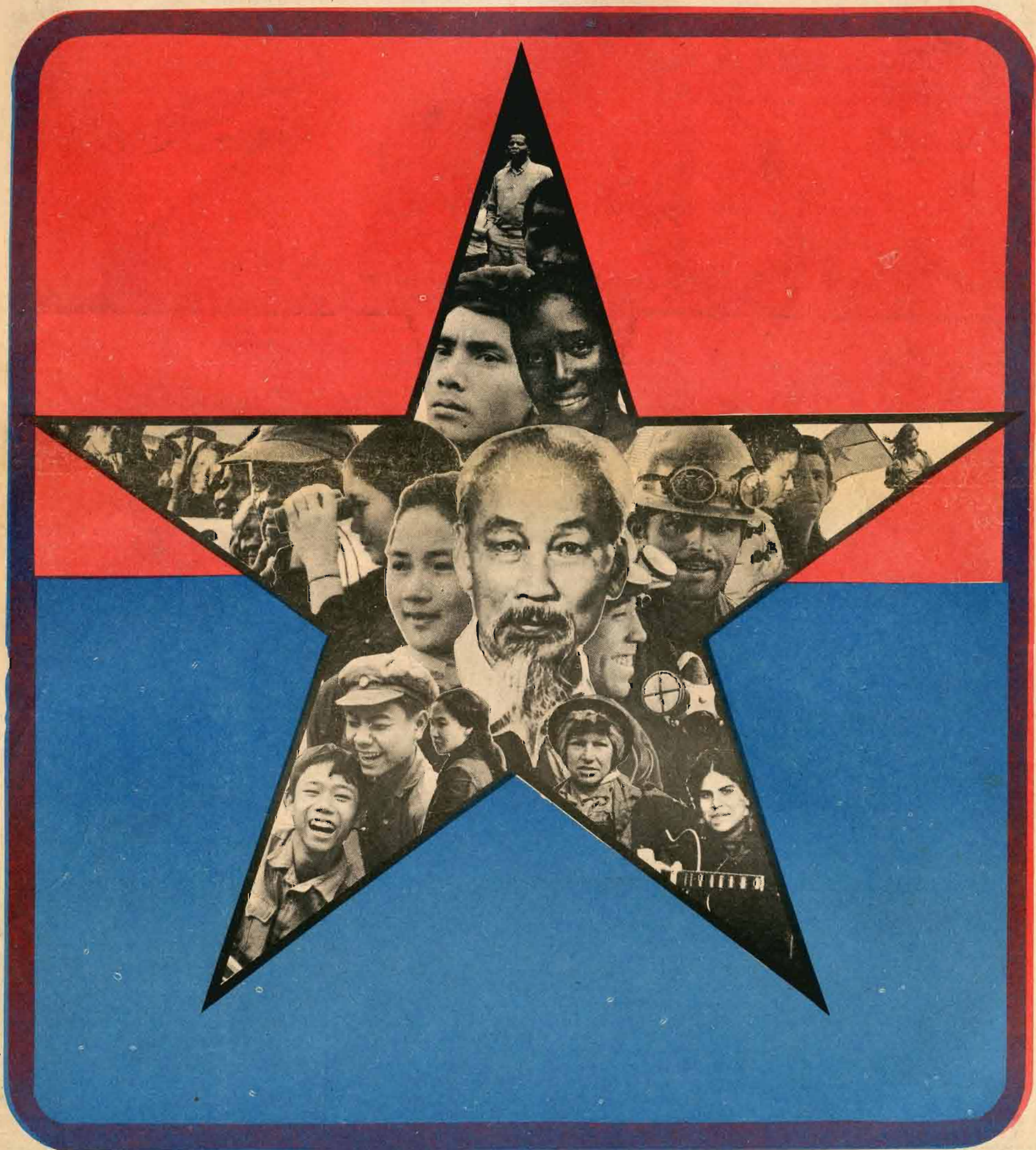


LIBERATED *Guardian*



Amílcar Cabral

THE VICTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE
IS A VICTORY FOR US ALL



collective comment

You're right! It has been a long time since you've seen a new *Liberated Guardian*. This time, however, the delay has been intentional—and we think with good cause. In the month which ordinarily would have been spent preparing the January issue, we have held collective discussions analyzing our experience of the past year, discussing our sense of the "times" and the general state of the movement, and formulating our plans for the future of the *Liberated Guardian*. We have solicited criticism and advice and have had a general exchange of ideas with many people in the New York area. We have arrived at some conclusions, generally centering around our desire to shift from a national movement newspaper to a locally-based New York paper which could reach a wider range and number of people. We would like to take this opportunity to explain ourselves to all of you, soliciting your criticism, advice and ideas.

POLITICAL CONTEXT FOR CHANGE

We have had a number of discussions about what has been going on in the liberation movement and the world in general and how this relates to our function as a newspaper.

When the *LG* started in April 1970, it was supported by numbers of people, often organized collectives, in cities around the country who self-consciously related to the paper. Concretely this meant that there was a continuous flow of information from around the country into the *LG*. In the past year this has not really been the case. It has in fact only been with considerable effort that we have been able to track down stories from other parts of the country, and then only when we have been aware of them to start with (there have, of course, been some exceptions—like the Hartford article in the last issue as well as constant letters from prisoners). In contrast with this, the flow of information we get from other countries and liberation struggles, especially Vietnam and Cuba, has made it possible for us to provide fairly high-level, consistent coverage about these places (there are, of course, many areas—like the Middle East—that we have been very weak in covering). This flow of information has helped us feel a real connection to events in even far away places. But communication here within the United States has become more difficult.

We think that there are important reasons for this changing situation. It seems to us that most of the people involved in the liberation struggle in this country have begun to see that revolution is a process taking generations of hard work, and that this process begins by dealing with people's day-to-day needs. Putting this into practice, it can be seen that most activity, education, and organizing is now happening on a local level—in communities, around institutions and work places.

Our vantage point as a national newspaper has enabled us to see these changes taking place all over the country. From this vantage point, and from our analysis of our own organization, we have also seen it become increasingly difficult for us to keep on top of and adequately report the specifics of these changes from all over the country—a function it seems to us a national newspaper needs to serve.

But even more importantly, all of us over the past year have felt a growing involvement with the communities we live in. We aren't isolated as students or "movement people" anymore; we are working people who share the realities of many more people's lives. We have, therefore, felt and understood more than in the past the need for developing ways of communicating about our own communities and of dealing with the institutions which affect the lives of everyone in them. We feel a real need to integrate our own changing realities into the paper.

We are gratified that people all over the country (and world) indicate that they learn important information about Third World and other liberation struggles from

our paper, and we have every intention of continuing and upgrading this coverage. We also appreciate the importance of communicating the true story of events like the Attica rebellion or the Baton Rouge murders to people in places where the true story will probably not otherwise be heard and to the best of our ability we will continue to do this. But we also want our paper to be directly useful to people's lives—to their political work, to their jobs, to their homes and cultural lives. We feel that at this time the best, most exciting way we can do this is as a New York paper.

WHY A NEW YORK NEWSPAPER

Some of the basis for our decision to become a New York paper comes out of the experience we have had in doing specific articles for the *LG* over the past year. These include articles on Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx, The Committee to Replan the Upper West Side, the welfare and daycare struggles taking place in New York, the school controversy on the Lower East Side. These articles had an effect on people that was really exciting—people said that they were able to use them in ways that they did not generally feel they could use most *LG* articles. They were also exciting for us to work on, since they either brought us into much closer contact with people doing important work in the city, or allowed us to do some "investigative reporting." The experience from these articles combined with our general discussions began to create some direction for us.

We want to build deep and continuing relations with people involved in liberation struggles. We will be able to do that on a local level in ways that are now simply impossible on a national level. This in turn makes investigative reporting much more possible—as well as necessary—since detailed, continuing coverage of local struggles will be crucial to the success of a New York paper.

We also think there is a real need for a radical newspaper which can present analysis and alternatives to people in New York. There are papers now which do this on a community level in the city, as well as a number of papers specifically aimed at Third World people. But New York has no radical paper that reaches a wide range of people all over the city. We think this is an ambitious and difficult task, but one that we can attempt, based on our experience and the criticism of our past practice.

HISTORY AND ANALYSIS OF THE LIBERATED GUARDIAN

The *LG* was originally started in the spring of 1970 by a group of Guardian workers who went on strike because of that paper's undemocratic organization and sexism as well as political differences, and started a new collectively-run paper. When the *LG* began, people had to learn from scratch how to put out a newspaper. But we did learn, and the *LG* became a national newspaper for New Left activists, reporting news of struggles and information for survival and organizing.

By the spring of 1971, however, there weren't many people working on the paper, and the movement it had come out of was very different. The paper didn't come out that summer while *LG* people traveled around the country, trying to get a sense of what the movement was doing and how the paper could change to meet those new needs.

At the end of the summer George Jackson was murdered, the Attica Rebellion happened, and special issues of the *LG* were published around those things. Most of us who now work on the paper came in to work on those special issues. But the unresolved questions of the spring in terms of people to work on the paper, money to put it out and its political direction were still there. We had a series of meetings and suspended production after the October issue.

We began in these meetings to try to raise our understanding of the nature of class, race and sex in our society and how this had been reflected in the movement as a whole as well as in the *LG*. However, it soon became clear that a group of people at these meetings already had a set notion which they claimed would make the paper more appealing to the "working class." They held to this position dogmatically and without compromise. Their way of relating to meetings was macho and manipulative and after a month of meetings it became clear that most of us could no longer work with them. In December 1971 there was a split and we began publishing again later that month.

The past year has been a year of real growth for us. Again the skills had to be learned from scratch; again a collective had to be built. We learned and grew as we went and the paper reflected our development. There have also been a couple of crucial points in the last year

when we have had to stop, look at what we were doing and reevaluate things. One such time was last April, when we went on a weekend retreat and worked through many of the things which were keeping us from really operating collectively. Again this December, we met over a weekend to discuss the future of the paper, and we decided to suspend production while we moved towards becoming a New York paper.

FUTURE PLANS

In the month we didn't publish a paper, one of the things we did was a detailed breakdown of the functioning parts of the newspaper—that is, the operation of the office, finances, production, distribution, planning and copy. In each of these we found much to criticize in terms of our efficiency and effectiveness. Thus, our future plans center around changes we can make in these work processes, as well as the new directions becoming a New York paper will take us in.

Right now, many of our plans are either in the "brainstorming" stage or still have not been made specific, but to give you an idea of the direction we're moving in we would like to just tell you about some of them. We hope to reorient our coverage toward the day-to-day survival needs of people in New York City. In New York, the nerve center of the American economic empire, business and commerce come first, and people come last. More poor and working people live here than in any other city in the country. Most of the schools are little more than prisons, the hospitals are butcher shops, the food is expensive and unhealthy. Poverty, welfare, and the drug trade have destroyed whole communities, and people are afraid to leave their homes after dark. Meanwhile, although we rarely hear about it in the available media, people are organizing themselves to regain control over their schools, their hospitals, their daycare centers, their jobs, their lives. It will be our job to report on these struggles, to help New Yorkers share what they have learned, to investigate for ourselves the institutions that destroy people's lives, and to take an active role in building alternatives.

In addition, we will continue our coverage of important national and international news. We know that no community exists in a vacuum, and our struggles here are closely tied with those of other people in this country and around the world.

We hope to institute regular features, such as lists of organizations performing services for people at little or no cost, important telephone numbers, advice on dealing with bureaucracies and information on things people can do for themselves instead of getting ripped off by professionals.

We hope to expand our staff and enable many new people to take part in putting out the paper. A number of new people have joined us for this issue and we hope our new direction and work procedures will attract a lot more people to relate to the paper in different ways.

We need a sound financial base, so that the paper can come out regularly, and hopefully staff members can work full-time and get paid. We have to investigate sources of funds, such as advertising and subscriptions, and only use contributions as a last resort.

And we plan to change our name. We have come a long way since the original split with the Guardian, and our new name will reflect our new direction.

All of this will be hard to do. It won't happen overnight. Many people will spend many hours struggling together to make it happen. We need as much help as we can get—ideas, criticisms, hard work, money. We look forward to struggling with you and seeing you again soon.

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The above box is printed solely to comply with the laws of New York State, so we can continue coming out. The *L.G.* collective is aware that all this bullshit bears no resemblance to the reality of how we operate.

THE LIBERATED GUARDIAN
WORKERS COLLECTIVE

Joel
Fred
Paul
Tink
Bruce
Joe
X.

WHAT COULD BE MORE NATURAL?

Le Duc Tho Press Conference

Dear friends, the struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence and liberty has lasted nearly 30 years. In particular, the resistance in the last 13 years with its many trials was the most difficult in the history of our people's struggle against foreign invasion over several centuries.

It is also the most murderous war in the history of the movement of national liberation of the oppressed peoples throughout the world.

Finally, this war has deeply stirred the conscience of mankind.

The negotiations between our Government and the Government of the United States of America for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese problem have lasted nearly five years and have gone through many particularly difficult and tense moments.

But we have overcome all obstacles and we have at last reached the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam.

This agreement will be officially signed in Paris in a few days.

The just cause triumphs over the evil cause. The will to live in freedom triumphs over cruelty.

The conclusion of such an agreement represents a very big victory for the Vietnamese people. It is the crowning of a valiant struggle waged in unity by the army and the people of Vietnam on all fronts, at the price of countless sacrifices and privations.

It is a very big victory for the fighting solidarity of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina who have always fought side by side against the common enemy for independence and liberty.

It is a very great victory for the Socialist

countries, the oppressed peoples and all the peace-loving peoples and justice-loving peoples throughout the world, including the American people, who have demonstrated their solidarity and given devoted assistance to the just struggle of our people.

The return of peace in Vietnam will be greeted with immense joy by our people. At the same time, it will answer the hope which has so long been harbored by the American people, and the peace-loving peoples in the world.

With the return of peace, the struggle of the Vietnamese people enters a new period. Our people, lifting high the banner of peace and of national concord, is decided to strictly apply the clauses of the agreement maintaining peace, independence and democracy and heading toward the peaceful reunification of its country.

It will also have to rebuild its war-devastated country and consolidate and develop its friendly relations with all the peoples of the world, including the American people.

Heavy tasks still await us in this new period. But the Vietnamese in the North as in the South, at home as abroad, rich in their traditions of unity and perseverance in struggle, following a just policy, strengthened by the close solidarity of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and benefiting from strong aid from the Socialist countries and all the peace-loving countries of the world, will be able to smooth out all difficulties and victoriously accomplish their tasks.

At a time when peace is dawning on our country, in the name of the Government and people of Vietnam we wish to address our warm thanks to the Socialist countries, to the governments of many countries and to the peoples of the entire world for the sympathy they have

shown toward the just struggle of the Vietnamese people and for the active help given in all fields.

In the past years, how many fighters for peace in many countries have known repression and prison, and certainly even sacrificed their lives in the fight they carried out to support the resistance of the Vietnamese people? These noble internationalist feelings and these sublime sacrifices occupy forever a place in our hearts.

The signature of the "Agreement for the Cessation of War and the Re-establishment of Peace in Vietnam" is only a first victory, because the task of strictly applying the agreement is important.

Anxious to maintain peace, independence and democracy and heading toward reunification of the country, the Vietnamese people will act in a unified manner to insure the correct and serious application of the clauses of the agreement which will be signed in a few days, and at the same time it will show vigilance towards reactionaries who try to sabotage the agreement.

But we must say that the situation in our country and in the world is developing in an extremely favorable way for the cause of the Vietnamese people.

We have the conviction that the dark designs of the reactionary forces in the country and abroad to obstruct the application of the agreement, or to sabotage it, can only fail.

The Vietnamese people has, therefore, every reason to believe in the victorious accomplishment of its tasks in the new period. No reactionary force will be able to slow down the march forward of the Vietnamese people.

AFTER SORROW COMES JOY.

-ho chi minh

INTERVIEW WITH BOBBY SEALE

Two, Three Many Oakland

The following interview was done by two LG collective members in New York in November. We are printing this because we feel it addresses some major questions confronting the movement and provides one organization's answers.

LG: Why don't you start by talking about the Party's new direction and where you expect it to take you?

Bobby: Well, it's not only the Party's new direction. One of the things we're gonna have to deal with is contributing to some new directions for the overall movement in this country. Of course, the Party is based in the Black community and that's where we should be based. But we understand that everything is interconnected. We want to build an overall base of all the oppressed people.

People are talking now, and especially the movement's talking now, that we have four more years of Nixon. What the Party wants to make sure of is that the movement doesn't make the same mistakes it did in the past. So we should have some qualitative leap somewhere. The movement should develop bases of operations to really organize the people.

We have to start moving to take over many, many bases of operations where dedicated liberators will be elected to office. Now, some people are gonna disagree with this, but if they take time to read and check into the insight of what I'm saying, they'll realize that the power structures and complex system here is very different than the power structures and complex systems in other revolutionary struggles like China, Cuba and Africa.

LG: What do you mean by "laying bases of operations"?

Bobby: I think that the real problem is that we haven't taken time to really organize. We have to educate the people. We don't get anything by just voting. In the end, we really get something by organizing and unifying the people in direct opposition to the system on a massive scale. We are going to have to have these bases of operations. The Black Panther Party is going to make an example of the city of Oakland.

What I'm talking about is absolute total control of a city government, and this is what we have the potential to do in Oakland. The majority of the population, between 50% and 55%, is Black. Another 12% is Chicano. We have implemented the Survival Programs in Oakland:

Free Food, People's Free Medical Clinics, the Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation, the Free Shoe program, the Free Clothing program, the Legal Defense program, the Prisoners Free Commissary Program, the Free Bussing Program for relatives of people in jail and more.

We were able to give away 10,000 bags of groceries March 29th and 10,000 bags of groceries on June 24th. In San Francisco, Contra Costa, Alameda and San Mateo counties we've been able to register over 27,000 people to vote; we registered 18,000 of these 27,000 voters in Oakland. 99% of the 18,000 people from Oakland are Black people from the poor Black community.

LG: Do you really expect to win the election?

Bobby: Our objective is to take over the city government. We can do it. We've almost matched the number of registered voters in the reactionary white community with the number we have in the Black community.

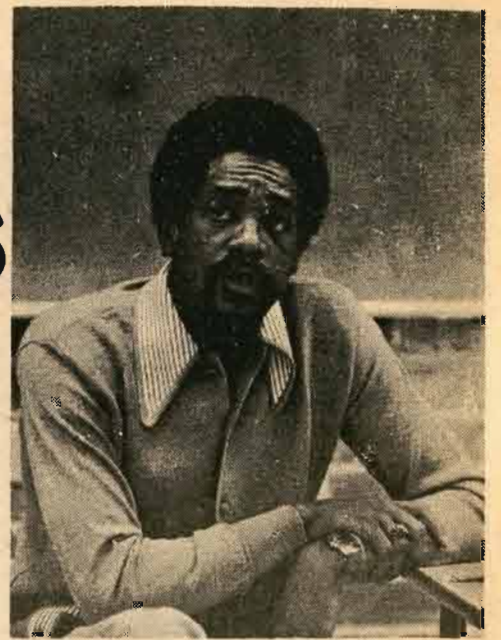
There are four seats there being contested: the office of the mayor and three city council seats. Elaine Brown is going to run for city council with me. We're gonna choose a dedicated liberator—a Chicano person—to be on the slate with us, and one other person from another organization. We need a good person who will stick with us right down the line—some cat with a good, common, liberated revolutionary sense; someone who understands that we have to build a broad liberation framework.

LG: Would that possibly be a white person?

Bobby: Probably not this time. In 1975 we might run one or two radicals along with us because there are going to be elections for the other five seats on the council. At this time, we want to sew up the Black community tight. Since the November 7 elections are over, we can go back to registering. We think we can register 30 to 40,000 more people in the Black community. We won't even knock on the doors in the reactionary community because there is a very clear line between the black and white communities. We're going to move first to lay a base of operation for the movement as a whole—to set an example.

LG: What do you reply to people who keep saying "Bobby Seale says to work within the system"?

Bobby: What everyone keeps forgetting is that we're



credit/The Black Panther

talking about working within the system to transform it, that is, to kick the corruption out of the system. If I take over the racist mayor's seat in Oakland, California, we have kicked the racist mayor out, right? This is very important. Therefore you transform the situation. That doesn't mean that one mayor can run the whole city. That doesn't mean that four city council people are going to run the whole city. The types of organizing and base operation I would do between April, 1973 and April, 1975 is the mobilization of 5, 10 or 20,000 people to come right down to the city council for a discussion of any issue. Even during this period when we have only 4 seats we know we can always swing another one of those five cats who are half reactionaries. One cat is supposed to be a half-assed liberal.

Once we take the whole thing over, we can fire the city manager and hire a city manager who is a righteous liberator. We can transform the police department and all the other 3,000 jobs and operations in there. We can fire all those racists in there and put some righteous dedicated liberators in there running those institutions and the agencies under the city government and making those institutions serve the basic desires and needs of the people.

I'm saying that the revolutionaries are going to have to set an example to win more of those people to our side so we can show them what we can do. One, we will channel money from the budget back into the community. At the same time, we organize the community around a concrete program, beginning to solve some of these problems on the local level, so the people on a massive scale, the people who voted for Nixon, can have more confidence in the revolutionaries in the movement, so they will unify around it in opposition to the very imperialistic system that now exists.

LG: Already in Oakland members of the Black Panther Party have gotten elected to the OEO governing board. That board is now under attack by the government. They are attempting to strip the board of its power and money. How will you stop that from happening to you as Mayor of Oakland?

Bobby: They will be able to take away money from the Model Cities board. They will be able to take away money from the Community Action Agency board. They will be able to stop and hold up revenue sharing money, which is going to amount to something in the area of 20 million dollars. All right? OK! So they take it away! That's the very contradiction we want to show. We want to show that the money is there and the people aren't getting the money anyway—you see what I'm talking about?

We have some programs we're gonna fund anyway, without federal money if we can get around it. I'm saying this: in the city of Oakland and the port of Oakland there are numerous cases where large sums of money are directed from these budgets along with the poverty agencies money and directly into business operations for people who rip off large sums of funds.

But you can actually change things to show people how—I can show you right now how shops in the schools where they try to teach the youth are a waste of money. What in fact you should have is a community youth work shop to employ the youth from the ages of 14-21 in the 10-13 basic building construction trades that deal primarily with the living conditions of the people living under wretched conditions. You would be giving the youth a job above the minimum wage. In the summer it would be 30 hours a week, in the winter 15 hours, part time while he goes to school. See where I'm coming from. With a program like this, with \$5 million on a year round basis you could hire 3 to 4,000 people.

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credit/The Black Panther

ATTICA

— the murderers indict the victims —

BROTHERS FRAMED

by a friend of the collective/LNS

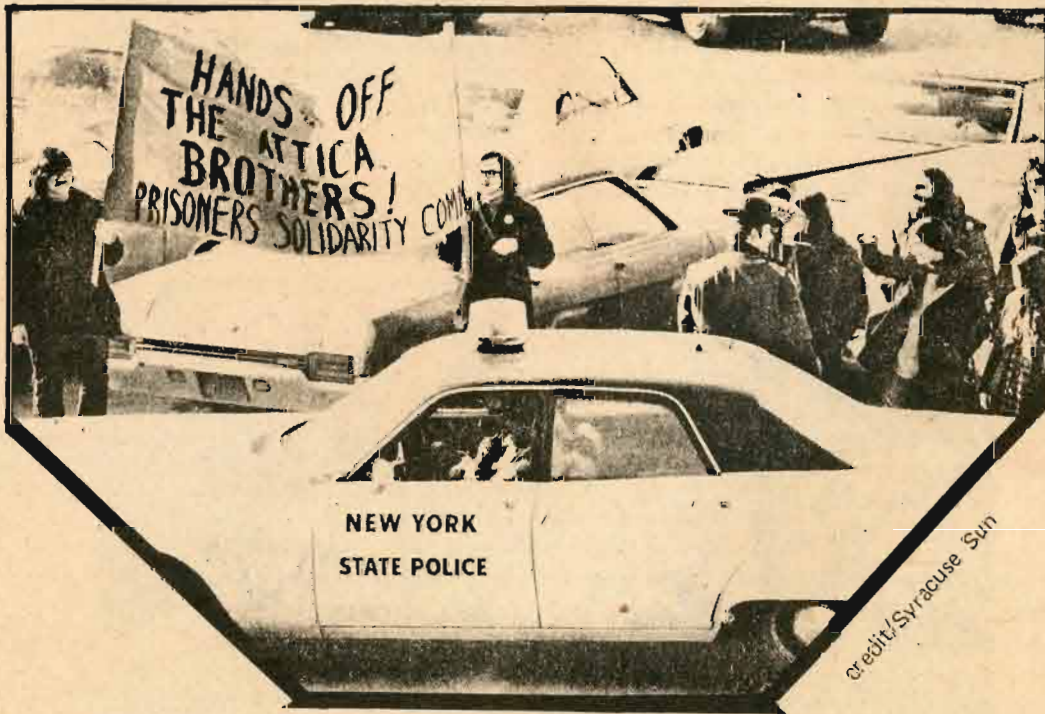
While people are involved in the Christmas and New Years bullshit, the government decides to bomb the brothers and sisters in Vietnam back to the stone age and throw us back into the joint.

—Joe Little, one of the Attica indictees

After over a year of deliberations, the Wyoming County, New York grand jury handed down 37 sealed indictments against 60 inmates who were in Attica during the September 9-13, 1971 rebellion.

There were no state officials, prison guards, state police, sheriff's deputies or National Guardsmen indicted, although 39 of the 43 (32 prisoners and 11 guards) who died at Attica were killed in the assault which a number of inmates here compared to "shooting fish in a barrel."

The way in which these indictments were handed down typified the harassment that the brothers in the Attica rebellion have been subjected to since September 1971. Forty of the indictees were still in prison and had been transferred to other New York State prisons, such as Comstock, Clinton and Greenhaven—far



ever, after a few days, as demonstrators from YAWF in Buffalo and FIGHT in Rochester appeared outside and in the courtroom, and as the prisoners more fully understood what was happening, they grew stronger and more assertive in the courtroom. Two refused to walk into the courtroom and had to be carried inside. Many asked the judge why the real criminals, such as Rockefeller and Corrections Commissioner Oswald, were not being indicted. One defendant, Frank Smith, grabbed his indictment and ripped it up. Chris Reed, who had his foot shot off during the assault on the prison, asked Judge Carmen Ball, "Where's the correction officer who shot off my leg—is he in the courtroom?" Many others brought up the fact that they were still suffering from injuries sustained in the state police assault and yet they were being blamed for what occurred.

THE NATURE OF THE CHARGES

The charges against the men range from the murder of a prison guard (which is one of the few crimes in New York State that carries a mandatory death penalty), murder of an inmate, first-degree kidnapping (both carry up to life), attempted murder, assault, promoting prison contraband (items such as sticks and prison keys), unlawful imprisonment, coercion, and even two sodomy charges.

Probably the most general indictment was a first-degree kidnapping indictment in which 19 people were charged with 34 counts (they can get up to life on each count). Some of the counts, for example, charged each of the 19 with kidnapping a specific hostage for the five days, September 9-13. Some of the indictees do not even know some of the people they are indicted with.

What is most significant is that no conspiracy indictments were included and that inmates are being charged with very specific crimes. The state has evidently learned from the Panther 21, the New Haven Panthers, Angela Davis, Harrisburg and other political cases that it is hard to win conspiracy indictments. It is clear that by issuing very specific indictments the state is trying to make sure that the courtroom won't be used as a forum for political ideas like the other big conspiracy trials have been.

And such indictments serve a further purpose. By indicting inmates for what the public sees as ordinary criminal acts such as murder and kidnapping, the state is hoping to portray those involved in the

Attica rebellion as common criminals. As one lawyer said, "Making the indictments for very specific acts was a tactical decision to de-politicize the indictments. With the indictments they're trying to portray the prisoners as criminals—'Look who you're talking about, murders, kidnapers, rapists.'" This racist strategy will certainly be tailored to what the state hopes will be an all-white jury in whatever upstate city the trials are eventually held.

The very same grand jury that handed down these indictments is still sitting. Twelve of the 23 members of this all-white grand jury have friends who worked or work in Attica. The grand jury might possibly come up with a few bullshit charges against some prison guards—just to make things look fair. But it would be wrong to rule out the possibility of even more charges against inmates. It is known that the state is pressing subpoenas against the two newsmen who supposedly have information about two inmate murders. And the state's ability to get inmates to testify against other inmates, through promises of parole and other such gifts, is great. All this means that those involved in Attica must wait still longer to see if they too are to be blamed for Rocky's massacre.

FROM ATTICA TO AUBURN AND ERIE COUNTY

Meanwhile, those indicted who are still doing time on their original charges have been placed in Auburn's segregation unit. This means total segregation from the general population, 23 hour lock-up, a lack of showers and poor sanitary conditions. The indictees were placed in segregation without any hearings. The state claims they are being held in protective custody and thus no hearings are necessary. This is the same tactic that the state followed after re-taking Attica in September 1971, when 80 alleged leaders were placed in HBZ (segregation) in Attica. In effect these 40 men are now being punished by the prison administration for the crime of being indicted.

It is clear that the state hopes to keep the brothers separate from the general prison population as long as possible. They even have to meet with their lawyers in a separate visiting room. Here, though, they are often indicted on the same count, one lawyer is allowed to speak with only one inmate at a time. However, all lawyers who have been up to Auburn report a real spirit of unity in the segregation unit, reminiscent of the yard September 9-13. The inmates are even asking the guards to introduce them to those indicted on the same count as them, who they never heard of.

The situation for those indictees who had previously been released from prison is similar. They are being held in the Erie County Jail in Buffalo. This jail, notorious for its bad conditions, was the scene of a rebellion and strike in November, during which inmates released 13 demands. The indictees who are now imprisoned here are kept in total isolation from each other, and denied any reading material. Only two have been able to raise bail.

DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE REBELLION

The indictments need to be placed in the context of developments in Attica and other New York prisons since 1971. The struggle inside Attica has continued since September of that year.

In July 1972, 900 inmates refused to leave their cells over a 3-day period. The strike was keyed by the administration's

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State Attack #2

from Warsaw, New York, where the indictments were read. These inmates were not told directly that they had been indicted. Instead, they were informed that they were being transferred to the Auburn prison, and not until they arrived at the Wyoming County courthouse were they aware what was happening to them. Similar devious means were employed to take into custody those indictees who were already on the street. Most of these brothers received telephone calls or telegrams asking them to report to their parole offices, and when they arrived there, 10-15 detectives took them into custody.

The state took three weeks to fully reveal the indictments. Each day a few indictees were brought in shackles to the courtroom to hear the charges against them. And when they got there, all the charges against them were not revealed—only charges from one indictment. A number of prisoners were brought back to court for a second or third day. Only one or two lawyers—all from the Attica Defense Committee—were in the courtroom on the inmates' behalf. The first few days the defendants appeared bewildered upon hearing the charges. How-

WE CHARGE GENOCIDE

Repression has also been the rule in other New York State prisons. In Greenhaven recently, guards protested against what they claimed was leniency shown toward inmates. In response to this pressure, the administration ordered a one week lock-up, shipped over 70 inmates to Clinton, and instituted new rules that required inmates to walk in twos and designated certain areas where inmates can't talk at all. The state has also refused to recognize the inmates' labor union.

Most significantly, the state's intentions for the new "maxi-maxi" prison have been at least partially revealed. It won't be simply an extra security institution as originally visualized, but instead will be called a "Stress Assessment Program" and "Correctional Prescription Program". These programs—now being set up at the Dannemora prison hospital in Clinton, New York, under the title "Adirondack Correc-

tional Treatment and Evaluation Center"—will deal with political prisoners and others deemed unable to adjust to prison life. This program, modeled on a similar one in Vacaville, California, and the US penitentiary in Marion, Illinois, is planning to use techniques like aversion therapy, shock treatment, drugs and possibly even lobotomies to control inmates considered dangerous. This is the state's response to the development of revolutionary consciousness inside prisons. As one inmate in Dannemora has already written to the outside world, "We the Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War know that the Adirondack Correctional Treatment and Evaluation Center here at Dannemora, New York, is no more than another Vacaville, and unless the people demand that these programs are dropped, we the Political Prisoners charge genocide."

NY'ers rsvp to the war

by a member of the collective

When Nixon's bombs started falling on Hanoi this past December, the question for people in New York (as elsewhere) was how to respond—what could be done now to express the horror and outrage provoked by these new crimes. To many of us, it must have seemed that there was very little we could do; that we were isolated and alone with our rage. The fact that we wanted to respond so much made it seem that the things we could conceive of doing just couldn't be enough. Instead of mass despair, however, people all over the city organized to protest the war. No single action or organization of people provided a massive response, but taken together the activities that happened provide ample evidence of a diverse and growing movement with roots in many places in the city, which will respond to the crimes of our government. Taken separately and analyzed, they provide many examples of creative, effective political actions which could be tried by many more of us the next time a similar crisis arises.

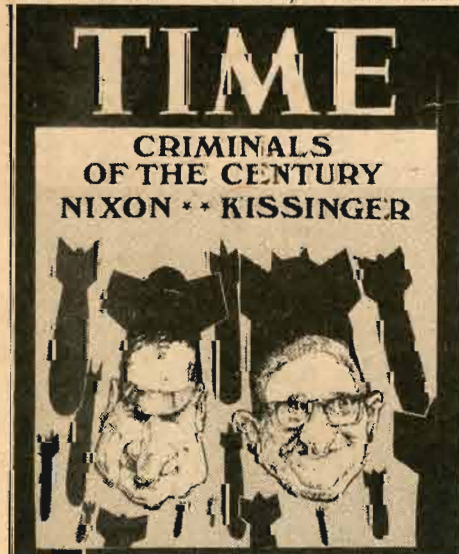
EMOTIONS POURED OUT INTO THE STREETS

The most immediate, mass response to the bombing of the North came on Thursday, December 21, a couple of days after the raids had begun. On just 2 days notice, about 5000 people turned out in Times Square, much to the amazement of the New York City police department, which was not prepared to deal with the size of the crowd or the intensity of the peoples' feelings.

Neither barricades nor cops could contain this demonstration, and people quickly took over the 7th Avenue side of Times Square, effectively blocking the PM rush hour traffic. Adding to the spirit of things were a small band (with a big drum), people doing guerrilla theater, and a number of large, eye-catching banners which were used to lead people to take more of the streets.

Eventually the cops had to bring in reinforcements. Led by a phalanx of mounted police and using a considerable amount of brutality, they were able to break the demonstration down into small groups and force people onto the sidewalks (about six people were arrested in the process, a couple of whom suffered injuries). Being basically a spontaneous demonstration with no plan or recognized leadership, people were fairly easily dispersed after the reinforcements came in. It appears that not only the cops, but we, ourselves, underestimated our strength and determination and didn't prepare for a more organized way to express our outrage.

Earlier that same day, 21 people from the New York Regional Faculty and Students occupied the lobby of the US Mission to the United Nations, in Manhattan.



Time magazine action leaflet

page 6/Liberated Guardian

east side / west side all around the town

The group made a surprise entrance at 11 AM, to the sounds of a simulated bombing raid. They set up posters and flags, sang, recited poetry and read from the Pentagon Papers and other books. The group demanded to see George Bush (US Ambassador to the UN), to see the peace treaty and find out why it hadn't been signed. The best the Mission could do was to send an underling who "only knew



Park Slope demonstration credit/Lynne Grifo

what he read in the papers." The group decided to stay, and at around 2:30 PM, 21 people were arrested for criminal trespass. (People ended up paying \$25 fines at a later date.) There were television and newspaper reporters on the scene, and the action received some coverage on the tv news that evening, and in the papers the next day.

The roots of this group go back to last spring, after the mining of the harbors in North Vietnam, when a group of teachers and some students occupied the Pupin Hall physics building at Columbia University to protest the war research being done there. Although members have come and gone since then, the majority are still active faculty members from colleges around the city (including Lehman, City, Brooklyn and Columbia).

One member of the group, speaking for herself, said that their action had been directed at the movement as well as the government—that at a time when many people were confused about what to do, they hoped to provide an example which could lead to similar actions. She felt that by working in a small group people had been able to build up personal relations and give each other support, which could help prepare them for other activities in the future. At this time, the group is continuing to meet and plan further ways to relate to the war in Indochina in light of the ceasefire agreement.

WAR CRIMINALS OF THE CENTURY

Also feeling the necessity to respond to the escalation of the war and to organize people to go to Washington on the 20th, a group of people from around the city who were not affiliated with any established anti-war groups formed an ad hoc People's Committee to Sign the Peace Agreements Now and carried out an action against Time magazine on January 18.

The group chose Time because that magazine had chosen Nixon and Kissinger as "Men of the Year" for 1972. In a leaflet which they distributed they said:

We have chosen to come to the Time-Life building because Time, Inc.'s editorial policies influence the consciousness of millions of Americans about the war. When historians write about this period, they must not record that we were all 'good Americans,' blind to the lies, the terror, the immorality of the Nixon Administration.

About 75 people participated in the

action, which was in three parts: about half the group was in the lobby of Time-Life, with banners, photos of Vietnam, petitions, and leaflets; half the group was outside with banners, leaflets, and petitions; and a third group of three people negotiated with Time officials about the three demands of the action, which were that Time should:

1. Retract the award of Men of the Year to Nixon and Kissinger.
2. Contribute the revenue of one page of advertising in Time to help rebuild Bach Mai Hospital.
3. Print the Peace Treaty petition and an ad for the reconstruction of Bach Mai Hospital in the next issue of Time.

The most successful aspects of the action were the enthusiastic responses of many of the Time employees and passers-by, and a spontaneous march which developed at the end of the action, going down 5th Avenue to 42nd Street. The least successful parts were the failure to get Time to accept the demands (they agreed to talk after people left) or in getting press coverage outside of two local FM radio stations (WBAI and WRVR).

The group has no immediate plans for future actions or even to stay together, but the general feeling has been that the action was successful in reaching people and in demonstrating that people can come together to plan and execute creative actions in times of crisis.

COMMUNITIES RESPOND

There have been a number of community groups in the city which have focused on anti-war activity. Among the most active of these has been Park Slope People Against the War, located in Brooklyn.

They held a neighborhood demonstration against the war on Saturday, January 13, one week before the Washington, DC demonstrations. People marched through the main business district and then through the residential areas. In the areas where people lived, the response was more supportive than in the business area.

Many people came to their windows to watch, and some people joined the demonstration.

The entire march route was in the street and was led by a neighborhood guerrilla theater group. At a main intersection the march stopped, with some people sitting down in the street, while the theater group (composed of "Nixon," the "military," a "capitalist," and a model B-52) performed a song called "The Great Deceiver."

An indoor rally was held after the march. One of the points made during the rally by a woman in the Park Slope group was that even though the march and the response to it had largely been good, it was only a part of what was needed. A lot of work, leafletting, talking to people, etc. had gone on before the march and a lot more would have to follow. The group did organize busloads of people to go to Washington and was planning a petition campaign. It was felt that future work in the community would be helped by the increased visibility the march brought.

Anti-war activity also intensified a great deal in New York's Third World communities after the bombing. The November 4 Coalition (a coalition of Third World and white groups in the city) held an anti-war rally in the Lower East Side on January 19, which over 500 people, most of whom were from the Spanish-speaking community, attended. Speakers linked the struggle in Vietnam to that of Third World people here, and especially to the struggle for independence in Puerto Rico. The Coalition also organized buses to Washington and went to the march and rally there as an organized presence.

Continued on Page 14

The girl who helps repair the dikes
The boy who walks with water buffalo
Young people grow and learn and struggle.

That's in Vietnam,

Here
Young people
Grow and learn and struggle too
Don't they?

But there's a lot of difference
Between Vietnam and here
That's clear.

Well, yes and no

You know
Thai Binh
The Vietnamese student in the US
Who was killed last year
Was once in someone's backyard here
And they had an apple tree.

Thai Binh climbed right up it
Just like he used to climb
Coconut palms back in Vietnam.

Then he came back down
With apples
And ash handed them
To everyone he said

You know people are people everywhere
It's not so different here than in Vietnam
Coconuts there
Apples here
But the tree can be climbed
And the fruits shared by everyone.

Hope that you
Had a good 1972
Hope that you will see
A better 1973.

--- Lincoln Bergman

NYC. DAYCARE UNDER ATTACK... FIGHT THE FEE SCALE!

by Paul Masai

For the past year the author of this article and his three-year-old daughter have been involved in the creation of a daycare center on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

The introduction of a new state fee scale for daycare has brought about a crisis in New York City which affects not only those directly involved in daycare—kids, parents and teachers—but all people struggling to gain control over their lives. This crisis is the result of another in a long series of attempts on the part of the Nixon-Rockefeller administrations to crush our efforts to build alternatives to the brutal institutions and living conditions of urban America.

RUNNING IT DOWN

The roots of the present crisis go back to the spring of 1971, when New York State announced a new state fee scale for daycare which was basically designed to punish people for being poor. All of the city's publicly-funded centers united in their refusal to comply. As a result of certain modifications in the proposal (in particular, the addition of a "Grandfather clause" which stated that those families already using daycare facilities would not be affected by the new fee scale) many of the centers reluctantly gave in. Many did so simply out of fear that their funds would be withdrawn if they didn't.

Most of the community-controlled centers, however, were steadfast in their resistance. They organized a massive sit-in at Lindsay's presidential campaign headquarters and convinced the mayor to announce that the city as a whole would defy the state mandate. Rockefeller was forced to withdraw the new guidelines, and he promised to come up with new ones.

THE NEW FEE SCALES

Ten months later, in the fall of 1972, Rockefeller announced his new proposal—a vicious and unworkable fee scale whereby a family of two (one parent and one child) with a net income of \$5500 would be charged \$42.50 per week for daycare! People were outraged—but we soon found out that this was simply a set-up for the final proposal, which was announced in December and made to appear as a compromise.

The main points of the new requirements, enacted as of January 1, 1973, are as follows:

1. Families of two, with net incomes over \$6600, and families of four, with incomes over \$8500, would be considered *ineligible* for daycare under any circumstances. Those figures are the new "eligibility cut-off points."
2. Families with incomes below the cut-off point would pay fees on a sliding scale between \$.75 and \$14.50 per week.
3. Welfare mothers may utilize daycare, but they *must* look for work. If they do not find work within 60 days they are no longer eligible for daycare. Women who are not on welfare *may not* use daycare while looking for work. In other words, *a woman must be either on welfare or already working at a salary below the cut-off point to be eligible for daycare.* The new policy recognizes *no other reason* for people to use daycare!



WHAT WILL THIS MEAN?

Presently, 42% of daycare families pay nothing for the service; 40% pay \$2.00 per week; and 17% pay between \$2.00 and \$25.00. Up till now, the eligibility cut-off point has been \$14,000, as compared with \$8500 for a family of four under the new guidelines. *If the centers in this city comply with the new requirements,* the most obvious effect will be that a large percentage of the people who need daycare will become ineligible. A relatively poor family, for instance, that needs daycare so that both parents can work and whose combined incomes exceed the low cut-off point, would be denied daycare—thus possibly forcing them to quit their jobs and join the welfare rolls, or accept lower paying work.



credit/Toothman

Since the federal government picks up 90% of the state's welfare tab but a much smaller percentage of the daycare tab, Rockefeller obviously decided it would be cheaper to have people on welfare than to support daycare!

Since it's almost impossible for most of us to find decent work in any amount of time, most welfare mothers, because of a lack of "training," would find it especially difficult to find a decent job within the 60-day time limit. Even if a few were to find such jobs, they'd probably be forced out of daycare because their incomes would exceed the low cut-off point. With no way to care for their children, they'd have to quit their jobs, go back on welfare—and the circle would begin again.

So most welfare mothers would be given the choice of either losing daycare entirely—making it impossible for them ever to find work—or entering the city's forced work program ("workfare"). Under this program, women would be working full time *solely for their welfare checks—approximately \$.80 an hour,* creating a vast pool of slave labor to help industry maintain its profit in a time of impending depression and weakening the power of organized labor as these jobs would normally be held by union members.

A subtle but important effect of the new requirements would be that many mothers would find themselves forced into dependent relationships with men—relationships they might not really want—in order to survive. For many women daycare means self-reliance, independence from men—a new life. The federal and state governments are legislating morality—telling us how we should live—by implying that a child's "place" is at home with her or his parents (i.e., mother). Nixon has made no secret of his stance on this question.

It all comes down to this: By making daycare available only to the very poor, by forcing working people to maintain low paying jobs or be shoved out of daycare, by pushing women into dependent relationships, the new fee scales: (1) separate the very poor from everyone else, weakening our unity and power; (2) keep the poor, poor, and (3) keep women and children "in their place." Daycare centers will become dumping grounds for welfare children, with programs totally controlled by the government, out of the hands of the community—prisons for our children.

COMMUNITY CONTROL—WHAT DAYCARE MEANS TO US

Most of us have lived our lives isolated from each other, and without much say in determining the quality of our jobs, education, health care; powerless to control any of the institutions shaping our lives. Third world and poor people in particular have always been denied even the smallest amount of participation in and/or influence on these institutions (schools, hospitals, factories, welfare programs, job training, etc.). Daycare—or more specifically *community-controlled daycare*—means people beginning to gain control over their lives.

The government would like us to believe that daycare is a "privilege," something we have to "qualify" for, something we have to "pay" for. But we say that *free daycare for everyone is a right, already paid for* by our hard work and the taxes we pay. They're telling us that daycare is nothing more than a babysitting service for people that don't give a damn about their kids, but we know that it is a positive alternative for ourselves and our kids—not a custodial service.

It creates opportunities for important development in a child's early life: learning to relate to kids and adults other than those in her or his immediate family; learning values of cooperation and independence; digging on being with people from many backgrounds—getting a fuller and more realistic view of the world than might be gotten from TV or the confines of the home; and very importantly, breaking the cycle of malnutrition and disease caused by poverty, or a misguided diet.

Parents also benefit. Our centers can reflect what we want for our kids, all the way down the line. We begin to get a real input into what's going on with our kids when they're away from home. Community control breaks us out of the isolation we often feel living in small families and gives us a chance to get together around something central to our lives: feeling the strength of people united. Moving together in this fashion leads us to see the advantages of uniting on other common issues.

Mothers are free to find work, thus allowing families to improve their material situations. With greater security for their children, working people are less at the mercy of their boss's whims and women are less at the mercy of the men who control them financially. Parents who aren't forced to be with their children day in and day out can begin to create new, more relaxed relationships with their kids. How much physical and psychological torture of children could be avoided if everyone, kids and parents, had some time away from each other to relieve the tensions that always seem to build up in tight relationships like those of the nuclear family?

Daycare has also prevented children from being placed in institutions and foster homes because their parents couldn't afford care for them while they worked.

So much political energy and power can be liberated when we begin to see that we can move to create alternatives for ourselves, that we don't have to accept passively all the garbage being shoved down our throats.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

In 1971, the people's rage around the proposed fee scale and eligibility requirements created *a united resistance that was strong enough to force the city to defy the state's regulations.* We can and must continue the fight against this or any future attempts to discourage us from creating our own institutions. *If we unite, we can also win this fight.* Rockefeller recognized this when he included a "Grandfather clause" in the new guidelines in an attempt to buy off those people presently using daycare by granting them "temporary immunity" (18 months). The importance for the government of smashing institutions like community-controlled daycare goes beyond financial considerations. When people get together to change the condition of their lives, when we get uppity in this basic way, it begins to threaten the security of a government and social system that depends on our isolation and feelings of impotence for its survival.

The Committee for Community Control of Daycare at 720 Columbus Avenue and the Bank Street Daycare Consultation Service at 9610 West 112 Street are two organizations which are helping to organize resistance to the new fee scales. Contact these groups if you want to help in this struggle. If you're involved in a daycare center, talk to people there about what's happening. People, let's get together!

FREE OUR CHILDREN, FREE OURSELVES!
Contact Shirley Johnson at CCCD, 866-6257; and Stacy Keats at Bank Street, 663-7200.

Jugglers, Strugglers and Dope Smugglers

interview with San Francisco Mime Troupe

When the San Francisco Mime Troupe arrived in New York last November with the comedy-melodrama *The Dragon Lady's Revenge* they expected it to run for two weeks. But people in New York greeted the play so enthusiastically that the troupe kept extending its stay, and the *Dragon Lady* didn't leave New York until late in January.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe is a full-time, collectively run, non-profit theatre company whose aim is to make art serve the people. Their theory is that "Good Art Entertains, Tells the Truth and is Freely Available." Every summer they perform free shows in the parks of the San Francisco Bay Area, and in the fall and spring they tour campuses and cities of the United States.

The *Dragon Lady's Revenge* is a play about heroin traffic in Southeast Asia, based on documented research from *Ramparts* magazine, Alfred McCoy's *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, and other publications. It describes several efforts to wipe out the heroin trade in the mythical Asian country of Cochin, where the U.S. army has been conducting a long colonial war and its soldiers have become hooked on dope. The U.S. Ambassador, Clyde Dillsworth Junker II, has been sent to Cochin supposedly to clamp down on the drug trade. The Ambassador's son, Clyde Dillsworth Junker III, is a lieutenant in the U.S. army and is personally determined to avenge the OD death of a private under his command. Their efforts focus on the mysterious Mr. Big, secret overlord of the Asian drug trade. Among the ambassador's allies are Rong Q, the ambitious general who wants to be Cochin's president for life and lusts after the CIA's secret weapon X-90, a disease that attaches itself only to people of yellow skin, and CIA agent Tim Drooley, a man whose disguises range from nun to fakir to hip Jesus-freak preacher. Both Rong Q and Tim Drooley are themselves deeply involved in the heroin trade. Meanwhile, the ambassador's son is tracking down his own leads, with the help of Blossom, a bar girl who is really a cadre in the People's Liberation Army. With the help of the lieutenant, the vengeful *Dragon Lady* and the humble servant *Tran Dog*, it is Blossom who finally unmasks the mysterious Mr. Big.

The *Dragon Lady's Revenge* was written, directed, designed, built, staged, produced and performed collectively by the San Francisco Mime Troupe. The LG interviewed the Troupe in December.

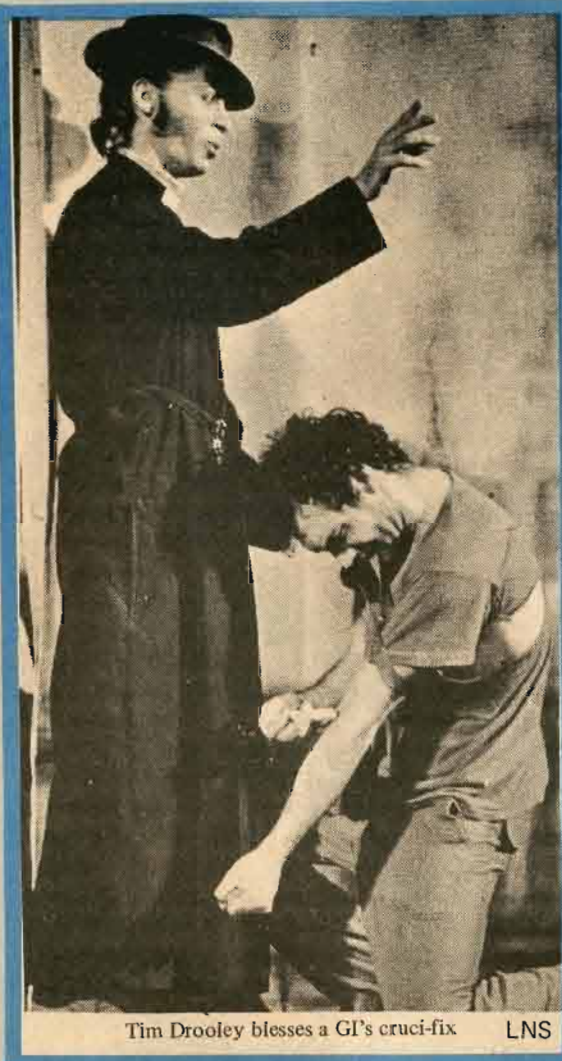
LG: Why did you decide to do a play about heroin traffic in Southeast Asia?

Andrea: We were on a tour of the midwest, and when people got back everyone was talking about how it was going to be really important to do our next play about imperialism. So we were trying to think about a good angle for an anti-imperialist show. For awhile we were talking about a western, but we couldn't find a good angle on it. Then we heard that *Ramparts* was coming out with an article about the opium trade in Southeast Asia and the CIA's connection with it. And that was it. Dope and Indochina.

Jason: The *Ramparts* article by Frank Browning and Banning Garrett came out in May of 1971. It revealed how the puppet governments in Southeast Asia—figures like Premier Ky and the Laotian generals—have made millions of dollars from the trade in heroin, and how the CIA has cooperated and supported this trade in order to keep those characters on the side of the U.S.—to keep them happy, rich and fighting the Communists. The CIA has supplied them with equipment, Air America planes have been used to fly the opium, and so on.

Paul: The trade is used in South Vietnam to pay off various people within the government structure. Merle: It also supports counter-insurgency forces like the Meo tribesmen, who grow the poppy in the hills of Laos. They agreed to fight for the CIA and for the puppet governments as long as their opium trade was continued. It had been threatened by the Pathet Lao. After the Pathet Lao cut off the Corsican airline opium route, the CIA went in with Air America, and the opium trade was continued.

Paul: This is nothing new. The French colonialists did the same thing before that and the Japanese



Tim Drooley blesses a GI's crucifix LNS

before that. So the CIA was continuing a grand old Southeast Asian tradition. Of course, now most of the heroin that comes from those poppies in Southeast Asia is being routed here to America, by way of Vientiane and Marseille. The Nixon government came out earlier this year with a statement that they would no longer support any government that trafficked in heroin, and they made this direct reference to the opium fields in Turkey. What's happened is that the market has shifted, and the majority of the heroin that's coming to this country now is coming from Southeast Asia. It's a side of the war that really connects well with what's going on here, because you have the contradiction of the U.S. supporting the trade in Southeast Asia while narcotics agents back here are busting junkies. In any case, with all this information, we had ourselves the makings of a mystery-melodrama play.

Andrea: We had to think of an angle on it. And then somebody came up with a style that suggests *Terry and the Pirates*. And the intrigue movies from World War II. And we all thought, this is it, this is it. And a von Sternberg movie, *Shanghai Gesture*, was playing, and we went to see it and it had a really excellent plot that we thought we could borrow...

Paul: Borrow! Andrea: That's the term. So everybody was excited about it and it was like this whole collective will about this play. A committee of four or five writers was chosen, and we met maybe once a week at first, because other shows, short shows, were being created for the beginning of the summer. We had to do a lot of research, too—we went down and talked to the *Ramparts* people and looked through their files and did a lot of reading and tried to work all this into a really exciting plot. Of course everything we worked on—once a week or once a month, we'd take it to the whole company and everybody would read it and discuss it. All of us would work simultaneously on one act. Someone would take the first scene, someone else would do the second scene until the act was written. But we'd be writing at the same time, and the time sequence was totally violated. Someone might be finished with the last scene of the act before the first scene was finished. It was really an experiment. We thought our master writer would have to take the whole script and rewrite it so that the tone would be consistent. But it turned out that there was such a sense in the company of what we wanted to do, and the committee talked so much about what we wanted to do, and we all

shared so thoroughly a sense of style and dialogue, that that was never necessary. Of course, after something is scripted and goes into rehearsal, then everybody talks about the lines and takes some out and adds some in and it becomes the creation of everyone in the company.

Paul: There's another part in the process of writing the play. When the play first opened we craved criticism, we considered it a part of working on the script, working on the play. We never stopped rehearsing the play. We're still doing rehearsals of *Dragon Lady* and making changes that come out of criticisms of members of the company and the audience. We want people to criticize it, and we want to be as sensitive and aware as we can of whom we're playing it for.

Melody: One dilemma with this play has been the portrayal of Third World people. It's really hard to talk about racism and imperialism and not have Third World people in the plays. We had some Third World brothers and sisters come and see the show before it opened to give us criticisms and tell us where we'd fucked up. And we took some criticism. Blossom, the NLF cadre, was at first a prostitute, and some people thought Third World revolutionaries are always portrayed as people—commies—who have absolutely no personal morality. So we toned it down, and she became a bar girl instead of a prostitute. We've gotten mainly warm feedback from Third World people who've seen the show, but there've been some people who've been offended by it and we've tried to deal with that.

Paul: There are fine lines. There are white actors playing Asians and not only are they playing Asians but they're playing the classic Asian stereotype—the American idea of what Asians are. These characters and the revolution of the play ultimately break through those stereotypes, and the play has an analysis of racism, an analysis of imperialism, and a class analysis as well. But the process of viewing the play is sometimes offensive. We've had a good deal of struggle over that, and the characters have been recreated and changed, trying to incorporate that criticism.

Dan: The whole play is really the clearest collective product we've ever put out.

LG: The Mime Troupe wasn't always run so collectively. Could you go into some of the history of the troupe and how the present structure developed?



Blossom (Melody) unmasks Mr. Big (Jason) with Lt. Junker and Tran Dog (Dan) credit/LNS

Dan: The troupe was founded in 1959. Ronnie Davis, who was then in the San Francisco Actors Workshop, wanted to put together a mime theatre, but he soon found out that the form was too far removed from the people—that people couldn't get into it—so they started doing *comedias* instead of mime. But after awhile they couldn't find a place to do the shows. Then Ronnie realized that the way to do theatre was to take it to the people rather than have them come to you. In San Francisco there are several beautiful parks, and the first political act the Mime Troupe really did was to open up the parks. Ronnie went in to do the show without a permit—he couldn't get a permit—and so they busted him for a whole bunch of stuff—obscenity, this, that and the other—but the only

thing they could really get him on was parking on the grass. That was in 1965. There was a whole court battle, and we opened up the parks.

Melody: *Commedia* is an Italian renaissance form of comedy. It's a style that not a whole lot of people have seen or heard about—including people who have actually studied theatre—because it's a form that the people were watching while the Restoration plays were being written. In school what you study is what the aristocrats were viewing at the time. But simultaneously in the marketplace there were these traveling theatre troupes that would be doing *comedias*. It was a very bawdy, outdoor kind of style with arch-typical characters: doctors, servants, lovers, generals, businessmen. And what we did was take those old plays and adapt them to issues that Americans faced. The theory was that we wanted to take plays to the people that would make them laugh, but would also teach something—that would be on issues that really concern them. So we did plays about the war, value systems, about society. The play we're doing now, *The Dragon Lady's Revenge*, takes a lot from the lessons we learned doing *comedias*. A really crucial part of our plays is the relationship we develop with the audience and play off. When you're in the parks you have to respond to kids crying, winos standing up and walking on the stage, dogs, airplanes, church bells. So you have to have a style that integrates it, plays off it, doesn't deny its existence.

Paul: And again doesn't deny the existence of everything that's going on—whether it's the actors on the stage, or that there are people behind the masks. All of those things are admitted up front as part of the production.

Melody: Our whole show really starts when we unload our truck. Men and women unload it and set up the stage; we sit down and put on our make-up, play music to drum up an audience, put up banners. All of our costume changes—getting our props—are visible to the audience. And then at the end of the play one of us comes out and talks to the audience. It usually includes asking them to put money in the hat and financially help us out.

Paul: In 1965, after the company had done a lot of *comedias*, it produced a minstrel show called *Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel*, which was written by Ronnie Davis and Saul Landau. It was a standard minstrel format—Mr. Bones, others and an interlocutor. The six minstrels were played by

people away. It put dollar signs in his eyes that stretched all the way from the Haight-Ashbury to 2nd Avenue.

Andrea: In 1969 we introduced this Brecht play called *Congress of Whitewashers*. It was done in the style of Chinese opera, and everyone in the company studied the style for a long time. We went to see a lot of Chinese films. And this was an important period for political development. This play was a Marxist play, and so the company started reading Marx.

Dan: The play had never been produced, and it had big massive scenes. Brecht hadn't even finished writing it. There were 20 characters, and each of us in the beginning played nine characters. It was a really big show. We took it to the parks, it ran over two hours at first—and people couldn't believe it. They didn't understand it and neither did we, but we knew that there was something there. What really was there was that it turned the company on to Marxism. We had to learn that we couldn't put on a Marxist play without a sound ideological base for the ideas that we were trying to present. We just really ran amuck all the time, and working out this play, basically, was what changed the structure of the company.

Melody: It changed the politics of the company. Previously the Mime Troupe was a lot into lifestyle politics—not taking any grants, because part of our message was to show people that we could exist, that an alternative culture could exist, that the joy of working as unalienated labor was worth living on \$25 a week. But with the Brecht play we really began to get into economics and form an analysis. We went on a tour of the northwest and when we came back there was a real shake-up within the company. Up until then our audience was a lot freer, intellectuals, young people. People began to talk about trying to reach new audiences, and we wanted to do more creative work and more work that related to working people's lives. We also began to feel that we really needed a new structure within the company. It was the year when all that was happening in the movement.

Dan: The structure had gone through a lot of changes. From the time that I joined the company in '67 there was an ongoing battle with Ronnie. He was making all the decisions. That was the way the company had always been structured. They tried to put a buffer between the general company and Ronnie—the gerontocracy, a group of people in the company who had been there longer. And they would listen to Ronnie's hare-brained schemes and see if they thought it was reasonable to allow him to do them, but sometimes he'd just ignore them. The gerontocracy really had no power, no way to really limit him. After a while we became more democratic, or there was a move toward that. We had an election in which, interestingly enough, the people elected were the same gerontocracy. I guess at that point we didn't feel we could make it on our own. But on that tour in the fall of 1969 the Brecht play started to click. It was really making it. And the more we studied about Marxism-Leninism the more we realized that there was really no place in that kind of thinking for the structure that we had. In fact, Brecht's views on art tend to lead you in that direction—that art can be created collectively, that people can work things out on a different level. At that point people started realizing that they could run the company as well as Ronnie was doing, and make decisions for themselves, and, plus, enjoy it a lot more. Up until that point, when people got tired of Ronnie, they left. And when it got to this point, people decided it was time for them to stay and maybe Ronnie to leave. The transition was really rough. We were all in Spokane, we stayed up all night long, took a bunch of acid and stayed up, rapped all night long, and realized what the relationships really were and what things could become. And then we went back to the city after the end of this tour and spent two months of solid argument. It would be like eight-hour sessions. It was really painful, it was really a hard process. And then Ronnie left to form Praxis, a radical distribution agency which didn't really get off the ground. And the rest of us formed a collective based upon what we knew about Mao and Chinese kinds of structures that we had read and studied

about. At that point we were pretty Maoist—everybody was—and we built our collective along those models. It worked. And the first play we did as a collective was *The Independent Female*, a melodrama on women's liberation. And we decided at that point that we should become an arm of the movement. Always before, we'd been a hare-brained group on the fringe. Impartial commentators. Everything should be satirized; nothing was sacred. We began to accept criticism from the



Blossom and the Dragon Lady (Andrea) LNS

movement, and they began to feel like they owned us. It was a strange feeling for us: "We wrote this play and this is the way it's gonna be. Would you like to come and see it? It's about the women's movement." Forty women from all around Berkeley came to see it, and it was really a heavy scene. They didn't like it, and they told us that if we opened it they'd tear the place down.

Melody: I can remember—my view of it was different. I was in the company at the time, but I had begun to relate to a women's collective that was beginning to do organizing. And I remember being there as a member of the Mime Troupe but feeling a lot of differences in myself with that group and struggling about changing it. It culminated at one point where a black lesbian sister stood up and said, "O.K. You open this play and I'm bringing my sisters and we're going to trash it." I left the company right after that—spent a year away from it. And the play went through a whole lot of changes. It was like a real catalyst for the company and the people within it. It also changed the structure of leadership a whole lot. It was that period of time when so much energy was going into those differences in the movement—and the feeling of urgency was so great. And there was a desperation for people to have really unified total politics, so that the small differences on issues between people were really magnified. It was a very hard time, a very painful time. That's how I remember it. But I can see it from a different view now: how hard it was for the Mime Troupe to have to respond because it was that period when you just wanted the propaganda to come out, to be so all encompassing, and there were just different points of view of what that play—the women's play—should say.

Dan: It was really hard on us. I couldn't accept a lot of that stuff, and still think they were wrong in a lot of it. It was that whole utopian idealism phase when people believed they could have that perfect statement—that things weren't process. And a whole lot of times it really missed the boat, too—went really far afield. It was really good struggle, though, and I won't deny it. It brought us a really long way. The company was also really just riding on its energy as a collective. We had a

real thing. Ronnie Davis at that point was busy writing a book proving why we were going to fail, demonstrating his concept of how art was the product of a single ego. And we had another idea—to show that it could be done collectively. Even with all this pressure from outside trying to make this play right, with the real battle of sticking together we began to criticize each other, we began to open up, figure out what women's consciousness means. All that shit really was good, it really brought us together.

Melody: It was also a really hard time because Ronnie is and was an amazing man with an incredible and really creative mind. And when that kind of energy and focal point leaves, you have to learn the responsibility of what freedom means, and it was hard work to make that company survive.

Dan: We learned a lot about the structure, too. We decided that we didn't need the center core. All we needed was a staff to run the company. Everybody gets the same salary—\$30 a week, plus lunch. We run on about a \$70,000 a year budget and it's hard to meet that. The tours are kind of our economic base.

Melody: The theory was that everybody should have creative work, administrative work, shit work—that they should all be shared. One of the things that I think is a high contradiction that kind of comes and goes is that we are made up mainly of people who have had some training. For a lot of people, the Mime Troupe is their first political experience. Several people are mainly from really professional theatre or training for professional theatre. They've had a lot of bad experiences and come to the Mime Troupe as an alternative. Meanwhile, it's a very political theatre and there are people who have developed politics over the years. And that sets up a lot of hard problems. We've got to find the time and space to train more people within the company so that we really do have that rotation of jobs—so that everybody does get to perform. Also, on this tour through Texas, we came across several Chicano theatre groups that had trained with Luis Valdez of Teatro Campesino, who had also worked earlier with the Mime Troupe. He's helped start a lot of theatres that are now operating all over Texas, Colorado, California. I really feel strongly committed to helping that happen a lot more.

Dan: We have worked with several groups, like the Prisoners Union out there trying to get minimum wages for prisoners and other rights, and we helped them put together a play. We and some people from other groups were working with them. The Prisoners Union essentially put together the play themselves. It was so smooth. When you're in San Quentin and Folsom, you learn how to act—and these guys were real good actors.

Melody: I think things are beginning to really change. We have a new piece this year that was an attempt to really begin to integrate the circus techniques that we've been studying and that uses juggling as worker's machines. It's a play about the wage-price freeze—Nixon's economic policy and how it really messes over workers. This was the first play that was trying to aim at different problems. We've taken it to union halls and strike lines, and it's been well received.

Andrea: One thing is that our audiences tend to be pretty much who we are. We're a white company, and I don't think we can relate very well to anything but mainly white audiences.

Dan: That's the next hard transition for us. I think the women's movement really changed the company. But the change in both the directions of class and race will happen simultaneously. We have to head in that direction; we have to change our politics. It ain't easy. First of all, obviously the collective has to change toward openly trying to recruit a group of Third World people to be in the company. We have to start someplace. We haven't quite figured it out. But this spring we ought to get a chance to discuss it more thoroughly.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe obviously receives no grants from federal, state or city governments. They live from their work and need your support. Send contributions to 450 Alabama Street, San Francisco, California 94110.



HAITI

Three people held the American ambassador, Clinton Knox, captive at gunpoint for a day, and then released him unharmed when their demands were met. The demands were that they receive \$70,000 in ransom (which was paid by the Haitian government), that 12 Haitian political prisoners be released, and that they be given safe conduct to Mexico.

In New York, the Coalition of National Liberation Brigades, a Haitian exile organization, said:

"The Haitian Government may claim that we are Communist. We are simply revolutionaries seeking to liberate our oppressed people. By seeking to obtain the release of some important political prisoners the people of the world should know that those prisoners have been under constant threat to be eliminated in case of any disorder in the country.

"And disorder there will be. For our patience has come to an end. The actual, archaic, farcical government, led by Clinton Knox and the State Department, must go."

NEW YORK

Jack Lynch, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland, attracted a hostile and persistent following during his visit to New York in January.

Lynch visited the States to encourage American industry to invest in Ireland. He offers a 15 year tax exempt status plus a monetary exchange which amounts to something like two Irish dollars for every U.S. dollar.

A member of the National Association for Irish Freedom, a militant, pro-IRA group, said, "What's so wonderful is that a lot of groups that differ in the Irish question are coming together on this minimal agreement. We don't have leaflets or literature—Lynch is moving around too fast for that—we are communicating by telephone where he's gonna be next, and we go."

The groups oppose Lynch's eagerness to get U.S. money into the Irish Republic; his speaking in support of British troops in Northern Ireland; his attempts at preventing the IRA from receiving funds collected for them in the U.S.; the jailing of members of the Board of Directors of Irish television for supporting the rights of opposition parties; the jailing of journalists for withholding the sources of their information; and the basic lack of civil rights in Ireland, both north and south.

The American State Department has apologized to Lynch for the demonstrations and the dozens of eggs that were hurled at his car.

JAPAN

Six Japanese corporations must pay nine plaintiffs more than \$286,000 in damages resulting from air pollution near Yokkaichi, site of a petrochemical and chemical complex. And those suits are just beginning, say Japanese authorities. Many more citizens are sure to seek compensation for a lung disease known as Yokkaichi asthma. In announcing the first decisions, Judge Kiyoshi Yonemoto observed, "Where precious human health and life are concerned, corporations are not freed of blame for pollution by simply obeying emission-control standards."



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

One unexpected by-product of American bombing of northern Vietnam is painless childbirth.

Dr. Nguyen Quang Thien, a gynecologist, has been experimenting in partnership with an electronics engineer, Kysu Nguyen Huy Tue, on an acupuncture machine for use in childbirth, equipped with electrical apparatus sometimes found intact in downed American aircraft.

The machine is not a new discovery, they say. Several models already exist in China, and one does not have to be an expert to operate the machine.

It consists of four transistors, a number of miniature transformers and about 20 other pieces of equipment. It takes up no more space than a dictionary and weighs about 4.4 pounds.

The advantage of the machine, says Dr. Thien, is that by using it one can place a number of needles at one time on the human body. When human needle operators are used, one sometimes needs half a dozen people at a time to position the needles.

COLUMBIA

Kidnappers believed to be leftist guerrillas have abducted seven Colombians recently. Most of the victims have been wealthy businessmen.

In all but one case, no ransom demands or other word from the kidnappers were reported. The only captive released was Prof. Jairo Duque Gomez, whose relatives paid \$20,000 in ransom.

The kidnappers apparently are members of the National Liberation Army, a guerrilla group based in northern Colombia.

SWEDEN

The leaders of all Sweden's political parties issued an unprecedented declaration denouncing the American airwar against North Vietnam, and Premier Palme likened the bombing raids to the Nazi atrocities of World War II. Nixon retaliated by telling Sweden not to send a new ambassador to Washington this year. Palme responded by personally collecting signatures on the declaration against the bombing and by saying that Washington's action would not deter him from criticizing the war.

THE NETHERLANDS

120 prominent Dutch scholars, artists, journalists, writers and broadcast personalities have asked that the Dutch ambassador in Washington be recalled if the United States does not stop its participation in the war in Indochina.

In letters to Premier Barend Biesheuvel and to the presidents of the two chambers of Parliament they said:

"As long as the United States carries on a war in Indochina in which nothing and nobody is spared, the Netherlands should not be represented at the ambassadorial level in Washington."

NEW YORK

While major airlines continue to fight for business by promoting the image of the "sexy, available stewardess," the real stewardesses are getting together to fight this manufactured image as well as their sexist working conditions. Two groups, the Stewardess Anti-Defamation League (SADL) and Stewardesses for Women's Rights (SWR) are mapping a joint campaign to combat the exploitation of stewardesses.

Stewardesses are required to submit to underwear inspections to make sure they are wearing bras. Male inspectors, as well as female, have been permitted to do this inspecting. Furthermore, stewardesses are not permitted to object to a passenger's behavior. "We are grabbed, pinched, felt, and even slapped," Judi Lindsey of SWR said. "We're always wrong and the passenger is always right—no matter what."

At least one case has been brought against two male passengers, who were arraigned in Federal Court on charges of "assaulting, threatening and intimidating" a stewardess.



CAMBODIA

The Minister of Information admitted recently that because of payroll padding by military commanders, the Cambodian government has at times paid salaries to as many as 100,000 non-existent soldiers, a total of two million dollars a month.

There are reports of commanders who are still hiring friends and peasants for a small fee to put on uniforms and stand in for the "phantom soldiers" on payroll inspection day. Cambodian newspapers complain about the corruption, sometimes naming names. Officials admit that if every officer guilty of such corruption were jailed, the army would fall apart.

Since the U.S. government pays for virtually the entire Cambodian budget, about 300 million dollars in "aid" this year, it is in effect paying for the corruption.

The wide-spread graft has undermined respect for officers within the army, a fact which may prove harmful for the government forces, which are now in control of only about one-quarter of the country's territory.

VIETNAM

Capt. Michael J. Heck, an Air Force pilot who has flown bombing missions over North Vietnam for several years, has refused to take part in any further bombings. He is the first American pilot to have refused to go into combat since the Air Force entered Vietnam in 1964.

Heck has submitted his resignation to the Air Force, and as an alternative is seeking C.O. status, but still faces a possible court-martial, with conviction bringing a two-year prison term. "I can live with that easier than I can with taking part in the war," said Heck.

He continued: "I came to the decision that any war creates an evil far greater than anything it is trying to prevent... The goals do not justify the mass destruction and killing. I'm just a tiny cog in a big wheel. I have no illusions that what I'm doing will shorten the war, but a man has to answer to himself first."

BELGIUM

A strong wave of support has developed in Belgium for a gynecologist and leading fighter for liberalization of abortion laws, who was arrested January 17 on charges of performing more than 300 abortions in 1972.

Dr. Willy Peers, head of the Center of Obstetrics and Gynecology of the province of Namur, was reported to have performed most of the operations during evenings at his clinic, under the guise of treating miscarriages.

He is a co-founder of the Belgium Society to Legalize Abortion. His case has drawn support from many levels of the predominantly Catholic Belgian society. A coalition of academic, medical and feminist groups has created an ad hoc defense committee and hopes to collect 100,000 signatures on a petition demanding the doctor's release.

In the last five years, about 300 people have gone to jail for violating abortion laws, including 5 doctors. A conservative estimate, though, is that 30,000 abortions are performed annually in Belgium, compared with 50,000 births.

EUZKADIA

People from ETA, the Basque liberation organization, kidnapped the richest man in the Spanish construction industry, Felipe Huarte, at the beginning of January, demanding an unspecified amount of ransom, and improved working conditions at several factories throughout the occupied Basque country. It is part of a continuing campaign to free the Basque nation from control by Spanish and French governments.

NO CEASEFIRE FOR BLACK PEOPLE

SOUTHERN U.

Since the following article was written, the main Southern University campus at Baton Rouge reopened after an extended (9-week) Christmas vacation/cooling-off period. One hundred twenty students met with 20 school officials prior to the reopening. A series of resolutions were agreed upon, including one calling for the prosecution of the persons responsible for the murder of the 2 students.

The boycott of classes, however, has been broken. The leaders of Students United (the organization leading the November boycott before the murders) have been prohibited from setting foot on the S.U. campus by court injunction. They are currently fighting the injunction in the state court, where university officials are attempting to make it permanent.

On the New Orleans campus, the boycott is still effective. Only 1000 of 2900 students have registered for the second semester, and it remains to be seen how many will actually attend classes.

Meanwhile, the Baton Rouge District Attorney has said he will soon go before a local grand jury to determine criminal liability by anyone for the events of November 16.

The following article is excerpted from the *Southern Patriot* of January, 1973, a newspaper published monthly by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, 3210 Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky 40211.

by Walter Boags

Behind the immediate demands at S.U. is the crisis of black colleges in the South in the 1970's.

The boards of these colleges, whether public or private, have always been controlled by whites. Needless to say, the whites have a basic objective: to keep society like it is and power in their hands.

Thus, it is only natural that college programs were geared to producing supporters of the status quo. Their role was to provide a black middle class that would be a buffer between those who rule and the great masses of blacks—a group that would be favorable to the "system" as a whole, even if opposed to racism in particular.

But in the past decade, students on these campuses have been redefining their own role and that of their colleges. When blacks challenged the society in the 1960's, much of the leadership came out of these institutions—and black colleges began to become centers of community power.

Thus, a subtle war against black colleges has been escalating. In October, 1971, *Fortune* magazine published an article on the cost of black colleges and called them out-of-date. It predicted a hard time for them if they insist on keeping their identities as black colleges, and said they should integrate until they become predominantly white in student body and outlook.

When I was at Fisk University in Nashville in the fall of 1969, I learned of a Ford Foundation report which suggested that unless Fisk enrolled more white students, its future financial support would be uncertain. Ford Foundation funds Fisk as well as other black colleges. This report was no mere observation, but a threat.

Southern University, as much as any one place in the South, dramatizes the development of the black liberation struggle. This campus was the scene of one of the

largest sit-in movements in the early 60's.

Leaders of that movement were expelled, and recurring waves of demonstrations through the 60's brought successive repression and more expulsions.

Some famous names locally and nationally were a part of the recurring movement here. An expelled leader of the early sit-ins was D'Army Bailey, now a lawyer and recently elected to the Berkeley, California City Council as part of a radical ticket.

Another student expelled here in the 60's was H. Rap Brown, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), hounded from coast to coast by "constitutional authorities." He is now facing trial on new charges in New York City and is being held in lieu of \$200,000 bail.

Other former students, R. Judge Eames and Robert Williams, are now movement attorneys in Baton Rouge. They were staff council for the Black People's Committee of Inquiry investigating the November 16 assassinations. They also helped set up a similar inquiry into a massacre of Muslims in Baton Rouge on January 10, 1972.

When black students in the South moved to challenge injustice in the early 1960's, they set in motion a process that enabled all students to challenge the inadequacies and injustices of their own institutions—and from there, a widespread questioning of our entire society mushroomed.

It could happen again—and go deeper, especially now that the student bodies of white colleges include more working-class youth, as black colleges always have.



U.S. NAVY

The usual cover-your-ass mentality of the armed forces, and the U.S. government in general, has moved into high gear to whitewash the recent racial clashes in the Navy. A House subcommittee spent several days in San Diego supposedly investigating the riot on the Kitty Hawk and the demonstrations on the Constellation. In fact, what the Congressmen were interested in was gathering ammunition to attack Admiral Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, and his liberalization program (that is largely responsible for the stepped up recruiting of Blacks into the Navy). Typical of this was the testimony of the Executive Officer of the Constellation: "I think the system we have that encourages the recruiting of educationally deprived personnel and then places them in competition with others more fortunate is poorly conceived and totally unfair."

Testimony from officers on both the Kitty Hawk and the Constellation stated that there was little or no racism in the Navy; that Black sailors rampaged through the Kitty Hawk, indiscriminately beating whites and had willfully sabotaged equipment on the Constellation; that Black sailors in general were inferior to whites and had no basis for complaining of unequal job assignments, punishments and discharges.

At least 29 of the 123 protestors from the Constellation have been given "early out" discharges and all have suffered reduction in rank, loss of pay and disciplinary duty assignments.

Two Kitty Hawk sailors have pleaded guilty to reduced charges and received fairly light penalties. Another has been convicted of assault and rioting, and a fourth has been acquitted of all charges. The Navy, however, is stalling in a majority of the cases (about 19), content to have the sailors locked away in pre-trial confinement where they've been since November 7th. The NAACP, representing most of those left, appealed the lock-up procedure several weeks ago but it has yet to be ruled upon.

MARK JAMES ROBERT ESSEX

Dead at age 23

"It was just these little things one on top of another that made Jimmy do what he did. It was prejudice. I don't know if the Navy is doing it deliberately, but they are doing it."

"There was no justice in the whole situation. Jimmy was trying to tell white America you've been sitting too long on your bottoms and you'd better take notice of us."

"In his own way he was trying to tell white America that American blacks are not going to take it any more."

—Mrs. Mark H. Essex, mother

"We must cease provoking people to the point that they must seek revenge to get even with society."

—Mr. Mark Essex, father

"My brother was a normal guy. But in the Navy he learned how black people have been harassed in the world."

"I don't agree with the killings, but Jimmy wanted change and talking hadn't done any good. He was pushed to this."

—Mrs. Penny Fox, sister

Racial incidents have continued. Black inmates at the Navy Correctional Center in Norfolk, Va. burned mattresses and were confined to individual cells after a fight between a black and a white inmate. On Midway Island in the Pacific, there was a racial clash involving 130 of 650 men at the recreation area. And the Navy has finally reported a "racial brawl" that occurred last September on the amphibious landing ship Sumter. Six Black and four white Marines were charged but only one of the whites was convicted and the Blacks have yet to be tried.

FREE THE SUMTER 3

As the LG was going to press we received a letter from Okinawa where the 3 Black Marines from the Sumter are being held and tried.

The original charges of mutiny (the first since wooden ships) have been dropped, but riot, assault, resisting arrest and even slander (for calling the captain a racist) charges remain.

The Navy is attempting to quietly railroad the brothers. However, the solidarity of Black sailors and marines as well as help from movement organizers and lawyers on Okinawa have broken the silence. A Black lawyer is on his way from the States but the Navy has refused to hold up pre-trial hearings for his arrival.

Blacks and whites on the Sumter had been friendly, sometimes even close. The Black Marines were holding classes in Black history and culture, and the whites were struggling with their racism. However, after a change in command the history of the Sumter was one of unbelievable racism. The Captain extended leave to let off white Marines and not Blacks, punished Blacks more severely, censored a Black DJ on the ship's radio station and allowed his officers to physically and verbally abuse Blacks.

A fight started in a movie and then it was all-out war. Off and on for two days whites armed with wrenches, pipes and razors attacked Blacks with the tacit consent of some of the officers. The Captain refused to meet with either the Blacks as a group or individually.

As a result of the fighting, 3 Blacks and 4 whites were charged. Three whites have been acquitted and the fourth found guilty of dereliction of duty but not punished!

Support and inquiries should be sent to the Sumter 3 Defense Committee, PO Box 447, Koza-shi, Okinawa-ken, Japan.

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BOBBY SEALE INTERVIEW CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

LG: How have you organized your campaign and gone about building a base of operation?

Bobby: You organize a righteous operation of 2500 people, which is what we're doing in Oakland—2500 precinct workers, 2500 Black precinct workers. We have a mailing list of people who live in Oakland in the Black community of over 20,000, from people who signed up at the survival conferences, from the Sickle Cell Anemia tests that we give. We have ages, addresses and everything, so we can precinct locate them. They've already signed petitions for the Chief [David Hilliard—LG]. They've signed anti-war petitions at the survival conferences that we got together. Among these were the 18,000 people we registered to vote, and 50% of them are the 18 year old youth who registered to vote primarily because Bobby Seale was running for Mayor of Oakland.

We have to learn to concentrate the amount of funds that the people have and educate the people to concentrate that amount of funds right back into the community. Food conspiracy programs will develop into community cooperatives. So they say 10% of the businessmen are gonna leave Oakland as soon as I get elected. They say 30% of the police force will quit automatically. The racists. Well, OK. They're gonna quit. We don't care. That's transforming already by just initiating the action. What I'm saying is this. If the businessmen don't want to donate to the survival programs, we can mobilize those same 2500 precinct workers and we can boycott the cat. And then if they leave, we'll get dimes and quarters and dollars from the people every payday, every welfare

check day. We'll hook up a few hundred thousand dollars, plus we'll get some of the city council budget to supplement it, and we'll take over five different super-market areas and turn them totally into cooperatives. Meanwhile, some cats who live in the county areas are gonna buy up some land and turn them into cooperative farms. See, if you believe in redistribution of the wealth, you have to use some kind of a framework to begin it, so the people can latch on to an activity, instead of just a spoken idea that's phrased in rhetoric.

Some people say that the only thing that's going to occur here is a violent revolution. I'm not denying that in the future people are going to have to pick up arms. I'm saying this: if the people organize programs to try and become more powerful, then ultimately the pig power structure is going to attack the people, and the people will understand the necessity to defend themselves, with arms if necessary. But it's not necessary for us to go out and initiate that stuff and find ourselves too far in front of the people, when the people are trying to get a better life and change their living conditions.

Ultimately, the people will choose new systems, but it's not *choosing* new systems that really happens. What happens is that new systems and new frameworks evolve, so to speak. But we're not talking about evolution, we're talking about revolution. Because for something to evolve, it means something has to change, right? So, then, the survival programs are not reformist, per se, they're not revolutionary, per se. The survival programs are a means and a tool by which you organize the people for future liberation. This is the kind of stuff we're gonna have to do all over the country.

The white youth, the radical movement, they have a lot of work to do. Work they don't want to do. They don't even want to organize workers. The Black Panther Party has had demonstrations to support union strikes.

They're gonna have to get into this. They're gonna have to get respect from the people with some concrete activity that relates to the basic desires and needs of the people who are caught up in that vote for Nixon and Agnew bag. Just to ignore it is to ignore the system, is to try to ignore the people, is to say nothing will happen, which just isn't true.

LG: What do people who want to work on your campaign do? Will there be white people working in white communities, and how can people get in touch with you?

Bobby: Presently, they should get in touch with Joan Kelly at the Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party at 8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California, or go to any branch office that will get them in touch with us.

There are 251 precincts in the Black community. We're gonna have whites working in about 50 precinct areas that voted heavy for McGovern or Dellums, by address only. We're not even gonna knock on any registered Republicans' addresses, because we don't want them to even know we're running.

JAN. 20 washington d.c.

by members of the collective

Saturday, January 20, two demonstrations came to Washington, DC. Neither "warranted much significant coverage" by the straight press. Yet, well over 100,000 people were on hand. Some to march as we have all learned to do in the last eight years, some to bring their outrage more directly to the Nixon coronation. But all of us in dismay and anger at the atrocity of Richard Nixon's election and Richard Nixon's war.

The "organized" demonstration—led, monitored, and manipulated by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC)—proceeded from the Lincoln Memorial down a very short mile on Constitution Avenue to the Washington Monument, where there was what seemed to be an endless array of speakers. Those speakers of genuine interest—Pete Seeger, Phil Berrigan, I.F. Stone, and Juan Gonzalez (the spokesperson for the November 4 Coalition, which had to struggle with

NPAC officials just to get access to the mike)—were left to the end, when people's tolerance and energy had already declined.

More than 100,000 people had come to Washington in anger, and they received nothing more than palliatives from the "leaders" of the demonstration. No attempt was made to even draw people's attention—much less their action—to the inaugural march occurring one block away. By conscious choice, the demonstration on Constitution Avenue was physically and psychologically separate from the very event it was planned to protest.

The day was an up if for no other reason than our numbers and the fact that for each of us in Washington there were ten who couldn't come. But the demonstration could have been so much more without jeopardizing the safety of those who came. And the isolation of the people from the Real Event occurring only

one block away served only to increase the powerlessness a lot of us feel.

More interesting things were happening along the inaugural route. Although the rumors in New York were that the inaugural march would be separated from the rest of the city by barbed wire and anyone unfurling a banner would be picked off on the spot, the reality was very different. To be sure, the city was occupied by MPs and riot-equipped DC cops, but it was in fact possible to walk up to the route, where people were standing along the sidewalks and where the seats cost theoretically from five to fifty dollars.

My affinity group got to the route around an hour before the parade started. After standing around in a thick crowd where we couldn't see the street, we found some empty seats on the top row of some bleachers. Although we were worried that the Boy Scout ushers would

kick us out, it turned out that so many others had climbed up that they couldn't.

Most of the crowd was into us being there. We had a banner that said "Nixon—War Criminal." Some GIs on our right and some people with McGovern buttons on the row below helped us hold it. When Nixon, Agnew, the Cabinet members and the Chiefs of Staff went by they saw our banner. Nixon kept his frozen smile, but Agnew stopped his waving and gave a disgusted look in our direction. Meanwhile, people, not just us, were booing and yelling "Murderer," "War Criminals," "Stop the War." You couldn't even hear the clapping in the air.

Later we heard that along the entire inaugural route other people had been throwing things, holding banners and chanting. The cops couldn't bust much or gas because they couldn't risk disrupting the inaugural. And the 100,000 people a block away at the NPAC rally could have been doing what we were, in relative safety.

It says something about the state of this country that even though it seemed clear that a peace treaty would be signed soon, 100,000 people felt it important to demonstrate in Washington and that the President of the USA couldn't be inaugurated without militant demonstrators all along the route. That spirit isn't going to disappear now that a peace has been signed. And it is critical that it shouldn't.

Eight years of anti-war activity has had a real effect on Washington's ability to conduct its war.

The anti-war movement has to remember the political prisoners in southern Vietnam and continue to pressure the US government to honor the treaty and prevent a Thieu-directed bloodbath. We have to make sure that the troops come home—that they don't go to Laos or Thailand or the Philippines or the Middle East; we have to help in the rebuilding of Vietnam. And most importantly, we have to take care of unfinished business here at home.



credit/Roger Kranz



credit/Roger Kranz

Demonstrators along the inaugural parade route

SPIES, LIES AND ISRAELI TIES

by a friend of the paper

On January 28, four Black September commandos occupied the Israeli embassy in Bangkok, Thailand and took 6 Israeli hostages. They were demanding the release of 36 Palestinians held prisoner in Israel. The Western press has emphasized the fact that the commandos did not obtain their demands and ultimately released their prisoners and went to Cairo. What has not been covered, however, is the implication of the operation: Israel's growing activity in Southeast Asia. On December 7, Israel and South Vietnam established formal diplomatic relations and arranged to exchange ambassadors early this year. A week later the Israeli daily *Maariv* reported that South Vietnam had already requested military aid and "help in combatting communist aggression," especially in the establishment of paramilitary border settlements like those in Israel. Saigon officials indicated they made the move at United States suggestion.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry also confirmed that an embassy in New Zealand and a consulate in Hong Kong are under consideration, as well as the expansion of the Israeli embassy in Singapore. Cambodia is expected to open an embassy in Jerusalem, although most countries would not recognize the city as Israel's capital because it is under occupation. All of these developments are seen as part of Israel's drive to tighten its links with Southeast Asia.

But it goes both ways. Informed Palestinian sources reported that during the Bangkok operation, the Black September commandos discovered important documents, including an Israeli appraisal of the latest US bombardments of North

In the wake of Israel's new agreement with South Vietnam, a spokesperson for the National Liberation Front of Vietnam told the Israeli daily *Yediot Ahronot*, "Israel has placed herself among our enemies," and his people would "continue to aid the Palestinian freedom fighters until their final victory."

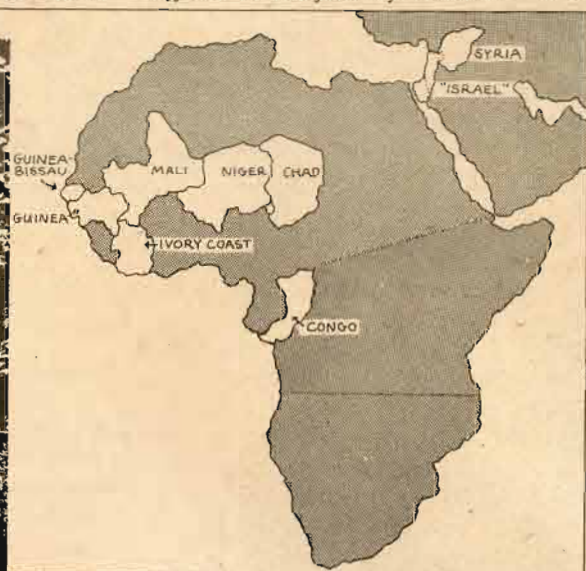
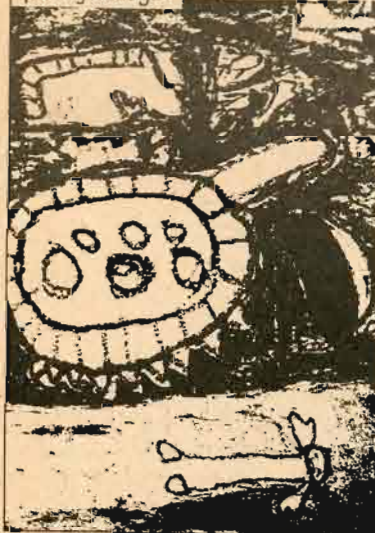
In the past month four African countries—Chad, Niger, Congo, Mali—have broken diplomatic relations with Israel. Early in December, the Republic of Chad announced the breaking of ties in solidarity with the Arab people, declaring that "the Israeli presence in Chad endangered the peace and security of this country and that of neighboring African countries."

Two weeks later the Israeli foreign ministry announced that Israel would reduce its representation in Niger and Congo to non-resident ambassador and non-resident charge d'affaires. At that time officials in Jerusalem claimed the move simply part of a "reappraisal of Israeli diplomatic representation abroad," and did not constitute a breach in relations. Arab observers charged that Israel "rushed into this action because Niger and Congo were expected to break their diplomatic ties very imminently." In fact, this is exactly what happened at the end of December—followed by Mali on January 6. The official communique from Congo denounced the "imperialist and expansionist policy" of Israel; that of Mali specifically condemned Israel's occupation of Arab land and its air attacks on neighboring Arab countries.

Even the President of the Ivory Coast (a country aligned with US interests in Africa), Felix Houphouet-Boigny, recently snubbed Israeli diplomatic maneuvers. Israeli Premier Meir had traveled to Geneva, Switzerland to meet with the West African leader in an attempt to counter the anti-Israel diplomatic moves in Africa. A spokesman for Houphouet-Boigny said today that the President had left for "somewhere in the mountains."

The Israeli cabinet responded to these developments by scheduling a full-scale debate on Israel's position in Africa. At the same time a veteran Israeli diplomat was sent to Zaïre [formerly Congo-Kinshasa—LG] to see about increasing Israeli aid to that country. This was described as part of the Israeli policy just announced by Foreign Minister Abba Eban, "to strengthen ties with friendly African countries after the recent setback suffered in less friendly countries." Israel

Palestinian child's drawing of an Israeli tank passing over a girl.



Vietnam and a study of North Vietnamese defenses. According to the Egyptian weekly *Rose el Yussif*, Israel has been smuggling arms and information out of Southeast Asia since 1967, and the base for these activities is Bangkok. One high-ranking US military official visited Israel in November and was "surprised" to discover American military equipment, which had been given to Saigon, in the occupied territories. The materiel, including helicopters, tanks, artillery, and armored vehicles, was smuggled to Israel through the bribery of South Vietnamese commanders. But according to *Rose el Yussif*, there is a permanent delegation of military experts in the Israeli embassy whose specific function is to select American weapons from the South Vietnamese supply and ship them to Israel.

still maintains diplomatic relations with 28 African countries and has embassies in 21 of them.

With a great deal of publicity, Israeli authorities broke up an alleged Syrian-Israeli spy and sabotage ring in December. At the last count, 6 Israeli Jews, 22 Druze [an Arab-Christian minority that has long supported the Israeli state—LG], and more than 30 Israeli Arabs were under arrest; a number of other suspects were released for lack of evidence. This is the first time that the Israeli government and the Israeli press have acknowledged that Arabs and Jews are working together against the Zionist state. The authorities claim that the alleged spy ring planned to assassinate "chauvinist" Israeli leaders,

One Must Never Sell the Earth ...



This article is about and written from *Akwesasne Notes*, a paper of native peoples (Indians), primarily in North America. The paper is produced by the White Roots of Peace, a group of native people who travel the country educating others based on the Akwesasne reservation (in New York State and Canada) of the Mohawk nation.

Akwesasne Notes began in 1968 as a small, printed collection of newspaper clippings about the arrest of 48 Mohawks at a demonstration. It has grown to a newspaper of over 40 pages with a circulation of 38,000. The paper has become a strong voice of the traditional Mohawk Longhouse community (a social, economic and religious organization following the laws of peace of the Iroquois six nation confederacy), as well as the voice of all native peoples struggling for their land and their freedom.

"ONE MUST NEVER SELL THE EARTH WHICH THE PEOPLE WALK."
—Crazy Horse

A campaign against the traditional people and *Akwesasne Notes* has been organized by tribal trustees (elected into a government set up by the state). The trustees and their followers are often called "State Indians" because they no longer follow the traditional ways and are collaborators with the state government.

The Akwesasne trustees have been aided by Russel Lazore, a Mohawk working for the State of New York as an economic development officer. He is reported to have said "My first job is to get rid of Jerry Gambill [Rarihokwats, editor of *Notes*]—I've got a lot of projects in mind, and I don't want him or that newspaper in my hair."

Although the trustees and Lazore aren't talking, the Longhouse people have discovered two of the projects Lazore has in mind. Reservation land is the first point along the St. Lawrence Seaway in US jurisdiction. Just past the reservation, the river runs through two locks, which charge ships \$1000 tolls each way. The tolls could be avoided if the ships unloaded on what is now reservation property. The Mohawks were offered and turned down millions of dollars for the land in 1960, but the trustees and shippers have not yet given up the idea.

Secondly, industrial plants around the reservation are having problems with waste disposal because of new local anti-pollution regulations. Reynolds Aluminum is negotiating with the trustees to lease reservation land (outside local government jurisdiction) for the burning of poisonous liquid chlorine. This would mean cash for the unsalaried trustees, as

well as the patronage of 12 jobs involved in the dumping and burning.

The land involved in both of these schemes is where the White Roots of Peace people are building their homes. The land was legally bought and is held for them in the name of Richard Cook, a Longhouse chief.

EVICITION AND DEPORTATION

Using legal technicalities, the trustees are trying to kick the people off their land. In September, the trustees posted the land with signs saying, "NO TRESPASSING—MOHAWK TRIBAL PROPERTY." They were confronted by a hundred Longhouse people who ripped up the signs. The next morning, the trustees had recruited people to help them make another attempt at seizing the land. Russel Lazore incited the crowd by shouting, "They're [the Longhouse people] opening up the reservation—they're going to bring in all the Blacks and Puerto Ricans. This land has been bought with Communist money from Jerry Gambill." Some of the people were tricked and only through the coolness of the Longhouse people was violence avoided and the crowd dispersed. The trustees have taken the land dispute before a county judge where the Native American Legal Defense and Education Fund is defending the White Roots of Peace group.

Two other families of the Longhouse have also received eviction notices. This includes the land where the traditional Indian Way School is located.

In addition, the editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, Rarihokwats, has been arrested on immigration charges. The only charge against him is that although he was born an American citizen, he took out Canadian citizenship in 1968, and that he is violating the law by "employment as editor of *Akwesasne Notes*." Actually, neither the US nor Canada should have control in this, because the Mohawk land is an independent nation that just happens to be within the two other nations.

But even under US law the charges are false, since work on the paper is unsalaried. The people who spend all their time on the paper are provided for by the Longhouse community.

Rarihokwats is free pending a hearing on deportation to Canada. A new issue of *Akwesasne Notes* has been produced. However, the harassment is clearly not over.

Akwesasne Notes can be purchased for 50 cents at Native American Artists, 133 Wooster Street, NYC, or from Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation via Roosevelttown, NY 13683. Also available from them is a large, beautiful calendar for \$2.

including Moshe Dayan. In addition, the Jewish suspects were alleged to have visited Syria, where they received training in arms and sabotage and passed military information. The Jewish suspects include two members of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, a break-off from Matzpen, the Israeli Socialist Organization. One of them was apparently involved with the Progressive Labor part of SDS while a student in the United States.

Israeli authorities first claimed that the alleged ring was planning to strike during the Christmas tourist season, but the story was later changed to the effect that no date was set and the suspects were still waiting for arms and materiel. Observers inside and outside of Israel

sharply criticized the press coverage of the case. A *Manchester Guardian* correspondent called it "trial by newspaper." The Israeli Rakakh Communist Party charged that the affair was timed to divert attention from Israel's social and economic problems, and that the alleged spy ring was being used as a pretext for suppressing radical movements and political parties which criticize the government.

For weekly news, listen to the Middle East Press Review, Thursdays, 6:00 p.m., on WBAI radio, 99.5 F.M.

The Struggle Continues

A Luta Continua

B.L.A.

BLACK LIBERATION ARMY

Anthony White (Kimu Olugbala) escaped from the Tombs last November. Woodie Green (Changa Olugbala) was wanted for questioning in connection with the murder of two patrolmen on the Lower East Side last spring. They were both murdered by New York City police while in a bar in Brooklyn on January 23. The LG received this communique about their murder.

Slave Name: Anthony White
Name in Struggle: Kimu Olugbala
Slave Name: Woodie Green
Name in Struggle: Changa Olugbala

Two black men lived, two black men loved. Two black men fought, two black men died. They were born into a world of beaten men and women, tired oxens in barren pastures. Born into a world where slaves had learned to love their masters. Born into a world where black babies and black minds are systematically exterminated. Detained in schools teaching self hate and obedience. Educated by scars of pain and reality. They were guided by the teachings of Malcolm X, Marighella, Lumumba and all those who have helped to make the revolution.

They were young blacks who once hung out, empty bellied, on the corners of oblivion, who were once possessed by the white witch of death (heroin). They were young black men who had been kidnapped, tried and convicted of being black. Black men who had been bound and gagged and caged in white men's zoos. They were black men who had vowed to never return. They saw truth and recognized it. They saw a way to freedom and were not afraid to take it.

They were field niggas who tried to burn down massa's house, they were field niggas that refused to compromise. They were field niggas that had refused to adjust. They were not bribed by a penny promotion. They were not bribed by Cadillacs and cocaine. They were not bribed by cheap promises and programs. They were field niggas who loved other niggas, field niggas who knew that the whole is more important than the part, and that there is no substitute for freedom. They were tired of the past and anxious for the future. They were tired of begging, they were anxious to take. They were tired of rhetoric, they were anxious for action. They were tired of slavery, they were anxious for freedom. They are the end of the past and the beginning of the future. They are the sparks that will set the prairie fire. They are the seeds of freedom. They are not alone. They are not unsung. Their bravery will be carved on the minds of tomorrow. Their strength will be felt on the triggers of freedom. Their love will be felt on the hearts of all those that struggle. They were part of a family that will have many children. They are part of a family that will struggle till freedom. They are part of a family that will fight until death.

THE OLUGBALA TRIBE OF THE
BLACK LIBERATION ARMY



Amilcar Cabral

The picture in the cover circle of this issue is of Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). He was assassinated on Saturday, January 20, just 10 years after the beginning of armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau. Amilcar Cabral combined—in an unusual but accurate way—theory and practice. The careful political education of many, many peasants and the establishment of people's committees in the liberated zones has enabled PAIGC to liberate and hold three-quarters of the country. There are several books and many articles by Cabral to guide us as we continue the work. Support groups of PAIGC are raising money, with a goal of \$100,000. Send all you can to:

African Liberation Support Committee
c/o IFCO
Room 508
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10027

note: Guinea is an independent country. Guinea-Bissau is the Portuguese colony.
see map on page 13

NYC TRIALS

Earl Whittaker

Earl Whittaker, a correction officer who had been accused of 27 counts of kidnapping, unlawful imprisonment, criminal solicitation and obstructing governmental administration stemming from the Tombs rebellion of 1970, was acquitted of all charges on January 18.

He was accused of advising and counselling inmates at the Tombs during the rebellion. His accusers were other guards, who, along with Brother Whittaker, were held hostage during the three days of the rebellion.

This trial is the second of three developed by New York District Attorney Frank Hogan stemming from the 1970 rebellion. In the first case, three inmates, Curtis Brown, Nathaniel Ragsdale, and Ricardo de Leon were acquitted of charges similar to those Earl Whittaker was being tried on (see LG Vol. 3 No. 5).

Two other inmates, Brothers Herbert X. Blyden and Stanley King, remain to be tried.

Richard "Dharuba" Moore

Richard "Dharuba" Moore is on trial for the second time on charges of attempted murder of two cops on the west side of Manhattan in May, 1971. Dharuba's first trial ended in a hung jury.

During the first trial, Terrence O'Reilly, the Assistant District Attorney handling the case, produced 50 witnesses but failed to place Dharuba at the scene of the shooting. The state's star witness is an admitted liar. The trial is being held at 100 Centre St. on the 13th floor.

H. Rap Brown, Sam Petty, Arthur Young, Levi Valentine

Jury selection in the trial of H. Rap Brown, Arthur Young, Sam Petty and Levi Valentine continued in New York amid charges by defense lawyers Bill Kunstler and Howard Moore that Asst. DA Jack Litman was being "openly racist" in his challenges to the seating of Black prospective jurors. Litman has so far pre-empted—that is, dismissed out of hand—every potential Black juror except one, who was accepted to the jury. As of this writing, eight jurors have been selected. The charges against the brothers range from armed robbery to attempted murder. The trial is at 100 Centre St. on the 11th floor.

* * *

The next few weeks will be crucially important in the trials of Dharuba and Rap and the other brothers.

Crowded courtrooms filled with supporters have always had positive effects on juries. These two trials will be no exception. Already, during Rap's trial, many older white people who were potential jurors have asked to be excused—apparently because the prospect of being a juror in a case of four Black men with a courtroom full of supporters freaked them out. Supporters in court usually assure any defendant of a jury less biased than an average jury.

During Earl Whittaker's trial, virtually no one was in court. He was acquitted anyway because of the flimsiness of the prosecution's case, and because he had a good lawyer—but that should not happen again.

Viewing these trials can give people a good political education. The contradictions between what is supposed to be American justice and the reality of the situation will be fairly clear to almost anyone after spending a few days in any courtroom.

new york demos

Continued from Page 6

Another response to the war in a Third World community was a Day of Solidarity with Vietnam held at the Lincoln Detox Program in the South Bronx. Put on by 60 staff members and some 200 "victims" (the drug addicts who are going through the detoxification program at Lincoln Hospital), the program included 2 films, *Peoples' War* and a film about Vietnam veterans called *Only the Beginning*, and speakers from different organizations.

The theme of the program was expressed in the leaflet distributed in the hospital and the community which read in part:

The struggle of Vietnam is for the same basic reason the Third World struggles continue all over the world: struggles for self-determination and self-government and control of the land. We say that Harlem is Vietnam; Puerto Rico is Vietnam; Mississippi, Latin America and Africa are Vietnam. Come and show your solidarity with our Vietnamese sisters and brothers.

There was an enthusiastic response to the program—a busload of people from the detox program went to the Washing-

ton demonstration together—and similar things are planned for the future.

SUMMING IT UP

These are by no means all of the protests which took place in New York over the continuation and escalation of the war. Many people helped gather signatures on petitions circulated by the New York Campaign to Sign the Agreements Now, collected part of the over \$400,000 collected by the Medical Committee for Aid to Indochina to help rebuild Bach Mai Hospital, and made an anti-war presence felt even in the midst of Christmas and New Year's festivities.

While these actions varied a great deal, there were some common features. For one thing, all of the activities were aimed in part at getting people to Washington. The surprisingly large number of people who went to protest the inauguration has to be partially a result of these efforts. Clearly, many of these groups are new and in early stages of development. But for New Yorkers trying to break out of their isolation into political action, they point to a bright future.



the *END* of the *TRUMAN* YEARS

by a friend of the LG

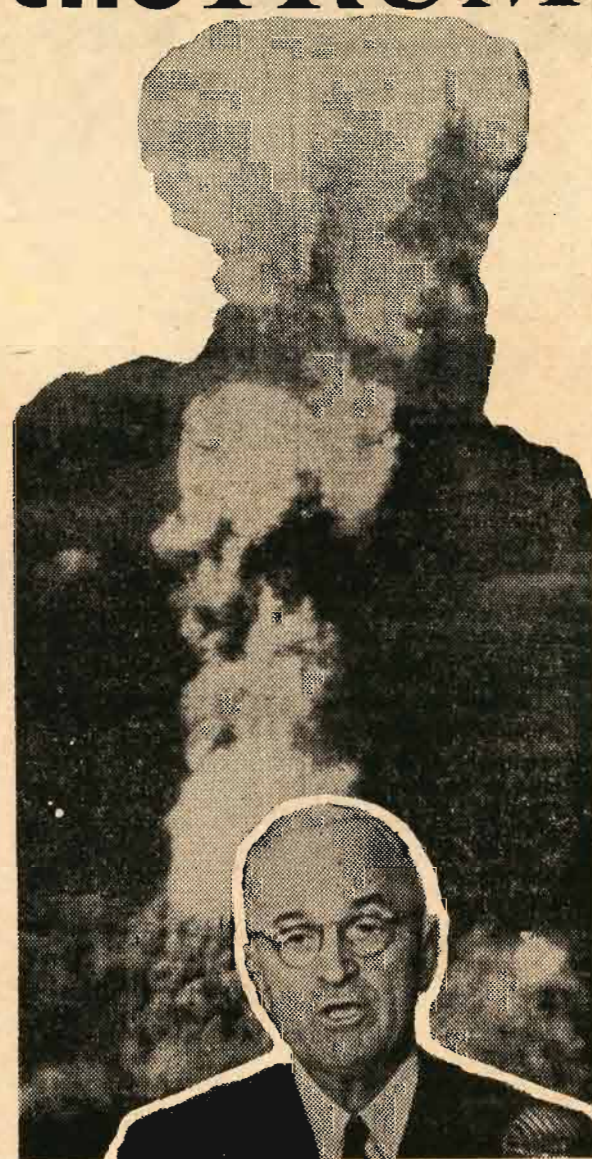
Harry Truman, the 33rd President of the United States, died on December 27, 1972, as the US terror bombing of North Vietnam reached its peak. Many liberal papers ran self-righteous editorials denouncing Nixon's bombing policy. Yet these same papers praised Truman as the man who helped "vindicate democracy's faith in the common man."

What the papers failed to report was what President Harry Truman said on August 9, 1945: "The first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a *military* target. . . in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of Americans." The ferocity of the atomic bomb was demonstrated at the cost of hundreds of thousands of civilian lives in residential areas of Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

Nor did many papers see fit to mention Truman's memorable statement as a Senator in 1941: "If we see that Germany is winning, we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany, and in that way let them kill as many as possible." Dropping the atom bomb was Truman's first major decision after FDR's death. The bomb was to be the key element in the crusade against communism. As Truman noted: "If it explodes as I think it will, I'll certainly have a hammer on those boys."

Under Truman's direction, US imperialism reached global proportions. These were the crucial years of the cold war, and "containment of communism" as a policy. In March 1947 the Truman Doctrine was begun. Truman informed Congress that Britain was pulling out of her commitments to Greece and Turkey. Therefore, the United States would have to fill her role. He asked for \$400 million in military aid and authorization to send American military personnel to these two countries. In his speech, Truman specifically tied US interests to the maintenance of dictatorial regimes. He phrased it in now familiar US cold war rhetoric: "The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms." Greece at this time was governed by a monarchy threatened by a popular-based guerrilla movement. The Turkish dictatorship was worried because the Russians were asking for a role in the strategic Dardanelles. In fact, Truman was more interested in establishing US control over the Mediterranean and the oil-rich Middle East than "free peoples of the world."

The next significant step of US foreign policy was the Marshall Plan, announced late in 1947. It provided billions of dollars in economic aid to Western Europe. It was drawn up deliberately to exclude the Soviet Union. Though justified in humanitarian terms, Truman was motivated by fear of Communist electoral victories in France and Italy and by the need to rebuild Western



Europe as an area for American markets and investments: "considered in terms of our own economy, European recovery is essential. . . The failure to revive fully this vast trading system. . . would result in economic deterioration throughout the world."

1949 saw the development of two other keystones of US foreign policy. The first, the Point-4 program, promised aid to underdeveloped countries. Truman claimed it would "bring better health, more education, more and better food to millions of people." Point-4, in fact, laid the basis by which the US would use foreign aid to control third world economies. The second keystone, NATO, was formed to encircle the Soviet Union with bases, and undercut United Nations attempts to

develop means of collective security. Truman considered NATO his most satisfying triumph.

Throughout this period, Truman continued to give aid to Chiang Kai-Shek's "nationalists" in China. In 1948, he requested \$570 million in aid for them. And in 1950, Truman was responsible for the decision to send US troops to South Korea. Truman's speech that announced the sending of these forces was one of the most significant of this time. In it, he said that the 7th Fleet would now protect Taiwan, and that military assistance to the Philippines and the French forces in Indochina would be accelerated. The US commitment in the Far East was thus firmly established.

Truman's domestic program was standard corporate liberalism. It followed the guidelines established by FDR and emphasized a moderate civil rights program, medical care, federal aid for housing, etc. Though considered a friend of organized labor, Truman in 1946 seized the coal mines after a strike had started and seized the railroads at the threat of a strike there. This was at a time when labor hoped to gain wage increases given up during the war.

The 1948 campaign is usually represented as Fighting Harry at his best as he conducted a popular campaign to upset Thomas Dewey. What is not so well known is the way that Truman and the Democrats rebaited Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party. Early in 1948 it looked as if Wallace, an early critic of the cold war, might poll as many as 5 million votes and hurt Truman badly. The Democratic strategy then became to portray Wallace as an appeaser and a Communist dupe. Truman, in March 1948, read him out of the Democratic Party: "I don't want and I will not accept the political support of Henry Wallace and his Communists."

Truman is also usually seen as a staunch defender of civil liberties. While Truman did criticize many of the excesses of McCarthyism, this was always done in the context that his security program was more effective. In 1947 Truman established a loyalty and security program for government employees and defense workers. In 1948 his administration prosecuted 11 top members of the Communist Party, and by 1950 Truman was able to boast: "Not a single person who has been adjudged to be a Communist or otherwise disloyal remains on the government payroll today."

This in brief is the history of the Truman years. Lately the dictatorships of Greece, Turkey, Iran and South Korea have taken steps to try to consolidate their positions. All are in power today because of aid from the Truman administration. In Athens there is a life-size statue of Harry Truman. It has been bombed three times since the military coup in 1967. Some people have clearly not yet forgotten.

ATTICA con't.

firing of a nurse who had given the inmates humane treatment and who had testified in court that patients in the hospital were being beaten. But the strike was also over many other issues, including a call for an investigation of the parole board and a higher level officer to be assigned to the inmate liaison committee, and, most importantly, implementation of the original 28 Attica demands. The prison administration responded to these demands by refusing to feed the locked-in inmates and by declaring a state of emergency. Two inmates were thrown in the hole. But the inmates did win the re-hiring of the nurse and the promise that a top-level prison official would meet with the liaison committee. As one brother inside noted, "It does seem clear that the extent to which demands were met is partially due to the administration's fear of another Attica rebellion and its acknowledgment of the strength and power in the brothers' solidarity."

In October the Attica inmates released a list of nine medical demands that called for a completely new medical staff and an upgrading of the prison's entire medical facilities. These demands were sparked by the death by heart attack of an inmate, Mike Weaver, who, after complaining of chest pains, was given only aspirin. The inmates asked in the petition that the family "be justly and fairly compensated for the loss of their loved one" and "that murder indictments be issued for the medical staff who were responsible for Mike's death."

On November 8, Black Solidarity Day,

150-200 inmates participated in an "exercise" demonstration against the "conditions of harassment" and the lack of "meaningful changes that inmates could identify with." The inmates jogged around the yard and then, as they reported, "The lines formed into one big beautiful circle, every man in unity. The joy of having done something together made all hands clap after each exercise with joy and voices rise with the cry of 'Right On!' and 'Yes sir'... For five minutes of very electrifying and heart-warming moments, the men shook hands and embraced one another in the most civilized and brotherly manner, for men of different beliefs, ideologies and principles." The administration's response to this was to bring out tear gas, shot guns and machine guns, to order all inmates back to their cells and to place 100 inmates in segregation.

The Attica indictments, the repression inside Attica and the state's maxi-maxi [see box] are all part of the same policy. Any moves toward "liberalization" of the prisons has been shelved for a get-tough policy. All of this contrasts, of course, with the McKay Commission report, which severely criticized conditions inside Attica and Rockefeller's handling of the whole situation. This report, which received wide publicity when released, has served to hide the reality of what is happening in New York's prisons. The system has again used a public report to create the illusion that progressive changes are being made while at the same time moving in a completely opposite direction.

The Attica indictments mean that there will probably be at least 37 separate

trials and that they will possibly occur in more than one city. The state has already spent many hundreds of thousands of dollars on its investigation and will probably spend \$1,000,000 by the time these trials are concluded. The Attica Defense Committee is trying to line up a lawyer for each defendant. Lawyers and inmates together are considering a variety of motions, including a change of venue away from rural Wyoming County. It should be many months before the actual trials begin.

The victory of the Tombs 3—Ricardo DeLeon, Curtis Brown and Nathaniel Ragsdale—shows that trials of this type can be won by an aggressive strategy. Despite the judge's adverse rulings, defendants in the Tombs case were able to put conditions in the Tombs itself on trial. They were helped by the fact that nine third world people were on the jury and the courtroom at the end was filled. This really helped politicize that trial. And the Attica brothers have further emphasized this need for outside support in a statement sent from the segregation unit in Auburn:

Let the world know that the brother's of Attikkka are alive and still fighting for justice and that we want the world to look in on the trial wheresoever it be held, on the 16th day of Jan. 1973 we are supposed to appear before the Wyoming County Court Justice Carmen F. Ball. Let's keep him honest and have the people there, let him know that the brother's that appear there are not alone, let him know that the eye's and ear's of the world are upon the trial and that the people will not allow any injustice to be

given to their brother's in that court or any other court in the land. . . There were brother's and sister's and comrades at that courthouse carrying banners reading "Fight the Racist" "Hands Off the Attikkka Brothers" and "Attikkka Means Fight Back". We need more banner's, we need more support in this fight, and I am writing this letter to you so you can get out and raise the support that we need. . . We will carry the battle to them, we will stand up as men do and face the false charges and strike the blow for freedom that needs striking, this you can depend on. Will you be there, that is what I want to know. Will you do your job? This is the showdown from Sept. 13, 1971. Are you ready dear sister and brother and all oppressed person? This can be shown to us and all the other brother's that are in this C. C. camp. By your support that we are not forgotten men and that are brother's and comrades did not die in vain. Let all the people know that we are in this new dog-house of the Dept. of Correction but we have not lost one drop of the unity that was shown on the 9-13th of Sept. 1971. And that we will fight the oppressor all the way.

We remain yours in the struggle,
ALL THE ATTIKKKA BROTHER'S
AUBURN C.C. CAMP
135 STATE STREET, AUBURN, NY 13022

Please send any contributions to:

ATTICA FUND
156 Fifth Avenue Room 722
New York, New York 10010
(212) - 741 - 2640

Liberated Guardian/ Page 15

Nicaragua's Been Erupting For The Last 100 YEARS

The information in this article is based on an interview with Carlos Fonseca Amador, commander in chief of the Sandino National Liberation Front, that was done by friends in Cuba. We were unable to print the entire interview because of its length, but in light of the large number of stories about Nicaragua in the straight press lately, we felt that people should have more information about the realities of life in Nicaragua, and the revolutionary struggle going on there.

Nicaragua has been a victim of U.S. intervention more times than any other Latin American country in the twentieth century. A small country 600 miles away from the United States, it has been victimized by American aggression for more than a hundred years; although it is a small, poor country, it has always offered resistance.

The resistance in Nicaragua reached its high point under the leadership of Cesar Augusto Sandino. Sandino was a poor peasant who grew up in the province of Masaya. In his youth he saw the atrocities of the Yankees in his area — in 1912 they invaded, with 3,000 troops against an army of 400 patriots.

After this, Sandino was forced into exile for several years, in Central America and Mexico. In 1926, when the Yankee aggression escalated, he returned to Nicaragua, setting up the headquarters of a resistance army in the Segovian Mountains.

Later that year civil war broke out in Nicaragua, between a U.S. puppet government headed by the Conservatives, and the opposition Liberals. It soon became clear that the Liberals were winning, and in 1927, the U.S. sold out its Conservative allies, and backed a Liberal government. But the Liberals had come into power only through the participation of Sandino's combat units, who were fighting for the people, and not the Yankees. So when the "rebel" government sold out, Sandino formed the "Army in Defense of Nicaragua's National Sovereignty," and continued the armed struggle for national independence and democratic freedoms. This army took up arms on May 4, 1927 — and May 4 is still a clandestine national holiday in Nicaragua.

Sandino's army was composed entirely of poor, landless peasants, women and men. It was democratically organized — the guerrillas called each other "sister" and "brother," officers and soldiers, and were respectful of the people's property and rights. In spite of great poverty, there was a sense of discipline and comradeship.

The guerrillas won many victories throughout the country — in the cities and in the coastal regions, as well as in the mountains. The Yankee invaders committed incredible atrocities in response. There are records of them setting shacks on fire with the occupants inside, throwing babies in the air and catching them on a point of a bayonet, introducing prostitution into a country where it had never existed. This came out

of a long history in Nicaragua — occupying the port of San Juan del Norte and then burning it in 1854 and imposing a North American named Walker as president in 1855.

The program of Sandino's army, in today's language, was a program of national liberation: against imposed treaties and foreign military, economic and political intervention, and in favor of democratic rights and national economic progress.

In 1933, after a resounding military defeat, the Yankees were forced to leave Nicaragua. The U.S. claimed a "victory" — but the Sandinists remained in control of the territory, and the Americans left!

After the U.S. left, Sandino agreed to negotiations with the puppet government. But on his way to the negotiating table, Sandino was assassinated, on orders from the American embassy.

This was a catastrophe for the guerrillas. Although the movement remained intact for four years after Sandino's death, it was disorganized and without leadership.

Small bands of surviving guerrillas, supported by the local peasants, survived

in the mountains throughout the years; the world forgot about Nicaragua pretty much. But in 1956 there was an event that shook things up again.

A lone rebel, Rigoberto Lopez Perez, outraged by the rape of his country by the dictator Somoza, assassinated him on Sept. 21, 1956. Although Rigoberto was himself killed in the act, and Somoza was succeeded by an equally vile member of his family, this proved to be a turning point for the struggle in Nicaragua.

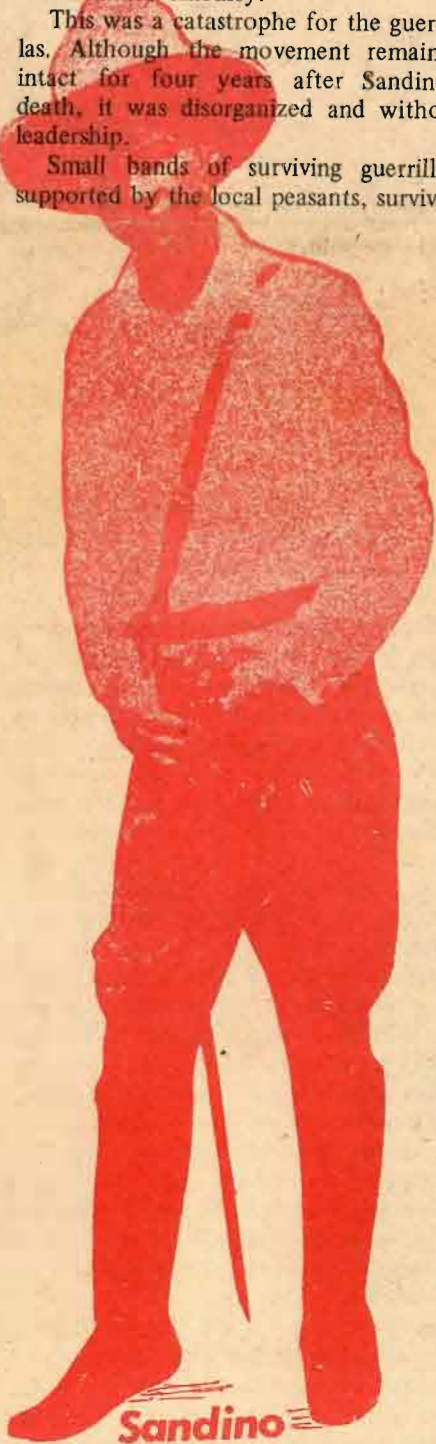
Members of Sandino's old army began to organize again in the mountains — even though they were all over 60! They started a process that culminated in 1961 with the founding of the Sandino National Liberation Front. Working from a base among the mountain peasantry, who have a long history of anti-Yankee consciousness, the guerrillas carried out more than 100 actions between 1956 and 1962.

The Front has had an anti-imperialist consciousness from the start as well. In 1963, when Kennedy was meeting with

have also talked of making a petroleum aqueduct through Nicaragua, because the Panama Canal can't handle the oil transports for the new Alaska pipeline.

Nicaragua is also useful as a U.S. military base. The U.S. invasion of Cuba at Playa Giron (the "Bay of Pigs") was launched from Puerto Cabezas in Nicaragua, and *gusanos* have used Nicaraguan territory for other invasion attempts as well. The U.S. also found it useful to use Somoza's planes to quell a rebellion in El Salvador earlier this year — it would have been too embarrassing for the U.S. to invade itself, so it sent a sub-imperialist puppet to do its dirty work. This also comes out of a history — the U.S. used Nicaragua as a base for its invasion of Guatemala in 1954, and of the Dominican Republic in 1965, in both cases to get rid of progressive governments.

One of the most notorious examples of Yankee imperialism is the exploitation of Nicaragua's mineral wealth. Allowed by the puppet government to mine without paying taxes, and to import machine-



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his Latin American puppets in San Jose, Costa Rica, the Front took over a radio station in Managua, the capital of Nicaragua.

It is important to be aware of the repression in the face of which the Nicaraguan revolutionaries are forced to operate. The current dictator, Luis Anastasio Somoza Debayle, has ordered the shooting down of peaceful student demonstrators, and the assassination of peasants in the countryside. He orders the rape of women prisoners in a special torture chamber next to his office in Tiscapa Hill. Somoza is a graduate of the United States Military Academy and has just received an honorary doctorate in Law from the University of Pennsylvania!

Why has the U.S. intervened so long and so intensely in a small, impoverished country like Nicaragua? Firstly, there is geography. Nicaragua is an isthmus connecting the Atlantic and Pacific. In the 19th century, Vanderbilt made a fortune operating transportation enterprises over Nicaragua's rivers and lakes, which form a natural waterway between the oceans. This is still important today — Panama is beginning to object to U.S. presence, and the U.S. government and Howard Hughes

ry tariff-free (much of which ends up on the black market), the Americans even "own" a port city, Puerto Isabel, where only foreigners are allowed to work.

The wages in these mining enterprises are next to nothing and the living conditions are like concentration camps. It is said that when the Yankees want to hire maids in the mining towns they can't just take local women, but have to bring them from distant towns, because all the women there have tuberculosis or are prostitutes.

The program of the Front is a program of national liberation, as it was in Sandino's time. They call for Nicaragua's resources to be controlled by the Nicaraguan people, and not by the Yankees who presently exploit them in their own interests. As well, they call for a program of land reform, mass education, and democratic freedoms internally.

Nicaragua is not a peaceful Central American country only of interest to Americans when there's an earthquake, but a nation with a hundred year history of war against imperialism. As Carlos Fonseca said, "Today they say, 'Create two, three many Vietnams,' and we answer: 'Nicaragua has been Vietnam and will be Vietnam.'"