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- WHEN CONSPIRACY VICTORY IN

THE MOVEMENT PRESS
330 Grove Street
San Francisco, California 94102
The next day Alioto called for the arrest of Hilliard for threatening the demonstrations, the sheer mass of the crowd was impressive. But before long that impressive crowd became disgustingy piggish. The same people who considered themselves to be the disciplined Workers of the World praised the American flag and hoisted David Hilliard down in the name of “Peace.” The next day Alioto called for the arrest of Hilliard for threatening the life of pig Nixon. When asked by reporters Hilliard’s arm was beaned and said, “He marred OUR demonstration.”

About two weeks later, Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton was murdered in his own apartment. In the same way by which we are being defeated in Vietnam, the pigs are being defeated in Los Angeles were ravaged by pigs. Panther headquarters in Los Angeles were all busted for attempted murder. All this is part of a well-executed plan of the government to smear the Panther Party, the leader of all revolutionary forces in this country.

But before Nixon’s plan could go into full swing, the pigs had to be sure that they could draw a wedge between revolutionaries and the masses of discontents. This meant separating legitimate (peaceful) disgruntled American people. This was the model form. At the same time, the plan calls for heavy reprisal against revolutionaries, to make sure nothing spills over the channels. The Moratorium provided the model form. At the same time, the Moratorium so conveniently provided. This process was not jiving when he talked about “our demonstration.”

SMASHING THE PIG PLAN

We’re not trying to put down the masses, but to organize them. The masses of working people and poor people, especially youth, were not at the Moratorium. Their discontent has not yet been channeled along middle class lines, and if it ever does, our job, never will be. We must have faith in the people and understand that they can grasp, more quickly than any of us, the needs and full extent of the struggle, and are, in fact, the weapon that ensures our strength.

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

RACISM IN THE MOVEMENT

The pigs are having an easier time dealing with the Panthers than with the Vietnamese because they aren’t fighting racism of the American people. This racism is still rampant in the white movement. Fifty thousand people marched during the People’s Park crisis—mostly because it was the first time a white brother was murdered by pigs. The response of the white movement to Hampton’s murder compared to that was nil. Why has our support for the Panthers been so weak? What did we do when the Panthers were ripped off in Connecticut and New York? What did we do when Bobby was kidnapped and gagged and are they waking up now? A few rallies, a few vigils around Panther headquarters. It’s outrageous.

The attitude that “the shit that goes on the Panthers is expected but that sort of thing can’t happen to us” is implicit in our relative apathy. It’s racism pure and simple. And racism is not a moral shortcoming. It is downright counter-revolutionary. If we cannot, move to protect the vanguard of the masses, but to organize them. The pigs are facing the Panthers are now receiving from the government. And it’s all legal. The repression is unprecedented. We can only conclude that the Panthers represent to the imperialist system, from inside the US, is unprecedented.

The fascism we are feeling now is unprecedented. Never before in recent times has a revolutionary organization inside the United States received the Black Panther Party any covering from the government. And it’s all legal. The repression is unprecedented and we now conclude that the Panthers represent to the imperialist system, from inside, is unprecedented.

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

Three days later, in Los Angeles, the kill-all-burn-all-destroy-all mission continued. Pigs raided three Panther offices. At the main headquarters eleven warriors of the people held off 333 pigs for over five hours. Three pigs were wounded, one critically. Three Panthers were less seriously wounded. Tear gas, beatings, shootings (no wounds) took place at all other headquarters. 54 Panthers have been arrested. The ones inside the headquarters have been charged with attempted murder. Pigs used huge amounts of tear gas and some dynamite at the main headquarters. The next day the building was condemned, but the people refused to leave. They barricaded the building and began to rebuild. Pigs used tear gas, and that night, as several hundred community people gathered to help get the office functioning and to protect it, pigs rampaged on people indiscriminately, beating them, including a black State Senator. The next day, about 10,000 people, with representatives of many black community groups, held a rally at the LA Hall of Injustice to condemn the fascist program of the pigs, to support the Party, and since then the strength of the community has helped the LA Panthers push their programs forward.

"The Racist Dog Police officer must withdraw immediately from our community, cease their racist murder and torture of Black People or face the wrath of the Armed People." Because of this statement made by Lucy P. Newton, our Minister of Defense, and point seven of the ten point program and related to that says, "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people," we must stand firm on the ten point program which was canvassed from the black community by the leaders of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

JAKE WINTERS, a brother, a troubleshooter, a revolutionary, a Black Panther made a Red Hot Shooter and the biggest cop of clones that ever came from the womb of woman, I have told them things about JAKE WINTERS because they are already a fact. It's objective reality, proven by words and actions in defending the Black community. On November 13, 1969, JAKE WINTERS stood face to face and toe to toe, his shotgun in his hand, with Pig Daley's murderous task force. He defined political power by blasting away racist pig Frank Buggagge and racist pig John Goody and called out after run-onatory racist 30 pig before he was shot down. It is also proven fact and reality that Daley's task force couldn't bully and weekly raids on the Black community. They murdered Michael Soto, 20 years old, and others.

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

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

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

BLOWS OF LIBERATION

"During this week's antiwar protest, we set off explosive devices in the offices of Chase Manhattan, Standard Oil and General Motors."

"A new logic emerged: if the destruction of Vietnam couldn't be halted by choosing between Nixon or Humphrey, or by staging the largest peace marches in history, then the hour had arrived when the machete itself was not be shut down."

"The empire is breaking down as the pigs claim that two men, Sam Melville and George Demmerle, were caught throwing canvas bags of explosives into the back of Army trucks near an Army base in New York."

"There was another explosion at the Criminal Court building the next day. As FBI and police emergency dragnet went into effect, there were 300 bombings in one day."
"I was expecting to stay in the House of Detention a lot longer than the week I spent there. When the bail was finally set, I was told to think of the Panther 21, in jail on no evidence with great difficulty and danger, on those charges are still in the House of Detention for the same reason, of a special case. We had to be locked in there for the same reason, to start letting go of some of its institutions and the whole way it defines us, our little individual consciousesses whose main concern is to be protected and to have to start giving way to a broader consciousness, a collective consciousness and a cosmic consciousness where the individual rather than constantly escaping from life and death and trembling at the sight of death and destruction, it lets go and flows into life and into death. And in the context of reparative America, that we have some amount of a very deep and strong desire to fight.

"There have been at least eight bombings in the New York area since July 27, all of them with accompanying letters that had the word "death" chosen and what the set of violence represented — the movement of third-world, working people and fighting against the destruction of the monster. It seems obvious on the face of it that there are plenty of aspects of frame up and information-corrupted fantasy connected to the arrests that have been made, the way that it may appear important to the oppressed to bound the respect, the people are a bomb, and the imperialism of the criminal system here to survive it's absolutely monstrous.

"As long as people hold on to that death fixation, it is obvious that we are following the east. Because challenging the existentialist death fixation is the thinking that they call life on the oppressed and trying to balance the process, so for this movement of resistance am a part of the scenery. The system here to survive it's obviously necessary that people hold on to their jobs, their private homes, their cars, their bodies, that men hold on to their domination over women, and women to their bodies, and submission to men; that whites hold on to their white skins, in their private corporate entities house the men and the women. The company isn't owned by the workers, it is a junkyard which operates in the city will escalate the repression in the way it is. The problem with the movement is the whole way it defines reality. Our little individual consciousnesses whose main concern is to escape from life and death and trembling at the sight of death and destruction, it lets go and flows into life and into death. So that the system here to survive is obviously needed, that the system here to survive it's absolutely monstrous."

"For this movement, of resistance am the whole way it defines reality. Our little individual consciousnesses whose main concern is to escape from life and death and trembling at the sight of death and destruction, it lets go and flows into life and into death."

"The establishment"

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22
During the 1960’s the American government was on trial for crimes against the people of the world.

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

the conspiracy

by Stu Albert

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

There’s never been a trial, as far as we can remember that’s been as well followed as this one. People in Chicago greet the defendants on the street, “how are you doing?” it’s weirdly friendly and sympathetic. All over the country there’s a lot of interest. When the jury goes out we want to organize a National People’s Jury Program. Setting up that area into an area of festival and revolutionary planning, for discussions on what to do when the jury comes in with a verdict. Those areas could be launching bases for street action. What those actions are, would be locally determined by who the local pigs are and so on. It’ll be a national jury sentencing the government.

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

The Weathermen have taken up on Che’s thing, that revolutionaries have to learn to hate, but they also have to learn to love . . . so they’re giving off very good vibes to a lot of people. Perhaps a national Youth International Party, whose symbol would be the White Panther, will be founded, a fusion, in a broad based party. The Weatherman could work within that. It’d be a MOBE of the Crazies, a cultural revolutionary SDS.

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

TRIAL ENDS IN THE STREETS

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

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

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

The Conspiracy can help organize. When Fred Hampton was murdered we were able to do some good support activities . . . publicity and press conferences. It’s ad hoc and has some skills to do certain things. We’re hoping that for people who haven’t known what to do with the breakup of SDS, that this will break through demoralization and help regain a united movement. Maybe a lot of people will get turned on by this and turn it into a major action. It may be like I used to say when I was in PL and quoted Mao all the time . . . Mao said, take a bad thing, like an indictment, and turn it into a good thing. Try to bring forces together for the action, which may turn into something more permanent.
But our coping out on the black liberation struggle is more than a question of responsibility. Racism combines with a bourgeois mentality which keeps us from taking risks. We do not see struggle as a necessity for survival. Struggle is something we pretend to do because we know it's politically correct. We are also bogged down in a lot of other problems that make it difficult for us to deal with the basic problems of race and class privilege.

PACIFISM

One of these problems is pacifism. Now most people reading this editorial probably don't consider themselves pacifists, but some people reading this editorial probably don't take the idea of white people engaged in armed struggle very seriously. While black people are willing to struggle in armed struggle (Remember Chicago in October, and how Panthers in LA held off the pigs for hours), white people (remember Jake Winters), for most white radicals it is an abstract question. This, in essence, is pacifism. A lot of people also think pacifism is harmless. When our demonstrations became defensively violent, a lot of people assumed pacifism had become irrelevant. But the 50,000 who marched for dead Rector, allowed the tone of the march to be set by the "beautiful people" giving flowers (lots of them) to the pigs. 300,000 people went to the free Stones concert at Altamont and were more upset by a few accidental deaths than by the pigs (Remember, Mick Jagger, by the way, refused to make any announcement about what was coming down on the Panthers, and we were too shocked or said if any political announcements were made, the Stones would not play). And if Ali didn't retire, he was pressured by the peaceman's response to Hailand, the pigs might have been more hesitant to pin another felony rap on the Panthers. Fred Hampton was not a revolution, he was a bourgeois ideology. (See Cauldwell's essay in this issue.) It can only help the pigs. It is our responsibility to join the Panthers and New York bombing (Pigs, we are the people and the weather people) and all others who take armed struggle seriously, if we take the idea of revolution seriously. It is not a middle way--either you're for revolutionary violence or you're a bourgeois pacifist.

But to say it means to be for armed struggle or revolutionary violence. Some people are tripping out now on the idea of violence without understanding it. Others can't relate to it because when they hear talk of armed struggle, all they can picture is full scale revolution and it's obviously not happening now. We think that to be for armed struggle means several things. It means we understand that to defeat imperialism there must be a violent revolution that allies itself with the people of the world, and, therefore, our duty as revolutionaries is to do everything possible to bring movement to that position and prepare for the struggle itself. It also means we recognize that the time to intensify the struggle is now—in a variety of ways: exemplary violent actions, raising the level of militance of mass demonstrations, acts of heroism that have political meanings like the bombing of the Haymarket statue and the headquarters of the ruling class in New York City. It also means that we prepare people to themselves to put these ideas into practice through organization and technical training.

It's important to reaffirm the need for different levels of struggle. At the same time we move towards the highest level of struggle, we must intensify local mass work to expand our base and make the armed struggle meaningful to masses of people. To make the point with an example: at the same time someone-offed the pig statue in Haymarket Square, there were people doing heavy work on the picket lines of striking workers. The fact that people had the statue to rap about helped to raise revolutionary questions with the strikers. The fact that there were people working with strikers helped the bomber to spread the political message—to interpret the violent act positively to the masses. Is other work on different levels of struggle complement each other—providing the people working at each level are clear about the common end...

CORRECT LINE-ISM

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

The effect of correct line-ism has been devastating. No one should be surprised at what's coming down now on the Panthers. Fred Hampton was the 28th Panther murdered. The picture of the raided apartment look like the fulfillment of the Berkeley Pig Department's planned raid—a plan that was exposed several months ago. Even before that plan was exposed, the Panthers called a Conference for a United Front Against Fascism (and even before that a whole lot of shit had come down). But people found it easier to pick holes in the line of the Panthers and their temporary allies than to support the Panthers in practice. (We have said a lot of this before in a lot more detail in an article in the October 1969 issue of THE MOVEMENT.)

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

SURE TO WIN

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

Two, there is going to be a National Council meeting of SDS beginning Dec. 26. Everyone should go—but go with a clear head!幅度 our representatives that those groups who have labeled the SDS leadership (Weatherpeople) as the new PL (pigs) probably won't do much. But they are convinced that the majority of people who consider themselves revolutionaries are already engaged enough to know that continued hostility among comrades is suicide. We have all made mistakes. Criticism and self-criticism must be made we the panthers have, the strengthening revolutionaries and helping new people to become revolutionaries—not destroying them. All this doesn't deal directly with the question of fear and feelings of impotence. But if we moved towards dealing with the problems of pacifism, correct line-ism and fragmentation, then it would be much stronger. We think that the Weather people have taught us an important lesson. That is, we cannot eradicate fear, but if we are determined that we are right, we can suppress it long enough to move and gather strength. (Of course, developing technical skills is also crucial.) In all revolutionary struggles in China, Cuba and Vietnam, defeatism on the part of a revolutionary was one of the worst possible errors.

Dare to struggle, Dare to win was not meant to be a childish dare. Armed struggle began in the countryside in China when the revolutionary forces were at their weakest point. The Vietnamese decided on armed struggle in 1959 after Dien Bien Phu almost totally annihilated the revolutionaries in the South. Fidel launched armed struggle confident with the twelve survivors of the Granma landing. It was precisely at these low periods when revolutionaries were forced to go militantly to Their Revolutionaries only dare to struggle when they are sure they can win.
BACKGROUND FOR INTERVIEW

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

The threat of common contract expiration dates has caused PDM to take the Santa Clara strike very seriously. The company has been using imported scab labor—for the first time in the area in recent years.
would like to see the troops leave but they are like­
we want a solution but do not see how it's going
They don't want to go on fighting
JACK: I believe complete withdrawal is what the people
over here want, I don't believe we should have any
troops over there, I don't understand what's going on,
I don't know nothing about it, but speaking as a worker
I think this war is just too costly in lives and money,
and causing families in the US too many hardships.
JIM: We've been as many places as we can. Stanford,
San Jose State, San Francisco State, several others.
We haven't been asking for support but we've been
telling the students that if they wanted to learn
things, they wanted to come down here, we couldn't
stop them.
MOVEMENT: What kind of reception did you get?
JIM: Real good, They all came.
VERA: I have been asking for their support in col­
lecting food and money for strikers in the Santa Clara
Workers' Committee. And they've been doing real well.
They've been sending, I've been sending bantam baby
chicks for them, the people who were on strike, they
printed leaflets to give to the scabs, written us up. in
papers and been a big help. In a lot of ways other than
just coming down on the picket lines.
MOVEMENT: As a result of the police attack on Friday,
the students were asked to pull out?
PHIL: Yes, they were. The company made sugges­
tions that they wanted to talk. That is, if we would
back down, they would back off, if we would slack off
on picket line activity, they might be all the bit willing
to talk. Well, in negotiation you have to be willing
to bend and weave, so we did. We asked the students
to pull out and they did, they cooperated very well,
and after that, the company turned around and hired
more scabs.
MOVEMENT: You got suckered?
PHIL: I guess you could say we did, You could say
it was a mistake. But you have to be willing
to bend to find out what the other guy is willing to do.
JANUARY 1970
THE MOVEMENT
To The Great White Father
And All His People

proclamation:

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

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

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars ($24) in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of $24 per acre is greater than the 47 cents per acre the white men are now paying for the California Indians for their land.

We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of the land for their own use to be held in trust by the American Indian Affairs and by the bureau of Caucasian Affairs to hold in perpetuity - for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve by the white man's own standards. By this we mean in that:

1. This place resembles most Indian locations by virtue of its inadequate budget. (A report on the Oglala Sioux reservation said that there was one Bureau employee for each Indian family. The Sioux Indian's median income was $3,000 a year and 65 per cent of them were unemployed.) Young Indians see no prospect for change through normal channels and are not satisfied by the illusion that they can appeal to their congressmen. The need of the recent attempts by young Indians to regain their stolen heritages is taking place on Alcatraz.

2. AN AMERICAN INDIAN SPIRITUAL CENTER will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and our economy. The museum will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and our economy. The museum will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and our economy. The museum will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and our economy.

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

4. A GREAT EN ded to M

5. There is no industry and no unemployment in very great.
6. There are no health care facilities.
7. The soil is rocky and non-productive; and the land does not support game.
8. There are no educational facilities.
9. The population has always exceeded the land base.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others.

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

What use will we make of this land?

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

1. A CENTER FOR AMERICAN STUDIES will be developed which will educate them in the skills and knowledge relevant to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples. Attached to this center will be developed universities, managed by Indians, which will go to the Indian Reservations, learning there necessary and relevant materials now about.

2. An American Indian Spiritual Center which will practice our ancient tribal religious and sacred healing ceremonies. Our cultural arts will be featured and our young people trained in music, dance, and healing rituals.

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Hayward:

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

Hayward, California is part of a sprawling suburb, interwoven with industrial parks, located a few miles south of Oakland. In the last ten years, while working people have moved to the area in large numbers to escape from the blacks.

The town has a long history of racism, reaction, and anti-communist. In the late summer and early fall, several of us moved here to begin work with various sectors of the working class men and women in shops, high school, junior college, and street kids, and women in the home.

Like a lot of other brothers and sisters, the Hayward Collective was so involved in internal struggle during the early fall, several of us moved here to begin work with various sectors of the working class men and women in shops, high school, junior college, and street kids, and women in the home.

Three Fronts

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

Almost all the speakers at the rallies, both black and white, were Vietnamese veterans and all are active in either the black or white movement. There are so many young vets in the plant that it seemed important to have vets speaking to them. All three rallies, unauthorized by the union, were held at shift changes in the parking lot of the union hall right across the street from the plant. About 80 guys attended in all—a little over half of them white. The speakers ran down the reasons why workers should be opposing the war and supporting the NLF. A speech calling for concrete organization and international working class solidarity was surprisingly well-received.

The leaflets put out at the high schools were good and heavy but much too long. Four were issued: one anti-war, which drew heavily from the "Standing Up Against" article; one called "Fighting Women" with a picture of an armed Vietnamese woman, ran down the material facts of the oppression of women and offered examples of fighting women; one was sponsored by the Black Panther caucus there. The speakers ran down the material of the speeches given before and after the action.

The press coverage was spotty and apologetically friendly, while the response was very good. The core of an on-going organization can be pulled together in the near future.

Jailbreak

The morning of the 16th, we took sound trucks carrying our high school organizers and a couple of outside speakers to the high schools—one of them 60 percent Chicano. We played music, handed out leaflets, drew a crowd and held an impromptu rally. The women in the crowd ran on the street running down where they were at and why. Afterwards kids were urged to split to a third school where members of the High School Student Union were holding a sit-in. The HSSU is a radical Bay Area high school organization, newly formed and largely middle class.

Sixty or seventy kids from the heavily Chicano school split in cars to the sit-in. Excited by their arrival, the HSU kids, maybe 8 or 10 in all, led over 500 kids inside their school to cut off the school. The police, strong, marched to the junior college chanting "Power to the People". Along the way, they passed a junior high school and kids climbed over the fence to join them. At the third school, where the sound equipment didn't work, about 25 kids finally jumped into cars and took off.

When the 300 arrived at the JC, the teach-in was still in progress. The leadership group in terms of not backing down and not agreeing to have the vent of Vietnamese workers, why (US imperialism), what the Vietnamese are fighting for (what communism is about), and ended by saying that we should be fighting with them, not against them.

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They Killed A Revolutionary But

SPEECH BY FRED HAMPTON
APRIL 27, 1967

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

What we are basing this movement on is the knowledge that the black people are the black people are the black people are the black people. We are not afraid of anything. What we are afraid of is the police and the pigs. We are going to talk about what we are going to have to do in order to get the police to let us go.

We got a plan, and we got a plan. We have a plan so that we can take over the police and set up our own police and get away from the pigs. We have a plan so that we can take over the government and set up our own government and get away from the pigs. We have a plan so that we can take over the country and set up our own country and get away from the pigs.

We are not afraid of anything. We are not going to let the pigs stop us. We are going to take over the country and set up our own country and get away from the pigs.

They Can't Kill The Revolution

Powers TO THE PEOPLE.
Title: Who is the enemy and why does he fight? Discussions of the war in and out of the classroom usually focus on why we are in Vietnam and what we can do to get out. Very infrequently do we examine the war from the point of view of the people whom we are fighting.

PURPOSE OF LESSON

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

MATERIALS & SOURCES

1. Excerpts from the diary of a dead Viet-cong soldier.
3. Selections from "Twelve Recommendations", Ho Chi Minh's program of the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (the program of the NLF and other liberation forces fighting the Americans in Vietnam).

METHODS

1. Introduce the topic. The teacher may do this verbally or write the title of the lesson on the board.
2. Have the students write a paragraph on why they think the Vietnamese are fighting against the Americans. Allow them about ten minutes to complete this part of the lesson.
3. Discuss the students' responses. The teacher might want to list on the board some of the students' answers. These answers will probably include:
   a. The Vietnamese who fight against us are forced to fight by communist terrorists.
   b. The Vietnamese do not understand that we are trying to help them.
   c. Most of the people fighting against us are outside forces like the Chinese.
4. The teacher should not debate these responses at this point, but should ask the students where they got their information and should list their sources on the board.
5. Ask the students if they have ever read or heard an NLF or a North Vietnamese account of why they are fighting. Most students will reply no.
6. The teacher at this point should distribute the mimeographed material (cited above), explaining that these are written by the people we are fighting in Vietnam.
7. Ask a student to begin by reading aloud the excerpt from the diary of the dead Viet-cong soldier.
8. Raise the following questions with the students:
   a. Why did the soldier leave the North?
   b. What kind of hardships did he have to endure?
   c. Why do you think he was willing to make these sacrifices?
9. Read with the class the selections from the Vietnamese Declaration of Independence. Some questions for discussion:
   a. In his diary the Viet-cong soldier said that this was the third time he was fighting. From the document can you figure out when and why he fought before and why he may have felt it was so important to fight again?
   b. Why might other Vietnamese have fought against the French?
   c. Compare the views of a wealthy landowner and a landless peasant. Who would be more sympathetic to the NLF and why?
10. Have the students read the next two documents. After reading, point out to them that the soldier whose diary they read earlier is only one of many Vietnamese who are fighting the US. Ask them if they think the documents offer an explanation of why the NLF would receive popular support.

PROJECTS FOR STUDENTS

1. Have the students research the way in which the newspapers and other media present the NLF. Compare this with what the NLF says about themselves and what is said about them by the underground press.
2. Students can begin to research liberation forces in Africa, Latin America (Bolivia, Guatemala, etc.), and the US and compare them with the NLF.
3. Students could study the life and ideas of Ho Chi Minh.

PROJECTS FOR THE CLASSROOM

1. Encourage the students to compare the American Revolution to the Vietnamese Revolution.

TEXTS

1. Excerpts from the diary found in the uniform of a Viet-cong soldier. Sept. 5, 1961. "Leaving temporarily the beloved North to return to my native South to liberate my compatriots from the yoke of Diem (1955-1963)."

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THE MOVEMENT

JANUARY 1970
I was young, so my life was full of hardship—not enough rice to eat nor enough salt to give a taste to my tongue, my clothes to wear, my shoes to walk on. I could not find work. I became a beggar and sold myself to the landlords. I had to work as a servant. I was engaged in the search for food and a place where to work hard. Life was hard for me; I had to work from morning to night. I was used to such a life, and I was used to such treatment. I was not afraid of poverty, hunger, and disease. I was used to such a life, and I was used to such treatment. I was not afraid of poverty, hunger, and disease. I was used to such a life, and I was used to such treatment. I was not afraid of poverty, hunger, and disease. I was used to such a life, and I was used to such treatment. I was not afraid of poverty, hunger, and disease. I was used to such a life, and I was used to such treatment. I was not afraid of poverty, hunger, and disease. 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I call it a distinctly bourgeois doctrine, because I mean not the law of no man or a man to be upset by a
definite form of action, but the belief that any form of social
constraint of others or any violent action is in itself wron
and that violence, such as war, is not merely that violence
use violence to end violence would be logically self-contradictory.

The pacifism in this sense is the Comunard belief that
the peace is a necessary price by a revolutionary change in the
social system, and that ruling classes resist because
fused, for example, with Eastern pacifism, any more than
modern European warfare should be confused with feudal war-
fare. It is not merely that the social manifestations of it are
different—this would necessarily arise from the different social
forms and productive growth in lack of social organization, in
to the best of his ability and desire, and this is expressed in the
end of society and the breakdown of economic production.

He lived by merchandising and banking, by
capital and productive power as compared with his
position in the feudal system. The circumstances of the struggle
and its outcome gave salo to the bourgeois dream—freedom as
the absolute elimination of social relations.

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

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

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

THE THING IS MAN

This argument was of course fallacious, for there can be
no universal relations of this kind as the labor of society, since
there can only be relations between men digested as relations be-
tween things. The bourgeois defense of private property only
appeals if you go into the woods and pick up a stick to walk
with, or fashion an ornamental object for my adornment; it
applies to the possession of socially inessential things or things
for immediate consumption. As soon as bourgeois possession
extends to the capital of the community, consisting of the pro-
ducts of the community set aside to provide goods in the
future (in early bourgeois civilization, grain, clothes, and,
raw materials to supply the laborers of tomorrow; in addi-
tion many means of production for the same purpose today), this
relation to a thing becomes a relation among men, for it is
now the labor of the community which the bourgeois controls.

This social relation is only made possible by—"it depends on—
the bourgeoisie ownership of capital. Thus, just as in slave-
dom and productive growth in lack of social organization, in
each man's administering his own affairs for his own benefit
and productive growth in lack of social organization, in

BOURGEOIS ETHICS

To understand how bourgeois pacifism arises, we must understand how bourgeois violence arises. It arises, just as does
feudal or despotic violence, from the characteristic economy of the
system. As was first explained by Marx, the characteristic of bourgeois economy is that the bourgeois, held down and
denied productive growth in lack of social organization, in
to the best of his ability and desire, and this is expressed in the
end of society and the breakdown of economic production.

The relation between man is conscious and clear, in bourgeois culture:
he is a social being, and its outcome gave salo to the bourgeois dream—freedom as
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relation to a thing becomes a relation among men, for it is
now the labor of the community which the bourgeois controls.

This social relation is only made possible by—"it depends on—
the bourgeoisie ownership of capital. Thus, just as in slave-
dom and productive growth in lack of social organization, in

BOURGEOIS ETHICS

To understand how bourgeois pacifism arises, we must understand how bourgeois violence arises. It arises, just as does
feudal or despotic violence, from the characteristic economy of the
system. As was first explained by Marx, the characteristic of bourgeois economy is that the bourgeois, held down and
denied productive growth in lack of social organization, in
to the best of his ability and desire, and this is expressed in the
end of society and the breakdown of economic production.

The relation between man is conscious and clear, in bourgeois culture:
he is a social being, and its outcome gave salo to the bourgeois dream—freedom as
the absolute elimination of social relations.

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

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

Moreover, he had a cogent argument which, when he
became more self-conscious, he could use. A social restraint is
a social relation, that is, a relation between men. The relation
between money and slave is a social relation and therefore a
restraint on the liberty of one man by the other. In the same
way the relation between bird and sief is a relation between
men and a restraint on human liberty; but the relation between
a man and his property is a relation between man and thing, and
is therefore no restraint on the liberty of other men.
very ancient an increase in the social restraints he hates. He builds up the big bourgeois in trying to support the little, although the little is not the big bourgeois. He increases unfaithfulness by trying to secure fairness. Free trade gives birth to tariffs, imperialism, and monopoly, because it hastens the development of bourgeois economy, and these things are the necessary end of bourgeois development. He calls into being the things he hates because, as long as he is in the grip of bourgeois illusion that freedom causes in absence of social planning, he must put himself, by loosening social ties, more powerfully in the grip of coercive social forces. This "revolutionary" liberal, the heir of coercion and violence, this lover of free competition, this friend of liberty and human rights, is, therefore, the very man damned by history not merely to be powerless to stop these things, but to be forced by his own efforts to produce coercion and violence and unfair competition and slavery. He does not merely refrain from opposing bourgeois violence, he generates it, by helping on the development of the big bourgeoisie in the process.

Irregularly as he is a genuine pacifist and not merely a completely modified man basing itself the parties of revolu-
tion and non-cooperation, his thesis is this: "I hate violence and war and social oppression, and all these things are due to social relations. I want therefore abstain from social relations. Disaffection and revolution are hateful to me."
Black in Army

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

The incidents have been coming in handy in both those ways--don't let the black and white troops get together on much other than killing gooks--but it's also being dealt with here and there by some of its victims. On some bases black organizations are being formed to fight the battle, and in some places, black and white GIs are recognizing the brats' tactics of divide-and-conquer and are fighting against it.

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

According to the New York Post, black men in Vietnam have begun to register some emnphatic protest against the racial blocading of blacks and whites at Millington Naval Air Station near Memphis. None of the whites involved have been charged although they had reportedly spent the day planning for the fight. A fifth black man who had been charged died on Oct. 21, and charges against five others have been dropped.

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

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

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

Other incidents include the assignment of blacks to jobs of lower responsibility than whites of equal rank, thecondoned failure of whites to follow the orders of black NCO's; intimidation of blacks who gather 'to speak to their minds'; and a general lack of will or ability by the Service's club to plan a charity campaign for some starving children in Georgia, they were investigated by CID-intelligence, and a series of

...continued...

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In Jail

NEW HAVEN!

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

Not even has been done to expose the lies of the pigs and the ugly lies they use to support the pigs until our sisters and brothers are free. To organize against the injustices they face so that all of us march toward freedom. Far too little has been done. One of the more successful demonstrations so far against the systematic attempt to destroy the Panthers was the demonstration in New Haven in November. A coalition of women's liberation groups and the Black Panther Party brought more than 500 people to New Haven on November 22 to support the five women among the fourteen Panthers currently in jail in Connecticut's Niantic State Prison.

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

The pigs have now attempted to implicate the Chair­man of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, recently chained and gagged and enslaved in a lynching court, now in solitary confinement in a shit and piss filled cell, in the New Haven frame. People say that the movement to Free Huey helped save him from the electric chair ... the movement to Free Huey, Bobby, David, the Panther 21, the 14 in New Haven, and all the other political prisoners must do more than that—it must bring the struggle to a higher point, must in fact free the people who are the vanguard of our struggle. 28 Panthers have been murdered, The strength, courage, and revolutionary determination and sacrifice of Bobby Hutton and Fred Hampton give the Panther brothers and sisters now up against the wall a revolutionary spirit to matter what the opposition and danger they face, that is the spirit we must build in our efforts to free all political prisoners.

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

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

A GI, Pvt E-2 Richard Chase came to Ft. Hood in January 1969. At that time he stated that he was a Conscientious Objector and would not participate in riot control training, and he was granted unofficial Conscientious Objector status by his Commanding Officer and First Sargeant. In June 1969 he became active in the anti-war, GI rights movement and wrote for the Fatigue Press, the E.M. paper here at Fort Hood.

Due to the Army's knowledge of his increased activity in the GI movement, Richard Chase was given a direct order on September 11, 1969 to participate in riot control training as a dissident. He refused the order and is now being held in pre-trial confinement at the Ft. Hood Stockade. He refused the order because he feels that the people the riot troops are used against have good reasons for protest and that it is the responsibility of the pig to put it down.

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

The conditions under which Peggy was forced to give birth are consistent with the way the sisters have been treated since their arrest. They are isolated from other prisoners, kept awake all night by constant noise and bright lights, denied choice of doctors and prohibited from getting exercise, fresh air or adequate food. None of this is conducive to a healthy pregnancy. Panther Rose Smith weighed 132 pounds when she was jailed; now, after seven months of pregnancy, she weighs only 135.

Peggy Carter's baby is now with her family but the two otherpregnant sisters don't know who will care for their children. Unless they can provide homes for their babies will be taken away from them and put in foster homes. If a court insists on a paternity case, she is in jail with four other sisters, kept awake all night by a microphone at one side.

A senatorial investigation of the Ft. Hood Stockade should occur immediately.

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

Chase like all other GIs cannot receive a fair trial in the Kangaroo General Court Martial. If he is convicted, he should demand the following:

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

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AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!

NAME
ADDRESS, CITY, STATE

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

This sentence is part of a political position paper adopted by acclamation at the first General Assembly of the Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV) in September, 1969. Another position paper calling for the abolition of the Peace Corps as an instrument of US imperialism was passed at the same gathering. This, in an organization composed primarily of returned Peace Corps volunteers, represents a major break with a liberal past. An examination of the process of radicalization is important to the development of the movement's and our attempts to radicalize others. Too often we forget our own liberal origins, rejecting people who do not agree with or even understand our position. We expect immediate new-comers to accept our conclusions without bothering to answer the arguments we ourselves raised not too long ago. Understanding the evolution of the CRV might provide insights into the process of radicalization in general.

LIBERAL BEGINNINGS

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

Membership grew rapidly as signatures in support of the position paper were solicited, before it was finally published in RAMPARTS (Sept., 1967) within two years the group in NYC had developed into a national organization with ten chapters and a dues-paying membership of approximately a thousand. From the very beginning the overwhelming majority of the members were drawn from among returned Peace Corps Volunteers, with perhaps 25 percent from other organizations like American Friends Service Committees, Crossroads Africa, International Voluntary Service, and a limited number from VISTA. According to the bylaws, at least 45 percent of a chapter's membership must be returned volunteers from service in Third World countries.

In the original statement of purpose, the CRV spoke out in favor of the right of self-determination for all nations, asserting that revolution is frequently legitimate and necessary, and rejected the traditional argument of anti-communism. It favored multi-national aid through agencies like the United Nations. The US must accept that unilateral military intervention in the affairs of their nations is not in their best interests nor in ours. The same respect for their autonomy and self-determination should be shown as that demanded by the US when it was an emerging nation.

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

LEARNING THRU STRUGGLE

Looking back, there seem to have been two outstanding factors working to radicalize the CRV. Firstly, and perhaps most important of all, the imperial nature of the US because increasingly apparent—especially in Vietnam, but in Thailand, Laos, North Korea, Greece, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, and Cuba, etc. The events throughout the Third World, and the struggle here at home of third world people and of white middle class students, became part of our history and our education. Secondly, our attempts to change US foreign policy and domestic policy as well, and the resulting frustration of our efforts to change anything, changed us. We learned more about Guatemala and Thailand and the difficulty of educating the public when we researched and prepared our kits on these countries. We first wrote letters to our 'Representatives', and even, on several occasions visited them in an effort to influence their votes (re the U.S. boycott of Rhodesia for example).

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

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

Court proceedings also played an important role in the radicalizing of those members (and their supporters) who chose to refuse to submit themselves to induction. One of the first volunteers to be drafted from the field was Fred Landfer who was unsuccessful in San Francisco on the day of the first Moratorium, Oct. 15, 1969, to two years in prison. Another important case is that of Bruce Murray who was sentenced in Vietnam, he was working for the PC for denying him his constitutional right of free speech.

CUBA

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

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

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

ACTION

The CRV lost little time in putting its new position into practice. As a finale to the assembly, we sponsored a demonstration at the Honeywell plant in Minneapolis, (Honeywell manufactured anti-personnel fragmentation bombs.) A group then went to Washington, D.C., where Richard Nixon was playing host to PC Directors from around the world. As the directors entered and left the White House they were there to pray with Nixon—they were confronted by guerrilla theatre depicting the hypocrisy of the Peace Corps. Among these same lines, CRV members are taking advantage of every opportunity to challenge PC recruiters and training programs on college campuses.
The CRV is continuing its educational work. Returned volunteers have had direct experience in the Third World, which helps our educational work.

The New York chapter has published an excellent analysis of the Mozambique liberation struggle and is raising money for FRELIMO, the guerrilla forces. The CRV co-sponsored a well-attended conference in January 1970. The conference focused on the analysis of the Mozambique liberation struggle and its implications for the liberation movements in other parts of Africa and the world.

The CRV, through its volunteer experience, is far from homogeneous. New members, recently returned from abroad, are bringing new ideas and new ways of thinking to the group. As they work on projects, and participate in general discussions, they are confronted with new situations and problems, including the issue of how to participate in general discussions about the liberation movements in other parts of Africa and the world.

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

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

JANUARY 1970

THE MOVEMENT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

almost any white man how he feels about standing up for them. You get a feeling of how he should be associated with those people — his standards of something.

In the committee the mediator should do something about that. Talk to the people, show the workers, get them straight.

JIM: Power to the People.

MOVEMENT: Jack, you said something like 'mass consciousness'.

JACK: Well, that's what we're doing, unions and workers are running the country.

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

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

JACK: I think all the people should have a right to it.

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

ON WOMEN

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

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

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

VERA: We have just begun to fight.

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

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

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

MOVEMENT: You need someone to look after the baby?

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

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

WEAKER PART OF THE FAMILY

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

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

SUE: A lot of the men say they want their wives out there so that they can tell the workers, 'Hey, this is a group of people, but when they are alone they just forget it. They don't want them out there, Mine's done it.

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

VERA: This is one wife that is going to clobber back if she gets a chance. I could see that already. This is a fairly important role in this strike.

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

VERA: The cop was beating her husband.

PHIL: They just cut loose. You're not going to be able to win, I could see that already. This is a fairly important role in this strike.

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

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

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

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

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

I enjoy being in the house. My husband knows I like it there and he doesn't even want me working. But he knows my services for anything to get me out of the house once I start talking. I usually just shut off the breakers, that's it.

VERA: I don't call this being oppressed, I like being in the house.

SUE: It doesn't bother me too much as long as I have someone to talk to besides the baby.
The standard oil of New Jersey

The company is the direct descendent of the original Standard Oil trust, founded in the 1870s by its founder, John D. Rockefeller. The trust lasted until 1911, when it was broken up by the courts. Rockefeller was a master of the oil market, and his company, Standard Oil, was the world's largest oil company for many years.

The company operates in many countries around the world, and its products are sold under the Esso brand.

The company is also involved in other industries, such as chemicals and pharmaceuticals.

The company has a long history of political influence and involvement in various industries.

The company has faced numerous lawsuits and regulatory inquiries over the years, but it has managed to weather these storms and continue its operations.

The company is currently worth $8.9 million.

The company's headquarters are located in New Jersey.

The company is a key player in the global oil industry, and its influence is felt around the world.

The company's legacy is complex and controversial, but it remains a major force in the world of business.

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The Movement

A primer on the history of the Vietnamese people

One afternoon a thousand years ago a Chinese administrator named Cao Bien was sitting by the River Lo in Vietnam. He had been sent by the Emperor of China to conquer the land and bring it under Chinese control.

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

An enormous shape towered above him over the river and the hills. "I am the spirit of this land," it announced. "You will never defeat me."
Coming out of the energy of a successful year of low-level agitating on a large university campus, a small number of one-time SL6 members in Seattle are beginning to do "junior college" organizing. We see this as a bridge in reaching out to working people, as a transition for us.

The school is the only technical-vocational training ground in the city; the ratio of technical to academic programs is approximately 66:25. Thus far, working around racism, a police training facility and the Morgue, we have had little effect. We have had almost no impact on the 5,500 women and men studying in technical or vocational programs, the majority of whom will hit into Seattle's main industries, aerospace and transportation. The large commercial production system at Boeing is now laying off some 900-1200 workers per month, and we are beginning to raise the contradiction to students in machine-shop and assembly courses.

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

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

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JANUARY 1970
THE MOVEMENT
PAGE 23
FOR CHAIRMAN FRED

WEIGHTIER THAN MOUNT TAI

You give us fools
Who practice genocide
Shall surely die
Us brothers and sisters
Shall surely survive
And dig it
We matter who you kill
The revolution stays alive.

Power to the People!

Whereso ever death
May come upon
It'll be welcome
So long as this

Power to the People!

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

Power to the People!

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

Power to the People!

Machine guns
And new cries
Of battle
And of victory.

Power to the People!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III

Man, that cat could talk
Could really lay it down
That's cause he'd been there
Talk about payin your dues
Had been down so long
Hatred left from the blues
To rapping melodies
That traveled on freedom.

Get into it he said:
"We sayin somethin like this
We sayin that theory's cool
But theory with no practice ain't shit.
You got to have both of them.

We have a theory about feedin kids free
What'd we do? Put it into practice
That's how people learns.
A lot of people don't know how serious it is
Maybe think the children we feed ain't hungry.
I don't know no five year olds
That can't act well, but I do know

That if they not hungry we sure got some actors
We got five year olds that could take
The mother fuckin academy award.

Last week they had a whole week
Dislocated to the hungry in Chicago
Talkin bout the starvation rate
That went up fifteen percent
Over here where everybody should be eatin'
Why? Because of capitalism!"

Stay into it he said:
"We sayin that just as fast
At the people are go
That's just as fast
As we can take it.

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

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

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

Men, that cat was 21 years old, could talk
Could organize, and fight, and try it down
That's cause from way down in the valley
Talk about payin your dues
Been down so long
He had cut through from the blues
To rapping melodies
That traveled on freedom.

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

IV

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

Who are they?
They are the mothers
Whose sons are scarred
Who've had to scrub
The Man's floors
And raise their children
Hoping for the sun
While being split open.
They know him
And he know them.

They are the men on the street
Who stand around the liquor store
And fill the street
With the laughter of oppression
And sometimes slacks their heads
And sing a down home song
Hoping for the sun
While being split open.
They know him
And he know them.

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

We shall survive
The revolution stays alive.

V

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

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

by Lincoln Bergman