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JOHN WATSON
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CORNELL
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a lesson on gas learned in berkeley

What follows below may be used as a practical, do-it-yourself guide. It is an outgrowth of the chemical warfare urged by police against students and other Berkeley citizens this May. If you want a guide to first aid in case you are gassed or maced, clip it out. Paste it in your medicine cabinet, or carry a copy with you.

The article is reprinted from the May 25, 1969, Instant News Service, a bulletin issued each day during the Berkeley People's Park crisis. It is based on an interview with Chuck McClintock, a member of the medical team and a member of the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

There are two kinds of chemical riot control agents used in Berkeley in recent months, as can be best determined by persons treating the injured: 1) CS tear gas, 2) CN tear gas, 3) nausea gas, 4) blister gas, and 5) mace.

To be aware that the police use some chemical agents in tear gas canister form and that police may have to gas you to get you to clear a street, is important. Do not try to turn a tear gas canister upside down in your hand when you try to pick it up. Do not use any vaccine for any gas because gas adheres to vaccine and causes more severe breathing difficulties. Vaccine can be used for mace, which is a liquid (see below). A rubber gas mask is an ideal protection against any gas except mace. Wet paper towels can be used for brushing more easily with any gas. Rubber gas masks, which are good protection against the two tear gas (CS and CN), can be picked up from a medical supply. Do not rub your eyes once they are red and do carry out use eye drops. Do not try to get gas or mace out of your eyes with soap because it might run and get in your eyes, irritating them further. The long-term effects of gas and mace are not known.

CS TEAR GAS
Dispensing. The gas comes in various kinds of canisters, in plastic grenades, in pepper fog machines; it is also sprayed from helicopters. Properties. CS is a heavy, potent tear gas which contains burning and nauseating agents. CS, along with blister gas, is a fat soluble gas with a peppermint smell. Symptoms. Harassing stinging, nausea, reddened exposed area, burning feeling, tears, runny nose, lightness, coughing, and in some cases sneezing.

Treatment. 1. Irrigate eyes preferably with a diluted solution of boric acid (3 parts water to 1 part boric acid) or — if not available — with tap water. 2. Clean eyes with standard, over-the-counter eye drops (such as Muroite), putting in the drops from the inside (i.e., the nose side) toward the outside. 3. Get the gas off your skin. 4. Use a sponge, gauze pad or sterile cotton ball to the face and other affected areas. Mineral oil breaks down the gas. If you don't have mineral oil and can't find a medic with any, immerse all exposed areas in water and cover the entire area except the eyes with textolite or rubbling alcohol. Alcohol sets up an evaporation process, cooling the stinging and subsiding the pain. If you don't follow the immersion in water with alcohol, the stinging will last 3 min. to 2 hours (depending on amount of exposure), but if you use it the stinging will subside in 3-5 minutes.

Protection. The rubber tear gas mask is an ideal protection against that, use wet towels or surgical masks.

CN TEAR GAS
Dispensing. CN is packaged the same as CS. Properties. The mildest form of tear gas used, CN smells like apple blossoms and is water soluble. Symptoms. Some CS minus the nausea and stinging — all symptoms are milder. You can be exposed to CN for a longer period than CS without serious side effects except in the case of a heavy concentrated dose which can be lethal. A rubber gas mask is an ideal protection against any gas except mace. Wet paper towels can be used for brushing more easily with any gas. Rubber gas masks, which are good protection against the two tear gas (CS and CN), can be picked up from a medical supply. Do not rub your eyes once they are red and do carry out use eye drops. Do not try to get gas or mace out of your eyes with soap because it might run and get in your eyes, irritating them further. The long-term effects of gas and mace are not known.

NAUSEA GAS
Dispensing. As far as known, this gas has been dispersed locally only in canisters. When it lands, the canister lets off a small puff of gas and then nothing. It looks like a dust puff, but it isn't. Properties. Colorless, odorless. It does not affect the tear ducts and is, therefore, not a tear gas.

Symptoms. Projective vomiting, in which the contents of the stomach are forcefully ejected several feet. (Projective vomiting could make a person lean his stomach or esophagus lining.) Instant diarrhea (within 2-3 minutes) with severe stomach cramps. (Severe diarrhea could cause rectal hemorrhaging.) Upsets mind balance — you have difficulty functioning which in battle is a burn trip. Pains and heat sensations in lungs — persons with upper respiratory difficulties (asthma, bronchitis, etc.) are the hardest hit.

Protection. Rubber gas mask is an ideal protection against that. Use wet towels or surgical masks. Also, vinegar can be applied prior to exposure and wiped off immediately afterwards.

BLISTER GAS
Dispensing. Comes in a canister.

Properties. White powder which, like CS gas, is fat soluble.

Symptoms. Blistering — in serious exposure of eyes, see a doctor.

Protection. Rubber gas mask is an ideal protection against that. Use wet towels or surgical masks.

MACE
Mace differs from the chemical agents given above in that it's not a crowd control device — it's used more on person-to-person contact with one blast-falling maybe 4 out of 50-100 persons.

Dispensing. Mace is a direct-stream liquid dispersed in propelled canisters. Reportedly, the N.Y. Police Department is working on packaging mace in grenades, which would make mace a crowd control device.

Properties. Mace is a liquid composed of: 1) Approximately 10% CN tear gas which, in a direct stream, can do severe damage (temporary or permanent) to the eyes, 2) approximately 75% general propellant (whatever that is that makes it jet out), 3) approximately 10% kerocene (this causes the burning), and other things.

Symptoms. Severe pain in eyes (feels like hot poker stuck in eyes), watery eyes, temporary blindness, redness and burning of exposed area. If sprayed into a person's mouth, it can cause convulsions.

Protection. 1. Heavy irrigation of eyes for period of 15-30 minutes with boric acid solution (see CS) or plain water, including all of affected area.

2. Wipe affected area except eyes with isopropyl or rubbing alcohol to dilute the kerocene and subdue burning.

3. Apply eye drops.

Protection. SIU eyegoggles. Also, vinegar can be applied prior to exposure and wiped off immediately afterwards.

THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO THE 16TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATTACK ON THE MONCADA BARRACKS, JULY 26, 1953.
by Fred Gardner
LIBERATION News Service

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS) — Two key participants in the Presidio “mutiny,” Walter Pawlowski and Keith Mather, are alive and well in the North Country Fair.

Sixth Army law officers considered them leaders of the October 14th sit-down—a logical conclusion, since it was Pawlowski who stood up to read the group’s grievances and Mather who demanded civilian control for everyone.

The two of them—Pawlowski, a tall, articulate New Yorker, Mather, a powerfully built Californian—escaped December 24th, several weeks after the trials began. In their absence the prosecution has tried to identify other leaders (for special punishment) by such subtle criteria as who changed the song from “We Shall Overcome” to “This Land Is Your Land.”

PRESIDIO MUTINY

JULY 1969 THE MOVEMENT PAGE 3

As word filtered in, everybody in the stockade knew it was the best place to hold lockdown. Woodring then ordered the men to start passing their keys to the guards, and the guards began to padlock Chabot’s cell, fearing an attempt to escape. Inside “barb wire city” at Ft. Dix, Terry Kight, John Lewis, Bill Brakefield, an ASU organizer, was knocked unconscious and subsequently indicted for mutiny as well as, riot and arson.

Inside the compound, Captain Robert Lamont, at a Friday afternoon formation. Lamont said that the stockade chaplain, Robert Ferris and other imprisoned ABU activists are leading the struggle against the Piggly Wiggly on wheels, that is, the桔t of government, oppression of BIPOC, and the American Service Union for the rights of African American soldiers.

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 23**

DIX REBELLION

On June 5th the Ft. Dix Stockade exploded in rebellion. One hundred and fifty prisoners burned mattresses, threw footlockers down stairs, wrecked equipment, smashed windows against the guards, and threw rotten food and racism in the Dix stockade over the past several weeks.

For six months, the Ft. Dix stockade was the only one in the United States that has a maximum capacity for 250 prisoners. At the time of the riot there were 900 GIs imprisoned there. Prisoners had sought against rotten food and racism in the Dix stockade over the past several months.

The brass has retaliated with torture as brutal and systematic that used in Spanish Civil War. The ASU recently received the following letter smuggled from the stockade by friends of Robert Hight, a GI prisoner. Here are some excerpts from Hight’s letter:

"I was fallen out of my cell block for a training formation. En route to the class room I was stopped by Lt. Flemming for having my hands in my pockets. When I refused to kiss his ass because of his single silver hair, he took me to my orderly room and turned me over to the N.C.O.I.C.

"...I was then brought into what can be accurately described as a cage for a wild animal. I was taken down six stairs and then put into the "straps." The straps were put on so tight, I couldn’t feel my hands. This resulted from exposure being cut off. I had knots in my legs because of the position I was in. And to add to my discomfort, I was dragged along the floor by the straps. The guards would get in to wash my face, and they would take any hair or any food that I would put in my mouth. When I was finally let out of the straps, it took thirty minutes because of the discomfort. I am still in a shell—so any other prosecution would mean you all have a 50-50 chance. There’s the gate,” Coban, a guard, said he wished RED shot Bunch so he could get transferred to Fort Dix. We heard that the guard was a white petty officer who had already been transfered and fined a dollar for the attack.

"I was in a hospital to begin with. In fact, THAT MORNING he begged Raines for mercy because he was hurt and was too weak to get up. That means you all have a 50-50 chance. There’s the gate,” Coban, a guard, said he wished RED shot Bunch so he could get transferred to Fort Dix. We heard that the guard was a white petty officer who had already been transfered and fined a dollar for the attack.

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Workers take power in Appalachia

In August, 1966, the Levi Strauss Blue Ridge plant in Georgia was struck for higher wages and better working conditions. 56 weeks later that strike was finally broken. Rather than giving up the struggle the workers formed a co-op corporation called Appalachian Enterprises. In May, 1968, the MOVEMENT carried an interview with three of the former Levi workers about their plans. The following is the story of their efforts, since that time, to make the co-op work. It is reprinted from WILDCAT, a new newspaper dedicated to workers' struggles.

A few of the women who used to work for Levi Co. have set up their own factory. It took months of hard work and many setbacks but they are succeeding. Appalachian Enterprises, Inc. is located just off the main street in Mineral Bluffs, a small town just a few miles from Blue Ridge. The factory occupies the back half of a single story building about half the size of a city block. It is well lighted and spacious, the new modern sewing machine contrast with the tables and chairs built by the women and their husbands. In many respects it seems like any other small factory. It's not.

The thing that makes their factory so different is that they run it. They make the decisions, not some big shot stuck off in an office somewhere passing down orders. How many times has a guy on the line had to follow some fool order passed down from the top that he knew wasn't right? The women at Appalachian Enterprises do the work, and they know how the plant should be run.

at the court house up at Blue Ridge and we've had discussions of ways we could go. We began to think that we could set up our own factory and run it the way we wanted it. We talked to some people from the Southern Christian Educational Fund, a Civil Rights organization that helps both black and white, and they loaned us four thousand dollars. We started renovating and working on the building in September with about 17 or 18 women. By January we had nearly 60 members working on the machines.

Learning New Things

We all had to learn new things, all most people had ever done was work on pants at Levi. We've learned to change patterns and how to put dresses together. We didn't know how to ship out, so we got a man to come and tell us how.

Our first contract was set up by a man by the name of Van Bible. We worked for 2 or 3 months before we realized that we had been taken, somebody was taking a cut out. We were getting seven dollars per dozen dresses and they were giving eight and a half at a place in Murphy. Then we found out that Van Bible did not own the machines he was selling us.

We had to shut down and pile out his machines and start trying to get the money up to make a down payment for the machines we have now. We had to hunt another contract by ourselves this time. Meanwhile everybody was out of work, we were paying our overhead with the money we'd gotten and hoped to pay salaries with. Instead, because of these people taking us like they did, we just barely managed to pay the overhead and keep things going. We kept working for the three months we were closed down. Since we've come back we've had plenty of work but we don't have near as many people this time. There's lots of women that left simply because they didn't have the money. There wasn't anything else to do, they had to leave.

Things look real good for us now, we're making our payments and meeting our payroll. We've paid off an awful lot of bills that built up while we were trying to learn on the dresses. We've not had to have any help recently from anybody. We've got less than a year's working days put in, and I think any business would do well to be where we're at.

PROBLEMS

A young blonde woman who was snapping the thread and extra material off the finished dresses stopped work for a minute to answer some questions. "What is your biggest problem now, at Appalachian Enterprises?"

"Well, we've been having quite a bit of trouble with the Labor Board. We work overtime most days, we come back after supper lots of times. They're really gotten on us about working overtime without pay. We told them that was the only way we had to get these dresses out and that we could stay open. Then they decided that we had to pay our manager and supervisor more than the rest of us get. We don't do that, we all get the same pay."

"The Labor Board didn't stand behind us when we tried to draw our unemployment, they let Levi knock us out of it. They've not stood behind us on any of our cases we've had with Levi or anyone."

"We walked around the factory for a while, just talking to people and talking about the work. The atmosphere is friendly and casual, the women talked and moved about but the work never stopped. We asked some of the women what it was like working there.

A middle-aged woman who used to sew for the Levi Co. told us how different it was to work at a factory like Appalachian Enterprises. "It's a lot easier working here and I think you do your work a lot better without having anybody breathing down your neck all the time, wanting you to do more...more every day."

"I worked once in Greenwood, Miss. for a piano company," Brenda told us. "They had a fairly decent union, reasonable rates and so forth. It was much better than Levi, but you still...you still had a certain way to go and that you'd better do this, this way or don't do it at all."

Later that evening we were talking with some of the women who had come back after supper to work. We got to talking about what their factory meant and why companies like Levi or any other are allowed to treat their workers as they do. Brenda Mull had some ideas. "People have been taught to do what they can for themselves and it doesn't matter what you have to do to somebody else to get what you want, just so you get it. It's really tough, that's what big business does now—that way they don't have anybody coming together to fight them. We're too busy fighting each other, so big business just sits back and makes the profits off of us."

At Appalachian Enterprises at least, that doesn't happen. The profits are going to the women who do the work. One of the women hit the nail on the head when she said, "If we sew, we get it. If we don't, we won't."

The biggest problem with a factory like Appalachian Enterprises or any other small factory is that no matter how hard people work it's impossible to compete with the large corporations that control the economy of this country. The solution to this is not only workers controlling their factory, but workers controlling society.

Reprinted from WILDCAT

SUBSCRIBE to the MOVEMENT for $2.50

YOUR OWN BOSS

"Here you're your own boss. We each own a part of it and we all help decide how it should be run. We have a board of nine people elected by the women on the line, but they don't get anything special and they work on the machines too. They make decisions but if we don't like them we can change them. We have a manager and a supervisor but they make the same amount we make. $1.60 an hour. They just overseen the whole thing and help out whenever a bottleneck develops."

"Well, when the union was voted down here, we quit. We walked around the factory for a while, just talking to people and watching them work. The atmosphere is friendly and casual, the women talked and moved about but the work never stopped. We asked some of the women what it was like working there.

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Reprinted from WILDCAT
In many of the mills conditions are by lung diseases in industry after introducing MIG welding, to lung cancer from causes of death have been hushed up. Industry is being quietly crippled or killed by ozone gas for workers. This means more production for the company, but dangerous exposure to ozone gas for workers. Since 1954 it has been the leading cause of death, increasing more than 15 times in the last 35 years. As long as they can keep it quiet, the companies won’t have to pay any damages to employees whose lives they’ve destroyed. They also won’t have to pay for the ventilation systems, protective clothing and respirators, rotating work assignments and speedup restrictions that health rules would require. If they can save a few bucks, why should they worry if it kills us?

In many plants the company is introducing MIG welding, a new high-speed continuous welding process. This means more production for the company, but dangerous exposure to ozone gas for workers.

Emphysema is the eating away of the lining of the lungs, leaving scar tissue which gradually throttle off the supply of oxygen. Starting with feeling “short of breath”. Emphysema slowly progresses until the patient is an invalid, fighting for just enough oxygen to stay alive. Unless caught early, this disease is incurable.

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Although smoking is a big factor, medical science has proven that the rate of Emphysema is much higher in industrial cities, and higher still in workers in certain plants.

The death rate for these two diseases caused by on-the-job conditions are Silicosis and Emphysema. Silicosis is the destruction of lung tissue caused when dust particles (like metal or rock) are constantly inhaled. Over time they literally slice the walls of the lungs to pieces. People with this disease can easily catch TB, and many have died from the combination of both.

Lung cancer is another “extra” that the companies hand out free of charge. Since 1954 it has been the leading cause of cancer among men, and has increased 15 times in the last 35 years. Again, while the role of cigarettes is proven, it is equally if not more important than the somebody’s bank account.

Cotton mills are another example. In many of the mills conditions are no different than they were at the turn of the century. While your eye is caught by the obvious hazards from exposed belt drives and such, the ever-present lint in the air is slowly destroying the ability to breathe. And the companies have gotten a lot of help in this dirty conspiracy. The only publicity any of this has gotten has been in the coal mines, where West Virginia miners took things into their own hands and shut down the industry for three weeks. They formed their own organization, fought off the coal companies and the United Mine Workers union, and won at least some protective legislation.

Even though over 8,000 miners die and 80,000 miners are disabled every year through this deadly “black lung” disease, the Union had the nerve to call the striking miners “finks”. That’s a real lesson. It’s our lives and our family’s welfare that’s at stake. And our lives are a damn sight more important than the somebody’s bank account.

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At the end of March, a Chicano Youth Liberation Conference was held in Denver. It was held at the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice, a Denver Chicano organization headed by Corky Gonzales. It was an important conference, despite recent rumors that part of the expenses were indirectly paid by the C.I.A. The results of many new leaders meeting each other for the first time, and discussing what they have in common, may in time outweigh whatever eavesdropping and disrupting the C.I.A. agents managed to do.

The Chicano Youth Liberation Conference was the first nationwide conference of Chicano militants and organizers ever held. (The word "Chicano," by the way, is from Pachuco slang. It is a shortening of "Mejicano," or "Mexican.") It was a reflection of the tremendous surge forward in the Chicano and Latino movement in the U.S. in the past year. Many local organizations have arisen all over the country. There is now a Chicano Press Association, consisting of fourteen papers which exchange articles and information. This surge forward is mostly due to the worsening conditions of Chicanos as a superexploited part of the working class (average income below that of Negroes), but partly due to the gains they see being made by the militant black movement.

Many of the young militants are newly-emerged grass-roots organizers, many had never been out of their own areas to meet with other organizers. Though no open split between groups or individuals developed, many local militants were exposed for the first time to the Chicano movement as a whole, brought face-to-face with many of the trends in it. As they talked with their counterparts from all over the country, several trends emerged. One that is now important is a tendency toward what might almost be called cultural nationalism, as exemplified by the host Crusade for Justice. Here is the first Point from a Program that they put out for the conference:

"Nationalism" Nationalism as the key to organization transends all religious, political, class, and economic factions and boundaries. Nationalism is the common denominator that all members of La Raza can agree upon.

At this point in the Chicano movement, however, reactionary nationalism has not yet clearly emerged. Many who might be considered nationalists are sincere in wanting to develop their own movement before rushing into what they consider to be premature alliances with non-Chicano groups. The rest of the points in the Crusade for Justice Program, for instance, deal quite concretely with armed self-defense and other realities. Therefore a call for a return to "Chicano culture" is in itself not reactionary, but simply a way of trying to draw back those who are losing their identity as Chicanos.

The other important trend is that of young revolutionaries. They see the futility of relying solely on cultural nationalism, as most of them have been actively working organizing poor people and know that the basis of their problems is economic and not cultural.

Developments in the Chicano movement are moving with lightning speed, as they are in the movement in general all over the country. At this point, there is no national grouping of Chicanos, and no revolutionary organization for Chicano. But there is a blinding rush toward this national unity, and there is a radical left quickly emerging in the process. Where do these grass-roots organizers come from? How do they develop and come forth? One center of the Chicano movement has been New Mexico. While the movement is becoming unified, there is still to some extent a separate rural movement of small farmers-peasants in this area. What is the present state of that movement? Many people know of it only through Reies Tijerina. Actually, the movement has now broadened beyond its Initial land-grant beginnings.

RURAL MOVEMENT

Through a century of oppression the rural, Spanish-speaking people have managed to tenaciously hold on to some of their land and way of life. The last vestiges of the bartering, communal economy (primitive communism) are still there. Each summer and fall, farmers sell chili, apples, corn and other produce from door to door from the backs of ancient, weathered pickup trucks. In their lifetimes, many of them have seen the change from self-sufficiency to degradation. Their communal way of life has been wiped out by the encroachment of capitalism into their isolated mountainas. The people who live there never choose to accept the American way of life. As with the Indians, it was shoved down...
their throats. Until 20 years ago, it was the assumption of the rural people that they could make a living off the land. Now, they are neither able to make a living off the land nor leave the countryside in the U.S. economy—there are few jobs in the countryside. During the past two decades, however, the rural backlash has been doused by increased federal taxes on these rural areas, going to the larger towns in the Southwest and to the U.S. government, largely through the West Coast. With the rising costs of living and the added burden of agribusiness, they could no longer afford to hold on to the land, which they used to think of as their great inheritance, without going broke up against the chain. The people who are left are consciously clinging to the land and do not want to leave their house, and because they believe that the land still offers them more than welfare or a job in the city.

The ones who are left live by bare subsistence farmed on land which once supported them as part of the extended family system. Essentially, the rural people of northern New Mexico are living on the very edge of existence. They are already suffering from the effects of malnutrition. Meals consist mostly of vegetables to eat. In Rio Arriba County, the only local newspaper, the Sante Fe New Mexican, reported that the local people were eating only two or three fresh vegetables a day. The people are so hungry they are turning to the land for survival. The average family is large and closely knit, and may include several generations under one roof as part of the extended family system.

This is one of the reasons recently publicized by Government reports as having widespread function of the extended family system. The current land movement is an outgrowth of the robbery of land that has been taking place for 100 years. The following is a partial list of recent events (MOVEMENT Aug, 1967 and Feb, 1969). The Allianta Federal de los Pueblos Libres (Federal Alliance of Free City States), was originally formed by Reies Tijerina and others, who fight for full legal recognition as a national land from the forest Service, and forming “free City-states” like the Mayo of San Joaquin in this land. They hoped to use the forest Department of the Mayan-Hidalgo as a base. For years they drew up petitions and had meetings at the Mayan compilation on ancient documents, to no avail. Then they staged a couple of events in the night town, where the local people were joined by local people. The first was a simple inscription with Forest Rangers at a campground. The second was the famous Courthouse Raid.

The Allianta raid was originally an outgrowth of a simple robbery of land in the Colorado border. Prieto Arriba contains several small townships, the Tierra Amarilla which was initially partly solidly pro-Allianta, or at least anti-Forest Service, and pro-land grant. A group of Allianta members headed by Tijerina moved in on the courthouse, several members were carried out of the building, one person was rescued, and others wereusterity arrested. Allegedly, a man who was out of the building was shot. Allegedly, it turned out that he was not there for the Allianta raid. In the next several days, the clouds of people were formed around the Allianta and a member and a deputy. The deputy was shot and several others of the organizers were seized. They tried to protest this violation of their rights. The courthouse raid was moved to free these people, who were imprisoned.

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People know what’s going on in their town, but may not know what’s going on in the next town or in Santa Fe. The paper bridges the gap between rural and urban movements. The founder of the Brown Berets in Santa Fe, energetically distributes EL GRITO, as well as adobe; sunwashed and tranquil. The white liberals to think that the Alianza did not represent them because "Vigil for Peace" once a week. The Alianza was busy, stoves as the only heating and cooking facility, only cold water to wash in, and no indoor plumbing. All in all, it is two towns: one of the rich and of industry, low salaries, almost no union representatives, having a "small town" feeling. Everybody knows each other and what he’s doing. In some ways, it also has the feeling of a "metropolis". It is seventies in the sixties per capita income, because of the large number of millionaires living there. Many of these are liberal coupon clippers who dabble in the arts. New Mexico has long been a refuge for oddball artists and retired "radicals" of one kind or another. It is also a haven for national socialites, in the league with Scottsdale, Aspen and Aspen, Colorado. All this results in a fairly great number of corporate liberals and other liberals. They exert some influence in certain areas of policy and state politics. For instance, their influence is felt whenever industries try to move into southern New Mexico. Their moves to block them, so that "their" air won’t get polluted. They also control and run Santa Fe’s unusually large number of museums, most of which are tied in to the state bureaucracy. Many bars and restaurants have "No Indians or Mexicanos" signs. (One Chicano from Northern New Mexico told me once that he was "different" from other Americans "when he left the town). And who controls the state? In northern New Mexico, there is a contradiction between out-of-state interests and in-state interests, as there is in any semi-colonial area in the U.S. The general out-of-state interests want no development to take place, such as new factories or anything that would raise the wages and living standards of the local people. They want the state to attract new industries, because they would benefit by it. Many times they would rather have the land empty, as they wish to stay in New Mexico and be able to make a living. Out-of-state interests are those that in a certain area in Santa Fe, rent amounts of land and mineral rights; mineral concerns like Anaconda, Phelps-Dodge. It is unwise to have "New Mexico" money interests control land, cattle, mineral rights and various tax-write-off businesses. Dallas is the financial center of the Southwest, and its influence is felt even in the state capital. It is unwise to have "New Mexico" money interests control land, cattle, mineral rights and various tax-write-off businesses.

CONTRADICTIONS RIPENING

When I came to Santa Fe in 1966, there was no movement of any kind there, except for a very mild "Vigil for Peace" once a week. The Alliance was busy, but its impact was not directly felt in Santa Fe. It was still narrowly limited to the land grant issue. People were highly discontented, but they did not believe that the Alliance represented them. They believed that the Alliance did not represent them because the poor of Santa Fe. Here, as in other oppressive areas, hunting is an accepted way of life—legal and illegal. It is said by many every day you have to find something to do to make a living. It is not the illegal hunting that is the most pressing. The earliest, the worst poverty of the area. "Little Texas"--there is more overt prejudice. And who controls the state? In northern New Mexico, there is a contradiction between out-of-state interests and in-state interests, as there is in any semi-colonial area in the U.S. The general out-of-state interests want no development to take place, such as new factories or anything that would raise the wages and living standards of the local people. They want the state to attract new industries, because they would benefit by it. Many times they would rather have the land empty, as they wish to stay in New Mexico and be able to make a living. Out-of-state interests are those that lease data on small plots of land and mineral rights; mineral concerns like Anaconda, Phelps-Dodge. It is unwise to have "New Mexico" money interests control land, cattle, mineral rights and various tax-write-off businesses. Dallas is the financial center of the Southwest, and its influence is felt even in the state capital. It is unwise to have "New Mexico" money interests control land, cattle, mineral rights and various tax-write-off businesses.

The movement of the economy of the state stagnates, population declines, and consequently New Mexico is economically depressed. The parks of the economy that are booming are all at the expense of poor rural communities all over the country, which are being drained. These drained areas are like colonies within the U.S. An economic recession now, as called for in business and administration plans, would hurt people in areas like New Mexico most.

STREET LIFE

With these worsening conditions as background, I began to meet and hang around with some young Chicano and Mexican American teenagers who knew a lot about the poor of Santa Fe. Here, as in other oppressive areas, hunting is an accepted way of life—legal and illegal. It is said by many every day you have to find something to do to make a living. It is not the illegal hunting that is the most pressing. The earliest, the worst poverty of the area. "Little Texas"--there is more overt prejudice.

The federal government, in an effort to apply a Band-Aid, has large Poverty Programs in northern New Mexico. For a couple of years, Headstart, VISTA Volunteers, and CAP programs have taken a large bite out of poverty. In the case of New Mexico, New Mexico was one of the original "target areas"—areas recognized by the federal government as having such large numbers of poor people. Immediately, they’d soon have an insurrection on their hands. The VISTAs, especially in Northern New Mexico, were the worst opportunists in town—and, as everywhere, scandals about misuse of funds. Their programs were supposed to buy off militant local leaders, attract slave labor "volunteers" for Model Cities programs which were supposed to "improve the quality of life" for the poor of Santa Fe. Here, as in other oppressive areas, hunting is an accepted way of life—legal and illegal. It is said by many every day you have to find something to do to make a living. It is not the illegal hunting that is the most pressing. The earliest, the worst poverty of the area. "Little Texas"--there is more overt prejudice.

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these vendidos or petty-bootleggers in every town and community in northern New Mexico. In some areas, they have severely retarded the growth of the movement—especially in the rural areas.

Many of the smaller local businessmen, however, are caught in the squeeze between the local big boys and the national companies. They are being driven out of business. They work long hard hours and often make no more than an ordinary working person does. In our skits, we attacked the local power structure—especially the vendidos—and tried to bring out the nature of the local class structure, which uses brown people to oppress their own people. We attacked the national ruling class mostly through the war in Vietnam, and also by portraying rich Texans and tourists who sightsee in quaint New Mexico while helping to oppress it. We also made the movement—especially in the rural areas.

By the end of the summer, my truck driver friend had developed into a good public speaker through his experience in the Teatro. He saw the futility of trying to work for change within the system, and now wanted to organize. But how? The only community groups that then existed in Santa Fe were funded by poverty programs. There was much discontent, but an yet none of it had crystallized around specific issues. Should he try to work within one of these existing groups to recruit people, or should he immediately form another group? As it turned out, he was to do both at once. He had become so popular within the poverty program that it now tried to buy him off. At this time, contradictions were coming to a head within the programs; Urban Renewal and Model Cities were becoming increasingly unpopular. Using his leverage within the programs, we put out a call for a new organization. The first urged the public to participate in an "open" Urban Renewal meeting. The local bureaucrats quickly cancelled the meeting—the last thing they really wanted was public participation. We had shown people in the target neighborhood that they were being manipulated. People began to show interest in what we were doing.

**BROWN BERETS**

We decided that it was time to completely sever our relations with the programs, and came out with a leaflet attacking the programs, exposing them, and urging people to go to the City Council meetings and demand to know where all the money that was supposed to go to them was going. There were several packed City Council meetings, during which the Mayor showed people that "redress of grievances" was futile; he relegated their questions to the end of the agenda, so that they wouldn't come up until 12 o'clock at night, or later.

At the same time, my friend and a couple of his buddies were starting a group of Brown Berets. They knew almost nothing of the nationwide program or the activities of other Beret groups, except the one in Albuquerque, they liked the military look of the uniforms and the militant image.

The trial of Tijerina for his part in the courthouse raid was coming up. A statewide unity meeting was held, in Tierra Amarilla. We decided to have a series of statewide demonstrations in support of chicano Justice, and for the leaders of La Raza. Even though many at the meeting did not support Tijerina or the Alianza, they felt that demonstrations were necessary to keep him and the others from being railroaded. (Tijerina evidently did not feel this way himself, although he was acquitted. For most of his trial, he acted as his own defense. He got off on the grounds that he had tried to stop the use of guns and violence.)

The demonstration in Santa Fe, led by my friend and other Brown Berets, was the first demonstration there in years. It was a great success. As Chairman Max says, "It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves." Now pigs and narcs followed us everywhere, harassed our neighbors, employers, landlords, friends, and families. We received indirect death threats. We were followed down lonely country roads.

This was the start. Since then, Santa Fe has gotten used to demonstrations, which have grown in militancy and attendance. Local issues have come to the forefront, such as bi-lingual education and the welfare system. Medi-Cal was suddenly cut off by the state legislature, leaving many poor people with no means of paying their medical bills. Santa Fe, as state capital, had three days of demonstrations. "The purpose of these demonstrations was to make clear the identification of the enemy," said my friend, who helped organize them. The Brown Berets have gotten a Catholic priest to donate a church building for a bilingual day care center, to be run by the community. A house has been donated for the summer for use of Theater in the Streets—in exchange for rent, repairs will be done on it. Cops are now commonly called "pigs" or "police brutality."

THE MOBILIZATION

For the most part, they are not intellectuals. They are truck drivers, farmers, ex-gang leaders, housewives.

As local struggles grow, there is a movement for national unity of Chicanos. The young revolutionaries are looking to the example of the Black Panthers, and see the need to develop ideology, strategy and tactics—the lack of which has tempered local movements considerably in some areas. Many Chicanos will be attending the Panthers' Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism in July.

Government plans for crushing the movement in New Mexico are in the making. Latin-American trained CIA agents are routinely used along with FBI agents to keep track of people and activities. In small rural communities and in towns like Santa Fe, everyone is involved, everyone knows what's going on with everyone else. There's no place to hide. The actions of the pigs are educating the people. Northern New Mexico is becoming tense. Even if a wave of repression succeeds in temporarily eliminating leaders, it can never succeed in wiping out the people's drive for control of their own destinies. Power to the people.

"Everything's the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom doesn't reach, the dirt will not get swept of itself."

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**COOPERATIVE AGRICOLA**

C/o Cruz Aguilar

General Delivery

P Amendments New Mexico
VENCEREMOS BRIGADE
for ten million tons!

"Create two, three, many Vietnams"---Che
"We will destroy US imperialism from the outside, they will destroy it from the inside."---Cuban poster

"Camaguey— the Moncada for Today's Youth." --- Cuban poster

Internationalism: the movement inside the U.S. and revolution—the Venceremos Brigade is one way to tie these three things together. Che's call to create many Vietnams was a call for people's war around the world to defeat U.S. imperialism. Vietnam proved that a determined, well-organized people can win, and in the long run, defeat U.S. imperialism. With the United States on the defensive in Vietnam, to create more Vietnams would assure the forces of imperialism that those forces would eventually be defeated decisively.

We inside the monster have an important role to play in this process. The struggles of the peoples of the world against imperialism weaken the domestic position of monopoly capitalism, enabling our struggle to advance. Likewise, whatever we accomplish against the monster from the inside creates more favorable conditions for the struggles outside the monster, that is, our struggles are complementary. In addition to building the monster from the outside, we must support revolution in the rest of the world in whatever way we can.

Camaguey is the most important battle against imperialism in our hemisphere. The Cuban revolution contains a struggle against imperialism that has a great influence on our struggle. The Venceremos Brigade will begin its work in late November, 1969. One group will leave then, another in January. The Brigade will include an equal number of black, brown and white movement people and working class youth. They will live in temporary camps in the fields. In addition to the support they give to the Cuban revolution, they will also learn about the realities of revolution first hand from their daily experience. Those who are thinking about applying for the Brigade should brush up on their Spanish and write to the following address for more information and applications:

THE MOVEMENT JULY 1969

PAGE 10
ASHES OR BLAZE

When armed blacks marched out of Cornell's Willard Straight Hall even their strongest supporters were uneasy. Until then it had been easy for white radicals on this idyllic Ivy League campus to talk about armed struggle and revolution. But now the thousand whites who stood outside the Straight with fists raised in solidarity with the blacks were no longer faced with theoretical problems. The attempts of the movement, both successful and not, should be instructive for the entire movement which will face similar problems in the coming years.

To understand what happened at Cornell this spring we must trace the growth, development and interrelation of the Black Student Activist Movements at the school over the past several years. The Afro-American Society (now known as the Black Lib­erated Front) became visibly active about a year-and-a-half ago. Its development was speeded by a growing num­ber of ghetto youth who entered under the university's disadvantaged groups program.

These students tended to be more politically conscious than the older members of AAS who began to radicalize in the leadership of the organ­ization. The changing composition of the AAS led to a number of programs concentrating on the black community in Ithaca. The AAS was active in organizing high school students and working closely with adult black groups in trying to secure better housing for the community. On the campus the AAS strategy was not one of "making" the university behaviorally sympathetic, but rather was one of using the school background to struggle.

BACKGROUND TO STRUGGLE

Following this line the AAS began to design detailed plans for a black college which would fit them with the skills they would need to organ­ize the ghettos. This strategy was almost contradictory to SDS which was almost completely centered. With few exceptions, the chap­ter was heavily influenced by a REV­OLUTIONARY mentality, leaning heavily on pacifism and individualistic moral phrases. With the militant blacks, although they opposed the war and took part in an ad hoc sit-in against marine recruits during the fall, few were in SDS to attract them, feeling that most of the chapter members were already militant.

However, in the wake of the King assassination the SDS chapter broke out of its evasive anti-war ment­ality and began to question the universi­ty's relationship to racism. Demands were raised that the school divest itself of stocks in banks which sup­ported the South African regime. Finally, that University President James Per­kins agreed to cosponsor several programs in the offices of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Although the South Africa campaign began to raise questions about cap­italism and imperialism the dominant appeal was still a liberal one—"the university shouldn't be complicit with imperialism." As the campaign came to a head the AAS pledged support for the SDS demands and actions. But nothing happened. The chapter was stalled until the end of the year by a number of "high level" committees, SDS failure to act isolated it further from the AAS, most of whose mem­bers felt that white radicals were all talk and no action. SDS people tended to shelve most SDS as being con­trolled by the outside SDS structure—strange logic for a group which generally objected to phrases like imperialism as being too heavy.

BLF-SDS SPLIT

The split between the two groups was precipitated by the summer with almost no interaction, although large numbers of both stayed in Ithaca to work for the movement full-time. The summer was Parents' Weekend and the union was to be the center of activity, so that the administration not only had to deal with the blacks but hundreds of hungry and bored parents who had nothing to do. The week reached a stormy climax as Perkins was pulled from the micro­phone by an AAS member when he refused to speak to the issues directly. Throughout the summer the two groups were in frequent contact and some trust began to develop again.

The stage was set for the Autumn demonstrations. AAS and SDS decided to stop the recruiting. In a unique move Cornell, the two groups cosponsored the demonstration with white marxists from each group leading, when the march reached the build­ing where the recruiter was the doors were locked. The AAS members held them. They were already on the line for Father's Day demonstrations and they were dubious about SDS willingness to risk anything. If a move was made SDS was going to have the last word. They went on silent strike. Although suspicions were still har­bored by both groups, the Chase fight brought them together in struggle for the first time and at last a working relationship was developed. The AAS announced support for the SDS housing program and SDS in turn denounced the judicial proceedings against the blacks as a fraud. The stage was set for the confrontation. The day after repri­mands were handed out against the blacks they moved on the student union.

ARMED TAKEOVER

The takeover was brilliant tactically. It was Parent's Weekend and the university was to be the center of activity, so that the administration not only had to deal with the blacks but hundreds of hungry and bored parents who had nothing to do.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22
WE'RE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM TOGETHER...

THERE IS NO OTHER WAY.
Black Workers? Why was it formed?

John Watson: The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is a company. We wanted to be a revolutionary organization of black workers into revolutionary organizations than was previously provided for when we were beginning of DRUM which was its first organization. The Inner City Voice, Watson was one of the original founders of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. He is currently serving as a member of the Central Committee of the League.

Fifth Estate: What is the history of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers? Why was it formed?

John Watson: The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is a federation of several revolutionary union movements that exist in Detroit. It was originally formed to provide a broader base for the organization of black workers into revolutionary organizations than was previously provided for when we were organizing a plant to plant basis.

The beginning of the League goes back to the beginning of DRUM which was its first organization. The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement was formed at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant of the Chrysler Corporation in the fall of 1967. It developed out of the caucuses of black workers which had formed in the automobile plants to fight increases in productivity and racism in the plant.

All the caucuses which had developed previous to DRUM had been co-opted, either by the company or by the union. In other words the company had either fired the leadership of these caucuses or bought them off by giving them jobs as foremen or supervisors, or the union had managed to buy off the leadership one way or another.

The organization of DRUM was in direct response to numerous attempts by black workers over the last several years in the Hamtramck Assembly Plant to organize a movement which could resist racism and oppression both on the part of the union and the company. We wanted to be a revolutionary organization which would not be co-opted by the moneyed forces.

Briefly, the history of DRUM began with a series of wild-cat strikes which we held around the issues of productivity, production standards and overt racism. The first strike was held when Chrysler Corporation speeded up the production line six cars an hour, during the UAW Convention last May.

After this strike in which black and white workers participated, the company imposed disciplinary action on those who they considered to be leaders of the strike action. This disciplinary action was taken primarily upon black workers. A number of black workers were fired, and quite a few received suspensions from anywhere from three to thirty days.

In response to the racist attack which the company laid upon black workers after the first strike, DRUM organized a number of other strikes at that particular plant.

With the development of DRUM and the successes which we had in terms of organizing and mobilizing the workers at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant, many other black workers throughout the city began to come to us and ask for aid in organizing some sort of group in their plants. As a result shortly after the formation of DRUM, the Eldon Axle Revolutionary Movement (ELRUM) was born at Eldon Gear and Axle Plant of the Chrysler Corporation. Also, the Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (FRUM) was formed at the Ford Rouge Complex, and we now have two plants organized within that complex.

Since that time the organizational activities have been expanding. We've moved into hospital industries with the HOWRUM, NEWRUM for the newspapers in Detroit, an UPRUM which stands for United Parcel Revolutionary Union Movement for black Teamsters who work at United Parcel. There's a JARUM which is Jefferson Assembly Revolutionary Union Movement and there's the development of a CRUM, which is Chevrolet Revolutionary Union Movement. Other automobile plants and other industries are in the process of being organized now.

Fifth Estate: What types of conditions exist in the plants that are being organized by the League?

John Watson: Conditions are deplorable. What's been happening over the last fifteen or twenty years in industry in general, but especially in the auto industry is the increase in productivity. A lot of people describe the increase in productivity as meaning that there's automation or something like this going on. But in most of the automobile plants, what's been going on is "nigger-mation."

"Nigger-mation" is simply when you hire one black man to do the job which is previously done by two or three or four white men. There's a constant struggle which is going on inside the automobile plants in which the foreman and the general foreman and the supervisor are constantly attempting to work the men harder; They are constantly attempting to speed up the production line. They are constantly attempting to cut down the number of people who work on the line.

In their insatiable drive to make greater profits for the company, they have neglected all considerations of the welfare and safety of the workers in the plant, especially the black workers. As a result, in the foundries for instance almost 95% of the workers in those plants have some sort of industrial illness, usually silicosis or some sort of other lung disease. In the stamping plants all kinds of guys are walking around with two or three fingers missing from one of their hands because of the unsafe machinery.

People are regularly killed in the automobile plants in a wide variety of different kinds of industrial accidents which take place there. The air is foul, it's hot, the noise level is extremely high, the environment is almost intolerable and it gets worse every day because of the constantly increasing production standards of the company.

Besides the problems that black workers have with productivity and safety standards, they have the added problem of overt racism, which exists under these monopoly capitalist corporations. In the first place most of the supervisory personnel, white-collar personnel, skilled trades are all white. It's almost impossible for the average brother who gets a job in an automobile factory to be able to move into one of these positions.

Besides those white foremen generally have very degrading attitudes towards black people. Every day there are instances in which there are clashes between black workers and white foremen because of racist remarks or racist actions on the part of company representatives.

The racism of the company presents itself not only in the form of verbal abuse and in the form of various kinds of disciplinary action which are laid on the heads of black workers, but also on the very basic level of the allocation of jobs. In almost all plants you find the black workers on the hardest jobs, the jobs which the white workers refuse to do.

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Fifth Estate: How do you organize the plants you are working in?

John Watson: We have made attempts a number of times to begin to move in the direction of mobilizing the black working class, but up until this point those
OUTSIDE SUPPORT

One of the things that we find is that it is absolutely essential that the workers have some sort of support from outside of the factory. When we carry out our workshops, for example, it's unusual for a large number of people to come down from the community to picket the lines. They often bring drums, but not very often. Once the company has proved that he actually participated in it. So by having people from the community man the picket lines we can begin to avoid the problem of having large numbers of members losing their jobs and livelihoods.

We find that the basic things that are necessary in terms of organizing a plant are, first of all, a clear understanding of the needs of the workers and the kinds of problems which they are facing in the plant; second, an ability to articulate those needs and to set forth demands which can begin to solve those problems; and third, the establishment of a mechanism, an organizational structure which can effectively mobilize the workers to resist the pressures of the company and the union. This organizational mechanism generally requires that we produce a publication for the plant.

This publication is an organizing tool in and of itself. In workers themselves begin to write for the newsletter and having it passed out within the factory. Throughout the plant, throughout the city, workers can begin to avoid the problem of having large issues and third, the establishing of a mechanism, an organizational structure which can effectively mobilize the workers to resist the pressures of the company and the union. This organizational mechanism generally requires that we produce a publication for the plant.

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course, support any progressive action on the part of any workers, white or black, who are moving to resist and confront this racist capitalist system.

I think that there's going to have to be an awful lot of discussion over the next few months over the relationship between the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the various white organizations which are beginning to organize among white workers. The National Organizing Committee (NOC) has begun to implement a very positive program in this city among the white working class, and all indications are that it is going to be a fairly successful effort. Our relationship with that organization at this time, although unofficial, is very good in that both of us understand the positions which we're coming from and we both understand why the enemy is and what the nature of the enemy is. Therefore, we're not attempting to dominate one another; we're attempting to begin to coordinate our activity for a more solid attack.

I think the black people who are involved in the organization of the black working class should recognize that the theoretical concept of black people being the vanguard of revolutionary struggle is not just a conception which is meant to be laid in the clouds somewhere above everyone's head. It can be applied in a very practical and programmatic fashion. What it simply means is that as political beings we have to understand that the development of the white movement has been retarded, that it has not developed as rapidly as the black movement has had to develop, that it doesn't have the kind of experience of struggle that we have had.

Therefore, even though many of these white radical organizations have resources in terms of money and manpower which far exceed ours, because of their lack of experience most of them are unable to put these resources to work in a positive fashion at this particular time. As political animals, we have to realize that it is necessary for us to provide them with the kind of leadership which they lack at this moment and to begin to do all that we can to help them to develop that leadership to the point where it can be self-sufficient.

PL CRITICISM

FE: Speaking about the white radical organizations recently there has been criticism from the Progressive Labor Party on the basis that there should not be separate unions for black and white workers as this splits the working class. The accusation is that separate black unions are a form of nationalism, which has to be considered reactionary in all its forms. What is the League's outlook on the question of nationalism? Does it recognize a distinction between revolutionary and reactionary nationalism and if so, what is that distinction?

JW: On this question of the Progressive Labor Party, and the criticism which it has levied at us, in the first place our activities are based upon reality. They are based on an analysis of the real world, not some sort of subjective wishers about how we would like the world to be.

The real facts of the matter are that this is a racist society, it is a monopoly capitalist society, the entire society is divided up according to class and according to race. This is a fact. Black people don't unite with the white working class simply because Progressive Labor says that that might be a good thing. White workers don't eliminate their racism simply because Progressive Labor says that this might be a good thing.

If you look at the history of the black liberation movement over the last 200 years, you'll find that there have been numerous coalitions, alliances, mergers, between black and white workers. Almost every time that this type of organization has developed and sprung up to the point where it was actually threatening the system, the system reacted by attacking the movement through racist campaigns.

I think the Populist Movement is one of the clearest examples of this where you had millions of black and white farmers united in a movement against the monopolies and trusts which were oppressing them in this country. In the 1880's and 90's and the early 1900's all the segregation codes were passed, the mass media in this country invested most of the Amos 'n' Andy and Sambo type stereotypes which you have toward black people.

This type of massive propaganda campaign had a telling effect upon the mentality of the white farmers who were working with the black workers. Essentially what happened was that the whites who were originally directing their hostility towards the ruling class were convinced that the ruling class wasn't really their enemy, that black people were really their enemy. And you had the formation out of movements like the Populist Movement of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan which instead of moving towards the liberation of all people directed its efforts toward the further subjugation of black people.

Therefore, we have learned time and time again that when we are involved organizationally with white people who are susceptible to racist overtures from the ruling class, we can get messed with. What this lesson tells us is that we have to have independent organizations which can act on the behalf of black people and in the interests of black people regardless of the kinds of positions which white organizations or white people are going to take.

If white people decide they are going to take a counter-revolutionary position because of the Detroit News and the Detroit Free Press and TV-2 and WWJ and NBC and the mass media goes onto a racist harangue, then it is still going to be necessary for us to fight for our freedom. If we are involved in an organization which is composed of a majority of white people, a majority of whom are white racists, it will just be a simple vote for the white racists in the movement to say, we no longer need to struggle for black liberation. What we're going to do is fight against crime in the streets or something like that. We will not allow ourselves to be put in a position where our future depends upon the good faith of the white community.

The Progressive Labor Party which hasn't organized a worker, has no right at all to attack the League of Revolutionary Black Workers or DRUM or any other component part of the League. They are another one of these little groups which have a conception of themselves, a very egalitarian and ethnocentric conception of themselves, as the vanguard party.

If you're the vanguard party, it means that if anybody else is moving in a revolutionary direction and mobilizing masses of people into revolutionary organizations, there must be something wrong with the program they're following because the only correct program is the program of that particular party. As a result of this particular kind of outlook, they find it necessary to attack anybody who is trying to do anything for whatever dogmatic reasons they can find. Either you're a nationalist which is counter-revolutionary or you're backwards or you're just developing or something else.

From their point of view, you reach the pinnacle of revolutionary development when you decide to become a member of Progressive Labor, We're not members of the Progressive Labor Party and we're not about to become members of the Progressive Labor Party or any other existing white organization because most of them are doing anything which shows us that they're capable of organizing a mass revolutionary struggle in this country, among blacks or whites.

As far as the question of black nationalism is concerned, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers recognizes that black nationalism is and of itself represents a broad political spectrum from left to right. There are black nationalists who are essentially black fascists, and you have other black nationalists who are essentially black Marxist-Leninist Communist revolutionaries.

We understand that there are black nationalists who simply feel that they as individuals have not been getting a big enough piece of the pie of black exploitation because they are not getting in the interests of black people. We oppose the idea that the solution to our problem is the establishment of a new economy in which you have black capitalists, black factory owners, exploiting black workers the way the white people have. We see the solution to the problem not simply as one of establishing a nationalistic organization or a nationalist community, but one in which all forms of exploitation and oppression are
Eliminated within that community.

**ROLE OF WHITE RADICALS**

**FE:** How do you feel that white radicals should relate to revolutionary black union movements and also how do you feel they should relate to white workers?

**JW:** As far as relating to our movement there are a number of things which are needed to continue to carry out a program of organizing the entire black working class. There are all sorts inputs into the movement, of course, the most -primary is money. We are constantly in need of funds to fight the legal struggles which we have, to put out the publications, to hire organizers, to run our offices, etc. Second, there are a number of specific types of projects which white radicals can work on so far most of them have been quite hesitant to do. There is a great need for an expansion of and this is just one particular project-printing facilities within the black community.

We've heard that over 50 SDS kids will be coming to Detroit this summer which want to be more involved in the organization and the development of a revolutionary union movement. It seems to me that these students could put their time to better use by attempting to set up print shops which had mimeograph and micrograph machines, letterpress presses and other types of equipment throughout the city, than if all of them simply went into the automobile factories and worked next to the workers for a few months.

There are other kinds of inputs which the movement needs. For instance, we need some permanent fund-raising apparatuses around here. Some of the more progressive white radicals in the city have already moved in this direction of setting up legal self-defense, which provides a regular fund for people who are in need of legal assistance and bail money.

They are in need of photographic equipment. The League would like to begin to move into the production of films so we can have more vehicles for the reeducation of black people to the true nature of the system. However, at the moment we don't have the resources, and the administrative staff doesn't have the time to put into that kind of project. White radicals who are really interested in doing something could get together and figure out how to buy, borrow or steal these kinds of photographic equipment.

We could go on and on and on and talk about all the kinds of inputs which we need on that level.

Second, of course, I think that white radicals who want to support DRUM and the League should politically support us every chance they get. For instance, they should not tolerate organizations like the Progressive Labor Party or anybody else denigrating the kind of political positions we take. There has been an awful lot of talk not only among PL but within organizations like SDS which have distorted both the history and the positions of DRUM. I think that some of the things which SDS said were said in a paternal light.

They misconstrued the political sophistication of our movement, in terms of us having a clear understanding of racism, monopoly capitalism and imperialism, and also having an understanding of how to move to attack these evils. I think that white radicals who want to do something for us should do all that they can, for example, get people who have connections with know about the existence of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, what our program is, what we're doing in practice and the kinds of needs we have.

Of course, the major role of white radicals should be to organize the white workers. A lot of the same sorts of inputs which are needed in terms of organizing black workers are needed in terms of organizing white workers, i.e., print shops, photographic equipment, other types of communication networks, funds, etc.

There is a developing need for organizers to actually go into the plants to mobilize people. The reason that I sort of sway away from emphasizing that particular point, however, is that no workers need simply missionary people to come into the plants who think they got to do missionary work. If you've got you've got to get radicals who want to work in the plant it would probably be best. If two of them went inside and three of them stayed outside to support those two.

If students consider themselves sufficiently sophisticated and aware of the problems and conditions in the plants and decide to move into the factory, they should push to educate the white workers along a certain political line. That line, and the is very important, is the position that you have is the power to be able to close down contracts that it wants to. But if you can pull a large

That it is extremely important that they push that position when they begin to organize white workers.

I think that once these kinds of conceptions are understood that we'll begin to make great progress both in the further organization of white workers and stimulating the organization of white workers.

**UAW RESPONSE**

**FE:** How have the UAW and other unions generally reacted to the formation of black revolutionary union movements in places under their jurisdiction?

**JW:** They have reacted with total hostility, and vicious attacks upon our movement. The UAW, for instance, is going around selling an awful lot of wof tickets about what they are going to do to black militants within a plant. In fact, there has been a lot of talk within circles of the UAW that they are going to form gun squads which are going to physically expel us from the various automobile plants. Emil Mazy, the Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW called us a greater threat to unionism than the Communists were in the 30's and 40's. I guess this means that he wants all the right-wing liberals in the Solidarity House to flee the union. Therefore, even if you take over the union on the local level, the International has such power according to the ruling class's law that they can move to administratively stop the workers from exercising their own power.

But the thing that we have which the UAW doesn't have is the support of the workers on the primary level, that is, the support of the workers at the point of production. The most important power, that you have is the power to be able to close down the plant. The union can run down all the rules and regulations and laws, articles in the constitution and contracts that it wants to. But if you can pull a large

Continued on page 23
**THE AMERICAN WAY OF JUSTICE??**

A day hasn't passed in the last few months without a pig attack on the Black Panther Party. The Party's strategy for survival since its earliest days, had to defend itself, but the last few months have shown a shift to an all out and many frontal approach by the U.S. government and its various agencies to totally destroy the Black Panther Party. An attempt to kill and imprison leaders, the raiding of offices across the country on any pretext and usually to excite panic at all. Possible Smith Act prosecutions, Grand Jury investigations. Congressional "investigations." "Trumped up" charges involving murder, kidnapping, sabotage, robbery. Pig infiltration. One can engage in academic debates about what symbolism or is not, about resistance to repression...but people better realize that abstract and basic methods are being used in an attempt to eliminate the most effective voices, teachers, and doers that has ever developed in the entrails of the monster. Better realize it, and educate people to the shit that's coming down.

Bobby Seale, the Chairman of the Black Panther Party faces a possible five year sentence for the alleged robbery of $26 worth of Good Humor ice cream, but didn't have the bread. They arrested the vendor. Fred Hampton arrived on the playground near where the truck occurred; Murphy Wade, in charge of defense. The trial begins as police drag Fred to jail. All witnesses testify, and especially the police don't con­cide on facing page). At the time of this writing, the trial is in progress. The trial motions including motions to suppress evidence that the defense has spearheaded its current at­tack on the 'entire movement with a brutal attack on the Black Panther Party. We who seek to defend and expand this move­ment--all the way to shotguns in Berkeley. The documents are clear and the facts are there, or if it not, but it will certainly spur drastic action in the open.

The following is a selection from the opening statements made by the "state" and by Fred Hampton, acting as his own defense attorney.

**People's trial for Fred Hampton**

Deeply Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, Fred Hampton was tried by a jury of his peers in Maywood during a people's trial at the Village Hall, May 24 and 25. The Saturday and Sunday sessions were complete with judge, jury, attorney, wit­nesses and, of course, Fred Hampton himself. At least 150 spectators were hand picked each of the sessions that lasted about 2 hours each.

Following the selection of 12 jurors, members of the opening statements were made by the "state" and by Fred Hampton, acting as his own defense attorney.

The first person called by the prosecution was John Robert Jones, played by William Der­inger, Jr. As in the establishment of the trial of Fred Hampton, the prose­cutor attempted to establish the al­leged fact that a robbery had oc­curred on July 10, 1968, in May­wood. Mr. Jones at the time was

**George Sams was not found in the office. Nevertheless they charged 8 Pan­thers who were there with harboring a federal fugitive. They stole a stronghold that had $18000 in cash to be used for a free food program. These whole petitions with 10,000 signatures demanding the release of George Sams were rejected by all the financial contributors and lawyers, all said firearms, occurred type", thousands of new papers, leaflets, and pamphlets. Charges of conspiracy to murder unregistered firearms were later dropped when the police ral­lyed were forced to admit that they had no proof.

Bobby Josh said that the Chicago statehood that was laid for the raid that resulted in a lot of raids on the Panther's offices. Stenographers for the New York, Connecticut, Indianapolis, Des Moines, Los Angeles. From a spate of trials at the same time in New Haven, Connecticut Brother Alex Rackley who was a Panther member in good standing, was found murdered, sub­sequently 8 Panthers, including Erica Huggins and Charles Johnson who were murdered. John John Hamp­ton were charged with kidnapping their Brother. Mureder is also charged with committing murder and kidnapping. The right new laws and said there's "direct link" between the murder in New Haven and the arrest of the Panther 25 in New York. There is. The same pigs that murdered Brother Alex conspired to claim the Panther 25 to be the seventeen years without a pig attack on the Black Panther Party. The Panther Party has a history of fifteen years of struggle since it's earliest days, of struggle for survival and to see them.

The Panther Party has a history of struggle since its earliest days, and has maintained a visible presence in many communities across the country. In Sacramento pigs moved on the Oak Park ghetto allegedly to quiet groups and to make it impossible for them to see what the Panthers are doing. The trial of Fred Hampton in Maywood was one of the most important leaders of the Panthers in Illinois. Bobby Fry, Deputy Minister of Defense of the Chicago chapter said, about Fred, "He's a very articulate person who seeks to defend and expand this move­ment--all the way to shotguns in Berkeley. The documents are clear and the facts are there, or if it not, but it will certainly spur drastic action in the open."

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Interview with Artur Vilanculous of FRELIMO—May, 1969

Mr. Vilanculous is a spokesman for the Mozambiquan Liberation Front in North America. He was formerly the head of the Front's radio communication for the education of the Mozambiquan people, and is now petitioning for FRELIMO at the United Nations. The interviewer was Jim Savage.

JIM SAVAGE: I understand the Portuguese control Mozambique and other parts of Southern Africa politically. Are they also the primary economic power in the area?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: Portugal controls the richest countries of Africa, Mozambique and Angola, so one expects that Portugal will be rich. But Portugal is the poorest country of Europe and is in the most underdeveloped with 40% illiteracy. Then where are all the resources taken from Mozambique going to? Portugal controls Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau politically, but economically I have doubt that they benefit from it, and if there are Portuguese who benefit economically it is not a big number. There are very few indeed who benefit from the resources of our country.

JIM: The great oil deposits in Mozambique, who are those controlled by?

MR. VILANCULUS: Why is Portugal so poor when she controls the richest countries of Africa for more than 400 years? Because lots of companies belong to foreigners. Because the Portuguese control Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, all American companies. You know they give the same Mozambiquan but they are all American.

JIM: So the Americans are profiting from the resources of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. Do they also give aid to the Portuguese in opposition to the struggle of the African people?

MR. VILANCULUS: Yes, so doubt about it, otherwise how can Portugal still be the only country that has colonies in Africa? The British, French, German, Spanish and Belgian colonial empires have all been defeated by the African nationalists, in the Portuguese colonies there has really been a revolution. As of 1965, Portugal has been waging war on Angola and Guinea-Bissau, and since 1964, when the Mozam­

gue Liberation Front declared war, Portugal has been fighting three wars, and they are really wars, though they are very little publicized in the U.S. Who provokes the help to Portugal? It is the Americans who have their own interests within the colonies who give loans so Portugal including military help. And you have to realize that Portugal is a member of NATO. They are helping Portugal mostly because of economic interests within our country.

We have a whole complex of oil companies in Mozambique, Angola and Guineas which are really American owned companies. For instance, the Mozambiquan Gulf Oil Co., Hunt International Petroleum Co., Texaco, Mobil, Caltext; all American companies. You know they give the same Mozambiquan but they are all American.

They know that Portugal is a fascist government and they have access to what they want in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea.

END EXPLOITATION

JIM: So they fear that if the African masses get free, then their economic interests would be lost?

MR. VILANCULUS: Yes, because if you look at the history of Africa coming against the imperialistic system in that they would still be able to exploit Africa as before, but that exploitation must end. That is why the colonists want to maintain that part of southern Africa, because it is one of the richest areas of the continent. They know that if we get independence they will lose those interests.

In Mozambique, they have put it very clearly, just as did our neighboring African states such as Tanzania, in which when independence came they made it clear that the money and resources must get out but must help to develop the country. Because the businessmen go and take from those countries and ignore the development of those areas. We don't want to make the same mis­

take as have been in Latin America, in which some countries have been more independent and others who have been more dependent. We want to take the support of the poor people and they can't develop themselves because of the continuation of exploitation.

We in FRELIMO are making it clear that independence means the end of exploitation and we must develop our country; because we will not continue to do our business but they must realize that they cannot take things out; that they don't have the country economically, educationally and in other ways.

JIM: Isn't that a contradiction? If capitalism itself signifies exploitation how can they continue in Africa without ex­

ploiting the peoples of Africa?

MR. VILANCULUS: We have to realize that the bourgeoisie can be in some areas it does not mean they can be there for good, as it has proven they are not there for good in some independent states, such as Tanzania, where the government controlled the main industries and the main resources of income within the country.

But we must be very careful not to do so fast we can do harm to our­selves. We feel is a stage trying to organize ourselves when we get in­dependence. We don't want to bring out the businessmen but they know we will not let them stay and this is why they want to maintain the Portuguese colonies. They know that real independence means they must stay for a few months or years but they won't stay forever. They have to go because we won't continue capitalism in our country because capitalism means exploitation of our people.

FRELIMO

JIM: How does the FRELIMO come into being?

MR. VILANCULUS: FRELIMO was formed in 1963 out of three major political parties in Mozambique, These political parties were formed by Mozam­

biquan who were working in Tanzania, in Malawi, in Zimbabwe and South Africa. After Tanzania got independence in 1963, we started to form one political party and because of that we had our first conference in June, 1963 to form one front, the Mozambiquan Liberation Front. This party was formed in Tanzania, in Dar-Es-Salama. The reason why we had to have FRELIMO was because Mozambique is because the Portuguese government allow political activity, although they make up to control in Mozam­

bique as well as in Portugal itself.

MR. VILANCULUS: First of all, the idea of the party is to try and organize themselves militarily as well as politi­

cally. To fight the system of colonial power in Portugal, to make the Portuguese understand.

JIM: The armed struggle began in Moza­

bique in September, 1964. How was this struggle prepared for? And in what way is the struggle carried out?

MR. VILANCULUS: First of all we had to mobilize the masses of Mozambique and therefore we had the duty to inform our people that they can be ready by the time we start to fight for independence. We told the people what we were trying to do, to first form guerilla organizations like the U.N., and that we have African states in favor of our independence. But more important, and this depends on the masses, they had to be ready for struggle for independence. They have to take as has been in Latin America, in which the U.S. does not mean that we will get our independence that way. They must be ready to prepare, to produce more food so that when the time comes when we take guns and fight there is enough food to feed the nationalists who will be living the revolution.

The revolution is against the oppres­
sion of the colonial powers and therefore they must prepare them­selves militarily as well as in the struggle and to in­

form the masses how to go and fight where the enemy is and try to hide as much as they can among the poor of the national­

ists. We must learn from the people what is the goal of independence. For the party the goal is of course the same as the independence. This is a primary goal, as we started this revolution, to be free from colonial oppression.

JIM: What form of armed struggle taking in Mozambique?

MR. VILANCULUS: We use the guer­

illa system because this is the best way for people like us, because we have to fight against the mostly heavy colo­

nialists who have mostly imported de­

vices, and guerrilla is the way to this. We started our war in 1964, not 1965 with only 250 well equipped nationalist. But because of the masses we were able to succeed, because the masses were prepared. They knew the date in which we were going to strike in which area, because of that we were able to succeed.

Today we control one fifth of the country very well because it is not only the guer­

rillas, the masses have realized that the war is for all of us Mozambiquans who have suffered over years. Therefore everyone is willing to have guns and fight and this includes women. The women in Mozambique are very poor and they do a very good job. Once, in 1967, 200 of our detachment killed twenty-five Portuguese in one spot with no losses themselves. So the form of struggle in the revolution is a guerrilla system because otherwise you can't do it.

This system the people have realized and known this despite the Portuguese propaganda on the mass media that the people who were fighting when the war began were not really Mozambiquans, people from other countries who have come to invade Mozambique. We want to make sure of the masses, that was my job on the radio in the United States because there are more people. That was my job on the radio in the United States in December, 1968. To fight in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea.

LIBERATE THE SOUTH

JIM: The struggle has been progressing in all three countries very well?

"VILANCULUS: Yes, in Guinea-
Bissau Africans now control two thirds of the country. They don't touch these areas. And we are marching south. We started from the northern part of Mozambique which shares a border with Tanzania and we are marching south—the Portuguese can't touch these areas. And in Angola also, there has been a very good fight. So it is in Mozambique that is why the Portuguese are asking direct help from the U.S.

JIM: Do you think that part of the resistance of the counter-revolutionary forces in Bissau is because, if the Portuguese colonies become independent, they fear that other areas of Southern Africa will come under the control of Africans?

MR. VILANCULUS: Yes, in Zimbabwe where Smith controls South Africa and of course the Portuguese—these people are a common enemy for the independence of Africa.

In 1965 the government of Ian Smith and the Portuguese single Mozambique and South Africa sent troops into Mozambique, but as of now the people of Mozambique are fighting against Ian Smith, and because of that all troops which were in Mozambique and Rhodesia have been back and fight within their own country.

South Africa has sent troops to Rhodesia and Mozambique because in the independence of Mozambique and Zimbabwe is key to the independence of South Africa. So they have to try to hold back with the Western imperialists in controlling that area because that is what they know when you open one area there is the end of them.

JIM: What are the major difficulties you are facing now in the front itself?

MR. VILANCULUS: In the guerrilla fighting a major difficulty is the means of transport, because it is very dangerous to use cars, but they are so needed in the semi-liberated areas which we control because they can facilitate our national fighters to go from one place to another.

There are difficulties in communication; radios, walkie-talkies are needed for our fighters to communicate with each other from wherever they are. And we have to provide clothing and we are still fighting so how can we provide this to the areas we control, but we need money to prepare our people for education and we need financial help to provide more what we call bush schools—where we have to book, pens, ink, chalk. We have to have clothing and medicines because we have our own clinics. These are difficulties that confront us in the front line as well as in the semi-liberated areas of our country.

JIM: In the semi-liberated areas what kind of changes have there been in the life of the people?

MR. VILANCULUS: Under the colonial power there was persecution of the people and the people were not given the rights for any kind of political expression and also in the areas controlled by the Portuguese there are no facilities for education, there are no facilities for clinics, or for a fight against disease.

In the areas we control we are producing more food and there has been a big change to allow the people to make their own decisions and to select the leaders within their regions. To do this by themselves; to run this by themselves without having somebody to tell them what to do.

JIM: Are there any traditions which impede or set back the revolutionary struggle? If there are, what happens to them?

MR. VILANCULUS: One of the traditions which has been very difficult in Africa which is not only in one country the African people have been the last to get their independence is that traditionally we are more humanitarian and this is a big problem, to the extent when you go into a revolution. Although it's also good. But it is rather difficult to convince somebody to take a gun and kill somebody.

It was necessary to change the people and with our contemporary experience where many young Africans have been killed by the Portuguese, innocent as they were, the African people had to realize that there was nothing to do but to take guns and fight. But even though they do it against their own wishes they have to do it to protect and liberate themselves.

SOCIALISM

JIM: What are the long-range goals of Frelimo?

MR. VILANCULUS: Frelimo must fight against ignorance as we are doing now and have many schools which will not only benefit the European and Asian children, but also the African children, and we have to keep the ideas of political freedom within the people to express their own opinions. And letting our people realize that our system will be a socialist system, which is, by the way, a traditional African way.

A socialist system within our country in which we can develop our people and the people have freedom of expression and do things which can benefit themselves. And to be part of the world revolution, this is one of our goals. This will be one of the goals of our country and we have made it clear that our government, when we get independence, must be a revolutionary government. It must open its hands to assist any peoples who are trying to free themselves from any kind of oppression. This course includes South Africa where we will have to help the African nationalists.

To help people wherever they are being exploited. We will speak in favor of them and if they ask us to shed our blood we will do that and of course sacrifice our lives because having boundaries with South Africa they will try to bomb us. But from our own experience Tanzania was bombed by Portugal and Tanzania told them: if they do it again that means Tanzania will declare war and therefore they did it again. We have to fight for ourselves. Independence of Mozambique means the beginning of a struggle in which we help other peoples.

JIM: And in your own country?

MR. VILANCULUS: Of course you have to raise the standard of living. And of course education. We started the Mozambiquan Institute in 1969 and today we have over 200 university students who came from this school, Portugal, in almost 500 years did not produce even one Mozambiquan university graduate.

And this leadership, within our party—any student who finishes undergraduate studies goes back to work in the Mozambiquan people, among the people. And can only continue their studies after they have been with the people and the people and seen what the problems are that are going on. So that these educated ones must not be exploiters of the people but must live with the people and help them as much as they can.

WHAT WE CAN DO

JIM: We in the American movement want to support your movement in any way we can and would like to know how we can support your struggle.

MR. VILANCULUS: I think the U.S. owes us so much because of their aid to the Portuguese government and because of what American friends and sympathizers with our struggle for independence in Mozambique, in Angola and in Guinea-Ilesa can do in many ways.

First of all you can contact your own congressmen. I know this sounds funny but it is very important because the congressmen must know what's going on and so the State Department will know that you people know what is going on, because the Portuguese government in cooperation with your government is trying to hide what is going on within the Portuguese colonies, so that your people won't do anything.

Another thing which you can do is to help the Mozambiquan people. We need more food, we need more clothing. No, the clothing that you people throw out, don't throw it out because we have many thousands of refugees and people in semi-liberated areas. Also we need transistor radios, medicines, financial help for education.

And most important is to educate the American people to what is taking place. I hope you can do that.
continues from pg.11

yet the average student still felt that something was missing. The SDS chapter had been fragmented, piloted. He had learned a lesson during the few days of the incident. First time around banding together he had power. What followed was a student power orgy. student groups began to see that they have a say in everything. very little talk about changing anything, just piece of the action. Discussions of the relationship of the student factions to the economics of capitalism and racism—the issues which marked the year's demands and huge. What they wanted was restructuring. Plans for a manpower Con- stitution Assembly as a way of changing the system was presented. It was pointed out that the CA would have to be more than a powerless and dementially they paid little attention. The majority of students interested in functional change they felt that the university was essentially a good place.

The administration was quick to see the possibilities. The campus deep into the assembly. The Ford Foundation gave $1 million, while liberals in the faculty hailed the CA as a way of changing violence on the campus once and for all.

Both the BLF and the SDS in a state of confusion. As soon as the incident was over it was obvious that the mass of students were new more interested in the power than attacking racism the BLF without into semi-decision and felt that under the circumstances there was little that the BLF could do. and as a cry from the reaction this sort of thing would have produced in the chapter a year ago.

The following morning a rally and march was held. An estimated several thousand people demanded that the police leave campus. The combination of the guns and the presence of the National Guard supported the administration that it had to settle quickly. They agreed to drop the charges and the blacks marched out of the university.

The next day the faculty reversed the decision. An SDS meeting called that evening and attended by 200 people voted overwhelmingly to take over residence halls and change its name. The course to the faculty began to resist its positions. Under the threat of more violence and arrests several colleges changed their posi- tions and agreed to something full of more action, declared a state of emergency, and asked the any groups engaging in further dis- orderly behavior to leave the immediate building. 350 state and local cops from several count- ries moved in to protect the college from further trouble. At the same time, thousands of leaflets appeared on the campus urging everyone to come to the site and stage a last stand to move action.

The movement was set for 9:30. By 7 there were over 2000 people there and by the time it got underway in Barton Hall there was between 6000 people present, about half of whom were black and who demanded. The situation was chaotic most of the SDS members were forced to take the administration building but they were scattered throughout the huge crowd and when rooming professor with a history of sympathy for the demonstrators were told the of the administration building, the police were ordered to leave. The New York Times. reported that in a seizure himself the mood of the building agreed we could wait one day. Instead of taking the administration building, some students succeeded in what is known as the Barton Hall, defy the state of emer- gency, and a group of students refused to change their decision.

The next day the incident was repeated. With several thousand students ready to take militant action the faculty reversed its.
enough number of workers out of the plant, that plant isn’t going to run until we decide that we’re going to run it again.

JW: We have some definite conceptions of how the revolution is going to be accomplished in this country. In the first place, organizing in automobile plants on the basis of the local struggles which black workers are faced with in the industries in which they are employed. That’s the first battle. Then we carry out a strike at a particular plant. The company doesn’t simply rely on the resources which it has to suppress that kind of a struggle but moves to bring in outside police, moves to bring the courts, moves to use the news media, moves to use all the resources of state or national law to try to bring the struggle to a conclusion. A general strike on a local level, of course, can be met by the ruling class on a national level, that is, they bring in the national guard, the state police, the FBI, the army and whatever else might be necessary to suppress this particular struggle.

Given a protracted and intensive struggle, this kind of development would inevitably lead to a general strike. And this would be necessary for all the workers in a particular city or a particular geographic area to organize in the industries in support of this particular struggle. A general strike on a local level, of course, can be met by the ruling class on a national level, that is, they bring in the national guard, the state police, the FBI, the army and whatever else might be necessary to suppress this particular struggle.

There are a lot of sick people: Fields, Mather, Blake, Pawloski, and a few others. People’s Park in Berkeley. “Is this the end of the road, the end of the line?” Mather thinks. “First, we had decided that we would like to see Hallinan—and from this episode of being able to have national general strike. No national general strike renews the point of absolute confrontation between us and the system and if the ruling class refuses to capitulate to the demands which we lay on it, we would probably resort to a national general strike. It means a sort of restructuring in which we can bring equal force against them. By and large this is one of the reasons for the organization of the League, so that workers in different industries and different plants could support one another in one common struggle.

If you consider this in a theoretical sense it’s not the difference from which struggles are taken, but rather the level at which the struggle takes place. Because the dictatorship of the proletariat is allowed to concentrate superior forces in a small area of the world in order to suppress a particular struggle.

Our ultimate intention is to organize black workers as a whole, as a class throughout the country and proceeding from that basic mass organization to expand outside of this immediate geographic area to organize black workers wherever they might exist. And we’ve organized black workers as a whole, as a class throughout the country.

Persons interested in supporting the work of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers may send contributions to the organization at 9049 Oakland, Detroit, Michigan.

WATSON continued
A WAY OF SPEAKING...

Speak secretly,
Because the wells have ears.
Secretly, as in love
And revolution.

Actions test of truth
And bravery in act
Not in reckless words
Shouted on tapped telephones.

A revolutionary takes chances
When chances must be taken
A chance at any other time
Is perhaps to waste a life,
Perhaps many lives.
And a revolutionary
Treasures life so much
He, or she, is willing to give it.

Does it aid your ego
To boast of plans already made
Or give away a confidence
Or speak of who you saw with who?

Remember,
As you speak
That you may be endangering
The one you tell.

"There will be
No more pain
If you tell us
The names."

Always speak
What is necessary for success.
Too much, too often, too soon
Guarantees failure.

These are the times
When the list of fascists closes
But we also have our fists
And the work hardened muscle of history.

The peoples of the earth
Are with us
So our cautions
Do not come from fear.

In spite of all our mistakes,
Divisions and despair
We have not acquiesced
We have begun to learn resistance.

Do not be afraid to act.
Act with the energy of an occupied nation.
The energy of knowing you have
One more day outside the concentration camps.

Expansion yields protection
Explain, persuade, and organize
Do not be afraid to learn.
Ways to speak to the needs of the people.