it would be a mass meeting. After the students re­ceived their grievances, they were not interested in a rally, and finally, a demonstration.

They staged a street demonstration whose political content was the student strategy. The political cadres of UNEB who murdered a young student. In­stantly, the students took to the streets, but this time the content of the demon­stration was revolutionary—against the dictatorship and imperialism. It was ap­propriate for the murder. The strategy of UNEB was calculated, with a qualitative leap in political consciousness.

The Mass Line

The move in is a concept proposed by Lenin and developed by Mao. It is an orientation towards political work that assumes that leaders can only be competent and effective if they rely on the creativity of their base. All revolu­tionary work begins with the needs of the leaders, but the leaders stand above the people, but rather immerse themselves in the lives of the people that they lead. The leaders can take the general ideas and feelings of the people and rephrase them and translate them into action. UNEB takes the simple statement "let's go on strike" and insist on constant interaction between their cadres and the people who will always be articulating what their people want.

Organizationally, UNEB has elimin­ated their top-down bureaucracy. There are ten members of the national directorate. They meet and elaborate a political charter. The political line approved at the latest Congress of UNEB. The national leadership leaves for a different region of the country and stays there for 15 to 2 months, in each region they visit the students, going to the lecture halls, discussing with their base the orienta­tion of the movement. In helping the development of local struggles, partic­i­pation in local investigation with the people the problems of the region.

After this, the directorate meets again to rework their problems, the base of what they have learned. The process continues over and over.

The direct action of leaders, together with their base, have given UNEB remark­able resilience in spite of repression. One hundred of their political cadres were jailed at their 1968 Congress. These political cadres are in constant protest demonstrations all over the country. The demonstrations of thousands of people, have taken place.

Operating Underground

How does a clandestine organization call for a mass demonstration without using any public facilities?

All students sympathetic to UNEB are organized into groups, called Work Fronts. These are the permanent units of action which are regularly to discuss the politics of the student move­ment. There is no formal council to formulate its various activities. One member of the Work Front is the coordinator. He is responsible for the political orienta­tion of UNEB at the mass level. He is the one who initiates the prepara­tion of the demonstration, the only time and date of the demonstration can be conceived in advance. It doesn't have to be voted on at a formal meeting because the leaders know the position of their base from constant contact. No one can be sure if the army and the cops are not at sta­tistic police based on the starting place of the demonstration is only an­nonced once it starts.

In February, the student leaders met at the central, the departmental level, to start the planning process that would take place in every region. The leaders of UNEB talk about the start of the demonstration moments before it begins.

In March, the student leaders discuss the students blend into the usual crowds found on the streets, in bus lines, movie theaters lines, etc. Their posters and sticks are hidden under clothing or in rolls of newspapers. A slogan, the exposure of a sign or poster, any­thing can be an excuse to start the start of the demonstration. Then demonstrators emerge from all over, apparently sponta­neously.

The site for the demonstration is carefully chosen. It should be a central location with a wide and has a lot of normal activity. The avenue should be cut by many side streets. Where, for example, the demo­nstrators disperse quickly in groups to various side streets. They always advance on a series of fronts, starting from the original place of the demonstration. Then demonstrators emerge from all over, apparently sponta­neously.

When the cops start to show, special cadres chosen from the leadership, broke through malovolco cocktails to cover the city. During the attack, after dispersing, and the cops are off their guard, the crowd reforms for another confrontation. This is one of the most impor­tant thing for this tactic of dispersal.

The Brazilian student leader went into action to develop the mass movement, they prepare for meetings and demonstra­tions. They know how to prepare for meetings and demonstra­tions. They probably couldn't be adapted to the American scene. It is a product of the Bra­zilian student movement seems relevant to us.
Our victory is tied
To our unity—-
Land monopoly destroyed
Gone our slavery.

And now we can rely
On the student class
Fighting in our defense.

We’ll leave poverty in the past
Crush those who hold the reins
Keeping our Brazil in chains.

--- a poem written by the National Student Union of Brazil by a Brazilian peasant.

With half the area of Latin America and 90 million people Brazil is the most decisive stronghold of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. It is also the home of a growing revolutionary movement—a movement like ours in many ways, a movement which may indicate the direction our struggle must take.

"Popular Action" is the clandestine revolutionary organization of Brazil. It is a cadre organization. Although Popular Action began as a Christian Democratic Organization, it is now openly for armed struggle for the achievement of socialism. It is organized on four fronts: student, worker, peasant and armed.

So far, the student front has been the most active in the political struggle against the dictatorship and imperialism. Most of the student activity is waged by the National Student Union of Brazil (UNEBS). The leadership of UNEBS comes mostly from Popular Action. UNEBS was founded in 1967 and until recently was a reformatory, bureaucratic organization like many student organizations in the United States.

No Idle Rhetoric

Today UNEBS believes:
The liberation of our people cannot be won through slogans, it can only be won through struggle. The fundamental contradiction in our society is between workers-peasants and the ruling class of Brazil over the issue of imperialism-bourgeoisie. The fundamental force of this struggle is the alliance among workers and peasants.

The basic task of the student movement in the political struggle is to mobilize the student movement to join the mass movement this struggle is marked by the demobilization of the dictatorship and imperialism. The putsch struggle against the dictatorship and imperialism is based on the University. The student movement must prepare itself for alliance with the workers (students and peasants) which historically are in a position to carry the revolutionary transformation of society forward. From the Political Charter of UNEBS adapted in Sao Paulo, 1971.

This charter is not idle rhetoric. About a month before the UNEBS congress met to approve this charter, the head of state security announced that all the state’s resources would be used to prevent the congress. At the end of the congress, army troops occupied all highways leading to the city. Federal Police and the Air Force occupied the airport, bus and train stations. Military Police and Secret Services occupied the city of Sao Paulo and others in that state. The 600 delegates, who came from all over the country, met a few kilometers outside the city. All the governmental apparatus did not prevent one delegate from attending the clandestine meeting.

These students regularly face tanks and machine-gun fire in their demonstrations. They certainly have goals. They are also well-organized, with a clear view of their political goals and strategies.

Parallels

UNEBS arrived at this position only after certain changes in the Brazilian political scene and the world situation (especially Cuba and Vietnam). UNEBS’s development mirrors some parallels with our movement here. The country is large, and its evolution at different stages of political and economic development. The mass movement acts mostly through demonstrations. Students are the most active force in the movement. They have only recently liberated themselves from old-leftist politics. Until recently, student leaders did not tie in with a base. Political problems were dealt with mostly as organizational questions. The CONTINUED ON PG. 28