

# MOVEMENT

OCTOBER, 1968

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## VIET NAM GI

20¢

## CHICAGO

## HUEY



# HUEY VERDICT: RACIST COMPROMISE

The names of the characters in the life-death drama have changed but the play remained the same old shit, with a modern twist. The verdict is in, but the trial has just begun.

For the trial is not only that of Huey Newton but symbolically of racism in America -- actually another test of the confrontation between black militants and occupying police.

The jury was unable to believe that Huey P. Newton committed murder last October 28, but still unable to overcome the pressures of a white racist society and vote for an acquittal.

The jury of seven women and five men, whose foreman was a black bank manager, found Huey Newton guilty of voluntary manslaughter and not guilty of assaulting a police officer. The manslaughter charge refers to the dead police officer, John Frey, and the acquittal on assault to the wounded officer, Herbert Heanes.

What does the verdict mean? It means that the jury decided that Huey Newton shot Frey "in the heat of passion", under such provocation that any "reasonable man would have been provoked." It means that Huey, in the jury's eyes, shot Frey without malice or premeditation. It means he did not assault or intentionally shoot Patrolman Heanes.

What does the verdict mean? It means that Huey has been found not guilty of first or second degree murder, or of assault, or of kidnapping -- all charges which the DA sought to pin upon him.

Even people most familiar with the testimony and intricacies of the case

were somewhat confused by the verdict. It seems a contradiction in terms -- a finding of guilty and not guilty at the same time during the same incident. As will be seen later, the prosecution was weak to say the least; weak beyond a reasonable doubt. It seems likely that some members of the jury, believing in Huey's innocence, held out for part of the four days of deliberation, but eventually concluded that the lesser charge, which is being appealed, was the wiser course.

Wiser because it could not be predicted what kind of a jury might be obtained were there to be a retrial on the same charges. At least, they might have reasoned, a new trial now can only choose between acquittal and manslaughter. Huey Newton cannot again be charged with the same capital crimes with which he had been charged before. Not again for murder, kidnap, or assault.

What does the verdict mean? It means that a jury unable to agree on Huey's guilt was under too much external pressure from the powerful Oakland establishment to see their way clear to free a man against whom the evidence presented was at best dubious and often clearly false. It means they reached a political agreement -- a political compromise -- if even in their own minds -- and agreed that he must be guilty of and sentenced for something. Even most establishment news commentators view the verdict as a "political" one.

What does the verdict mean? It means that the Oakland establishment has gotten

part of its way, though not all of it... but far more than they had a right to expect given the truth of the case and the somewhat clumsy frameup. Their goal had been the elimination of Huey Newton. They would have preferred to have one of their most creative and effective antagonists put away for life. Instead, unless the case is reversed on appeal, they will lock him away for fifteen years... and Huey does not doubt that they will make him serve every day of the maximum penalty (2-15 years for manslaughter). Fifteen years. It ain't what the establishment wanted but its the next best thing.

Assistant DA Lowell Jensen was hot after the death penalty. He challenged and threw off every perspective juror who was opposed to capital punishment.

The kidnapping case was thrown out by the judge, at Defense Attorney Charles Garry's insistence when a prosecution "star witness", the supposed victim, Dell Ross refused to testify against Huey. It was clear to most movement people who heard his testimony that he did not consider himself as having been kidnapped.

Jensen's theory of the "crimes" of assault and murder was the following: that Huey, a convicted felon, was carrying two matchboxes of marijuana and a P38 gun in his car. Fearing harsh prison terms, Huey supposedly shot two cops who stopped his car early in the morning of October 28. Jensen paraded a long chain of witnesses who were

CONTINUED ON PG. 8

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## LETTERS

## SEGAL ON ICE

EDITORS NOTE: FOR THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS BROTHER JEFF SEGAL HAS BEEN IN FEDERAL PRISON SERVING A TERM FOR REFUSING INDUCTION INTO THE ARMY. AS OUR MOVEMENT CONTINUES TO STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST AND RACIST AMERICA MANY MORE OF US WILL FACE PRISON TERMS. LIFE IN PRISON CAN BE VERY HARD AND VERY LONELY. MAIL FROM FRIENDS IS VIRTUALLY THE ONLY LINK WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD. JEFF IS BEING DENIED THE MAIL PRIVILEGES THAT ALL PRISONERS ARE ENTITLED TO. WE ASK THAT ALL BROTHERS AND SISTERS WRITE TO JEFF AND AT THE SAME TIME SEND LETTERS OF COMPLAINT DEMANDING THAT JEFF BE ALLOWED TO RECEIVE HIS MAIL. THE LETTERS TO JEFF SHOULD BE ADDRESSED:

TO JEFF SHOULD BE ADDRESSED:

JEFF SEGAL  
9689 PC  
BOX 4000  
SPRINGFIELD, MO. 65802

THE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO THE WARDEN OF THE PRISON AT THE SAME ADDRESS AND/OR TO THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER THAT JEFF SENT TO A FRIEND LAST MONTH:

8/1/68

capitalist labor day

Dearest Soul-mate,

I have just finished reading Kerouac's BIG SUR - I traveled down the Bay grooving on what he said with you and now want to be with you so bad; what an incredible frustration, but the trip was so fine. We're going to do it real-like when I get out of here. (gonna try something different and just put down a series of mind pictures. The things I think about, stuff that pops into my head as I write.)

Kerouac is beautiful. I went crazy and sane with him through the book and think it'd be a stone gas if he was on my correspondence list.

Strange and beautiful things go through our minds here all of the time - like things we miss and a going to do

or do all of the time and aren't going to do (at least for a long time)

I'm going to get dozens of oranges & squeeze myself gallons of orange juice - gorge myself on orange juice

Sleep late

Not stand in line to eat

Let my hair grow long

Wear clothes with colour in it

Kiss lots of people

Never sleep alone

Get stoned

Eat a corned beef sandwich

and jillions of other things.

Then to trip out on things to do together - like show you my favorite tree-a-tree I used to play on in Jackson Park in Chicago. Or going up the Russian River to my cousin's cabin. Listening to Muddy Waters in Sylvio's bopping through Roosevelt University. Eating in the great Chinese Restaurant swimming in the ocean and making love in all of these places.

I'd be working or sleeping or eating or sumptin' & think about you and doing

some groovy thing.

Other things happen too-

like really really understanding the blues - it's pain & beauty & sorrow. It's a kind of sorrow that's not despair but strength to feel pain & suffering with a knowledge of strength & survival & not hopelessness "Trouble in mind, I'm blue, but I won't be blue always, a little bit a' sun gonna shine in my back door someday-" It's a fine and beautiful thing to feel. Or the agony of the beats that made them travel and create the water that we now swim in.

or hate - the longer they attempt to isolate me from my brothers and sisters the more it builds up inside of me. Now just standing waiting for my name to be called when mail is distributed and not getting any and knowing that the reason is that the beasts who run this place are afraid of us and a keeping me from hearing from the comrades just enrages me further. I don't know when or how long from now but I'm not going to be able to keep it all bottled up for much longer.

Or jealousy - I think about the things you told me you were doing and get to feeling jealous. Not because you shouldn't be doin' those things but because it ain't me out there instead. It's irrational & nonsensical & will go away when I get out but grabs a hold of me at times anyway.

It's like beginning to even like bad rock & roll music - actually dug listening to that come to San Francisco with flowers in your hair idioy

and begin to look twice at

ugly women.

Feeling nostalgic reading the San Francisco Chronicle.

Your taste goes all to Hell in here. Which doesn't mean a permanent mal-function but a temporary disability (as I know, but those things happen just the same & I hate the fact that they happen).

My favorite time of the day becomes night time because it means that I can go to sleep and dream & leave this place. Here's a new learning, 'cause now I know how people feel who want to escape thru drugs - out there on the streets. Dreaming is that for me. I'd never become an escapist but, at least, now I know how people feel who do it and I understand them way down inside me. Every night I go to Chicago or San Francisco or New York or travelling between with you & our people and build up all kinds of great fantasies - maybe sometime I'll write them down they would make some wierd reading. Just thought - not only do the mail censorship/regulations inhibit content but also form. I can't type or use different paper or use space like it'd be fun since we try to cram everything in the space we have (oh, you don't have to limit letters to 2 pages).

Who have you met so far and how do you like the scene, people, places out there?

We make such beautiful destroyers together.

Love,  
Jeff

Jeffrey Segal  
9689 PCS

## L'INTERNATIONALE

Dear Comrades:

The scope and nature of the insurrectionary actions taken throughout the highly industrialized countries this past year have initiated a new phase of revolutionary struggle. It is now clear that the existence of anti-imperialist fronts within the imperialist nations is no longer sufficient for revolutionary struggle. The insurrection at Columbia University, the Easter Actions in Germany and the May Revolution in France all point, with varying degrees of intensity, towards the formation of social anti-capitalist forces within each country.

The new level of action demands a coordinated attempt among members of the movement in different countries to define more clearly the nature and importance of these actions and the problems facing the revolutionary movements in these countries. We think that, at this stage of historical and political development, a dialogue leading to the creation of a coherent revolutionary theory is necessary if we wish to insure the growth of an international movement. We are therefore calling for an International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements which will address itself to two main themes: the stage of class struggle in the individual countries and the potential of new revolutionary agents, and the prospects and possible forms of an international revolutionary movement.

For too long the United States movement has isolated itself from the movement in Europe. The Assembly will meet at Columbia from the 17 to 25 of September. It will largely take the form of open, mass meetings, thus allowing the presentation of an internationalist perspective to North American radical youth.

All correspondence and any specific questions should be sent to:  
Columbia Strike Co-ordinating Committee  
P.O. Box 238  
Cathedral Station  
219 West 104 Street  
New York City, N.Y. 10025  
Columbia Strike Co-ordinating Committee and Students for a Democratic Society

L'INTERNATIONALE SERA LE GENRE HUMAIN!

This letter of invitation has been sent to over twenty groups in various ad-

vanced, highly industrialized countries; so far, it has received enthusiastic replies from many of the groups. The letter itself, though, only hints at the two substantive questions such an assembly raises: the necessity for calling it, and the questions to be discussed.

At Columbia, the longer the strike went on, the more we felt the necessity for some kind of CRITICAL gauge for our own actions; in declaring the Strike Committee, representing some 7000 people, holding "liberated" classes, staging confrontation, and establishing the "Liberation School", we constantly felt the need to be in greater contact with movements engaged in similar actions. Such movements certainly existed, yet it was practically impossible to get any news, for example, from France, on the way their "open" assemblies ran, or any detailed report on the different "Critical Universities" being set up in Germany. While the movements appeared to be at a similar stage of struggle -- or at least suggested that -- there was little or no contact among them.

The questions that will be discussed are precisely those which arise out of that stage of struggle: how politically efficacious are exemplary minority acts; what are the best ways in which the different movements have made connections with the traditional working class; what issues have they found most successful to organize different constituencies around -- if there are any such issues at all; what relationship do they see evolving between themselves and the third world, etc.? We wish to discuss all these questions -- from the most mundane organizational ones -- with as many people from the American movement as possible. For those reasons, the Assembly will not be held solely at Columbia but at as many different universities within the New York area as possible, and the foreign representatives will be available for speaking tours after the assembly is over. The spring actions taken throughout the world this year represented an international mobilization; the similarities that the different movements expressed must be understood; there is an international solidarity growing that should be expanded. We see the Assembly as one step in this process.

EL MUNDO, sábado 7 de septiembre de 1968



EL MUNDO  
TALLER DOCENTE DE LA ESCUELA DE  
PERIODISMO DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE LA  
HABANA.

o The Movement  
en la Biblioteca

En la Biblioteca Nacional se ha recibido una colección del periódico The Movement, órgano de agrupaciones de izquierda norteamericana. Esta colección se encuentra a disposición del público en la Hemeroteca de dicha institución.

THE MOVEMENT IN THE LIBRARY HAVANA... The National Library has received a collection of the newspaper, THE MOVEMENT, organ of groups of the northamerican new left. This collection is open to the public in the periodicals section of the library.

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BROTHER IN EXILE - JEFF SEGAL



# WELFARE MOTHERS AND STUDENTS

## *Dig It . . . And Do It*

by Bill Ayers and Terry Robbins  
Ohio-Michigan SDS

Ann Arbor, Michigan is by its own standards a progressive, forward-looking community. Centered around the 30,000 students at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor calls itself the "research center of the midwest". Ann Arbor's mayor has spoken of his town as place where "there are few, if any, real problems", a statement reminiscent of Mayor Daley's famous boast, "there are no slums in the city of Chicago".

Last year Ann Arbor was chosen by LOOK magazine for one of its All-American City awards. Last week Ann Arbor unofficially acknowledged the honor by finally looking the part; it was as all-American as tactical riot units, downtown areas sealed-off by the pigs, beatings, mass arrests, and bloodied newsmen. As American, as Rap once said, as cherry pie.

The incident that brought the pigs out this time was an escalating protest on the part of welfare mothers and student supporters for higher clothing grants. Briefly, the week's events went like this:

### Tuesday, September 3

Thirty welfare mothers sat in at the Washtenaw County building in protest of inadequate allocations for school clothing. The mothers, representing the Ypsilanti Welfare Action Group and Humanized Existing Welfare (HEW), were denied a meeting with the County Board of Supervisors to discuss their grievances, and proceeded to occupy the halls and offices of the Social Services Department from 11 AM until late in the afternoon. A confrontation was averted when the supervisors agreed to meet with the mothers. After a two hour meeting, it was agreed that the mothers would return on Wednesday to present their grievances in detail.

### Wednesday

When the mothers returned to the County Building, they found the offices closed. They were finally permitted to see a group of caseworkers, who told them that they were specifically ordered by Social Services Director Alfred Brose not to release any money. The mothers pressed for a continuation of their meeting with the supervisors, and it took place at 2 PM.

The mothers were offered \$40 each out of a \$50,000 general emergency fund by the Supervisors. Mrs. Shirley Haywood, speaking for the group, promptly rejected the offer. "We want each mother to determine her individual needs", she said, indicating the \$40 was far too low a clothing grant.

During the meeting, about 30 pigs, ten in plainclothes, entered the room and harassed the mothers. The supervisors refused to ask the pigs to leave, and the meeting was terminated.

Meanwhile, MICHIGAN DAILY editor Steve Wildstrom was beaten and arrested inside the County Building when he tried to confront Sheriff Douglas Harvey about alleged harassment of DAILY reporters. Wildstrom was charged with disorderly

conduct and assaulting an officer, and was released on \$25 bail.

That evening, 400 students marched from the campus to the County Jail to protest police brutality and to support the Welfare mothers. 150 people then attended a Voice-SDS meeting to plan further strategy.

### Thursday

Five welfare mothers met with the board of supervisors at 1:30. They again demanded that clothing grants be arranged according to individual need, and requested that \$72,000 be appropriated to serve for clothing funds. Robert Harris, Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, countered by offering each mother a \$60 grant. The offer was rejected.

At 5:15, 52 people sat in at the county building. 28 were students from the university, the rest welfare mothers. About a hundred pigs, led by Sheriff Harvey, broke up the sit-in and arrested the 52 people. Funds for release of the students was immediately provided by the office of the Vice-President in charge of Student Affairs, upon approval from University President Robben Fleming.

That evening 900 students gathered on the diag, the center of campus, for a rally initially called by the local Mobilization Committee to discuss the events of the week before in Chicago. Much of the meeting, however, centered on strategies for support of the welfare mothers and protesting the day's arrests. The group was divided about an immediate march to the local jail, most feeling that direction had to come from the welfare mothers themselves. Four workshops came out of the rally. No action was taken that evening, but a large crowd gathered outside the jail where the demonstrators were being held. The pigs displayed a massive show of force. The jail was ringed by deputies and pigs from several counties, including the Oakland County riot squad armed with 4 foot riot sticks, helmets, masks, tear gas guns, and dogs.

### Friday - More Arrests

1200 people attended a rally on the diag at noon, called by Student Government Council. About 600 proceeded to march from the diag to the County Building, and formed a picket line outside.

Inside, welfare mothers were again meeting with the supervisors. Negotiations stalled again, and at 3:30 the mothers decided to hold another sit-in. They requested student support and while a crowd of about 1000 marched outside, 170 students entered the building.

At 5:30 the bust came. Sheriff Harvey, employing 150 pigs with nightsticks, moved in and arrested the entire group. Two pigs armed with M-16s were posted on a nearby rooftop and several police dogs were held in reserve. At first the arrests went without incident, but soon the pigs escalated to beatings, four-on-one tactics of removing people from the building; paying particular attention to anyone showing a "V" sign, or offering any sign of resistance. In all, one hundred eighty two people were busted, charged with trespassing, and released later that evening on \$25-50 bail.

Money for bail again came from University sources, but this time some of the money was used to bail out the welfare mothers, many of whom were being arrested for the second time in a week.

### Saturday

A meeting was scheduled for Sunday at 3 pm between the mothers and the supervisors. The supervisors were running scared and a settlement seemed imminent. The mothers temporarily suspended all demonstrations.

### Monday - Settlement

No progress was made over the weekend. However, late Monday evening, after an eight hour meeting a settlement was finally reached. Robert Harrison of the Board of Supervisors agreed to provide \$91,000 in clothing money to the county's 1,300 ADC children. The money is to be allotted first, within thirty days, to all applicants requesting funds up to \$70. After the thirty days, any remaining funds will be used to fill any needs above the initial \$70.

The settlement came following a noon rally attended by 500 people on the Diag, and a march of about three hundred people to the County Building. It also followed

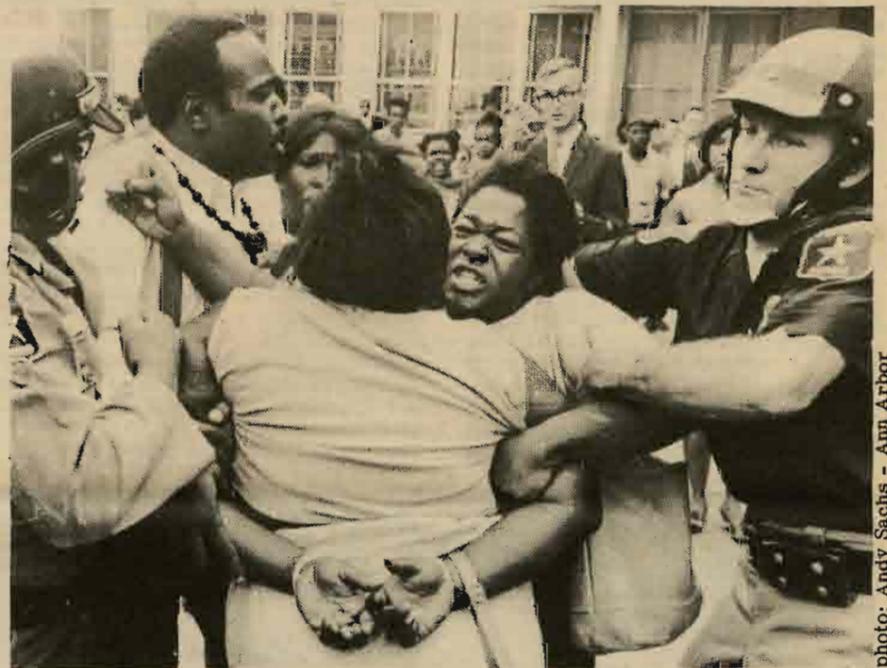


photo: Andy Sachs - Ann Arbor

an injunction signed by three circuit judges and a probate judge, banning all "loitering" around the County Building, effectively preventing demonstrations on that site for an indefinite period of time.

### Radical's Role in Struggle

There is no doubt that, in their own terms, the welfare mothers won a major victory. Nor is there any doubt that the fantastic student support the mothers received was key in their success. What is not so clear is exactly what the radical movement--and Voice-SDS in particular--gained from the struggle.

First, it should be understood that the entire confrontation took place in the context of a large, left-liberal community which lent its full support to the mothers' specific demands. The Student Government Council sponsored several of the rallies. The MICHIGAN DAILY (student paper) cried "police brutality" straight down the line, and slapped pictures of pig violence across its pages. Even the University got into the act--giving bail money for those arrested. With a reformist issue, and a responsive reformist base, SDS's role as a radicalizing force was complicated and difficult.

At the same time, it was clear that SDS had to relate to the issue. That was where the action was--and the potential for radicalization--and the mothers' demand for basic needs was too compelling to ignore.

### Debates

Two major debates arose in terms of Voice's strategy during the week. The first was the "base-building" - "confrontation politics" debate. At every rally there was extensive argument about whether to take another immediate action or to do more education and discussion. The action people were generally accused of calling for "gut-checks" and of being adventurist; the education people of being unresponsive and patronizing to the people involved.

If there was a resolution to the debate it was probably on the side of "base-building". The problem with that resolu-

tion is that the debate and the dichotomy were unreal. On the one hand, "base-building" too often meant leaving education to words and analysis only--when the best teacher may well have been the pigs, welfare bureaucrats, and university officials. On the other hand, "confrontation politics" could not automatically develop a strategy creative enough to transcend the limited reformist issue. Thus, the pattern of meetings, rallies, marches and sit-ins--without serious political confrontation--became entrenched in the struggle.

### Support or Equality

A second serious debate went on around the question of student support. A number of SDS members as well as social-work students and people from the DAILY-SGC axis, argued that we should see ourselves only as supporters of the mothers and should place ourselves completely under their leadership. Anything more than that, they argued, was unfair to the mothers and politically unwise.

The other side argued that we were out to build our own movement and that if a coalition was to be made, it must consist of equals, each with a well-defined position, coming together for a certain action because both independently

saw it as important for themselves. Thus, they argued strongly for bringing the welfare action back on the campus as a way of identifying common oppressors.

Bert Garskof, a psychology professor from Michigan State University, and a CNP candidate for Congress said at the Monday rally: "Your classes, by and large, ignore our side of the struggle. When authority figures do not mention us and our position it is as much taking the other side as when they actively oppose us. Your classes must be made relevant. No one will do it for you. Professors will be either silent or give lip service to the struggle or worse--they will talk about welfare struggles of 19th century England but not ours; they will talk about British Imperialism but not ours; they will talk about the Hungarian freedom fighters but not the NLF; they may even talk about the Bay of Pigs but not the pigs at bay in Chicago and downtown. Only you can change that. Use classes and make them relevant... dig it...do it!"

The two debates, of course, were never fully resolved. Garskof's suggestion for bringing it all back home never was realized; actions flowed more out of the moment than from a defined strategy.

In all, Voice-SDS played an important--though certainly not controlling--role in the struggle. And while Voice could have been far more successful in communicating its politics and building a larger radical community, the issues that arose from the struggle will continue.

### Coming Strike

Local 1583 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees will probably strike later this week. The strike will shut down food service in the dorms and other services at the University. The AFSCME is a poor newly organized union and cannot afford a long strike. SDS has expressed "support for the efforts of the University employees in their present negotiations with the University" and has offered "all possible support" in the event of a strike. Voice's action around this new support-coalition will reveal, in many ways, what it has learned from the events of the past week.



photo: Andy Sachs - Ann Arbor

# HAYDEN HAILS CHICAGO:

**THE MOVEMENT:** Why don't we start by asking you if you consider the action in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention a victory for the movement?

**TOM HAYDEN:** It was one of the more important steps forward in the development of the movement on the one hand, and in the disintegration of the governing forces on the other. People came to Chicago not in the superficial way that they have come out to previous mobilizations where they participate for a few hours. The people who came to Chicago came with a serious commitment, having thought to themselves the risks that were involved. Therefore the makeup of the people there and the general mentality of the people there was more serious than at any previous national mobilization of this kind.

## Facing Fear

The experience of refusing to be intimidated by the police state set up in Chicago was very important for people to go through because I think one of our chief problems within the movement is fear. Fear of repression, fear of violence, fear of walking into hazardous and unpredictable situations and overcoming that fear is the first step in breaking down the police state which thrives on fear and depends on it. If the people there in the streets could face Chicago, face the police state there, they can face it back home and they'll take that back with them.

Also the experience of being in the streets was really underscored this time. The slogan "the streets belong to the people", took on a lot of reality as people realized that they were unwelcome inside the Democratic Party, unwelcome in the Hilton Hotel, unwelcome in the restaurant in Chicago, unwelcome in the parks as well, and the streets became the only place where people could be. They were forced into the streets and the streets became sort of the last area of existence from which you had to resist.

in the future.

We can also talk about victory in terms of the impact that the movement had on the country.

## World Humiliation

A very serious humiliation was imposed on the U.S. government, a humiliation of world proportions, even in Western Europe, especially within the alliance framework of the U.S., creating profound worry and anxiety now about the viability of the American government. That worry can only lead to increased pressures for an end to the war in Vietnam, increased loss of confidence in the American financial structure, increased isolation of the U.S. as it becomes more and more an outlaw nation in the eyes of people around the world.

Then within the U.S., the victory of the hawks at the convention I think is a classic case of pyrrhic victory, where the means that you use to achieve your ends really destroy the possibility of achieving your end. The public opinion that Johnson and Humphrey want to unify in behalf of their policies has been split. The party machinery that they want to put into motion to insure the victory in November to continue those policies has been undermined and placed on the defensive. The mass media that they've had trouble with in Vietnam and around the question of the so-called credibility gap at home, is now even more aligned against them. We've come a considerable way towards the disintegration not only of the structure of the Democratic Party, but the disintegration of its authority. We are now in a situation where increasing numbers of Americans no longer have respect for the President or what he says and this makes it all the more difficult to escalate the war or to take aggressive or decisive steps in any direction.

Finally, in terms of American public opinion, we raised some very provocative and important questions in the best possible way.

**MOVEMENT:** What in fact do you think

reaction, however, was that the beatings of white people still seem to shock the public more than the murder of blacks. Tom Wicker wrote in the New York TIMES that "these were not Negroes, rioting and burning in the ghetto...these were our children in the streets, and the Chicago police beat them up".

**MOVEMENT:** You talk about overcoming fear as the only way to fight against a police state. Another thing which came out of Chicago seems a further sophistication of repressive policy--hinted at in Muskie's speech where he divides the masses of idealist and confused youth from the troublemakers, the leaders, the revolutionaries, the lawbreakers. While it is impossible to disagree with the idea that the overcoming of fear is necessary to deal with a police state, it might be possible to disagree with the idea that this means taking to the streets. While the streets may be effective in certain circumstances street action may also be a cul de sac. This might be true now at Berkeley, though it is hard to say. How do you view this question of repression? What in fact is the most effective way of using that "overcoming of fear" against the police state?

**TOM:** I'm not saying that every time the police appear you have to fight back in order to prove your manhood, not that street action is the only viable political action that is left. All of these issues have to be calculated according to the local situation; the forces lined up against you, and the morale and outlook of the people who are on your side.

## Paying Dues

But I think the problem in the movement is not so much the tendency toward adventurism, to running out in the streets, as it is a tendency in the opposite direction--to look for ways to achieve social change without pain, without loss of life, without prison sentences. America, I think, is no different from any other country in this respect--someone will have to pay dues in order to make the system move.

**MOVEMENT:** Sure. You can accept that and

position of other groups who are not in the streets, and operate on the assumption that they can make an important contribution--that the rearguard, in a sense, is just as important as the vanguard and should not be seen as a caboose or as a group of lesser or inferior people. In any guerilla war the rearguard is as important as the vanguard, and the rearguard in this case is people who do the door to door organizing, the explaining, the interpretation through writing, speaking, appearances before the mass media. The people who for one reason or another want to make a contribution to the movement but don't want their skulls split--maybe because they have a family, or a job, or because they have the kind of doubts that are normal for anybody to have. Their work is vital. Going beyond that, I think we have to play a rearguard role also and simply not leave such a role to chance.

There are times where it's more important to have a teach-in explaining your political motivations, more important to do that than to take to the streets for the 15th consecutive night. This might be better than letting the vanguard get so far out in front that liberal groups financed by the Ford Foundation can come in behind you and exploit the doubts and the issues that you've raised. We should do that work ourselves without ever letting it interfere with the accelerating momentum of the people in the front lines.

## Columbia Cooptation

This is what happened at Columbia. The strike committee was moving forward so fast that it created a vacuum to its right that was inherited by the Students for a Restructured University with Ford money and with a different political line more acceptable to average students in some respects. This made the strike committee appear to be the extremist group and the university restructuring committee to be the moderate and responsible group. To some extent this is inevitable. There's no question that liberals will move in to take over issues that radicals have created; that's cooptation. But in order to avoid repression we have to hold on to issues that we've originally raised and fight our way into the forums where people are considering the validity of the actions that we've taken. This also increases numbers. It's a process of continually going backwards in order to go forwards. It can be used to justify suspension of revolutionary action--but I'm not using it that way. It is a matter of recognizing that the task of interpeting ourselves to a public cannot be left to liberals, journalists or sociologists.

This leads directly into the other thing you asked about, Muskie's speech, where he makes a distinction between sophisticated professional agitators and the large numbers of idealistic students. This was the same distinction made by President Kirk at Columbia, also by the national press, and is under consideration by the President's Commission on Violence. The FBI uses it as well, and it's not just chance that these groups and individuals coincide in making this analysis.

This is the essence of American foreign policy--to believe that the masses are manipulated by secret internal groups who don't have social purpose or ideals. You'll find this in the military manuals for counter-insurgency at home and abroad. What we do about it is one of the main questions that the movement faces, and I think it simply has to be dealt with in the way we were just discussing. That is, by making sure that the most radical people continue moving forward, making themselves more and more radical while not isolating themselves.

## Question of Style

Sometimes this is just a matter of styles--sometimes if radicals would yield on questions of style they would prevent an unnecessary degree of isolation.

There's no reason to call McCarthy kids motherfuckers or assholes. There's no reason to continue to verbally put down white liberals, for only contributing money or legal defense and going no further. There's no reason to verbally antagonize anyone unnecessarily--that is a form of pseudo politics, a substitute for action. It's the bag that certain black militants have gotten into over the years, sort of satisfying their frustrations by yelling at white people. I think what the Vietnamese have shown us is that there's no contradiction between firm and militant revolutionary action combined with a careful, dignified, and sophisticated



photo: Johann Rush

The people being in the streets on the one hand, and the establishment surrounding itself and its institutions with barbed wire on the other, is the way things are going to be more and more, and the people who were in Chicago got a glimpse of the future that they can carry with them for a long time.

## Cross-Fertilization

Also there was a great deal of cross-fertilization among the people who came to Chicago. I think that to some extent the distinctions between yippies and new leftists and McCarthy people were blurred, if not broken down, because they were all facing the same oppression. But also when you weren't running from or running after the police, there was plenty of time for dialogue and communication between very diverse groups who previously did not know much about each other or distrusted each other. The attention on the confrontation should not obscure the fact that in addition to the confrontation a tremendous amount of intercourse went on in the "movement centers" and in the park where people had a chance to come together and explore different things that were being done around the country.

It was a good test of who is serious about being in the streets and who is not and that probably will lead to possibilities for consolidation of the movement, giving people who are otherwise apart geographically or organizationally, a common reference point from which they can work together

the movement got across to the American people?

**TOM:** One role of the movement has been to create questions that are compelling to people. I think we raised very serious questions about why, for the first time since the Civil War in 1864, a convention of the government in office has had to be surrounded by barbed wire and military force. That underlined to many people the fact that the government really is propped up by force of arms rather than by popular consent or Johnson's "consensus".

## Law & Order

Also people got a look at what this phony discussion of "law and order" really means. I think a lot of people were shocked by seeing the police plan carried out against the demonstration and that we sort of opened up this issue more than it has been opened up. In the case of the black rebellions increasingly, the public has not had any direct access to what's happening. The cameras can't get in, tear gas is choking every one. You saw very little in Miami even though three people were killed. Increasingly police reports are virtually all you have to rely on for information. But here the tables were turned and the actual reality of rebellion and suppression of rebellion were put out into the open for people at least to see, and this, it seems to me, can only have healthy effects.

An unfortunate lesson of this public

still raise the question of how to work most effectively.

**TOM:** The most important thing, the primary thing, is not to blunt the cutting edge of the movement in the expectation that that will buy you time or win you allies to your right. The most important thing is to sharpen the cutting edge--which means people in the streets at this point. Only by more and more experience in the streets will a real consciousness of how to deal with repression begin to evolve. One reason why people are seen as adventurist or provocative in the streets by people who don't like what we're doing, is simply because there's not enough collective experience from which to draw collective wisdom.

You have to make mistakes before you begin to get some sense about how to deal with repressive laws and actions. So I would say you have to sharpen the cutting edge and that means taking the risk of more and more mistakes--that's the first thing. However, I think it's our responsibility, while in the streets, not to make a mystique out of street people and street action, even though we think that this form of action and the people who do it are the cutting edge. We should not fall into a religious deification--we've had enough of that; first toward the black vanguard, secondly, toward community organizers and other groups.

## Rearguard & Vanguard

A corollary of this is that you have to take into account the state of mind and

# THE ELEMENTS OF VICTORY

attitude towards a variety of forces who are not your immediate main enemy and may contribute something or even finally be changed.

**MOVEMENT:** What do you see as the shortcomings and weaknesses of the action in Chicago? You have criticized segments of the left in relation to the planning for Chicago. How do you see these things affecting the consequences of the demonstrations?

**TOM:** Well, I think that the main shortcoming was the fact that throughout the several months of organizing for this

to confront theirs and having confidence that in that confrontation the truth would not be lost either on us or them.

This insecurity on the left leads to an organizational chauvinism which places the well being of the organization per se above the well-being of the movement. You don't risk your organization by putting it into something where it might be used. This was the fear of many SDS people, for example, who feared either cooptation or a bloodbath. They were not in control of the action and they feared being discredited if they got officially involved,

and so consistently wrong about this action?

**MOVEMENT:** You talked about a cast of characters kind of confrontation; dramatizing the opposition forces in this country. In an earlier article you talked about the demonstration exposing the racism in the Democratic Party. Couldn't one say that the demonstrations failed to raise this question, except in terms of the law and order issue?

**TOM:** This is an important point. The first thing to be recognized is that by white people going out into the streets increasingly we're opening an additional front of trouble and difficulty for the establishment. We're splitting the white community. We're making it difficult for the repression of blacks to take place because we're limiting the resources available to do that job by creating trouble for the police and the establishment ourselves. And the best thing we can do for Black people and for the Vietnamese is to up the ante. I think increasingly Black people are coming to recognize that. Contrary to the press accounts we found tremendous sympathy in the Black community in Chicago for what we were doing and the beginning of a new respect for white people who are beginning to engage in this kind of a battle. So I think that that was very important.

## Bond & Hamer

Now on the other question, I think that this convention saw the inclusion of former Black militant leaders into the leading imperialist party. In spite of the fact that Julian Bond and Mrs. Hamer, Channing Phillips and Dick Hatcher opposed the war in Vietnam, in spite of the fact that they represent what little hope there is for moderate progress within the system, it still must be a difficult question for them to face whether they're being used to perpetuate an illusion and false image around the world about the Democratic Party and about the American government. I've known Julian and Mrs. Hamer for a long time and so my thinking can't be very harsh towards them as individuals. I think that they know what they're doing and realize the risks. I would hope that their primary allegiance is to the people in the streets and to the people down on the block, hungry people in the ghetto, rather than their allegiance starting to switch to the "left wing" of the party. We can have an effect on their calculations and their loyalties because we whites represent a certain part of their base.

People like us raised Julian Bond and Fannie Lou Hamer to be national figures, and it's people like us who have every right

to call them into account, to ask them what they're doing, to ask them to be with us. There is a very dangerous tendency among whites to want to unite behind them rather than demanding that they unite behind us.

When Julian stuck by his position on draft resistance and card burning he was doing what a legislator should do, which is abide by the demands and thrusts of the people that he represents, no matter how ticklish a spot that puts him in. Whether he continues to do that in the future is an open question. It's up to him a lot, and it's up to us.

## Ghettos Still Go Up

In addition I think we have to recognize that even what they've done with Julian and Mrs. Hamer, Channing Phillips and Hatcher is not a fully successful cooptation no matter what their intention. The Gary and Cleveland ghettos went up this year regardless of the Black man who was in office, and the crisis that Black people are living through cannot be modified very significantly by replacing the traditional Black minister with Black politicians who urge the people to wait and have confidence and so forth. The crisis is now so material and so real in terms of hunger and joblessness and the consciousness is so aggressive and demanding that it really won't wait much upon politicians. Politicians will have to run to keep up with it. In a sense what the Democratic Party is doing now is too late. Four years ago it might have got a lease on life, but I'm not sure it got a lease on life this time because the situation has moved ahead so fast.

I think in the future the anti-war movement will be facing the same problem. If Humphrey is defeated the Democratic Party is knocked over and disintegrated, so what you will see in 1972 is a move by the McCarthy people, by the more moderate elements of the anti-war movement, to go right into the Democratic Party behind Teddy Kennedy and take it over in coalition with Julian Bond and Mrs. Hamer. Whether that happens or not can't be predicted now, but I believe that that is what is likely to happen although when events begin to move they move very fast, and by 1972 the current liberals might be historically outmoded not able to really adapt enough even for purposes of successfully fooling the people.

**MOVEMENT:** Why don't we close by asking you where you think the movement is at after Chicago?

**TOM:** I think that the point that we are coming to now may be a point that the Blacks have been through, and that is the point where the movement becomes so strong and the tensions become so great, that peaceful and legal demonstrations in themselves become hazardous. The police are in wait for even legal demonstrations. The police are waiting for liberals and McCarthy people. The streets become a contested area. We've come a long way very fast.

Now we're facing a situation where survival of the movement is the first

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7



photo: Johann Rush

action there was hostility and suspicion and confusion from many different quarters of the movement. In many cases even from our old friends. One direct result of this was that while we were very well organized in terms of marshalls, communications, legal, medical, other facilities the action could have been much better organized. Also we could have laid the groundwork for this by having a build-up in the spring and summer by means of educational and direct action things happening on the local levels that would begin raising the questions that come to climactic focus in Chicago. That never happened because people were not sure, and our numbers were significantly reduced by the confusion and uncertainty in the movement.

## More People

I believe that if the numbers had been twice what they were the convention would have stopped itself because the security arrangements and military were so inherently unstable that they were beginning to turn into their opposite even while we were there. Security became insecurity for McCarthy delegates, for newspaper men, for people in the hotels. Motions were beginning to be made on the floor to stop the convention and move it to another city. This was only a fraction of the insecurity that would have been created by larger numbers. The federal troops didn't even hit the streets. That would have added immensely to the confusion and they would of had to hit the streets simply with larger numbers of demonstrators present. There could have been more demonstrations dispersed around the city if there were more people. We would have been more protected and less exposed to police violence if there were more people.

In terms of creating the total political effect that we wanted to achieve both leading up to the convention and at the convention, I think we were hurt very severely by forces on the left. A lot of people are trying to examine why this happened around the country now. One of the most significant reasons is the basic insecurity that afflicts a lot of people in radical movements about where they stand, what their ideology is, and this insecurity manifests itself in a lot of ways, particularly in a cautiousness about laying out your politics and exposing yourself in an unstable hazardous situation. I don't mean militarily unstable and hazardous, but politically. This was not a simple convention demonstration where a mass of people marched to a target and the slogans were arranged in advance and where you are in control of the politics so to speak. This demonstration required an understanding of the reality of American politics and how you could make entry into a network of forces and have an impact and to almost become the determining factor in the situation. It was bringing to visibility the political drama that's going on in the country. Bringing our cast of characters

even though they knew that most SDS active members would wind up reluctantly going to this kind of action. The draft resistance groups also to a certain extent were more concerned about the purity of their style than about anything else, and they thought it would be smirched or soiled if they were on the streets with other people who didn't burn their draft cards, who didn't act out of moral witness and so on.

There has been an ideological and strategic crisis on the left throughout this whole election year caused in large part by the elections. The left has been very divided. Some people have gone into the McCarthy movement, other people have been so opposed to the McCarthy movement that they fear any association with it. But they see no alternative, therefore they virtually drop-out of having a political identity during the election year for fear that it would be coopted. This is a kind of laying low and waiting for the elections to go away or only engaging in those kinds of actions which seem definitely not subject to co-optation, like the Columbia strike. Now, we can argue to what degree the Columbia strike was coopted, if at all, but the main point is that Columbia was more spontaneous than planned. If it had not come along, the left would have been without a really significant action to point to this year.

We have been looking for the pure act all year. I think this comes from essentially lack of confidence in our politics. The feeling that the system is so cunning and flexible that to expose your politics in an election year is to open them up to rape.

**MOVEMENT:** Do you think the movement succeeded in being the determining factor in Chicago?

**TOM:** We occupied the attention of the country and the attention of the delegates more than anything else. The real story of Chicago is not the story of the Democratic Party debating and ratifying its policies and democratically choosing its leaders, but the story was of the Democratic Party tightening and rigging itself in order to protect itself from outraged people. In a sense I think that what we did succeeded and we predicated that we would.

## Left in Knots

Almost everything we predicted came true except the numbers. People said we'd be coopted by McCarthy, in fact we were not. People said local organizing in Chicago would be destroyed, in fact it was strengthened. People said that the demonstration would be taken to the right by conservative mobilization leaders, in fact it was not. Almost everything that people threw up as a supposed objection turned out to be bullshit and they were so wrong on so many counts that the question has to be asked, "Was it merely accidental?" Were we merely luck in predicting what happened, or is there something really deeply troubling about the state of the left, that they could be so tied in knots

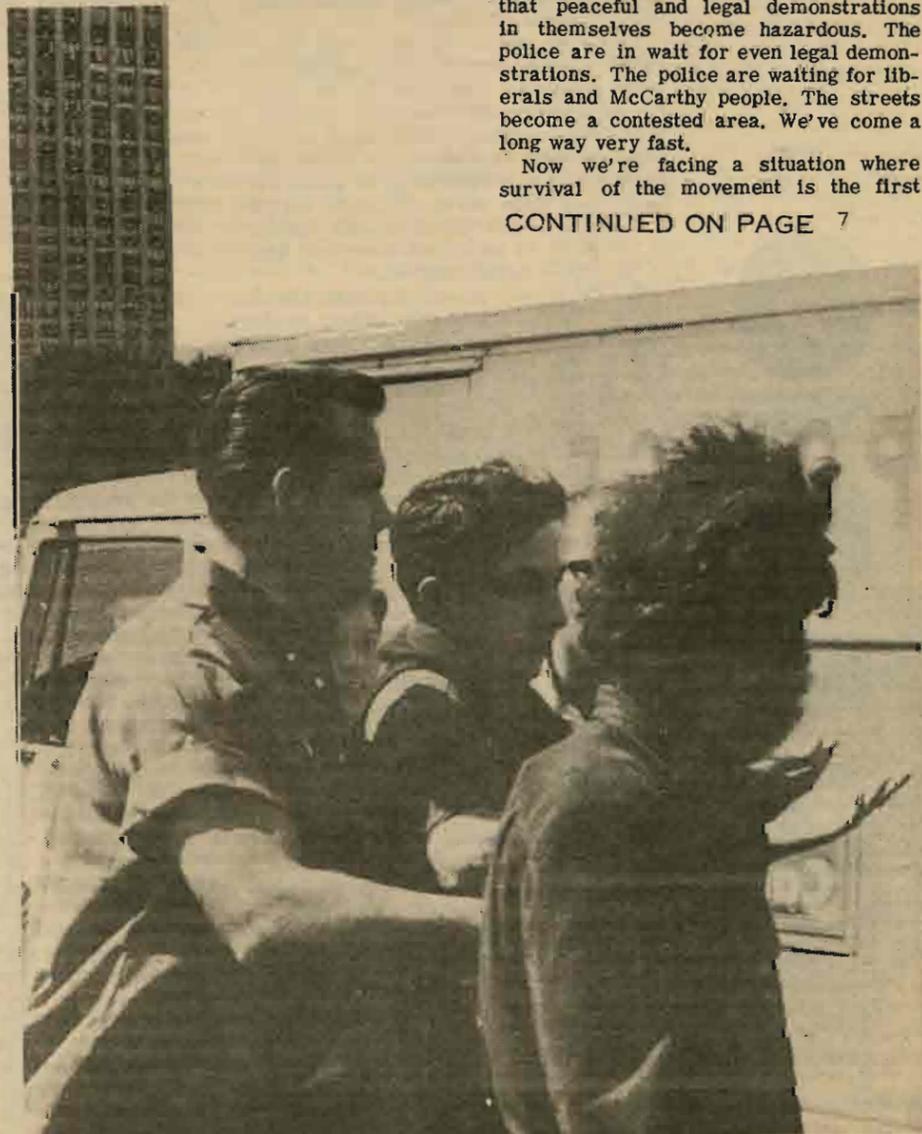


photo: Johann Rush

# RADIO FREE PEOPLE

The mass media in this country are institutions of domination and manipulation. Operated purely for profit and coming increasingly into the hands of a few worldwide supercorporations, American radio and television mold public opinion with a heavy and unrelenting hand. News management and blackout are everyday occurrences; the level of entertainment has fallen past mediocrity into blandness, perpetuating the crudest and most simple-minded elements of our culture. The small amount of educational broadcasting in the American media accepts uncontroversiality as its touchstone. In newscasts, EVENTS are reported, but not the context or the implications of those events, or the relations between them. Not only the commercial advertisements but the very programming itself reinforces the prevailing consumption ethic of our culture.

By using mass appeal as its chief criterion, a situation that stems from the commercial foundation of broadcasting, the broadcast media effectively deny meaningful access by minority groups. Far from ameliorating this, the Federal Communications Commission aggravates it by rigidifying debate into "two sides, equal time for both", which insures not dialogue but only contest. Opinions are predigested, debates rehearsed, programs prerecorded. Spontaneity is a rare phenomenon.

In 1968, thought control in the United States is a reality. The boom in political anti-Establishment newspapers and other visual and graphic media has so far been unmatched by anything in the field of audio or radio. Yet sound recordings and broadcasts can be extremely effective ways of reaching people. Recognizing that fact, we announce the formation of Radio Free People.

It is the purpose of Radio Free People to destroy the dominion of the mass media by introducing powerful, honest, forthright radio programs, and by helping communities establish decentralized local audio and radio outlets. In its conception, RFP is probably most like an audio counterpart of The Newsreel, the enormously successful New Left film production and distribution operation founded only a few months ago.

Among the immediate purposes of RFP are:

1. To produce and distribute tape (and possibly disc) recordings. The contents of the recordings would be news, analyses, discussions, forums, readings, dramatic material, songs, stories, poems, sound mixes, collages -- all with a New Left orientation, in the broadest and most open sense of that term. For example, many hours of already-edited tape (interviews, live-sound pick-ups) are available about the Columbia Strike and Bust. This material is of tremendous importance and should be distributed as widely as possible. Two Movement poets have already expressed a desire to read some of their works onto tape.

Tapes or discs will go to any interested groups or persons, but we will make a special effort to get as much air time as possible on student-run campus radio stations. The tapes could also be used as a focus for group discussion, as accompaniment to photo exhibits and slide shows, as sound tracks for locally made films, or for playing in parks or on street corners in a kind of "guerrilla audio" function.

2. To encourage the development of similar operations in other parts of the country. It is unrealistic, and very much against our notions of decentralism, to have all material originate in New York. In particular, the emphasis will be on audio materials produced on individual initiative or by local groups. This approach has worked well with films for The Newsreel. A nation-wide network of distribution will be established to aid makers of finished tape programs in circulating their works.

3. To train New Left people in the use of audio media (tape and film sound, radio).

4. To provide technical advice on the construction and operation of low-power anti-Establishment community-run radio stations as a radical alternative to electronic mass media -- not just on campuses, but in neighborhoods, housing projects, ghettos.

## Spread The Word

The broad, overall objective of Radio Free People is of course to spread the Word. To quote from the initial statement of The Newsreel, these materials are aimed at "...organizers in different areas of work, university students, ghetto groups, anti-war groups, hippie organizations, all those who can use these (tapes) in their work to increase the scope of activity and discussion. These (tapes) will be available to anyone. We hope that their relevance will attract

audiences who are not usually reached. But they will reach such audiences only if they are brought to them by people who understand what it is to organize, and how to use such (tapes) to increase social and political awareness...we are initially directing our work to those in the society who have already begun their re-definition."

Our first production will most likely be based on the Columbia Rebellion; strikes, demands, Liberation Courses, and such. The material illustrates some real political decision-making under the stress of moment-to-moment crises.

Not all the material will be narrowly political. We expect to discuss, for example, life style and goals for people who want to remain committed to effective radicalism even after college, when they are open to sweet seduction by the many rewards of middle-class Establishment life. We will touch on our consumer culture, on the role of women in society, on experimental communities, to name just a few of the many, many possibilities. (People in the New York City area who have heard the weekly SDS radio program on WBAI will have some notion of the variety of subjects that can be covered.)

We are also thinking of some further objectives, although their achievement may be several years away.

1. To establish a non-profit business that would provide the New Left with electronic services and possibly apparatus in return for a living for a number of people. This and other enterprises would mark the start of some economic independence for the Movement. As with some of the Movement print shops and publications, the goal would be to make the project an economically self-sustaining operation.

2. To serve as a nucleus for research into the unique electronic needs of a radical movement, and to gather a cadre of engineers and technicians who would in turn train others in the communications arts. Examples of such needs are low-power radio stations, low-cost recording facilities, a nation-wide net of ham radio or other short-wave communications and news-distribution facilities, low-cost hi-fi and sound-reinforcing systems for Movement people and organizations.

3. To provide a radical alternative outlet for the skills and talents of people trained in broadcasting and allied fields, and thus to act as an aid in organizing such people.

## Structure & Money

The structure and funding of this operation have still to be worked out. At the outset, the decision-making structure will follow the elegantly simple democratic model adopted by The Newsreel (a rotating committee of five members, all of whom must be actively involved in the project, in any capacity whatever). There will be a co-ordinator with clearly-defined functions, who will probably sit on the committee without vote.

Money will come in part from the sale or rental of taped programs to radio stations that can afford to pay. Quite a number of closed-circuit AM college radio stations, for example, sell air time and thus have handsome operating budgets. Funds for initial expenses will be scrounged by the usual means. If we seek any big-money support, the source of such funds will be very carefully examined.

Dissemination of programs will probably be done through campus activists, who are in a better position to feel out the mood and political climate of a campus station than are we here in New York. We need Radio Free pushers (representatives? liaisons?) on campuses. This is a Movement operation, and it seems reasonable to enlist the aid of Movement people. (We are by no means ruling out the possibility of feeding these programs to non-campus radio stations, such as the Pacifica FM stations and other non-commercial FM stations, and

perhaps also to local commercial AM stations.)

## Organizing Tool

We need to hear from people who are interested in using tapes like the ones described here. We must respond to your needs. We want to hear from people who have a foot in the campus radio station's door. We want response also from campus travelers, regional organizers, people involved with church groups or Boy Scout troops -- anyone who can widen the audience for these materials. We also want people who are interested in setting up related projects using local resources and facilities, and perhaps in exchanging raw audio material or completed tapes with us. We hope to assist people in making tapes that are technically of broadcast quality.

Keep in mind that part of the idea of RFP is to use audio media as an organizing tool. For example, a public playing of a tape on the role of women as decorative appurtenances to men ought to be followed up rigorously with a discussion, a project, and the formation of a women's group or of a radical caucus within an existing group.

We are not certain at this early date just when we will send out our first tapes. We expect to have at least one major feature and several tapes suitable for a weekly program well before the beginning of the fall school term. We hope to issue a sampler, possibly in disc form, offering (free) a taste of our wares.

For further information contact Peter Sutheim, 160 Prospect Place, Brooklyn, New York 11238. ■

## THE NEW MEDIA

by Mark Kleiman

For years radicals have bemoaned their inability to get their line across to the people. A major barrier has been radio and television. The two most powerful communications devices known to us have been used to turn American brains to shit, to deaden life or anything looking remotely like it, and, most importantly, to warp the news into a nice anti-communist package which people will swallow if they're kept on the diet of the bourgeois press. We are dependent on the same media, owned and operated by the ruling class, for any public relationship we may have. The press has a positive genius for twisting our words and distorting our actions.

Last year, a few hip community stations made the scene on FM, with our music and sometimes our words, but we had no way of reaching out to other people. This has changed . . . in of all places, Los Angeles. In the spring of 1967, KRLA, top 40 rock station with the largest listening audience in California, was purchased by a man who was committed to vague left-lib politics, but also, to decent radio. It started in June, when the station gave \$5000 to the ACLU for an investigation of the June 23rd police riot. A few months later, the news reporting of the Vietnam War began to take on a strong anti-war bias. Things have progressed since then. KRLA has decided to tell all the news the way it is.

Right now a typical newscast may consist of: 60 seconds on the head of the UCLA Resistance refusing induction, including a lengthy quote from him. 45 seconds covering Soviet propaganda on the Spock trial, including quotation of a poem, "I am Spock . . . I incite people to love babies." Coverage amounting to a plug of the UFWOC statewide grape boycott. This is followed by a short skit showing a man covertly buying struck grapes through his "connector". (They turn out to be mostly seeds and stems.) After this, a quote from George Wallace, threatening to move the Capitol to Alabama (interspersed with the newscaster whistling a very shaky Dixie). It closes with local statistics: "People killed in auto accidents, 0 . . . people injured, 3. People killed by gunfire, 1 . . . people wounded by gunfire, 5. Arrests for marijuana, 17. The forecast for tomorrow, hot, with more of the same."

We couldn't pay for a better news broadcast. This goes out 24 times a day to nearly a million young people. It goes a long way towards making up for the shit in school and the rest of the media. The most radical thing about the whole affair, of course, is that this IS the news. Just telling it like it is is radical. Black Power, ghetto rebellions, growing resistance to the U.S. imperialist adventures, all of this gives us a sense of connection with our history. The news can become a revolutionary primer if it will only be told straight. KRLA has begun to do this. The reaction has been typical. The Federal Communications Commission has refused to renew their license.

# STOP THE OLYMPICS!

by Stanford Burns

A group of law students and legal professionals from the United States have "learned of the disgusting conditions in Mexico and are determined, now, to do what the Mexicans accused us of". That is, to help Mexican students organize a boycott of the Olympics planned there in October.

Police in Mexico City have recently been proving themselves to be superior even to the Chicago pigs in paranoia, stupidity, and brutality. And while those in Chicago only had a chance to really show their stuff for a week during the Hump's ludicrous Legitimation Rites, the Mexican cops are getting to demonstrate their machismo for months. They have come down hard on recent student demonstrations in an effort to "clean up" the city before the tourists pour in for the Olympics. The result, predictably, has been an increase in the resistance. Slum dwellers, angry at the brutal attacks on the students and the expenditure of huge amounts of money to make the tourists comfortable during the Olympics while their intolerable living conditions are ignored, are reported to have begun joining the students.

Typically, the cops have had to find

can security police on the pretext of their having participated in the student rebellions occurring then, held incommunicado, harrassed and intimidated for four days, and deported only after all twelve went on a hunger strike. In addition, they are prohibited from traveling further in Mexico under the threat of a ten-year jail sentence.

The U.S. Government has, of course, denied involvement, though a number of facts expose any such claim as ridiculous. The Panthers had been tailed by U.S. agents from the time they left Los Angeles. The kidnapers had information on the travelers, as was also the case last March, which could only have been obtained from U.S. agents. Efforts were made to involve these people with the Mexican student demonstrations, though some had never been near them and other Americans, who actually were involved though not going to Cuba, were left alone at that time.

Those few U.S. citizens lucky enough to be granted permission by the State Department to visit Cuba receive a long letter admonishing them, among other things, to contact the Swiss embassy upon their arrival there. Seems like the U.S.



photo: Johann Rush



photo: Mike Clamon

someone to blame for stirring up the people -- how else could they be unhappy with their government? And, typically, the goat is "outside agitators", "Communists", "Cuban agents" and, most recently, even "Black Panther agents".

This self-deception coupled with the servility of the Mexican Government to the U.S. has allowed what are evidently shonuff international conspirators -- probably the CIA -- to use the Mexicans in its efforts to prevent Americans from traveling to Cuba, first "Free Territory of the Americas". Whether the U.S. Government is really afraid of people "conspiring" with the Cubans, or whether it simply wants to hide the truth about the revolution from the people here isn't clear, though probably both have something to do with the attempts to keep Americans from travelling there and to certain other countries. With the striking down of legal barriers to travel to Cuba, the government has found it necessary to resort to other methods.

The first indication of its desperation was the kidnapping last March of six travelers, including two of THE MOVEMENT'S staff, before they could board a Cuba-bound plane in Mexico City. They were taken to the Texas border by a number of unidentified conspirators (see THE MOVEMENT, May 1968) and dropped off.

This was evidently the only such occurrence until August, when the U.S. and Mexico again conspired to kidnap two more groups of travelers. Black Panthers David Hilliard, George Murray and Landon Williams and two law students got a lesson in U.S. and Mexican "justice" when they were grabbed by ten men (some of them white Americans) who flashed pistols as their only identification, and were immediately deported August 12. The next day twelve more law students and legal professionals, on their way to Cuba to study changes brought to the Cuban legal system by the revolution, instead received lessons in the U.S. and Mexican extra-legal systems. They were seized by Mexi-

is terribly concerned that one of its children might run into trouble in that nasty commie country, what with no U.S. embassy there. But somehow, when the U.S. embassy in Mexico City was called about the dozen U.S. citizens being held illegally (Mexican law requires that they should have been charged, released or deported within 72 hours) and being framed, they could only express sympathy. After the call, the embassy wan't heard from.

The magnitude of the fighting in Mexico City has been covered up in the Mexican press, not to mention the U.S. Mexican Federal Troops and the National Guard have been used to control the students. Many students (some reports estimate as many as 60) have been killed and some 1800 people are in jail. They are determined to stop the Olympics, and a widely supported student strike has been called with demands of freedom to all political prisoners, compensation to relatives of students murdered by the pigs, dissolution of the National Guard, firing of certain corrupt and brutal officials and annulment of that part of the Constitution which limits political activity.

Those American students who were kidnapped were sent back to widely separated parts of this country after their jailer discovered plans they were formulating to call for a tourist boycott of the Olympics by Americans. People from the East were flown back to the West coast, and those from the West to the East or South in an evident attempt to prevent their getting together after their return. It didn't work.

Support our brothers in Mexico and our right to visit Cuba by hitting the conspirators where it hurts: in the pockets of the capitalists and officials making profits from the tourists and graft from the money spent by the government to ready the city for them. If the Mexican government manages to suppress the people and perpetrate the Olympics, they should take place before empty spectator stands. ■

## HAYDEN Continued From Pg. 5

priority. That doesn't mean going to the right or backing down or compromising to find allies to keep us alive, because that's a form of survival in which you lose your identity. The problem is to fight for survival and fight in communities and around campuses, taking to the streets, confronting the candidates when they come, confronting the military researchers on the campus, and all the rest of it. And at the same time, we have to be turning our voices toward people on the campuses and in communities who are looking for new answers, rather than turn our voices toward our oppressors and petition them for changes that they clearly won't give.

### New Opportunities

The other side of this battle of survival is the opening up of tremendous new organizing opportunities. The other side of repression is the neglect of needs. When they step on us, they take energy away which could be used to cope with other people's problems. Tremendous new areas of neglect really open up which we can speak to. People may not listen to us or they may listen to us and not hear, but we become increasingly the only people who have political, economic, social or human answers to the questions that are increasingly going to confront the great masses of students, the great mass of middle class and professional people, the mass of poor and working people who by and large will suffer from the government's marriage to the Vietnam war and to the suppression of Black people.

There's no contradiction between militant resistance and community organizing. One opens up the other. The one creates the conditions in which the other can take place. That's what I was saying about the vanguard and the rearguard not being separated without causing troubles and dangers for ourselves. That's why it's important not to look down your nose from the streets at the people who are afraid to hit the streets. Specifically I think this means that we have to deal with the fact that now the people with liberal or lib-left leanings or left inclinations really have no where to go. They have to decide whether it really has been a children's crusade that they're on in search of marginal adjustment and social peace, or whether it is more than that. They have to decide if they're really after power and they're gonna wait till '70 or '72 to "take power", or whether their concern is the moral crisis. Some of them will go in the direction of peace and quiet and some of them will go in the direction of power ambitions and some of them will be moving with their experience towards more and more radical posture just like the first new left in 1960 and 61 did after it lost its faith in the peace corps, Kennedy, and the Justice Department's actions in the south around civil rights.

Besides the McCarthy workers others will have to decide where they stand. The concern of the lower echelons of the mass media is a real one. Unrest in certain sections of the trade unions is very real. I think that a lot of Black groups want to come out of their period of isolation and make coalitions with serious and relevant white groups. All these opportunities are

opening up as a result of the system tightening. It is a result of our standing on the edge of the jaw of Leviathan. So it's a complicated question: How to fight for survival and build a broader and broader movement at the same time. The opportunity is there and I don't think it's ever been more real. I think that it was made as real as it is by the action in Chicago which helped to revolutionize the mass movement and disillusion millions of people with the system as it is....

On August 28, 1963 the President welcomed civil rights leaders and 250,000 people to Washington for a sort of joyous celebration. On August 28, 1968 we were gassed in front of the Conrad Hilton and both Kennedys were dead. The difference between those two things, although they're only five years apart, are too staggering to sort out and fully understand right now. I think it could mean this: the movement has shown its impressive numbers and has attempted to petition the authorities, and the authorities are giving no meaningful concession on any front. Instead, they have begun to use military means and token forms of legal repression to stop the movement in the streets. ■



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basically technical in nature to verify that Huey was on probation (which was to expire that weekend) and two criminologists to say the "substance" found in the car was marijuana. No gun was ever found.

There followed many days of testimony on the events of that early morning shooting. The drama unfolded. The characters were revealed. But it contained myriad contradictions which attorney Garry took advantage of both politically and legally. The top key witnesses for the prosecution were Henry Grier and the wounded officer, Heanes.

### Here Come the Judge

The trial was presided over by Judge Monroe Friedman in the Alameda County Superior Court.

Seventy-two years old; aging; colic; whimsical; racist; patronizing; overtly biased and barely able to hide his chagrin at not being the prosecutor in the case. Whenever the DA failed to make the points the judge felt he should, Judge Friedman asked the questions instead.

Monroe Friedman doesn't like to hear about: racism outside of the South; the black liberation movement; the beliefs of the Black Panther party; charges of police brutality or misconduct; the possibility that our present judicial system may not be the fairest and most equitable, especially as it relates to black people, poor people and people from minority cultures. Judge Friedman is not one to waste time listening to what he clearly does not want to hear.

He barred seven prospective defense witnesses from testifying. Thus he stopped evidence of brutality against a wounded Huey Newton and testimony of young men who were offered bribes by the DA's office for information against Huey.

More outrageous even than the judge's obvious bias against the defense and his eagerness to function as a prosecutor was his patronizing attitude toward blacks.

This became most apparent when Donald Hopkins was on the stand. Mr. Hopkins is a law school graduate, has been assistant dean of students and special assistant to the vice chancellor at UC Berkeley, and is returning for additional doctoral studies at Harvard this fall. Hopkins related an account of meeting Huey the night of October 27th and finding Huey in a "warm, expansive mood", unusual for the usually serious young revolutionary.

Huey explained that he was so happy because he had just ended his three years of probation. Questioning Hopkins, the judge asked "Would you say he was euphoric? Do you know what that means?"

A black sociologist from UC Santa Cruz, Dr. J. Herman Blake, elicited the most honest and revealing comment of the whole trial from Friedman when he asked the judge, "Do you understand what I mean?" and the judge could only reply, "I hear what you're saying."

### Taped contradictions

Huey won outright acquittal on the kidnapping charge when Dell Ross, the witness against him at the Grand Jury hearing in November refused to testify on fifth amendment grounds. Ross was offered immunity by the D.A. from every charge but the ones he had to fear, contempt and perjury, and was threatened with the former if he refused to testify.

Ross was tricked into testifying by Jensen and Judge Friedman--at least tricked into saying, "No, I don't remember" to a direct question. This allowed the D.A. to introduce the otherwise forbidden grand jury transcript in which Ross had stated that he had been forced to drive two men from the area of the shooting at gunpoint. In response to questions at that hearing he agreed that the "light-skinned man" (Huey) pointed a gun at him and order him to drive, talked of having "just killed two dudes", said he "would have kept shooting if his gun hadn't jammed".

Garry countered by producing a tape recording that he made with Ross in his office. In this discussion the following key points were made:

1. Ross had come to Garry's office of his own free will, under no pressure from anyone.
2. He came there because he wanted to tell the truth.
3. He stated he had not told the truth before the grand jury. He said he was under pressure then and agreed to whatever they told him to say, because he had several outstanding traffic warrants and feared being sent to jail. He denied that he was forced to drive the two men and he emphasized that the "light-skinned man was kinda out". Considering that Huey had been shot in the stomach this makes more sense than his earlier story.

In any event the total effect was a balancing one--it became impossible to believe any statement made by Dell Ross. Garry moved for acquittal on all charges as soon as the D.A. rested his case and the D.A. was forced to agree on the kidnapping charge.

The murder and assault charges were more complex and it was here that D.A. Jensen introduced his "star" witnesses, Henry Grier and Herbert Heanes.

At one point in the testimony of Henry Grier, Garry asked him if he had ever heard of the term "Uncle Tom". Grier is a 40 year old Negro who now drives a bus, after 20 years in the Navy.

Henry Grier got up on that stand and for two days acted out lies that he knew could be sentencing a brother to death. If his lies in the courtroom didn't contradict the lies he told the police the morning of the shooting, and contradict the testimony of Patrolman Herbert Heanes as well, Henry Grier would have been guilty of uttering the words that killed Huey Newton.

Grier told the jury that he saw Huey, walking in front of Frey by the patrol car, spin around, draw a gun from inside his shirt, fire, wound Heanes, and eventually killed Frey, shooting him in his back as he fell forward on his stomach. He pointed to Huey in the courthouse, positively identifying him as the man who

shot Frey.

But on the morning of October 28th, one and a half hours after the shooting, Henry Grier had given a statement to the Oakland police. In it, he described a "peewee sort of fellow", under 5 feet tall, wearing a dark shirt and a light tan jacket and a hat. The man was clean-shaven. Huey is 5'10", was wearing a pale grey shirt and black leather jacket, no hat, and had a three-week growth of beard.

Most important, Grier said in his statement that he didn't see the man's face. When shown a picture of Huey, whom he was told was then in Kaiser Hospital with a bullet in his stomach, Grier could only say that it "resembled" the man, but that he "couldn't say positive". Ten months later Grier's memory seemed to have sharpened fantastically.

Garry had earlier introduced the Grier statement to the jury as evidence for the defense. As he had received it from D.A. Jensen the transcript had Grier saying that he "DID" get a clear look at the man's face. Garry introduced this transcript despite the fact that it contained the word DID because so much else of what it said contradicted the testimony that Grier had given under direct examination. This was the testimony that was read to the jury. Garry later discovered that the transcript should have read "DID NOT", but this discovery was not made until after the case went to the jury. There is some evidence of a deliberate falsification of the evidence by the prosecution.

Garry moved that the new corrected version be introduced in testimony to the jury, but Judge Friedman, after listen-

ing to the tape and agreeing with Garry as to its content, would only allow a copy of the transcript to be sent into the jury room without comment. A juror later told one of the local establishment papers that "none of the jurors were aware of the vital word change."

The jury was thus presented with the prosecution's "star" eyewitness giving completely contradictory testimony--the first to a police officer a few hours after the crime; the second 10 months later to the jury. The earlier testimony clearly favored the defense, while the court room testimony clearly favored the prosecution.

If Grier's contradictory testimony was not enough to completely discredit him Garry was able to introduce another eyewitness, a passenger on Grier's bus that morning, who although differing on particulars certainly went a long way in confirming Grier's first statement that he could not and did not see anybody's face.

Tommy Miller is a Black man who works at the naval station. He was a passenger on Henry Grier's bus on the morning of the shooting. Garry called him as a key witness for the defense.

Miller and another passenger boarded at 7th and Willow, and the bus moved forward. They could see ahead of them two patrol cars which had pulled over a car. Both men were standing between the driver and the side door through which Grier testified he witnessed Huey shooting Frey.

When Miller received his change he sat down, on the side of the bus closest to the patrol cars. Through the window he

Brutality against members of the Black Panther Party throughout the country has increased in recent weeks. Three Panthers were assassinated in Los Angeles last month.

Attacks on Panthers have been increasing in New York City, where 200 off-duty cops and their supporters attacked Panthers in the hallway of the Brooklyn Criminal Court on September 4. Three young Panthers are still in jail in New York, framed on phony charges with excessive bail.

And in Oakland, where it all began, just hours after the Huey Newton verdict was in, two cops shot into the Panther office.

It all points to one thing; the occupying army must be withdrawn from the black community; communities should control the police.

Latest word from New York is that the Panthers are suing the city of New York for "beatings, intimidation, and humiliation without cause." The Panthers suit demands neighborhood control of the police department, and also asks for Federal protection for Panthers in court buildings.

### Panther Office Shot Up

The Oakland case of police attack involves the shooting of at least two dozen bullets into the Panther office. Two patrolmen, Robert Farrell and Richard Williams, who were on duty, in uniform, and in a marked car at the time, were kicked off the force and are being charged with felonious assault. Police Chief Charles Gain said that the officers were roaring drunk at the time.

The attack occurred at about 1:30 in the morning and no one was in the building. Numerous witnesses reported the cops cruising slowly by the office, emptying their guns at the window, then driving up to the corner, making a U turn, and coming back to empty a second volley.

A large poster of Huey Newton was riddled with bullets, as was Eldridge Cleaver's presidential campaign poster. The restaurant next door was hit five times.

Newspapers reported that other cops thought "frustration" among the police because of the verdict might have been involved, many thinking that Huey's verdict was "a cheap price to pay for an officer's life".

The police were jailed on the day of the shooting and later released on \$3,000 bail. They will be arraigned shortly. They have denied any part in the shooting. Chief Gain said he was making an extensive investigation of the incident for which "we all share regret", including an investigation of where they had been drinking.

### Commendable & Admirable

Gain added, "We must bear in mind that the offense was that of two individuals who were acting outside of their duties and that appropriate action has been taken against them." He hoped that "all reasonable citizens" would not use this incident to "discredit" the police.

Of course, Gain has a racist police force to keep happy so his next remarks were expectable, ludicrous as they may seem. Speaking to members of the police he said, "You have in the main conducted yourself in a most commendable and in fact admirable manner throughout these past trying months not withstanding the considerable aggravation to which you have been subjected."

Yeah, Gain... "commendable and admirable." Like the murder of Bobby Hutton. Like the heavily beefed up patrols as soon as the verdict came down -- one of which shot up the office.

In the New York incident with the off-duty cops and Panthers Mayor Lindsay bullshit about how those police were the exception. Seems like the governing officials in a number of places are walking a pretty thin tightrope these days. That's good. Also seems like the cops more and more want to take matters into their own hands, resenting the liberals. Cleveland is a good example of this trend.

In response to the Oakland attack a crowd of about 100 people gathered outside the Panther office. One man said it straight, "It's just the racist police running amuck again."

Said Eldridge Cleaver, "It should be clear now who the troublemakers are... this wasn't the first time this has happened here (the office was shot up a year ago), but this time it's obvious who's responsible." Bobby Seale added that the attack was proof that "what causes tension in the community is the Pigs."

### Community Control

Moves have been underway in the Bay Area and other parts of the country toward what is called "pig control", toward local community control over the police. These preliminary moves may be an important part of the political strategy for both the black and white movements in the months to come.

Some argue that the police are only the arms and lackeys of the oppressors. True enough. But they constitute an occupying army in the black community, have recently been cracking down on white demonstrators and young people. The attention focused on them should not obscure the reality of their masters in the smoke filled rooms, but struggles mounted against their actions are extremely important as confrontations between the police and the movement become one focal point of the social struggle taking place. The immediate oppression must be fought in such a way as to build toward deeper struggle with their masters.

Huey Newton from his cell in Oakland said the incident showed that Oakland police were looking for an excuse to vent their resentment against blacks. He hoped there would not be violent response to the attack at this time. He said, "We want a peaceful solution in Oakland, it's clear that the only way to maintain law and order is to withdraw the police occupation forces from our community."

In response to rumors that Oakland police might go on strike because of dissatisfaction with the way their fellow officers had been treated Huey said "In that event the Black Panther Party is ready to take over and patrol the city to preserve law and order for both Black and White".



could see a man bent forward over a car, with two police officers nearby. But, he testified, it was too dark to see any more than that. Too dark to see or identify any faces, or even tell what was going on.

When the shooting started the passengers ducked down in the back seat. The bus by now had gone on past the patrol cars and the stopped Volkswagen, and came to a halt "at least a bus-length past" the cars and the shooting. The passengers glanced out the back window, but the pitch-blackness made it impossible to see.

If "star" witness Grier was not credible Heanes was honest about one point throughout and this did not help the prosecution's case. Heanes maintained during both his court appearances (first before the grand jury and later at the trial) that he NEVER SAW A GUN IN HUEY'S HANDS.

Heanes had been on the Oakland Police force a year and a half when he went to "cover" for John Frey in the early morning hours of October 28. Frey had radioed in that he had spotted a "known Black Panther vehicle" and was going to stop it.

On morning line-ups, the Oakland Police had been warned about Panthers. "They are armed and dangerous -- approach with caution." They had been shown pictures of the Panthers, and were given lists of license numbers of cars owned or used by Black Panthers.

It was habitual for these cars to be stopped, their drivers frisked, and summonses given for any pretext that could be found. This seemed to be just one more of hundreds of such harassing actions.

CONTINUED ON PG. 15

# The New Left And The Army :

**Introduction:** The movement often talks about taking a step into America. Too often, such talk is only talk, and it is only recently that movement people have begun to consider and act seriously on their rhetoric. One key area where this has begun is in and around the armed forces, among the large section of working class people who enlist or are drafted into the service of the masters of war. Coffeehouses have been set up for soldiers at bases around the country, various efforts have gone on inside the military. One important contribution to this work has been the "Vietnam GI", a monthly newspaper which is distributed in the Army both at home and in Vietnam. THE MOVEMENT talked to Jeff Sharlet and Jim Wallihan, two members of the VGI staff. What they have to say about their work and the relation of the movement to their work speaks directly to several important problems facing the movement, if it actually is to take that step into America:

THE MOVEMENT: Tell us a little about "Vietnam GI".

VIETNAM GI: Last fall, a group of Vietnam veterans and a couple of movement people decided that it was time to start dealing with the military. We knew from experience that conditions in the armed forces -- the crap that goes down every day -- plus the war and the fact that the whole system is under attack added up to a lot of GIs who were beginning to think about getting together both on the inside and as vets. Guys begin to ask some serious questions when they find themselves in life or death situations they can't justify to themselves.

We felt that the vehicle of a newspaper was the best way to begin, since it could reach a large audience as well as provide information on events in the Army and establish contact with and among GIs who were already politically active or who wanted to get into things. In January we ran 10,000 copies and since then we have increased the printing to 30,000 per month. We distribute to guys who write in, through individual subscriptions to military addresses -- appropriately disguised, of course -- and through GI distributors, as well as through civilians who pass out the paper at bases, bus stations, and airports. We also travel around to bases, rapping with guys, picking up stories, and helping in whatever way we can with what they have going on the inside.

## Reach Who?

THE MOVEMENT: Do you reach, or try to reach, everybody in the armed forces or just particular sections?

VGI: We talk almost exclusively to enlisted men -- the guys on the bottom, the guys who catch most of the crap that comes down from the top of the system. The EM are usually at the mercy of the "lifers" (careerists), the officers and NCOs. We're mainly reaching the average GIs, as opposed to the few guys who are in the so-called elite units like intelligence and the Green Berets (Special Forces).

You see, the military is organized like the class system in the civilian society. The officers are the upper class and enlisted men make up the lower class. In between are the NCOs -- the lifer sergeants. The NCOs tend to come from minority and poor white backgrounds, and the military offers them more security than they can get as civilians. It offers them a few benefits, a little status and some authority -- the chance to give orders to somebody else. For the most part these guys have their heads turned around. Their role in the service is to handle a lot of the petty administration and harassment that the officers are too important to be bothered with. Like foremen in a factory, their job is to keep the troops in line.

Cutting across the class thing, especially in Nam, is the generational feeling. So sometimes you see young lieutenants, especially the non-lifers, and the young NCOs relating better to enlisted men than they do to their "own kind" in some circumstances. The obvious example is when they smoke grass with EMs, as sometimes happens, especially in the field.

## Response

THE MOVEMENT: How has the response to the paper been so far?

VIG: Really strong. Since we began we've received several thousand replies, many of which are substantial letters. For a while we wondered about the fact that

we hadn't received any hostile letters from enlisted men, although we got a few from the Army and from officers. But in May we received our first hostile letter and since then we've received three or four more. The majority of the mail is from guys in Nam, mostly line troops in the Army and Marine Corps. We've been surprised by the Marine response, but then they're up front -- they face it every day and know what we're all about. The only difficulty is that we can't contact most of the guys in Nam personally until they return to the States.

What we think is the real acid test for the paper is the response from guys in stateside hospitals who have been wounded, often badly. Ordinarily this tends to make men bitter, building hostility to those opposed to the war because they've sacrificed an arm, a leg, a full life for it. The need to justify can be pretty strong. But we've gotten a lot of letters from the hospitals, like one guy who wrote saying he dug the paper and that he "lost a leg, for nothing."

THE MOVEMENT: What do you feel is the political and organizing importance of working in the military?

VGI: Well, first of all, it's the military. And we all know the importance of that for the people who run America. And secondly, because the war has begun to increase the political consciousness of GIs and ex-GIs, and a lot of them are moving towards the left, even with no attempt to reach them on our part. The third thing is that working with GIs, most of whom are working class, can help bridge the gap between the experience of the movement and the experience of ordinary people in this society -- the people we have to reach if the system is going to be changed.

## Experience Gap

THE MOVEMENT: Exactly what do you mean by bridging the "experience gap"?

VIG: Maybe it would be a good idea to explain just what the gap is, first. As it stands now the movement is mostly middle class, but the larger part of our generation is not. For the most part, guys in the movement have spent their time around campuses. But one of the most important experiences of the larger part of the generation is in the military, usually in Vietnam. So that's an important element in how people relate to each other, one that most people in the movement don't share. What's more, a lot of people in the movement don't even understand it, much less share it. So if the movement is serious about taking a step into America, it should take that step into that part of the society where a large part of our generation is. To do it, a lot of intransigent attitudes and fantasies will have to be dropped.

This means that people in the movement have to overcome their middle-class backgrounds to a certain extent. They have to overcome this not just through rhetoric, but in their heads and through experience. For example, there is still a lot of anti-working class feeling in the movement... this is often manifested against the ordinary GI, or by shouting "fascist" at troops and Guardsmen. Now that ain't communication. Also, the concepts and language used by the movement are often over-intellectualized and isolated from reality. This gap not only makes for a lack of communication, it prevents the growth and improvement of thinking and organization that could take place if it was a movement that was really open to everybody. Take a lot of demonstrations, for instance. A lot of people who watch demonstrations

are just as radical as the participants but they don't join because they come across like freak shows with abstract and irrelevant demands. A demonstration should be the kind of thing that any sympathetic bystander can step off the sidewalk and join, without having his mind blown.

## Fantasies

THE MOVEMENT: You mentioned fantasies. Do you have any examples?

VIG: Right. The other problem is that the movement tends to over-romanticize things, to maintain a lot of fantasies. For instance, it's tough to relate to most combat vets with a romanticized view of the NLF, when the guy has seen a couple of buddies decapitated.

In addition, some people in the movement always seem to impose incredible and unreasonable demands upon GIs. Like asking, "When you were over in Vietnam, why didn't you desert?" What can a soldier say to that, except, "Man, you don't understand what it's like over there." The movement has to relate at the level of actual experience and consciousness, not on a pipe dream level. Only then can it speak in relevant terms to GIs about our common problems.

Sometimes this whole intransigence toward soldiers goes so far as to say,



"Well, if they don't understand this, or won't do that ... then screw 'em." The movement can get itself in a corner and wind up in a squeeze play. Because it can't make it without the people it might write-off in this way.

THE MOVEMENT: What do you suggest, then?

VIG: That even if many people in the movement aren't ready to take the step of rolling up their sleeves and working among ordinary people, or of going into the Army, the least they can do is publicize and prepare the country and the military for movement actions so that they are more comprehensible to the ordinary GI. People should talk realistically to soldiers, not shun them ... pick up GI hitchhikers, put up guys who

come around in their homes when they're off on passes. Help GIs in whatever actions they organize. Distribute papers around airports, bus stations, bases and to GIs and vets they come in contact with.

## Where Guys Are At

THE MOVEMENT: Going back to conditions within the armed forces, how would you summarize where guys are at?

VGI: Guys are going through a lot of changes, especially after they get over to Nam. The contradictions facing this country are blatantly exposed in the Army and the other branches. GIs don't know why they're fighting. At least the politicians and the brass can't give them any convincing reasons. Once they start to generalize about what they've been doing and why, then, if they can avoid flipping out, they're ready to organize. Really ready, because their commitment has come out of intense and life-threatening experiences.

The continual intensification of the war, the high casualty rates, guys coming back talking to the guys about to go, all contribute. They hear talk about negotiations and all that jive, all the candidates saying they're for peace -- but they're still being told to fight. Those who face it learn quickly to distinguish false promises from their own experience.

Now the guys who are in Vietnam or those who have been through it are not necessarily political, in the sense the movement uses that word. But most of them are getting hip to where it's NOT at -- that's important, even if they're not certain exactly where it IS at. They figure out that the businessmen, the politicians, the rightwingers, even a few parents who talk about supporting the boys are really just using them, keeping them over there.

THE MOVEMENT: A lot of these guys must be pretty angry then?

VGI: Right. And many guys are guys beginning to direct their anger in new directions. The talk about killing peace creeps when you get out, which was common a couple of years ago, is definitely declining. GIs are anticipating their discharge and a few are talking clearly about channeling that energy back home, at the people who run the country; the ones who are responsible for getting them sent there. It's the same thing Muhammad Ali said for black people -- "Our fight is at home."

## Dealing With It

THE MOVEMENT: You said something earlier about guys flipping out.

VGI: Yeah, there are quite a few guys who have seen too much killing, too much crap, and aren't able to deal with it. That's been true in all wars to a certain extent, but there are a lot of guys who are moving into the drug scene. Most guys, when they get out, seem to just want to live again for a few months, then they start moving into various things.

THE MOVEMENT: How are GIs dealing with their situation inside the military?

VGI: They're dealing with it in all sorts of ways. Lots of guys are just looking for an out, taking individual actions like

# Phuc-A-Truc

Long Binh, RVN — The 534th TRANS CO, 7th TRANS BN (Orient Express) was in the process of preparing for an IG inspection, the first one in approximately 18 months since their deployment to Vietnam.

True to form the lifers began to panic; they decided the EM needed some practice doing full field layouts, shining boots, brass, etc. But thanks to the leadership of one of the maintenance section chiefs, we really forced the lifers to do an about-face.

Almost any Army vehicle, especially in Nam can be "deadlined" for something, meaning it's useless until the deficiency is corrected. Now, scrounging, stealing, or trading parts with other units is not authorized; so if your parts man just happens to be out of the needed parts, he is covered by sending in his requisitions.

All he has to do is wait—in Nam this could be a long time—and everybody else just looks super-busy, but works backwards.

When a company with an exceptionally good record suddenly has

2/3 of its trucks deadlined and they're some big brass coming around your company area demanding explanations from your good ole CO and Motor SGT. Really puts them up tight.

After a treatment like this, you don't have to worry about petty harassment for quite some time.

Upon seeing our success the maintenance section of another company in our battalion (the 10th TRANS) used this same method to get rid of a Motor SGT they couldn't get along with. Took them about three days to get him relieved of his job (the chaplain was helpful, too).

Of course, you must be very careful or the whole thing can backfire in your face; and by their rules, this can be a bad burn in the Army game. But no sweat if all your guys are tight so that they can't prove you planned it. It's best to have one cat with a good head and a strong rap act as a spokesman.

This article was written by a PFC

# Let's Bridge The Gap!

psyching out, getting drug or medical records, or working it one way or another. But, more and more, GIs are looking for collective solutions. They're taking group actions involving solidarity, which are more likely to help out their buddies as well as them. There have been a few cases of troop revolts or of mass refusals, like six Vietnam returnees at Ft. Leonard Wood refusing assignments as drill instructors, or like the black GIs at Hood who refused riot duty in Chicago.

**THE MOVEMENT:** What are soldiers who are in Nam doing?

**VGI:** First of all, it's a question of survival. As they say, CYA -- cover your ass. Toward the end of their one year tours a lot of guys are especially reluctant to get shoved out into the field. But there's no question that soldiers both here and in Nam are beginning to move. In some cases it's just laying dead, in some it's low level sabotage, in others it's group stuff organized quietly. Like this one Maintenance outfit made sure that none of the vehicles they were responsible for could be used, all by using the Army's regulations against it. And, there have been cases of officers getting shot by the men, over different grievances.

But the consequences of an uncool move can be pretty final. It's not unknown for "agitators" to get shoved out of helicopters. However, the usual response is that when the Brass wants to get rid of somebody they just put him in an exposed position, like point man on patrol, radio operator, or chopper gunner.

Stateside there's a hell of a lot more leeway than in Nam, although guys who haven't been over usually haven't seen the contradictions so clearly, or thought about them as seriously.

## Program & Organizing

**THE MOVEMENT:** How does the paper tie in to all of this? What kind of program are you organizing around?

**VGI:** Well, we don't push a rigid program, like one, two, three and so on -- these are the demands of GIs. We don't condemn individual actions although there is a clear preference for collective actions. We run articles about actions, often written by guys who are involved in them. Guys on other bases can pick up on the ideas and tactics if they are relevant to their situation. Politically, we run a lot of material on the oppressiveness of the military system for the GIs who are impressed into it. We run articles on the war, who's responsible for it, and who does and doesn't benefit from it. On top of that we run a lot of stuff on what's going on politically within the system. We also run a lot of letters, covering a whole spectrum of views.

What we're saying is that the war isn't in the interests of most Americans, especially the GIs who fight it, but that it's the responsibility of the corporations, politicians, and military brass who run this country. In other words, instead of tearing up Vietnam and its people, we ought to be settling accounts with the cats who run America.

**THE MOVEMENT:** How does the paper handle the race question?

**VGI:** Head on. We run articles on racism as it relates to the military scene and articles on the racism that's endemic to the system, often connecting it with military events and conditions.

## Racism

**THE MOVEMENT:** Could you give a couple of examples?

**VGI:** Well, for instance we ran a story about a Military Police company. Eight white and three black enlisted men went to the Inspector General (a sort of military ombudsman) about the blatant racism of their officers and sergeants. It was an example of black and white guys getting together to demonstrate their solidarity connecting their opposition to racism and their common antagonism toward officers.

We've run articles on riot control. Black GIs are the ones most concerned about it, as the August action at Ft. Hood demonstrated, but lots of white guys are also uptight about it, especially since Chicago. The 6th Infantry Division at Ft. Knox, a unit which was composed largely of Nam returnees, was training for riot control. One group of men would play rioters, the others controllers. Nobody, black or white, was enthusiastic about it . . . among the enlisted men. So the officers had to push them hard, egg them on, and shove clubs in their backs to get "cooperation." There were incidents when the enlisted men turned around on the officers or NCOs and took them on. This kind of thing can lead to severe punishment -- so it showed the depth of bitterness that exists in this area. A lot of guys who have been over to Nam have got their heads straight about it now.

Let's make it clear -- we're not saying

the initials stand for a couple of LBJ's oldest and closest Texas buddies -- see June 1968 *VGI*) are now being investigated by a U.S. Senate committee headed by Sen. Abraham Ribicoff. The committee reported that these "business patriots" have squandered millions of dollars "because of inefficiency, dishonesty, corruption, and foolishness."

PAE employees, the report says, were receiving kickbacks and buying inferior materials at higher prices. Sound a lot like the usual rackets back home?

For their part, LBJ's buddies at RMK-BRJ managed to "lose" \$120 million worth of materials shipped to the Nam. Guess where that went!

But these guys shouldn't sweat it, they're old pros at the game. They've been getting huge "defense" contracts since before World War II and have been investigated for shady-dealing plenty of times. And they always manage to come out on top. You see, these hawk corporation cats have a lot of retired brass on their payrolls. They can afford to "support our boys." It's money in their pockets.



**"FRANKLY, I CAN HARDLY WAIT TO RETIRE SO I CAN GET IN ON THE CUSHY END OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX!"**

© 1967 Chicago Daily News Publishers-Hall Syndicate

racism isn't rampant in the military. It is. But the EM's understanding of racism is clarified by many officers and NCOs who are more blatant about their racism. **THE MOVEMENT:** Sounds good, and from what we've seen of the paper it sounds like you talk the language. Now for the big question -- how do you see, out of your experience, the movement relating to the Army?

## Bridge The Gap

**VGI:** The movement must first begin to bridge that gap in experience, understanding, and communication that we talked about earlier. This doesn't mean everyone should run down to their nearest Army recruiter; but people should begin to deal with their fantasies, get out of the easy bag of fascist name calling and writing-off working class people.

The movement must project that the fight is right here at home. It should realize that a lot of GIs define the enemy as well or better than many people in the movement. It should orient itself toward GIs and ordinary civilians in its actions. Sitting around talking to ourselves doesn't make it. If the movement wants to speak to most Americans, then GIs should feel welcome within the movement. We should take that step into America, and not try to force GIs and everybody else to make the leap to wherever the current movement fantasy is at.

There are many support activities that can be begun for GIs, both in and out of the service. For example, publicity and demonstrations for GIs who organize actions and are under fire from the brass as a result. GIs face a stiff system of penalties -- and it's tough for them to print their own leaflets. The movement can help in printing and distributing papers like ours. People can leaflet airports, bus stations, induction stations, and bases with papers. It can put up radical GIs, help them organize, especially by helping radical GIs keep in touch with each other.

Another function for the movement might be the spreading of information on careful work and cluing guys in on the consequences of actions that aren't going to accomplish anything except get them screwed. Some GIs are naive in this regard. And of course the defense functions of providing publicity, lawyers, etc. are often important. In the long run, the movement, strengthened by contact with working class guys in the military, can join with them in developing a workable perspective for more permanent organization.

## Campus Vets

There is one key area in which almost nothing has been done that offers great potential. There are now over half a million veterans on campuses. The movement can help get these guys together by distributing the paper to them and setting up contacts. As veterans their potential is great, because of their experience and because of the legitimacy that goes with it.

The key immediate thing for us is money, so we'd better get in a plug. Active duty GIs can't contribute much on their salaries. So we have to rely almost entirely on civilian contributions. It takes a lot of bread to mail out thousands

of papers to GIs since they have to go first class in order to get through -- that's about twelve cents a copy. It also takes bread to get around to the bases, most of which are scattered around the South and the East coast. So we're really in need.

**THE MOVEMENT:** One last thing -- have you run up against a lot of harassment from the brass?

**VGI:** Oh yeah, but we've found that there's a lot of solidarity among guys in a platoon. They stick together and won't rat on a buddy when the brass starts calling guys in to find out where the papers are coming from. There have been cases where officers have given GIs direct orders (violation is a court martial offense) not to distribute the paper and the guy's buddies have taken over the distribution, backing him up. That way we keep a few jumps ahead of the brass -- they cut off a distributor, an organizer, and we pick up a couple more. Many returnees from Nam tend to be pretty gutsy and take a lot less crap.

Nobody we know of has been hurt for distributing the paper yet. The cats who do it are cool as hell. We got one letter from an officer in Nam who complained about not being able to find out how to receive the paper from any of his men -- and we had a lot of papers circulating in that unit, too.

As far as the staff, which is almost entirely ex-GIs, goes, we've gotten a little harassment, but so far no major actions have been directed at us by the brass. It would be tough for them, given the base we've built up among GIs. Like we know of several cases where it's been soldiers who turned civilians onto the paper for the first time. We get a lot of letters from guys who view it as "their paper", which is the way it should be.

We reprint two articles, the cartoons, and photo from VIET GI on these pages. VIET GI operates on a financial shoestring and needs financial support. Contributions and correspondence should be sent to VIET GI, Box 9273, Chicago, Illinois 60690.

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# Business Patriots

The war may be a bitch for the guys who fight it, but it can be a real gas for some of the big corporations. At least that's what Pacific Architects and Engineers (PAE) must be thinking.

In 1965 PAE contracted with the Army to renovate the Grand Hotel in Nha Trang for an estimated \$208,000. You see, the brass wanted to use it as an HQ.

By the time PAE finished the job they had raked in a cool million bucks!

In 1967 PAE took in a total of \$133 million for maintaining physical facilities and utilities at Army installations in the Nam.

PAE and another construction combine called RMK-BRJ (some of



**"You mean, when they talk about ending violence in the streets, they don't mean here?"**



by Chris Bergman

For awhile before it was released, the news of the Beatles' new record, "Revolution" held a lot of promise. After the Rolling Stone's recent single, "Street Fighting Men" and the Animal's "New York 1963, America 1968", both discussed later, one might expect a continuation of this new and exciting political consciousness that has emerged out of the music world from the Beatles as well. But no. They instead show, in admirable musical form, a naive, down-right stupid and limited understanding of what revolution means. "You say you want a revolution", they begin, "We all want to change the world". "But when you talk about destruction, brother you can count me out". So we must change the world, they suggest, without destruction and without hate. The song is actually counter-revolutionary and is really a shame because of the tremendous influence the Beatles have on thousands of young people. Many young people in this country know better as the Beatles would if they were hip to what kind of shit goes down with the cops in this country and if they weren't buried behind their sea of bread. What the Beatles try to push with this song is the bourgeois, mass media image of "revolution" that is becoming so popular a brainwash these days. The line, "But if you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao you're not gonna make it with anyone anyhow" clearly shows their lack of understanding of the world situation and of who the enemy is. The song is the Beatles first record on their own label, "Apple".

The Stones on the other hand, who from the beginning have displayed a much more nitty-gritty, down to earth approach than the Beatles both in their sound and in their public image, speak of revolution in a different tone. Their song on the subject, "Street Fighting Men", forcefully proclaims, among other things, "The time is right for fighting in the streets, boys" and "The time is right for revolution." Revolution in the real sense, this time. The song is from the Stone's latest and as yet unreleased album, "Beggar's Banquet". Another song of interest on the album talks of the hard working people, the "Salt of the Earth".

## Jeff Beck

Jeff Beck, who like Eric Clapton is an ex-Yardbird, has got his own group together and recorded an album for Epic entitled "Truth". It's really a fine album. The musicians are all top rate and produce that powerful English sound who some at first listening might call merely "raw", but in fact is a welcome development for real and gutful music making. When asked in a recent interview why the name "Truth" was picked for the album, Beck explained, "Well there's two reasons. One is that there's no fake recording techniques on it with editing, backward playing tapes and such stuff as that. And it's another word. The truth is usually applied to the blues. The Negroes call their music the truth and we've taken the liberty of using the word."

English musicians usually have their roots in the very best of early blues and other Black music, and they sometimes, as in Beck's case, add to it a certain forceful rock sound originated in England which American musicians only approach.

The vocals, done by Rod Stewart, are distinctly English in flavor and may sound a little un-polished for some American listeners. But it shouldn't take long to accept these styles, which may seem strange, and hear the soul in the music, with which it is over-flowing.

They do what Beck calls a 1968 version of "Old Man River" on the album and they really do this great old song justice. Beck plays bass on this number and guitar on all the others. "Blues Delux", the longest cut on the album (7:32) shows the amazing command the group has over the blues. The piano by Micky Hopkins is truly notable. Beck calls it one of the best blues pianos ever recorded and that's being only a trifle generous. The vocal on this one fits perfectly and Beck's guitar on this cut and throughout the album is the high point of the music.



John, wearing a fur jacket and one-piece suit, makes like a model! TEEN LIFE

Admitted George, frankly: "Our Apple firm is dedicated to making money. We feel that by making money and being successful in business, we will have the power to help other people."

The Doors, who at one time were great, have run out. Their latest record, "Waiting For The Sun", can be called at best "pretty good" and while that's a positive appraisal, they are (or once were) capable of much more and the let down is disappointing.

Jim Morrison, the singer, is an exciting singer but the lyrics have become pretty empty. Every once in a while there'll be a line or two that rings a bell, like "The old get old, And the young get stronger, it may take a week, Or it may take longer. They've got the guns, But we've got the numbers, Gonna win, Yeah we're takin' over", but it's buried in an otherwise meaningless song.

Musically the group leaves little to be desired. They're good musicians if a little repetitive. It's mainly the material that's lacking.

One thing that sets Eric Burdon apart from most of his fellow musicians is the fact that he's politically conscious and not afraid to talk about it on his records. He recently had a single entitled "Sky Pilot" which mainly described the futile role of the priest in Niet Nam as he gives his empty words to the soldiers about to do battle. The song was banned in Burdon's native England and was number one here in San Francisco.

The group with him, the Animals, are all excellent musicians. Every subsequent album shows their development. Their latest is their best to date. It's called, "Every One Of Us", and Burdon has never before put so much of his political thinking out loud on an album.

The first song, "White Houses", starts by pointing out parallels in describing this country. He starts by saying: "White houses in neat little rows contrasting against the sky" and an opposite "Tumbled down black shacks over the tracks, children so hungry they could cry." He says, "The TV's on, 10 o'clock news, 10 channels all filled with lies." And he goes on, "The chrome the steel the metal dream leaving the teepee to rot, The escapist young mind left behind saving dimes for community pot." And then the chorus, "You better get straight". Now here's where a possible misunderstanding comes in. The word "straight" in this sense doesn't mean "status quo American" as we often use it, but rather he's saying to America straighten up in the sense of get yourself together.

They recreate and revitalize the old "St. James Infirmary" on the new release. Burdon can really sing as evidenced here as well as in a lot of his old recordings, like "One Monkey Don't Stop The Show" or "Gin House Blues" from earlier albums. I remember when I saw him and the group in person last year and he was moving people to shout approval at certain lines and hollers throughout the performance. Since then he's toned down his vocal style just a bit and is now recording mostly original material. He and the group continue to lay down a good solid sound.

## America, 1968

The last and longest cut on the album (19 min.) is entitled "New York 1963, America 1968," and is an extravaganza talking about the concept of freedom and what it means. It's laid out in several parts. The first is the story of how Burdon came to this country and how it "blew his mind". It says how when he first arrived in the pouring rain he goes to look at the Apollo theater in Harlem. Then he goes on to describe how he falls in love with a brown girl from the Bronx and explains how in the past he thought of the Negro as his hero and leader and how he tried to sound like him in his music. He talks about John Kennedy's death, how some cried about it and some "were grinning". Then he goes on about life in the village. That portion fades out and the question is heard, "What did you do in the service?" and a black voice answers by telling a little bit about his life and philosophizing about the racial situation.

The next portion is a musical masterpiece as well as an effective posing of a highly relevant argument. It starts by a voice singing about the wonders of dope saying this is the answer and the way to be free. But soon another voice starts to answer the first as it sings, saying, "I don't believe you" and "you'll never be free this way" and "straighten up and fly right". The way the two voices build with the rhythm and the instruments growing in intensity is really amazing and reminds me of the fact that a description such as this is by no means a substitute for hearing the record. The record speaks for itself with eloquence and musical excellence.

The one criticism applicable to the song described above is that while it poses this important question it doesn't really give an answer to it. That's up to the listener and just the posing of the question, since it's done so well, is enough to set people thinking and to come up with an answer for themselves. ■

# TUNGSTEN WAR

by Jerry Densch

Why would a nation -- even one possessing such wealth and seemingly irrational leaders as the United States -- want to blow 30 or 40 billion dollars, year after year, in a war for the control of a tiny country half way around the world? It hardly seems possible that even Johnson and Rusk could believe the twaddle and endless lunacy they spout about protecting "freedom" there. Why has this country been involved in trying to maintain governments friendly to it in Southeast Asia for over twenty years, first by buttressing the French Colonial Government of Indochina and, when that failed, becoming increasingly involved in a direct occupation of Vietnam and CIA intrigue throughout the area?

As he bumbled through his period as President, Eisenhower now and then let slip a valuable bit of information which has been pretty much ignored by the left -- probably because it was so rarely that he said anything of relevance. One of these slips occurred a year before the Geneva Convention on Indochina, when he justified to Congress the expenditure of 400 million on France's colonial war there with the statement that it was to protect this country's source there of tin and tungsten.

Two men with backgrounds in mining and political affairs, Terry Waters and William Winter, have done a great deal of research on this subject. They have found what would seem to be irrefutable evidence that mineral wealth, specifically tungsten, is at least an important reason for the long U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia.

Tungsten is a metal vital to both industry and the military. Its hardness, durability and extremely high melting temperature make it valuable for such things as high speed cutting tools and armor plating. No doubt about it: the American military-industrial complex needs it.

## U.S. Lacking

The U.S., the world's largest tungsten consumer, now has little or no known tungsten reserves outside of a (probably huge) government stockpile. U.S.-mined tungsten is of uncertain quality. Only 2% of the world's known reserves are in the Western hemisphere, mainly in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina and Brazil, where the entire future production was bought up for the U.S. in 1940. Most of the government stockpile, also obtained in 1940, was gotten from the French colonial government in Indochina and shipped out about half a step in front of the Japanese.

But where is that other 98% of the world's reserves? Mostly in North Vietnam and Southern China. Not only are these the richest known reserves, but the purest. This gives these countries the potential of tremendous industrial development at the same time the U.S. is possibly in danger (depending on how many wars it wants to carry on in the meantime and the size of that stockpile) of running out of one of the materials vital to the maintenance of its own industrial capacity.

Winter and Waters are trying to have a book on the subject published, but so far no publisher will have anything to do with it. Much of the information they hope to publish, however, may be found in an interview done by the L.A. Free Press (May 17, 1968) with Terry Waters, and in the July 15 and 22 issues of William Winter Comments (Box 817, Sausalito, Calif. 94965 for 25¢).

If tungsten is in fact the reason for the war, and Winter and Waters make a very good case for it, including the probable involvement of such people as Lyndon Johnson, Dean Rusk, Nelson Rockefeller and Eisenhower, the implications could very well make any establishment publisher afraid to handle the book. For if the war is for the tungsten, and the tungsten is in North Vietnam and China, where is the war going to end? ■

## NEED MONEY?

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# Coffeehouse Crackdown

## BUT SOLDIERS ON THE MOVE

by Donna Mickleson

On September 11, eight black GI's appeared before a Pretrial Investigating Officer at Ft. Hood, Texas. They had been charged with disobeying a lawful order to disperse, and hauled off to the stockade along with some 35 other black soldiers from a demonstration early on the morning of August 25th. All 43 members of the First Armored Division (composed mostly of Vietnam vets finishing up their hitch), were demonstrating to emphasize their refusal to serve in riot control at the Chicago convention. These eight had been singled out for the possibility of a General court-martial, while most of the other 35 would face a Special court-martial. (The former is more serious and carries stiffer penalties.) This hearing was ostensibly to weigh the evidence and determine whether their case rightfully merited a General, and to clear the path for setting a trial date.

### Optimistic

The men are being defended by Mike Kennedy of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in New York. Kennedy is doubtless the top non-Army authority on military law in the country. He uses his knowledge to defend GI's who run afoul of the system, especially those with political or moral implications to their cases. Because both the press -- including The New York Times -- and the public were barred from the hearing room, Kennedy was my source of information. He is somewhat optimistic that these eight might have their charges commuted to the level of Special Court-martial, if for no other reason than that the various government witnesses don't agree on the nature and content of the direct order they assert was given.

Probably the more important underlying reason, however, is that the case has undeniable political overtones and significance, and the Army would not be wise to set up a situation where these things could come up for public scrutiny and mass media interpretation. Pentagon public information officers have surely not forgotten the classic front page New York Times photo of Col. Chester Davis muscling a handcuffed Capt. Charles Levy down the steps after the dermatologist was sentenced to Leavenworth for refusing to train Special Forces as medics. Forty-three black GI's publicly refusing, in the words of their asst. commanding officer, to "carry the white man's burden" makes Levy's courageous lone moral stand pale by comparison.

### Brass In A Bind

Yet the Brass is in a real bind; how to make the punishment severe enough to discourage such acts by other soldiers, without feeding the "newspaper tiger" so feared by top military officials at a time when the Army is being called upon to a greater and greater extent to put down civil strife at home.

One tactic they will probably use is to minimize the substantive issues and formal reprisals while getting at the participants by bringing up other, lesser, violations and infractions, meting out the maximum penalties for those, and simply harrassing the men in an attempt to break down their morale. After all, the Army's options aren't a lot broader than those of cops anywhere, and they tend to fall back on the familiar pattern of roughing men up in the jailhouse where no one can watch and then hanging them legally for everything but what they've really done.

### Oleo Strut Bust

While all this was going on out at the Post, back in the nearby county seat of Belton, Josh Gould, manager of the Oleo Strut Coffee House in Killeen, was being released after spending eighteen days in jail on a trumped-up drug charge. Based on .06 of a gram of marijuana which only one of three police on the scene would swear in court was actually even found in Josh's car, he had been held on \$50,000 bail until September 5th. That day a preliminary hearing was held, which city officials hoped would turn up enough evidence for a grand jury indictment. Instead, the judge lowered the bail to \$15,000 before even hearing a word of testimony. And when the bumbling, contradictory prosecution statements were over, the frame-up appeared so blatant that within a few days bail was further lowered to \$2500, which enabled Josh's lawyer, Davis Bragg of Killeen, to sign for the \$250 bond. After

all, it wouldn't do to hold another hearing for a writ of habeas corpus and have Killeen officials made public fools of twice. Not only might it be hard to get an indictment, but the Oleo Strut people were doing everything possible to get national press coverage of their story. Would Killeen come off looking any better than Ft. Hood under CBS lights?

### Preventive Arrest

City officials had several real if not public reasons for holding Gould at such prohibitive bail for at least a week, and on one level anyway, it was irrelevant whether he ever came to trial or was convicted. That was because Gould and the Oleo Strut staff were certain his arrest was partly to prevent him from using a plane ticket to Chicago, where First Armored Division troops were being sent for convention riot control. He was stopped, initially on a phony traffic violation, the afternoon before the all-night demonstration by black GI's, but post officials knew that many blacks at the base were unenthusiastic about turning bayonets against their brothers. (On May 23rd of this year a "mock riot" which was part of riot control training erupted into a melee in which those blacks



"Politicians are always behind us . . . 12,000 miles behind us."

## "This Demonstration Should Be Quashed"

(From Student Communications Network -- Berkeley)

Following is a reprint of the original text, unclassified message received August 28, 1968, at headquarters, USAF communications center. All details of the text are exactly as originally transmitted.

PERSONAL FOR: GENERAL MCCONNELL (USAF CHIEF OF STAFF) FROM GENERAL ESTES (CHIEF OF USAF MILITARY AIR COMMAND "MAC")

SUBJ: 2ND LIEUTENANT HUGH F. SMITH, FV3179560

I AM INFORMED THAT FACTS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THIS MATTER HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED WITH YOU BY GENERAL MANSS AND CAPPUCCI AND THAT THERE IS SECRETARIAL INTEREST. SMITH IS ORGANIZING A 'PEACE IN VIET-NAM' DEMONSTRATION FOR MEN IN UNIFORM TO TAKE PLACE IN SAN FRANCISCO. HE APPLIED FOR AND RECEIVED A PERMIT FOR A DEMONSTRATION TO BE HELD ON 21 SEPTEMBER. SUBSEQUENTLY, PERMIT CHANGED TO 12 OCTOBER. STRONGLY BELIEVE THIS DEMONSTRATION SHOULD BE QUASHED IF POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE SEVERE IMPACT ON MILITARY DISCIPLINE THROUGHOUT THE SERVICES THERE IS NO AFR SPECIFICALLY PROSCRIBING THIS TYPE OF ACTIVITY. AFR 35-78 IS POINTED SOLELY TO CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS. SINCE THERE ARE NATIONAL POLICY CONSIDERATIONS IN SUCH AN ORDER IT SHOULD EMANATE FROM DOD OR AT LEAST AIR FORCE LEVEL. I RECOMMEND THIS BE DONE AT ONCE SO THAT SMITH WILL REALIZE THAT IF HE PROCEEDS HE SUBJECTS HIMSELF WITH CERTAINTY TO CRIMINAL PUNITIVE ACTION. IN THE ABSENCE OF A REGULATION OR ORDER SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITING SUCH ACTIVITY BELIEVE ANY CRIMINAL PROSECUTION WOULD BE TENUOUS TO SAY THE LEAST. PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE POLITICAL CLIMATE OF THE DAY. IF THE FOREGOING IS UNATTAINABLE I RELUCTANTLY RECOMMEND THAT WE BE GIVEN AUTHORITY TO PROCEED WITH DISPATCH WITH THE AFR 36-3 ACTION WHICH HAS BEEN RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMANDER 349TH MAW AND CONCURRED IN BY GENERAL SHERRILL, COMMANDER 22AF. I REALIZE THIS WOULD RESULT IN A DISCHARGE UNDER HONORABLE CONDITIONS, BUT THE DISPOSITION OF SMITH IS RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT AS COMPARED TO THE HIGHLY UNDESIRABLE IMPACT ON MILITARY DISCIPLINE IF ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL ARE PERMITTED TO DEMONSTRATE IN UNIFORM AGAINST NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICIES WITH IMPUNITY - THE PENTAGON, WASHINGTON, D.C., 29 AUGUST 1968

This shows that the brass are REALLY WORRIED about GI's expressing how they feel about the war. Unless General McConnell acts on the request or if a policy statement should come down specifically barring the march, servicemen CAN legally march in uniform. GI's from all over the country are encouraged to participate. Some transportation funding is available for those who cannot pay, and food and lodging will be provided for out of town participants by S.F. area people. CONTRIBUTIONS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED BY ANY AND ALL. Send to: October 12 March, 55 Colton Street, San Francisco.

In any case, GI's will be able to march in civilian clothes with clear denotation that they are in the military.

The Ally News Service  
P.O. Box 9276  
Berkeley, California 94704

designated "rioters" taunted the "cops" a bit more realistically than commanders intended, turning a real water cannon on opposing troops as well as on nearby officers. Before it was over, there was what one observer called a "total breakdown of command." (See the S.F. Express-Times, July 31, 1968.) No similar maneuvers have been scheduled since.

In any case, Gould has good rapport with a lot of the men, and Army officials very likely feared that if he got in touch with First Armored troops up there, they might face at least lowered morale and possibly even mutiny before national television cameras. It fits in with their usual "outside agitator" and "innocent dupe" theories to believe that a white, probably "communist", man, and not the conditions of the men's lives, would cause trouble.

### Oasis

This coffee house is one of a string begun near Ft. Jackson early this spring.

It provides a welcome oasis of human treatment, entertainment, and access to all sorts of information including underground and GI newspapers. In an otherwise dull and typically exploitative Army town, soldiers have flocked to the Oleo Strut -- especially those who dislike the War and/or the Army. And there are plenty of those at this base where most of the men saw first hand what was going on in Vietnam -- where many of them were wounded and some of their buddies killed. Official and unofficial warnings and harrasment have not kept them away; in fact, Oleo Strut staff members say their clientele is growing daily despite the arrests of Gould and several habitues over the past weeks, usually on drug or drug-related charges.

### PUBLIC NUISANCE

It should come as no surprise that another major reason for Gould's arrest

and enormous ball was that the city fathers are trying to padlock the Strut as a "public nuisance". Their needs dovetail nicely

with those of the Army, which would also like the nationally-publicized outpost closed but lacks jurisdiction to act. Both authorities are under public pressure over the rampant drug scene at the post and in the town. By pinning the coffee house's manager with a drug-dealing charge, they would jointly eliminate a trouble spot, avoid discussing the political issues at stake, and win at least temporary respite from the clamor over drugs by claiming they've licked the problem at its source. Never mind the fact that soldiers can literally harvest marijuana out on the rifle ranges. The parallels with the Army's approach to the black GI's revolt and to the recent sentencing of a Texas SNCC leader from a nearby community to 30 years on a marijuana charge, aren't too difficult to make. In fact, the very crudeness of the attempt has led attorney Bragg to believe that it can't succeed in this instance, even here in this small, tight Texas Army town.

### Soldiers As Victims

A year ago, when I was first invited to join Fred Gardner in opening the UFO in Columbia, South Carolina, practically everyone -- in and out of the movement -- looked at us like we were crazy. This was 1967, not 1964, and people just weren't thinking about moving into godforsaken Southern towns at all -- let alone in relation to soldiers. Very few people had begun to look for ways to tell GI's that opposition to the war also meant seeing our soldiers as prime victims. Almost no one had thought much about breaking through to soldiers with information, help, entertainment, camaraderie.

Things have changed since then. The number of GI papers has grown from one to half a dozen, and the VIETNAM GI (which probably reaches more GI's than any other, and is pitched to reach guys at their own level) now puts out both a "Nam" and a stateside edition. One coffeehouse has grown into a "Summer of Support", which as fall comes on will simply become "Support Our Soldiers" and hopes to continue growing and expanding into new areas.

### GI's Teach Students

A recent "GI Teach-in" at Provo Park in Berkeley, planned by student activists, turned into a chance for soldiers to show students just how much they had to learn about GI dissatisfaction and antiwar sentiment. Several Bay Area soldiers from various branches of the service have organized a march against the War in which the only identified contingents will be military and veterans. (See box.) And Peace and Freedom candidate Paul Jacobs has even planned an autumn tour of military bases in connection with his campaign for the Senate.

Besides all this, there are various groups talking about or trying to build servicemen's organizations around legal support, programmatic demands, and the need for a sense of community to counter the isolation and fragmentation of military life. Rennie Davis, who coordinated Summer of Support before the headquarters were recently moved to San Francisco, talks of organizing a National GI Week to focus public attention and concern on the plight and attitudes of soldiers. He hopes that church groups and civic leaders all over the country will work on a program to have GI's invited into people's homes, hold inspections of Post and stockade conditions, bring big-name entertainers and otherwise put people in touch with GI's.

### New Constituency

From my perspective as a fund-raiser and coordinator on behalf of SOS and after spending eight months in Columbia, S.C., I see varying amounts of value in these ways of relating the movement and the military. But all of them look like part of a healthy move in the direction of breaking into one of the most important potential constituencies as yet untapped in the country.

Anyone who would like to talk further, get more information, or thinks they might be interested in this kind of work (especially the coffee houses or GI Week) is welcome to contact me in writing: or by phone. My address is 373 Green Street, San Francisco, California 94133. Telephone 434-1610. ■

## BERKELEY UNDER SIEGE-

## Radical Community Confused

by Bob Mandel

For ten days in early September Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley was in a continuous state of siege. Convoys of cops maintained heavy and continual patrols, inconspicuously with one man to a car during the day; ostentatiously, four helmeted cops to a car at night. The main block of the Avenue had a minimum contingent of eight cops on foot each night; the blocks closer to the campus, four each. People were continually hassled. Virtually everyone who looked within ten years of 18 was stopped for ID checks, ostensibly in a legal search for curfew violators. People were sporadically beaten and arrested, mostly on minor charges.

The armed patrols generally appeared as early as 5:30, two and a half hours before the anti-loitering proclamation was effective, and the street was generally empty of all but the oblivious by 7:30.

Berkeley was a police state and Berkeley radicals didn't know what to do about it. The inability and unwillingness of the Berkeley left to challenge the situation reveals some basic splits in the community which must be openly discussed and dealt with.

The state of civil disaster was imposed by the city government after a series of incidents over the Labor Day weekend. A rally called to protest police action in Chicago and police harassment of the street people here ended quietly enough. However, a large group of people remained in the area and somebody ended up busting the windows in the Bank of America. When the cops suddenly and expectedly arrived, somebody pulled a gun and shot a cop from the middle of the crowd. Gas was used by the cops to disperse the crowd in the course of which several more windows were knocked out.

## Occupation &amp; Retaliation

By Saturday night the street was occupied by cops from every Bay Area community. In apparent retaliation somebody exploded a bomb on Sunday night at a nearby commercial construction site. The bank, the shooting and the bomb were all the excuse the city needed to impose civil disaster.

The radical community did not react because of the nature of the violence over the Labor Day weekend. Most of the people present at the rally thought the attack on the bank was stupid and a pointless provocation and assumed that the bombing Sunday was done by the same group of "extremists". Because of legitimate political differences with the "terrorists", Berkeley's organized radical groups (YSA, ISC, PFP, SDS) did not immediately react to the police seizure of the streets. In fact, the belief that offensive violence ("terrorism") at this stage of the game would actually alienate many potential recruits for the movement (students and McCarthy liberals) caused many individual politicians to openly denounce and disavow the "extremists".

Berkeley's mass movement, which does not belong to any of the groups specifically, but which will follow any of them when they seem to come up with a rational program, was confused by the lack of a clearly articulated response by the organized radicals. So everyone sat

around, reminiscing about the good old days at the end of June, talking about fighting cops, but not really wanting to. This was due to the combination of people feeling first that the events that brought the cops down on us were wrong and second that it made no sense to challenge the massive show of police force by going into the streets.

## Divide &amp; Conquer

The obvious confusion of the radical community on the question of offensive violence presented the city establishment with a golden opportunity to divide and conquer. They did not miss the chance.

The public position of the administration quickly became that the bombing was the work of a few extremists and kooks, and that the proclamation of civil disaster was aimed only at containing them, not at repressing the more responsible left groups. Unfortunately, because the administration position spoke to many of the doubts that people on the left had, we bit hook, line and sinker. This despite the fact that on the avenue the cops were making no distinction between "extremists" and anybody else with long hair, beads, beards or any other of our life-style symbols.

The left was unable even to organize a meeting until four days after the proclamation. It took an additional day to mount a direct challenge to the ban. At the meeting the division and confusion within our community was exacerbated by the open disruption by the Up Against the Wall/Motherfucker's during the early part of the discussion. A suggestion to march on city hall directly from the meeting, in violation of the ban, was defeated mainly for practical reasons. The practical reason consisting of more than 300 cops stationed in the area around the city hall. Most people thought a march after the meeting would be suicidal. The Motherfuckers' behavior had convinced almost everybody that a march that night would inevitably end in a bloody confrontation. Some people were also influenced by the fact that the Huey Newton jury was in its second day of deliberation and the defense attorneys advised that street action at that point could have detrimental effects on the verdict.

When we finally chose an action it

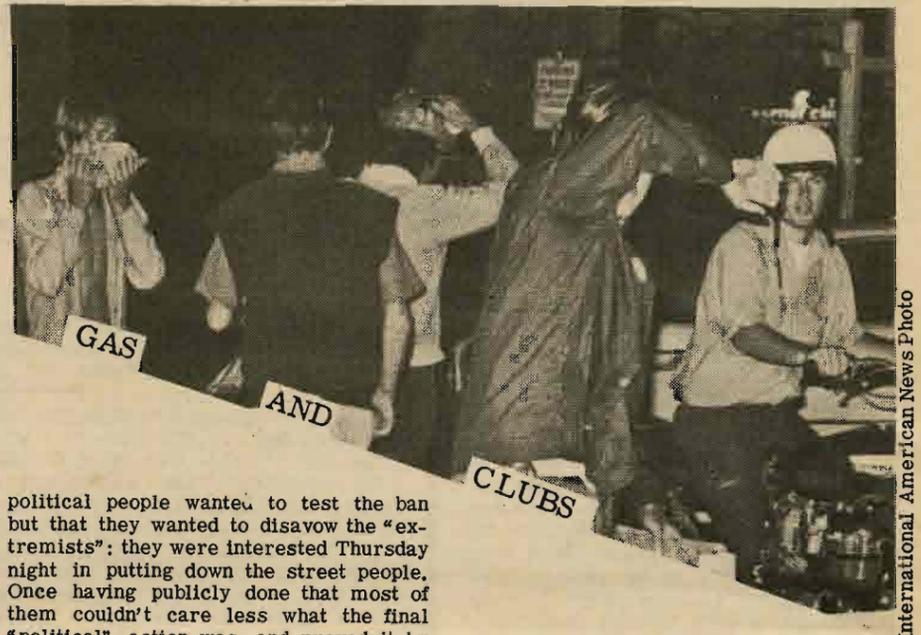
was deliberately a "political" one (the question of the right to picket scab grapes at a local market) and it was deliberately away from the heart of the fight, the Avenue. The reasoning behind the nature and place of the action was that we had to show the liberals that the ban was directed against "legitimate" political action as opposed to action by the street people on the Avenue. The next day the press played up the presence of a few "extremists" disrupting the meeting of Berkeley's "legitimate" political lefties.

The supermarket that was to be the target of the picket line immediately agreed to remove the scab grapes from its shelves probably on the theory that all the grapes they could sell in a week would not pay for one plate glass window. The rally was then moved to the city hall. The police did their best to further the split in our community by not hassling the "respectable" rally, only moving in later to confiscate the sound equipment after it was over.

What the rally proved was not that

threatens the system of exploitation as we know it. The police are moving against the street people because the street people are organizing things like the abortive boycott of avenue merchants designed to generate pressure to keep the cops off the street.

The Bank, the shooting and the bombing must be understood in the context of continued police harassment of the street. People are frustrated and angry. They see no end in sight to the daily police occupation and so they responded. The violence was probably not the work of an organized group, and it put the organized street people on the Avenue through a whole series of changes. Up until the night of the shooting, Commune people talked about doing your own thing (including terror) in small groups, underground. After the shooting some Commune people began talking about the need to develop a sense of direction for street people so that a few groups didn't inadvertently fuck everyone over by throwing bombs. I don't mean to depict the organ-



International American News Photo

political people wanted to test the ban but that they wanted to disavow the "extremists": they were interested Thursday night in putting down the street people. Once having publicly done that most of them couldn't care less what the final "political" action was, and proved it by staying home Friday night. At most 400 people showed up.

## Lack of Understanding

The inability of the left to respond to the crisis reveals a great lack of understanding of the nature of our "community". Many movement people carefully distinguish between themselves (politicos) and the street people on the Avenue. This despite the fact that the hip street people have created a life-style which we participate in, identify with and are proud of. It is the music of the street culture which is ours; the drugs they discovered which many of us use; and the modes of dress and the alienation which we share. What happened in Berkeley during those ten days is the result of this dichotomy plus a residue of unresolved problems arising from the June days.

There is great antagonism on the Avenue toward politicians, and particularly toward the YSA, because the street people believe the politicians manipulate them. This charge derives specifically from the post-July 4 situation. The people who hang out on the avenue (predominantly young kids who are deep into the drug culture) feel that the politicians caused the June days by calling a political rally; did a little street fighting; and after proclaiming a "political" victory on the 4th (the right to assemble and use the street in our own ways) withdrew leaving the street people to take the heat from the cops. Two hundred people have been busted on the Avenue since July 4th on the whole range of charges the cops use to harass the youth subculture. Presence of cops on the street, uniformed and plainclothes, has increased tremendously.

## Street Organizing

It is critical to understand that the cops have moved into the area not just because of the July insurrection but because the street people, thanks to the lessons they learned during the street war, are beginning to organize. The Berkeley Commune and the dozen or so other Berkeley communes are very political groups. They identify pot, speed, panhandling, loitering as political questions because each of these is a form of the new lifestyle which alienated American kids are choosing as their alternative to the system we live in. The Commune says that the cops move against the street people not because of the specific abuses but because the whole lifestyle completely

ized street people as a unified and directed group -- they do "do their own thing." But the shift in attitude is there.

Saturday, a group of unaffiliated political people and a group of Commune street people circulated telling people to cool it, to organize, not to give the police an excuse. The significance of the Saturday action was that it showed that where political people are willing to take street people on their own terms, and to identify with the street subculture rather than disavowing it or using it for predetermined political ends, a potentially effective alliance can be built. It apparently happened in Chicago.

This alliance could very well be critical, both in the short and the long run. The politicians who organized the city hall-grape strike picket line did not address themselves to the continued presence of the police on the street. Berkeley is going to be plagued through the fall by sporadic street incidents and, like it or not, the radical community is going to have to relate to this. If we choose to ignore the street and its people then we will be ignoring many of the young people we would like to politicize. The drug scene and its entire subculture is the thing that is happening at high schools all over the Bay Area. The first step most kids take out of the system is into drugs and rock music. If we deny this subculture, by denying it its turf, Telegraph Avenue, then we simply can't expect people to dig us because we are denying their (and parts of our own) lifestyle.

If we choose to respond to the Avenue, then the alliance between political street people and hip political people will continue to grow. This suggests that a political priority for Berkeley for the fall is police control. Not just in the black ghetto but in the white one as well. If we wish to be able to take the offensive on political issues of our own choosing then we must deny the city establishment the ability to create defensive turf fights by invading the Avenue whenever they wish to divert us from offensive political activities.

Police control petitions and police control patrols are a pressing matter of business. It just may be that the question of police control may move from a holding or defensive action into the start of a political offensive based on the strength of an alliance between politicians and street people. ■

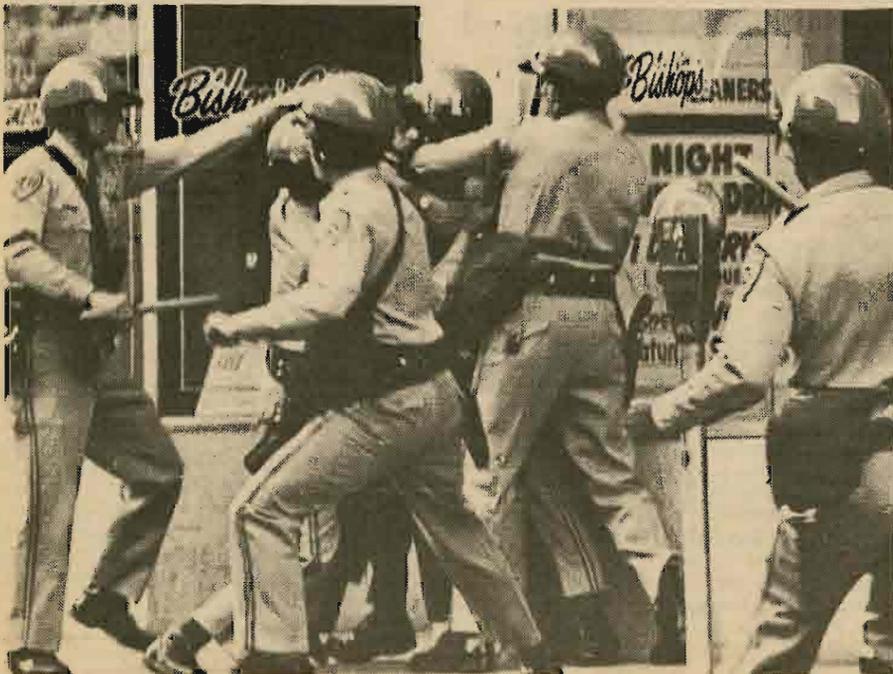


photo: Jeffrey Blankfort

# COP CAUGHT - CONVICTED

On August 20th, Richard Nuccio, Chicago cop, went to trial for murder. The case was heard by Circuit Court Judge Richard Fitzgerald. Nuccio waved his right to a jury trial. Many speculated on why he preferred that the case be heard by a judge, rather than a jury. Most people guessed that it was easier and safer to buy off a judge than jury members. The \$25,000 that Nuccio paid to a suspect lawyer added weight to this theory. Rumor had it that his lawyer was out on bond for having rigged evidence in a previous case.

During the course of the trial, this lawyer made every effort to rattle the young people appearing as prosecution witnesses. He shouted, asked conflicting questions, dragged out past records with maximum fanfare, and generally grilled many of them for over an hour. He was not, however, able to shake their testimony. They told of Nelson's being shot in the back, from 70-90 feet, while running, with no warning or reason, by a policeman who had told Nelson and a friend over a year before that he was going to kill them.

Three patrolmen were introduced as defense witnesses, but their testimony was weak and contradictory. On August 29, the judge had to say: "There is something in the soul which cries out against the sacrifice of a 19 year old boy on the altar of deterrence." Rejecting Nuccio's plea of self-defense, he found him guilty of murder, and set sentencing for October 11.

The reaction of the police department to the news that they were employing a convicted murderer (Nuccio had only been transferred, not suspended or fired, when indicted), was to consider a 30 day suspension.

The local community newspaper suggested that there be a re-trial. They advised that the judge, upright man though he was, could not but have been moved by unfavorable comments about the Chicago police force coming out of their conduct during the Democratic Convention.

Clearly, these two community institutions were not overly impressed with the verdict. There would not have been any action at all against Nuccio if it had been left up to them. Justice was done only because neighborhood people, and especially youth, were strong, and unrelenting in their demand for it. The youth recognize this. One establishment type put it this way: "Yer just a bunch of kids-hoods-punks, Go home".

Sound familiar? It's not so anymore in Lakeview. Overnight, we've gone from kids to youth, from punks to young citizens. Sure there's a lot of people who'd still like to think we're nothing, and they'll probably go right on thinking that. Meanwhile though we've shown Lake view and all of Chicago what we can do when organized.

We saw one of our own murdered. We saw the community take sides. We were called innocent kids. We were called gangsters. Many of us were harassed, threatened, and beaten, but they couldn't break us.

We've read about justice for a long time in text books, and we know we were right, and justice was on our side by any definition of the word. We found out being right and having justice in our corner is not always that important.

"RIGHT or WRONG you obey a policeman" commander Fahey shouted at the public hearing July 22nd. The crowd cried -- NO!

Many of us sat long hours in a hot stuffy court room day after day. We knew we were telling the truth, and the evidence was on our side, but we still felt we were fighting a losing battle, for many of us had come to recognize the power structure and the fact that "kids" had no part in it.

On August 29th Richard Nuccio was convicted in what Judge Fitzgerald termed the hardest decision he ever had to make. Justice reigned, and there were tears of joy and disbelief that day.

Through working together, we gained recognition, respect, and power in Lakeview. Shall we stop here? ■



## SNCC HARRASSMENT

SNCC International Affairs Commission

Phil Hutchings, National Program Secretary of the Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee and John Wilson, National Deputy Chairman of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, along with Charles Cohen, SNCC representative, and four members of the Black Liberators were arrested in St. Louis on Sept. 7th.

They were arrested after leaving a meeting in which SNCC leaders had spoken to more than five hundred people. Hutchings, Wilson, Cohen, and the four being held by police were charged with unlawful assembly. The Police declared the meeting unlawful. As of 4 PM (EST) Sept. 8th, the seven were still being held. One of the attorneys representing the group said it was "obviously a jive charge". AND UP TO THIS TIME NO WARRANT HAS YET BEEN ISSUED.

Hutchings and Wilson's trip to St. Louis was in response to a request by local people for SNCC to address itself to the problems of black people in the St. Louis community. We in SNCC's International Affairs office see the arrest of Hutchings, Wilson, Cohen and the others as a continuation of the pattern of police harassment of all those involved in the liberation struggle throughout the nation. We cannot help but note the cases of H. Rap Brown, Cleveland Sellers, and the fact that last week more than forty SNCC people were arrested in Texas. This is obviously but another chapter in the efforts of local, state, and national government to silence SNCC representatives and to punish them for exercising their guaranteed right of freedom of speech.

After conferring with many of our friends and supporters throughout the nation we demand the immediate release of those being held and that charges be dropped immediately.

Our contact in St. Louis noted that early this morning, black people had begun to gather outside the jail. If trouble arises as a result of these arrests the responsibility lies fully with the police department of St. Louis and responsible city officials. ■

## Continued from Page 8

But the man who stopped this Panther car was a policeman known in West Oakland for his insolent, racist manner.

According to Heanes Huey had given officer Frey false information when he was stopped and asked for the registration of the car. Huey was driving a car registered in the name of his girlfriend LaVerne Williams.

Heanes and Frey returned to the Volkswagen in which Huey and Gene McKinney were sitting. Their idea, he explained, was to separate Huey from his passenger in order to question him to "find out why he had given contradictory information". Heanes was supposed to question the unidentified passenger, but he didn't.

Instead, he watched and followed after Frey as he walked Huey back to the rear of the two patrol cars. (Garry later asked Heanes why he had been watching them instead of questioning the passenger. Since Heanes had said everything was clam, and he wasn't expecting Huey to do anything, Garry asked if he weren't expecting officer Grey to do something. Heanes' answer was, "Not necessarily".

According to Heanes, what happened next was that he heard shots coming from the direction of Frey and Huey, he believed. He assumed Huey was shooting, and drew his gun.

Then, he said, he spotted the passenger out of the corner of his eye. McKinney was standing on the sidewalk. Heanes would have us believe that McKinney raised his hands, saying he wasn't armed and wouldn't harm Heanes, and that a white policeman BELIEVED a Black man. Not any Black man, but the passenger in the car of the leader and minister of defense of the Black Panther Party.

Heanes turned back to Frey and Huey, ignoring McKinney, received a gunshot wound in his right arm, which he had raised with his pistol in his hands. He fired one shot which he believed hit Huey. But Huey did not fall, and Heanes claims not to remember the next events, including firing more shots and receiving more wounds.

Maybe Heanes did recall more than he admitted. Something prompted him to be honest about one point throughout -- he never saw a gun in Huey's hands. Is it possible that Heanes saw more than he admits -- saw Frey shoot Huey, and saw someone else shoot Frey, while willing or persuaded to go along with the story that Huey did the shooting, did he feel enough tinge of guilt, or fear, or both, to keep him from uttering the final lie?

Henry Grier was willing to give the total lie to the story. If Heanes had been willing to tell that lie instead, the prosecution wouldn't have had to rely on a melodramatic, self-contradictory treachery to create the fiction of a gun in Huey's hand. What made Heanes tell the truth on this one point?

### What It All Means

Among the countless important aspects of this trial two key ones stand out at this time. One pertains to the movement and one pertains to the system against which we struggle.

Many in the movement have had a romantic view of the Huey case since its first days. Many of us believed that Huey either killed a cop in self-defense or as an act of aggressive violence against the oppressor. What the trial proves beyond a reasonable doubt is that Huey Newton is not in jail because he felt there was a need to wipe out the invading force of police in the ghetto and one day began by shooting some. He is not there because he defended himself from a police attack and came out the victor. He is there simply because the policeman who tried to gun him down was not successful in murdering him.

Huey did not have a gun and did not fire one that night. This is not to say that he would not have fired back in self-defense if he had had the opportunity. It is not to say that he wouldn't have been totally justified in doing so. But the events did not unfold in that way, and Huey today owes his life to forces or persons outside of himself. The movement must be very clear that we are defending Huey in this case not because he killed a cop but despite the fact that he did not.

The Panthers have used this case to educate and organize in both the Black and the White communities. In the Black community the stress has been on self-defense and the need to organize to struggle for national liberation. In the White community the stress has been on exposing the depth of white racism in our society and encouraging Whites to organize for their liberation from this same system. Huey has always placed this struggle far above his own life and this is the true political significance of his case for our movement.

The Huey case and especially the verdict handed down have done much to expose the worst in the system against which we are struggling. Faced with a clear choice between justice and injustice; truth and lies the jury was unable to make a decision. Instead responding to the pressures of a racist society they arrived at a "compromise" which in reality was a capitulation to that very racism. Had this case not been a "political" case the jury would have deliberated for no more than an hour or so and then come back with a verdict of not guilty on any of the counts.

But since the case was a political one; since it challenged the whole structure of Black-White relations in this country a "compromise" was arrived at, just when what was needed was a crushing blow against those very relations and the society that breeds them.

That "compromise" if not reversed on appeal means 15 years in a state prison for Huey. 15 years for no crime. When a man is accused of first degree murder and faces the death penalty, there is a great tendency to feel happy and relieved when the decision eliminates this possibility. THE MOVEMENT HAS NOTHING TO REJOICE ABOUT. We are not happy about this decision. Huey is in jail because he is one of the foremost leaders and organizers of Black people and the Black liberation struggle in the country today. There is no other reason. Every minute that he is in jail is an injustice. Every minute he is in jail is a victory for the enemy. FREE HUEY!

Karen Wald  
Lincoln Bergman  
Joe Blum

## PRISONERS

PRISONERS FAST TO FREE HUEY

On Monday, August 26, when Huey Newton took the stand for the second day in his trial for the accused murder of an Oakland policeman, he was greeted with demonstrations of support inside and outside the courthouse.

While a thousand demonstrators chanted and picketed outside, Huey's fellow inmates at the Alameda County jail got to mates at the Alameda County jail together to carry out their own action.

The following note was passed among the inmates:

"WE WILL FREE HUEY DAY"  
MONDAY AUGUST 26  
monday, august 26  
ALAMEDA COUNTY JAIL

ALL BROTHERS:

In view of the political circumstances in relation to our brother "The Honorable Huey P. Newton", Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, we are appealing to all inmates for your complete co-operation and observance of a restricted discipline and orderly demonstration."

The note then went on to outline the plans for the day, which included refusing to eat all day, observing only "official business" such as court dates, not making any unnecessary noises, no game playing, and no jeering at the guards.

The message emphasized that this was "not a prelude to a 'riot' or any other disturbance", and termed it instead "a day of fasting and meditation." Inmates were encouraged to behave responsibly and follow all rules.

The message concluded:

"In observing this proposal, we are contributing to the instant liberation of the oppressed Black People in the American society.

Power to the People  
BLACK POWER TO ALL BLACK PEOPLE

Sheriff Madigan confirmed that the prisoners did in fact go on a hunger strike but would not elaborate.

Inmates reported that what began with a small number of Black prisoners at breakfast spread to all of the inmates, Black and White, by the noon meal, which is the main meal of the day.

Prisoners lined up for meals in an orderly fashion, but refused to take any food. Worried prison guards hastily changed the menu, adding the special treat of fruit cocktail. Still no one would eat.

When police finally learned later in the day the purpose of the demonstration, they appeared relieved. Since the demonstration was orderly and included all prisoners, no penalty action was taken.

And Huey Newton sat on the stand with the knowledge that he had the complete support of all his fellow inmates.

from THE BLACK PANTHER P.O. BOX 8641 - EMERYVILLE BRANCH, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94605.



Photo: Johann Rush

# CO-ORDINATING IN THE STREETS

by Paul Potter

Although they received absolutely no publicity in the mass media, one of the most important links in the success of the protests at the Democratic Convention was the operation of thirty-five Movement Centers. Working out of churches, the offices of friendly organizations and a couple of unions, the Movement Centers provided a principle organizational focus for a large number of people in Chicago. Perhaps as many as one thousand people considered themselves Movement Center staff and several thousand others were living in the Centers and working closely with them.

The idea of Movement Centers developed early in June in response to two problems. First it seemed impossible to tell how many and what kind of people would show up in Chicago. Most people thought there would be an enormous number of McCarthy supporters who would try to push McCarthy over the top with gigantic street demonstrations. But it also seemed possible that as military preparations received more publicity and McCarthy's defeat seemed inescapable that a smaller though far more militant group of people would come to Chicago. These and other possibilities made it necessary to have a flexible way of approaching the situation as it developed.

Had the overwhelming majority of people in Chicago been McCarthy supporters the Movement Centers could easily have worked as a radical caucus operation designed to reach and recruit them. But as the situation developed we were able to use the Movement Centers as staging areas for action and strategic coordination.

## Decentralization

Second, a four day action as diverse and complicated as the one called for Chicago made the decentralization of initiative and responsibility an absolute necessity. There was no way for the Mobilization Steering Committee and its staff to plan the details of each day's

activities and communicate that to thousands (potentially tens of thousands) of people around the city. This was particularly true when it was assumed that tactics would have to change from day to day in response to events (read: police).

Furthermore there was general agreement that even if the Mobilization could dictate strategy it shouldn't. One of the things we wanted to demonstrate in Chicago (to ourselves as well as the world) was the political diversity and richness of our Movement; its ability to share and pursue simple objectives without turning itself into a machine or a monolith. The idea as it developed called for inviting a number of organizations, regional groups and issue-oriented constituencies to set up Centers in the city. The Centers would provide a way for people to sort themselves out in Chicago, take initiative in numerous small actions organized through the Centers, and provide the Mobilization with a flexible strategy and intelligence mechanism.

For example a resistance person coming to Chicago would naturally gravitate to one of the resistance centers. An SDSer to one of the SDS centers. The idea was to allow people to locate themselves in a place where they would feel politically at home. The hope was that this would reduce sectarian tensions and allow for more work to take place.

As a staff operation and a locus of activity we wanted each Movement Center to be involved in evaluating what was happening day by day and through a coordinating committee of Movement Centers we hoped to be able to gather a lot of information on what was happening and then to knit that into an overview of what should be done. This would be a much more effective way of keeping track of things than to let a steering committee made up of persons with bureaucratic responsibilities dictate the planning.

In addition the Movement Centers as politically more compatible and coherent groups than the Mobilization could raise

the level of political discussion and education.

Of course, things worked differently than planned. Very few of the Movement Centers were prepared to exercise much initiative in Chicago. Only a few local demonstrations focused on political targets scattered around the city (e.g. Draft Boards, Military installations, Dow and other corporate war contractors etc.) materialized. Nor did the Centers initiate much guerilla theatre, leafletting or civil disobedience of any sort. They simply lacked enough internal organization and familiarity with Chicago to move effectively. The centers themselves were scattered throughout the city whereas the people were concentrated first in Lincoln Park and later in Grant Park. Recruiting people to relate to a Center or some action it was organizing meant going into the parks and talking to them, leafletting and using the two wall papers that were circulating for publicity. But most centers weren't prepared to do this.

Partly the Mobilization failed to do an early enough, or thorough enough job of working with the people who were putting the centers together, although we were hindered by the fact that so many groups waited until the last minute to come in. We needed a nucleus of people from each Center who were thoroughly familiar with the areas we were concentrating in; our legal and medical

operations, how to use the wall papers, publicity, the internal communication system the Mobilization established, transportation, etc. Without this complicated understanding people spent much of their time learning how to survive in the city.

Mostly, however, the shortcomings of the Movement Centers were the shortcomings of anything complex that is being tried for the first time. The Movement Centers more than anything else kept people together and gave them a way to concentrate on the problems of survival. And survival was the key problem in Chicago. Many of the Centers did no more than to provide people with a place to eat and crash as well as offering physical and emotional shelter from what was going on in the streets. But it was things like this that enabled people to survive and carry on the action.

## Real Street Leadership

Had the city responded less fascistically, failures of initiative would have been more obvious and serious, but as it was, keeping people alive and together was exactly where energy had to be directed. Most of the real street leadership in Chicago came out of the Movement Centers and more than anything else the Centers kept morale high. Finally, some important initiatives did come out of the more organized Centers -- e.g. the SDS wall paper which spoke very effectively to what people were experiencing or the PFP organized support of the wildcat transit strike that went on during the Convention.

Despite the diversity of groups running centers (Committee of Returned Volunteers, SDS, Vets for Peace, Resistance, People Against Racism, N.Y. Parade Committee), the level of sectarianism in Chicago was almost zero. This was due largely to the tremendous unifying force of events, but even if that had been less true the structured legitimacy for diversity that the Movement Centers represented pretty well eliminated the need for people to claw one another for a scrap of the pie or the credit. It was almost the only occasion that I can recall when the broad anti-war coalition that most people agree should exist actually worked together happily.

There is no doubt that if we had it to do all over again we could do it much better and more effectively. To begin with, organizations should not be reluctant to run Movement Centers. That would allow us to thoroughly familiarize people from each Movement Center with the logistics of the city and the internal organization of the Mobilization -- e.g., how to use our internal communication system. It would allow us to initiate much in advance a more thoroughgoing discussion of strategy and tactics for each Movement Center. That in itself is reason enough to hope that Chicago represents the beginning of a new kind of mass action in this country. ■

# GIANT POSTERS!



(22 X 28 inches)

**MALCOLM X**

**\$1.00 EACH.**

ONLY .75¢ to Movement subscribers.



**SPECIAL BULK RATES**



**Rap Brown Poster**  
by Ervin Cobbs  
**\$1.50**

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