

# MOVEMENT

DECEMBER, 1968



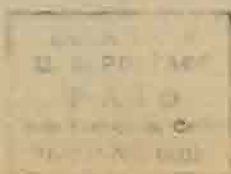
VOL. 4, NO. 11

**INSIDE:** Election Action  
Dodge Rebellion  
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Army/Repression



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

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# DISARMING AN ARMY BASE DISARMING AN ARMY BASE

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

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

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

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We can't emphasize enough the importance of getting a group together to travel to a military base during National GI Week. Five people can have a major impact on a fort of 30,000. Military officers can be counted on to issue absurd orders to their men upon the arrival of any peace group, particularly if you give them plenty of advance warning. The underground rumor circuit has a way of reporting your every move to every GI, especially if the commanding officer has confined all military personnel to their barracks against the "threat" of four women and two ministers.

But the unknown has a way of keeping the movement from pushing into a new frontier. Therefore we offer these suggestions and information in the hope of reducing uncertainties arising from the idea that we make the presence and support of our movement felt at bases around the country during National GI Week.

## "Open" or "Closed" Base?

Most military installations in the continental U.S. are "open" bases, meaning civilians are allowed on the base to visit friends, husbands, or to stroll around the army park. However, on each open base, certain areas are clearly marked "off-limits". A person may be charged with criminal trespass for entering such areas. A "closed" base is a military installation (generally Air Force) that civilians are not permitted to visit without special permission from

the Commanding General of that fort. Before sending a delegation to a base, find out if it is closed or open.

## Preparing The Fort For Your Arrival

Some groups may want to slip quietly onto a base and begin distribution of leaflets, or whatever. Generally, however, we recommend providing advance warning to the fort. A clergy group may want to call the Post Chaplain for permission to use the chapel for a special "GI Service" on November 3, Vietnam Sunday. Explain the purpose of National GI Week to the Chaplain. Follow up with another phone call to the Commanding Officer to tell him about this anti-war holiday of support to soldiers. If you have a doctor or two on your delegation, you may want to visit the base hospital, to inspect conditions and inquire into the adequacy of treatment. Your mission might include investigation of conditions in the stockades. Or you could inform the Commanding Officer that you want to rent the base armory or parade field for a rock concert and love-in, as a gesture of support to the men. Whatever the purpose is, contact the fort directly. Ask to speak to the Commanding General, the Post Information Officer, the Post Chaplain or the Provost Marshall. While waiting for some general to take the phone, explain your purpose to the secretary who is holding the line.

When your request is turned down, call the Commanding Officer to say that you will be organizing your church service (love-in, speak-out, leafletting, etc.) just outside the fort. Ask him where you can park your car (or your ten buses). Can you stay overnight on the base? For what period are the men given weekend passes? etc.

Contact people inside the base to let them know about your plans. (National Mob has many contacts.) If possible, send a few people to the base early to pass out leaflets announcing a Sunday love-in telling the men that the brass will make the armory available to Bob Hope but not to the Fugs. Pass around National GI Week wall stickers for the barracks.

## When You Arrive

National GI Week is not a set of "correct" political slogans, behind which the movement marches onto the base. Rather we are trying to build the idea that the movement and soldiers are allies and that there is civilian support behind the enormous anti-war, Fuck the Army sentiment developing within the



ranks. Specifically, that means we are not seeking a confrontation with every buck private who happens to be standing at an outside gate. Any confrontation should be with ranking officers or NCOs, who are the recognized enemy of every GI on the base.

One fact that any delegation should keep in mind is that the Army is just one big bluff. If you are asked to leave a base, find out who is ordering you. A Private First Class doesn't have enough power to tie his own shoe laces, much less ask you to leave the base. Any order has to come down through a complicated chain of command. If an MP orders you off a base, tell him you have official permission from Commanding General So and So. Demand that you see the Commanding General. Ask the guard to bring the Chaplain

and the others you have made contact with. If the press comes with you, they may be helpful in forcing the brass to let you on. If you are eventually forced off the base, you may not return without facing heavy federal charges.

If put off the base, you may try setting up sound equipment to talk with the men on their way to and from official "leaves". (Sunday afternoon, a good time). If the men are confined to the base because of your "threat", you might march around the entire perimeter of the base with signs of support -- FTA; Join Us; Support Our GIs, Bring Them Home; We Came to Have a Love-In--How About It? If the men are not confined, spend the afternoon around guitars and some good conversation about what can be done inside the army to end the war. ♦

# SHOTGUN WEDDING

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

The Movement has heard about a concrete strategy to begin to talk to Wallace folks. One of the things we have in common with them is our opposition to gun control. A visit to any county gun fair would be enough to convince us that the issue is a major concern to a large section of working people.

Some movement people have organized groups to protect the right of American citizens to bear arms. But their propaganda begins to move beyond that issue. Here's their pitch.

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

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

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

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



photo: Nacio Jan Brown



# AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL



## IS MUTINY

by Bob Feinglass

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

The victim, Richard Brunch, 19 years old, was mentally ill. When he had gone AWOL, he returned to his home in Ohio and told his mother he had died and been reborn as a warlock, able to kill enemy soldiers at a glance. His mother turned him in when she received assurances that her son would be given psychiatric care. Instead, he was sent back to the Presidio and confined there with 140 other prisoners in a stockade built to hold a quarter that many people.

Before his murder, Bunch had written several suicide notes. He often woke up screaming in the night and carried on long conversations with himself. He received no psychiatric help at all.

On the day of his death, he scrawled a rough note: "Very well, since they want me I'll do it. Well if your not going to give me love at least do me the favor of complete elimination. But one click and its over."

### The Murder

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

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

The following day, Saturday, October 12, during the GI Peace March, 4 AWOL GI's turned themselves in. That weekend the stockade buzzed with discussion of the four, Bunch, and the nine others who previously had chained themselves to ministers instead of going to Vietnam.

Conditions in the stockade are despicable--140 men serviced by four toilets, one sink and one shower. Guards are untrained and uncensored. Some are sadists and beatings are frequent. In the past month, five men have attempted suicide. O'Hara, the killer guard, has disappeared, presumably in accordance with the Army policy of giving such men an immediate favorable transfer to the base of their choice. No charges were brought against him. The prisoners agreed that something had to be done.

### The Sit-Down

On Monday morning when the men were assigned to their work details, 28 of them (one has since recanted and given evidence against the others) walked over to one side, sat down and began to sing, "We shall Overcome" and "America The Beautiful". They all signed a petition seeking an investigation of the murder and the terrible treatment and condition of the prisoners.

Guards shouted, the other prisoners buzzed, and out ran Captain Lamont to order them back to work. He grabbed a loudspeaker mike and then stood in front of

the speaker so that the men got a double dose of Section 94, The Mutiny Act, which forbids disobedience "in concert" to an order. But the noise of the guards, prisoners, singers and the two voices of Captain Lamont made the orders impossible to follow. Finally the guards led or carried the protesters away, one by one, into solitary confinement. There was no violence.

### The Charge

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

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

They have good reason to fear. Discipline is terrible among enlisted men and morale is dropping daily. Nearly everyone in the Army, except for career officers, is against the war and hates the military.

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

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

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

## SAN FRANCISCO

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

After the concert, we marched to Montgomery Street, the financial district, where we planned to play "people's monopoly", using the banks and brokerage firms as part of the game. Only 500 or so showed up for the concert, but several hundred more joined the march along the route.

About a block from Montgomery, two pigs busted a guy and got in a fight with some of the demonstrators who were pissed off at the arrest. They hassled in full view of hundreds of the marchers and changed the entire mood of the crowd. Up until this time there was a festive spirit -- people chanted "Fuck the Elections, vote in the streets" and flashed fists and V-signs at bystanders.

The bust accomplished two things. It turned the people into a tense angry group and it focused hostilities on the pigs rather than on the financial interests of Montgomery Street.

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

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

### The Best Laid Plans

Of course, we didn't plan for election day to be this way. We had, we thought, an ingenious plan to implement the Boulder resolution passed at the last SDS NC. The resolution suggested regional mass actions on election day and a national student strike to demonstrate our resistance to the ruling class' electoral maneuvers.

We were going to "Vote in the Streets" because there is no legitimate way to vote for an end to imperialism and racism and have that vote counted. We decided that the best way to get our political points across was to have militant actions at various political targets: Montgomery Street (home of the ruling class), Hall of Justice (seat of racist courts), The Presidio (Army base) etc.

We planned for various creative actions at each target, depending a lot on agit-prop and spontaneity. We figured we would be talking to bystanders through our actions and that the multi-target thing would give the cops a hard time, especially in heavy downtown traffic.

### Often Go Astray

The success of these plans depended on a fair amount of people showing up and careful preparation for each target. Few showed up and none of our plans came off, because the preparation was limited to publicity stunts.

The Berkeley SDS chapter was too involved in factional fights and too preoccupied with the campus crisis over the Cleaver course to seriously implement its plans. We had planned on organizing political brigades to talk about the coming elections and street action. The brigades would have worked in classrooms, high schools, and on Fouth Street (a euphemism for factory gates.). While the chapter voted for the election proposal, there was never any time to organize the brigades.

The other people working on the demonstration had no organized base. They

ran down the plans and the political line, but the distribution was sparse. If people showed up at the rally, we figured we could launch the multi-target thing from there.

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

### The Region That Wasn't

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

The Bay Area has been the scene of the largest and most militant demonstrations in the country, and it seemed

logical to assume that another massive demonstration could be pulled off on election day. We didn't consider the possibility, which now appears very much to be reality, that the strategy and tactics of the student movement are stereotyped, frozen in a mold created two, three, four years ago.

The dramatic call for confrontation to the masses no longer works in San Francisco-Berkeley. In Palo Alto, thirty miles to the south, 2,000 people turned out for an election day demonstration and hundreds fought with cops. But Palo

Alto is a different scene -- a lot of new people are being reached, people who haven't been exposed to new left actions in the past, and the pigs are helping to organize them every time they bust a rally.

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

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

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

We're not going to pull a region together by calling another demonstration. We're going to have to organize on a grass-roots level, around a coherent program that relates to that level. We shouldn't organize a mass regional action unless we feel that it will tie in organically with local programs. We can't hope to educate through a regional action if we don't have a solid core that understands what the demonstration is trying to accomplish, and this core won't appear by our wishing it, but only through closer contact with our base.

Arlene Eisen Bergman and Jack Gerson

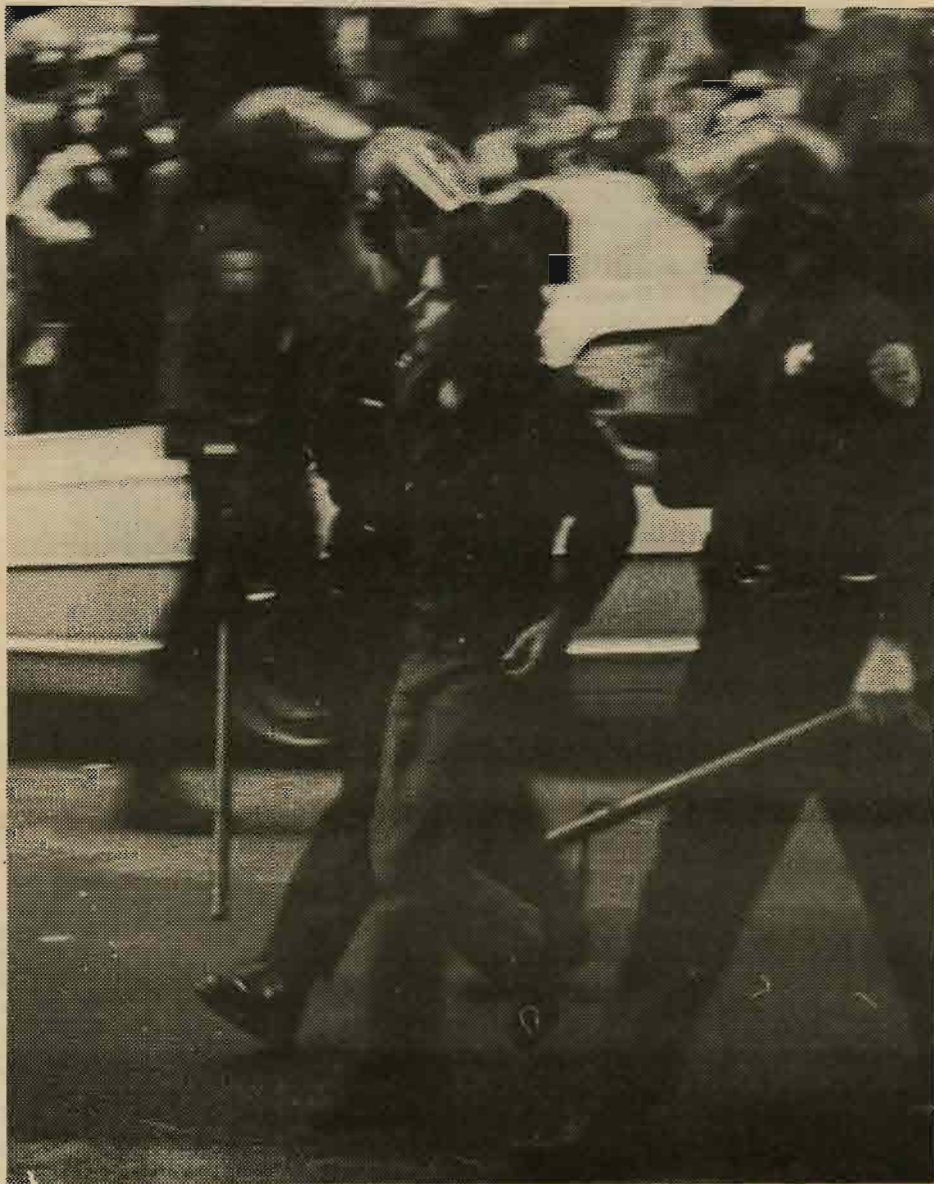


photo: Mark Hardesty, S.F. Newsreel

were a loose group of individuals from S.F. and Berkeley -- floating SDS types, some Peace and Freedom Party people, and the Yippies. The SDS chapter at S.F. State participated marginally in the preparations. They took responsibility for organizing the action at the Presidio. (That action never came off because on Election Day they were involved in a campus strike called by the BSU to protest the firing of the Panther Minister of Education from his teaching job).

### Showmanship

When a group of isolated individuals try to organize a mass event, they are forced to rely on the media for publicizing their plans. So about a week before the big day Jerry Rubin, Tom Hayden and Eldridge Cleaver spoke at a rally on the Berkeley campus. The rally announced, in a rather confused way, the election day plans. There was a huge turnout to see the big-name stars. They laughed at the jokes, but they obviously didn't relate to the election day plans.

The big three (Rubin, Cleaver, and Hayden) also held a press conference. Peter Stone from Berkeley SDS was also there, but his line was predictably ignored. The reporters dug Rubin's rap about making love in the voting booths, but not much else got across in the press. And people still didn't know what they should do election day.

We made up wallnewspapers which

## E. MICHIGAN U.

by John Daniel

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

It also served the function of showing the repressive nature of our administration to everyone: faculty positions were threatened, police were sent to most of our meetings, sometimes in uniform, and the night of our action the police guarded the President's house.

Our meeting grew from fifty to one hundred and fifty at times. We worked hard, uniting the radicals and the Mc Carthy kids successfully into what is now our SDS chapter.

Our actions started with a planned walkout of the dorms election eve to protest dorm hours. After meeting in all the dorms we found that the girls were not yet ready so we have to approach the strike in other ways. We used guerrilla actions, leafletting and talking in classrooms by teachers' in-

itation, and a great deal of publicity in the student paper for the first time.

Our actions started Monday night with a coffin march around campus; followed by a symbolic burning of the "death of choice". About three hundred and fifty people participated in the march. Fifty people participated chanting "strike" and "peace now". After the burning about fifty people participated in the march in Ann Arbor through the streets. This provided the first exchange for most of our chapter people. We got out of our isolation.

### LACK OF LOCAL ACTIVITIES

On Tuesday we had a planned rally at 10:00 but it was too early and not

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5



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



# ...IT'S ALL OVER...AMERICA LOSES...

## ANN ARBOR

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

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

Shortly after the strike program was passed locally the leadership of SDS people who had controlled the chapter for a number of years (most of whom were associated with the Independent Socialist Club), left SDS and formed their own organization. This move created a short-lived vacuum in the chapter. There was suddenly no clearly defined leadership nor organizational form in the chapter.

and over 2000 copies of the election issues of NEW LEFT NOTES got out. At least three new leaflets came out each week explaining the action. Some were directed at classes, others at dorms; some dealt primarily with the elections, others with the war, racism, and university complicity. A series of special leaflets dealing with the university and its involvement as a part of the ruling class in certain specific areas--health, education and welfare; big business; military--was prepared by the research committee. Also a beautiful Wallpaper came out of the agit-prop committee (whose slogan is "less rhetoric, more bad taste") with a lead article on the role of the University of Michigan in the death of Che Guevara.

### Pigs At The Polls

The week before the strike, Michigan's Democratic Secretary of State, James

us, but sometimes caused minor civil wars to break out in the classes, and occasionally was a total success. It was a difficult thing to do, both in terms of getting our own confidence up and in terms of sensing how to respond to student attacks, but, generally, we're glad we tried it and we think we've learned some important lessons.

At noon there was a rally on the center of campus at which guerrilla theatre people performed and SDS people spoke. There were over 1000 people there and it was the most exciting rally we've had in Ann Arbor for quite a while. SDS people learned to start digging themselves at that rally and didn't feel they had to lecture people who attended. There was a real sense of participation and togetherness.

### Guided Tours

In the afternoon the research people provided guided tours of the university. About 100 people went on each of the four tours to such places as the research laboratories to discuss university complicity. At the labs the tour was met by an angry scientist who brought "his" grad students out one by one to testify to how much they enjoyed their work.

The Resistance people organized liberation classes on a variety of topics such as education, modern dance, the Multiversity, Imperialism, Capitalism and Women's Liberation. Hundreds of new people attended these raps.

In the evening a torchlight parade marched past all the dorms and grew from 500 people to over 2000. It became a militant, unruly march, culminating at the president's house where demands were posted concerning complicity. A-

what we stand for but are not yet turned on to politics. We feel they will be by the end of the year".

A groovy Festival of Life was mobbed Tuesday night.

### Lessons Learned

We learned a lot in those two days. We had expected to mobilize thousands of new people around our strike. We attracted new people, but it's more our feeling that we consolidated and deepened the commitment of hundreds of solid movement-types than that we brought masses of uncommitted people out.

For us, this was an exciting victory. We plan to move forward with the same kinds of activities and believe that our movement will grow and deepen through these activities.

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

We also recognize that going to the president's house on Monday was a tactical error. Power does not reside with the president and we provided him with the opportunity to pull his public relations bullshit. He bumbled badly, but we should never have allowed him to speak.

Mainly, the movement grew and deepened through the action. We're discussing what to do about the resumption of bombing, the possibility of a new invasion of Cuba, and classroom democracy. And we're thinking how appropriate it would be for Nixon to be inaugurated behind a bunker. ♦

by Bill Ayers

## E. Mich. U. Con. Fr. P. 4

many people attended. It was at this point we made our biggest mistake. We didn't provide an alternative for the striking students on campus. Liberation classes or a teach-in should have been held. At a 2:00 rally two hundred and fifty people attended and were very enthusiastic to the SDS speakers, all from the chapter. At the end of the rally we encouraged people to come to Ann Arbor for their march and temporary occupation of the administration building. About one hundred people came. Our mistake again was lack of local activities.

### Gaining Confidence

At a celebration party later in Ann Arbor about seventy-five people from Eastern Michigan were there. Two results were clear from the people at the party where morale was at an all-time high. First, we proved to ourselves that our campus wasn't an apathetic place where people just don't give a shit. Second, that we were really together and happy. I think this attitude might be here to stay as we gained confidence in ourselves.

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

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

### More Election News On Pages 20-21



photo: Jay Cassidy

### Pulling Together

The strike program, it turned out, was precisely what was needed to pull the chapter together. People organized themselves spontaneously into semi-autonomous committees--guerrilla theatre, research, dorm organizing, classroom organizing, agit-prop, high school organizing--and started to work. An amazing amount of work was done and new people found important organizing tasks for themselves in the freed-up structure.

A tremendous amount of propaganda got out in the three weeks leading up to the strike. The student newspaper was negative toward SDS without its familiar ISC leadership, but over 300 copies of the MOVEMENT were sold

Hare, called his first press conference in five years to announce that SDS planned to disrupt the polls with bombs and molotov cocktails. We had scheduled a press conference earlier for that day, and Hare's statement guaranteed a large turnout. We blasted Hare for trying to turn people against SDS and the student movement and were able to publicize our line on the strike. There were uniformed pigs observing in the polls on election day and they kept close watch on young people who decided to vote.

On November 4 SDS people were involved in a number of agitational activities. There were pickets, guerrilla theatre and some entering of classrooms to challenge the authority of the professors. This last activity was touchy and we haven't been able to evaluate it fully yet. It often turned students against

bout 100 jocks organized to heckle the demonstration and minor scuffles occurred.

### Sit-In

The next day there were more strike support activities with a regional mobilization in the afternoon. This march was a lively funeral procession which posted death notices at the Democratic and Republican headquarters as well as the county building. It culminated with a three-hour sit-in at the administration building. Students decided to leave the building declaring "we are leaving together because we have not undertaken a campaign on a certain set of issues that we are going to win on in the future", and because "we feel that a lot of people on campus are digging

# ...IT'S ALL OVER...AMERICA LOSES...





LAST YEAR WE  
TOLD YOU TO JOIN  
**THE DODGE  
REBELLION**

WELL, THE HAMTRAMCK  
AUTO WORKERS DID,  
AND **NOW!!!**

FOR 1969,

**DODGE fever**

turns up the heat...

by Donna Shoemaker

A group of militant black workers have begun to organize at a Detroit auto plant and have thrown both the union and the company into a near panic. It is called the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) and is located at the Hamtramck Assembly plant, also known as Dodge Main. It also has members in the nearby Huber Foundry. In both plants the workers are represented by local 3 of the United Auto Workers.

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

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

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

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

#### CMBU

DRUM's development into a radical group was gradual as at first black workers sought to apply influence upon the existing union leadership. Before DRUM there had been a group called Concerned Members for Better Unionism set up by both black and white workers who were tired of the UAW's unresponsiveness to rank and file demands.

DRUM leader Ron March said, "We had

hoped to rectify the injustices peacefully, but repression from the UAW and Chrysler helped transform the CMBU into just a bourgeois social thing. It created divisions which lead into opportunism among some of the members. During the regular local union elections in May the organization was used by local leadership to unify young black workers behind sell-out candidates. After that experience a couple of us got together and realized that this was bull-shit.

"We decided to form an all-black organization both to give blacks a sense of togetherness and to prevent the kinds of division we had experienced in CMBU. We soon realized we were on to something because the idea of black unity was really hated by the power structure."

#### Short Range Goals

DRUM is now about five months old and is growing rapidly. Its specific short range goals are "full equity for black workers at all levels of the UAW structure and an end to racism by management". It is also fighting speed-up and reduction of the cost-of-living

allowance.

Blacks are traditionally discriminated against both in this plant and in Huber Foundry. While they are placed in the paint and body shop or in the pit on the assembly line, which are two of the least desirable jobs, whites are put on the inspection lines and in the trim shop, where working conditions are much better. These job placement decisions are not made on the basis of seniority or job experience, but are blatantly racist. Even at Huber, which is 90% black, whites have all the easiest jobs and blacks cannot get into skilled trades. The DRUM newspaper has been calling attention to this fact and the organization has been using this situation in its organizing efforts.

In fighting against speed-up and the ceiling on the cost-of-living allowance, DRUM is educating black workers as to the nature of their exploitation by both the company and the union. At coffee and lunch breaks and in their newspaper DRUM continually raises questions about why the UAW allows speed-up and why it limits the compensation to workers for rises in the cost of living while it ups the dues.

#### Union Kickback?

In a recent leaflet headlined "LOCAL 3, WHAT ARE YOU DOING WITH MY MONEY?", they pointed out that nearly half of the annual dues collected by the local have been lent to the city of Hamtramck, at one time or another, for firemen and police salaries, etc. The local leaders secretly collect a nice return on their investment. This allegation has not yet been denied. Also the local's capital is deposited in Hamtramck banks rather than in banks in the black communities in Detroit, where most of the workers live. This means that Hamtramck benefits from money which should be going into black communities.

Hamtramck is a small city of about 45,000, mainly white and conservative, which sits within Detroit geographically. Its whole economy is dependent upon Hamtramck Assembly (Dodge Main). Chrysler Corporation runs the city. The plant, however, is old and at some point in the near future it is going to be moved to a new location somewhere north of Detroit. Therefore, the leadership of local 3, which is composed almost totally of older Hamtramck citizens who have a stake in keeping the plant in their town for as long as possible, will take no action which might antagonize the Dodge management.

DRUM's long range goal is to oust the present leadership and eventually gain control of local 3. It is this leadership which has worked with management to keep blacks out of skilled trades, to keep all but "tom" blacks out of local 3 offices and which gives whites all the easy jobs. It is this leadership which has failed to respond to the demands of the black workers. DRUM is planning to replace it with one which will work for the black majority.

In a news release, October 3, 1968 DRUM stated, "It is clear that the white ruling class cannot continue to survive without exploiting the black worker." It continued, "In the words of W.E. Dubois, 'The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor. And the emancipation of labor is the emancipation of the basic majority of workers who are black, brown and yellow'". In March's words, "Shutting down Hamtramck is a revolutionary act". For the first time workers would be able to control their work situation. Power would be taken out of the hands of the bureaucrats and put into the hands of the black workers.

#### Plant vs. Community Organizing

DRUM is organizing in the plant rather than in the communities because they believe they would never be able to get power in the communities; they would have no leverage and would soon be crushed. They might close down businesses and schools, but this would not create basic change. It would most likely win a few concessions, stir up a few people and dissipate their energy. The forces controlling a community are too diffuse and intangible to attack successfully. The plant on the other hand has

a clearly visible and vulnerable power structure and DRUM feels their most effective organizing can be done there.

The core of their program is the education of black workers about the structural reasons for oppression and racism in this society. This education will create a situation where blacks can understand their social and economic position; it will generate self-respect. Most of the blacks at Hamtramck are from all over the inner city and when this feeling of self-respect is taken back to the communities it will fundamentally transform that whole area. DRUM organizers believe such a power base will be created at the plant. Their slogan, "By winning the plant we win the community", refers to the psychological effect that the struggle in the plant will hopefully generate in the community. When people in the black communities witness blacks confronting the power structure from a position of strength they will feel a sense of unity, a sense of hopefulness. It may encourage them to organize themselves around issues in the community. DRUM itself does not plan to get into community organizing, but will lend aid and support to any such efforts.

#### Plant Elections

The most recent of DRUM's activities has been the attempt to elect a trustee to local 3. DRUM saw the election as a chance to place a radical black worker in a position of control over the local's finances. More than that, the elections were a way by which DRUM could organize young black workers to fight for control over the union.

The local UAW leadership attempts to play upon the initial reaction of white workers calling DRUM reverse racists and harassing them on the job. After the summer wildcat, management fired 7 black workers for their actions in the strike. While the UAW won re-establishment for 5, it refused to fight for the other two who were DRUM leaders, and they were suspended from the plant.

In the last election the DRUM candidate Ron March presented a threat to the local union leadership, and in combination with the Hamtramck police, efforts were made to suppress DRUM.

Everyone except DRUM people was allowed to put up posters and leaflets in the plant. Some of the candidates had people driving workers to the polls at the local and although everyone used "No Standing" zones to pick up and drop off people, only cars with DRUM posters were ticketed. The police would invariably take half an hour to write up the tickets, thus preventing them from taking DRUM supporters to the polls.

#### Police Intimidation

In spite of this harassment and the confusion of having 28 candidates in the running, Ron March received 563 votes, 60 more than the runner-up. After the polls closed about 50 of his supporters gathered in a parking lot and later at the local to await the returns. Police closed in on them at the hall and beat, maced and arrested them.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7



# dodge rebellion continued

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

March lost the run-off. Hundreds of retirees were brought in for the run-off. More important, people who had voted for him the first time were afraid to vote because of the mass of police around the plant and because of the police riot the week before. DRUM plans to contest the election in court.

## Not a Failure

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

The appeal of DRUM is primarily to young black workers. In discussing why DRUM lost March said, "DRUM has formulated its plans around three factors: black unity, black awareness and black identity. All the young blacks dig the program. It is real to them because of the constant intimidation by management and the pushing around of the workers by the supervisors that goes

on all the time. Only the old guys can't accept the identity part because they don't want black identity. This system has taught them to identify with whites and integration all their lives. Now they have too big a stake in leaving things alone. So they'll slip somebody in DRUM a \$10 bill and never show their faces at election time".

## Political Scope

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

## The White CRU

The strong anti-white bias in DRUM has been altered by a new development in the plant. Not long before the election a handful of young militant white workers formed a counterpart to DRUM called the Committee for a Real Union (CRU). CRU's immediate aim is to fight against the racism of management and to organize white workers around DRUM's demands concerning job conditions. In its leaflet CRU attacks working class

racism: "We feel that there are things in this plant and in our local that the black workers and the white workers must fight against. Hamtramck is run by racists! Anyone who thinks this isn't true should ask themselves how many white people get placed on the line in the body shops".

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

Although it is small and undeveloped, CRU is very significant in the face of what is happening now in the working class with the Wallace movement. Both black and white workers are enslaved by this society, but while black dissidence is being organized by groups like DRUM, white dissatisfaction is being channeled into "Stand up for America". The need for white working class organizers is immense. As Doug Youngblood, a community organizer in Chicago, has put it, "We must go to our people and organize...as agents of revolution, with our goal being to assist our people in becoming involved in the fight against the system that victimizes them in the same way that it does black people".

Since the election when CRU supported the DRUM candidate, the hard anti-white line in its newspaper and in its rhetoric has been toned down. There is a growing feeling that although blacks must org-

anize blacks, radicals of all colors will create a new society.

## Problems

One of the problems DRUM faces is that even though they may gain control of local 3, the corporation and the union can replace them all if necessary. Another problem is that DRUM's appeal is based to a great extent upon certain personalities who attract large numbers initially and create the illusion of success. DRUM could find itself operating on the assumption that it had organized a large number of committed people when it had actually organized few. Another difficulty is the hatred of whites among a lot of blacks. This could cause internal dissention and ultimately weaken the organization. DRUM will have to redirect this into a positive thing: a sense of their own history and of the class nature of this society, leading into a program for radical change.

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

## dope on dodge



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

The April 1968 MOVEMENT reprinted an article by Robert Analavage of the SOUTHERN PATRIOT on the breaking of a strike in the Masonite hardboard plant.

Masonite obtained court injunctions against the strike and hired security guards. It brought in strikebreakers from all over the south...as well as using students from Mississippi universities. The company succeeded in splitting many black and white workers by playing one group against the other.

After nine months of struggle and five men killed, the International Woodworkers Union placed the local (5-443) under trusteeship. Then the International signed a contract with the company which the strikers called a "sweetheart deal". The strikers said they learned that Masonite had threatened the international union with a \$3,000,000 suit if it didn't put the local in trusteeship.

Nineteen hundred men were thrown out of work. It looked as if the local

was finished, but the strikers pulled themselves together and looked for ways to fight back.

The workers held a series of rallies in an open field in an adjacent county (they were denied use of their own union hall). They voted unanimously to take legal action.

Charges were filed with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The board agreed to accept charges of discriminatory rehiring (strong unionists were not called back to work) and interference in the internal affairs of the local union.

However, the board refused to reopen the question of whether the strike was legal. Three months after filing of the charges, the NLRB had taken no action whatever.

## Local Files Suit

So the local has filed suit in U.S. District Court against the international

union and Masonite Corporation, asking for two things:

1. That the trusteeship placed upon Local 5-443 be declared illegal.
2. That the contract signed by the international and the company on Dec. 6, 1967, be declared illegal.

The strikers distributed a leaflet in which they say: "In the simplest possible words, here is the situation. Masonite wanted our union broken. It is no secret that two Masonite officials came to Laurel for the purpose of finding out how the Union could be busted.

"Working conditions at the plant have gone from bad to worse since last December. Several men have been killed, many more have been injured. Little of this is public knowledge.

"The company has tried to hide it, just as it has tried to hide the fact that its present production is way below the quality produced before April 21 last year. Check the stockmarket reports on Masonite; they indicate what we believe to be the case--that Masonite is in bad shape financially and its credit threatened."

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

Today, however, the local has a five-man committee--three white, two black--which includes all workers in deliberations. It is a small but important step for their own common interest.

In another step, the workers are publishing their own newsletter to keep the community informed on what is happening. The local paper is hostile to their cause (it is controlled by Masonite), and the strikers see the need to speak out with their own voice.

The workers say in their leaflet that "the struggle is not over! It can't be over while the Local remains under trusteeship--while we work under an ILLEGAL SWEETHEART CONTRACT--and while so many of our brothers are locked out by Masonite, simply because they are good union men."

Bob Analavage  
SOUTHERN PATRIOT



# How'd You Like to Make a Deal?

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

The DA is happy: he's got a conviction. The lawyer is happy: he doesn't have to spend a week or month in trial while he loses business. The judge is happy: he doesn't have to sit in the courtroom at the taxpayers expense while cases pile up on the docket. Is the defendant happy? That depends.

## The Cannon Trial

The last week in October Terry Cannon and Rick Epstein went to trial in San Francisco. They had been arrested during the summer Haight street riots and beaten up in the police station by the SF Tactical Squad (see the MOVEMENT, September, 1968). They were charged with inciting to riot, resisting arrest, interfering with an officer and profanity. They were also suing the city for \$20,000 a piece for police brutality.

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

## Bad Karma In Court

It looked bad for the defense from the start of the trial. The DA used his challenges to bump off the prospective jury anyone who was not white, over 50 and respectable looking. The prosecution witnesses were the same Tac Squad members who had arrested and beaten the defendants. The judge was well-known for his anti-movement sentiments.

The cops had a well-rehearsed, detailed story. These were no ordinary cops. They were the New Action Army, sophisticated, unruffled. They knew how to testify. They sounded as if they had studied books on cross-examination and knew how to avoid the traps the defense lawyer might lay for them. Their story was detailed and complete. One cop could practically point to the spot on his arm where Cannon had supposedly grabbed him.

They had just enough fabrication to explain everything. Epstein had "broken loose from our grasp and fallen against a pipe", which explained his smashed face. Another cop had been forced to hit Cannon in the "rib area", explaining his fractured rib. During all this the jury sat, seemingly bored. The defendants and their lawyers were convinced by the fifth day that the jury was convinced that the clean-cut straight-talking cops were right and the scruffy, long haired defendants guilty of violent and obscene conduct.

## Charges Dropped

Then on the fifth day of the trial, after the DA had presented his star witness, he dropped the three major charges against the two: inciting, resisting, and interfering. He was pressured into this by the judge for reasons that are still unclear. Perhaps he was bored with the case. The prosecutor was pushed into the deal kicking and screaming. The judge had to bring in a higher-up in the DA's office to convince the prosecutor. After much complaining they agreed, on condition that Cannon and Epstein plead guilty to "profanity", and drop their suit against the police. Hopping mad, the DA announced in court that he would demand the maximum sentence--6 months in jail and a \$500 fine (for PROFANITY?).

Cannon and Epstein were uneasy about the deal, but agreed with their lawyers that they didn't stand a chance in hell in front of that jury and the ironclad fantasy of the cops. To convince them that the deal was smart, the attorneys suggested that after the deal was made they talk with the jurors as they came out and ask them what they had thought.

## The Handsome Beatle

So they did. One little old lady took Cannon's hands and said, "I was on your side all the time". Another said to him, "You look just like the Beatles". "Which one?" "One of the handsome ones".

"I just didn't believe those policemen," said another. "How could two big men like them have been forced to beat you into submission?"

Needless to say, the defense, lawyers and defendants alike, spend the rest of the day in a daze. They had thought they were losing: actually they were winning or at least fighting to a draw.

They lost their chance to sue the police, and placed their fate in the hands of the Probation Department and the Judge, neither known for their fondness for handsome Beatles or their distrust of the police.

## Have Faith In The Masses Already

There are some things to be learned from this:

Not all middle-class, older whites are anti-youth culture. Long hair and non-conformity have permeated our society. Several jurors said, "We don't particularly like long hair, but it's ok for kids."

"We bought our own propaganda about older people", said Cannon. "After all, we are their kids."

Secondly, in San Francisco at least, the cops and the Tac Squad are not well-loved. Many old people lived through the 1934 General Strike, when cops were the enemy. And the Tac Squad has been in the news a lot recently--for killing a man who scraped an off-duty cop's car; for shooting a woman in the head while aiming at a noisy alleycat; for beating up two 14 year old white kids. People are afraid of that: it's anarchy.

if you can't trust the cops, who can you trust? And you can't trust the cops. Without even hearing the defense testimony, many jurors had decided that the cops were lying.



The defense had been playing it safe. It is not always the best policy to play safe. In a climate of repression you're never really safe anyway. To make a deal is to play it safe. If you're sure to lose, making a deal may be a good idea. But the left is more legitimate

than it often thinks. The chances of winning may be better than we imagine. They certainly were in this case, which in front seemed like just another case of Crime in the Streets meeting Law and Order in a losing fight.

Take our advice: think twice. ◆

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## 7 UP AGAINST THE WALL

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

The trial lawyer for the Seven will be Charles Garry--the San Francisco lawyer who defended Huey Newton. Garry is one of the very best trial lawyers around. From all indications the trial will be dramatic, solid and God knows maybe even successful.

## Precedent Setter

The trial is shaping up to be one of the most important for the white movement. Since the Conspiracy indictment of the Seven for leading the Stop the Draft Week demonstrations at the Oakland Induction Center last October, many more conspiracy raps have been handed movement activists.

The latest is a conspiracy charge placed against the leaders of the Moses Hall seize-in on the Berkeley campus in support of Eldridge Cleaver's class on racism. What happens to the Seven will set a precedent for what happens to other activists in future trials.

The defense lawyers are preparing two suits that may delay the beginning of the trial. They are seeking an injunction in Federal Court to stop the trial from taking place, on the grounds that it has a "chilling effect" on the exercise of free speech and free assembly. They are also going to challenge the Grand Jury itself--as unrepresentative of the Oakland community. The Grand Jury is made up of exactly those ruling interests that were challenged by the demonstrations. To be indicted by the Grand Jury is to be indicted by

a jury of your enemies, if you're anti-war, anti-imperialist, young, angry or non-white.

## The Law On Trial

Assuming that these offensive tactics fail, the trial will be a long one--two months probably. A strong case will be built against the constitutionality and repressive use of the conspiracy law, as well as the use of undercover agents by the Oakland police.

The Seven do not intend to claim that they did not organize STDW. They did and are proud of it. They will claim that they did not secretly conspire, that everything they did was out in the open and in front of the public. They will show that the conspiracy law can and is being used against even the most unimpeachable of demonstrators as well. It could, and has, been used against labor unions (in the early 1900's, several IWW members were sent to jail for five years for "conspiring" to hand out leaflets--which they didn't even hand out).

It will be argued in court that the actions of the Oakland Seven, the Induction center demonstrators, the marchers, petitioners, sit-inners and street militants are the ones who really brought about the halt in bombing, the peace talks, the candidacy of McCarthy and Kennedy. They are to be praised, says Garry, not condemned. "The United States ought to pin a medal on them, instead of indicting them for conspir-

acy. If anyone brought the war to an end, it's people like the Oakland Seven, who put their bodies on the line." The war against the people of Vietnam, its rise and decline, will be a major part of the defense argument.

## Tribunal

Outside the courtroom others are planning to hold a tribunal of law enforcement practices. The organizers hope to educate people about how the law is used, police brutality, excessive bail, restrictive probation and parole, police spies, deals, economic pressure on defense attorneys and the courts to force defendants to plead guilty.

This tribunal will go on during the trial of the Seven.

When the Oakland Seven go on trial, the entire movement goes on trial. Conspiracy is being used to put us on ice: liberals, radicals, whites, blacks, chicanos, students.

Repression hurts, but it also brings the repressed together. The Seven are a good example of this. As long as the trial was postponed, the Seven themselves couldn't get together. Since the October demonstration, each had been into different activities. They couldn't get enthusiastic about their own trial, so it was hard to convince others of its importance. Now it's up against the wall time and people are responding. The eyes of the movement had better be on this one: it may be the rest of us tomorrow. ◆

AND FIGHTING BACK



# FRAMED



Lee Otis Johnson

by Robert Analavage  
from the SOUTHERN PATRIOT

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

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

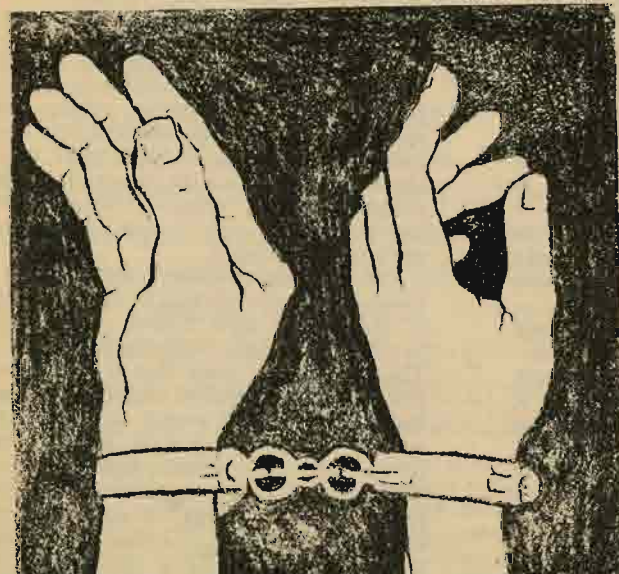
After the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Lee Otis Johnson organized and led a memorial march of 8,000 people through Houston. According to those present, Johnson was given a steady ovation after he finished speaking. Apparently such popularity with his people alarmed the police.

The next day, police raided the SNCC freedom house and arrested three persons; one was Johnson. They were charged with sale and possession of marijuana; later the possession charge was dropped.

"The undercover agent," Mrs. Johnson said, "was a Negro—I wouldn't call him black. He had an Afro haircut that had to take him six months to grow. That's how long they were planning this. It was this guy's word against Lee Otis'. The jury believed him".

Today Johnson is in a prison that is 80 percent black. He is isolated from the other prisoners obviously because the authorities fear he may carry on his organizing work among the inmates. He has written a letter from jail addressed to his people.

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



## CONNALLY VS. SNCC

from the SOUTHERN PATRIOT

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

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

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

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

When he was arrested the other demonstrators--about 20 of them--sat down; they were arrested under a Texas anti-labor law that prohibits obstructing the labor of others. Lary was sentenced to two years, probated, and a \$500 fine. Many of the others stayed in jail, unable to provide bail, awaiting trial.

In Dallas, SNCC led demonstrations demanding black control of supermarkets in ghetto areas. A number of people were arrested; Ernest McMillan, SNCC field secretary, and his aide received TEN-YEAR sentences for "destruction of private property worth over \$50 (that is, dropping merchandise).

More arrests are expected. Those already jailed have been harassed by unreasonably high bail and lack of funds for legal defense. They need money--at least \$3,000--and political and moral support. The address is: Austin SNCC, 1311 Rosewood Avenue, Austin, Texas 78702. ◆

## sellers faces 78

from the SOUTHERN PATRIOT

ATLANTA, Ga.—Southern officials seem determined to keep Cleveland Sellers f SNCC behind bars. After spending five months in jail for refusing induction, Sellers finally managed to post bond--and he was immediately arrested on a Louisiana warrant charging him with carrying a concealed weapon.

Sellers had been denied bail three times by District Judge Newell Edenfield, after he was sentenced to five years for refusing induction. He didn't get out until U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black ordered Judge Edenfield to set bond not exceeding \$5,000.

Justice Black declared that in view of Sellers' "perfect record" of regular attendance at his hearing and at his trial, and in view of his return from as far away as Japan, Sellers' trial statement could not be held against him.

Sellers had said, "The only people who can sentence me are black people, and I see none. Therefore the only thing that I can say is that you be prepared to carry out whatever you are, and I will fight as the rest of the black brothers have for liberation of black people..." The court's decision, he said, "had nothing to do with how I act from now on".

He posted \$2,500 bond for the draft case, and the Federal Government immediately turned him over to the County sheriff, who served the Louisiana warrant on him. Sellers has posted \$5,000 bond on those charges.

Sellers also faces up to 78 years in prison on charges stemming out of the Orangeburg, S.C., massacre, in which police killed four black people and wounded 51. ◆

## NOC ORGANIZERS FIRED, JAILED



photo: National Organizing Committee

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

The firings came ten days after NOC organizers handed out Peggy Terry-for-Vice-President campaign literature to people in the settlement house. Buckley and Tabscott organized the campaign's visit to Columbus.

Gary Maynard, a NOC organizers from Chicago, was arrested by Columbus Police the morning after the settlement house visit and charged with possessing obscene literature and assaulting a police officer. Seventeen year old Maynard--a "juvenile"--is still being held in Franklin County jail pending a "security investigation". No release on bail is permitted for juveniles.

The obscenity charge, according to a local newspaper, was filed over a poem in the FIRING LINE. The report says, the poem, "was interspersed with four letter words generally frowned upon for public use". The poem was written by a

young Chicagoan and describes his response to being harassed on his motorcycle by a Chicago cop.

The firings at Gladden and Maynard's arrest go much deeper than handing out FIRING LINES. Local people in the settlement house neighborhood believe the actions are connected to the United Appeal Fund (UAF), a fund raising drive from which Gladden gets 90% of its operating expenses.

Due to Gladden's and some other agencies' involvement with the Poor People's Campaign and other controversial issues, the UAF drive came into severe criticism from right wingers who threatened to withdraw their support. This year the UAF Drive failed by \$100,000 to meet its goal. The Gladden staff charge that they have been sacrificed to show the conservatives that something is being done to meet their criticism. They say that Gladden was picked on because it has a conservative board and it is in a white working class neighborhood where charges of racism cannot be applied to the cut-off. The UAF fund drive has been continued beyond its deadline.

CONTINUED  
ON PG.17



In a revolution, one wins or one loses. History and logic teach us that any defeat of the proletariat bring with it; at least temporarily, a reinforcement of the bourgeoisie and of the present powers-that-be. This reinforcement is the principal characteristic of the situation in October. It manifests itself on two levels: the economic and the political.

Contrary to certain hopes of the revolutionaries in May, French capitalism is in pretty good shape. The salary increases obtained by the unions as a result of the strike helped the economy. They stimulated consumption--especially since the hikes mainly affect the lowest paid workers, which always means increased buying. They also spurred on French production which has tended to stagnate recently.

The heavy costs of the strike hurt many small businesses, but the large corporations were stable enough not to have been harmed. This accelerated the move towards concentration and modernization of the French economy, so essential for France's position in the international market.

In addition the state saw to it that any changes that had to be made were ultimately for the good of capitalism. It did this in two ways: by taxes, which balance out the wage hikes of May; and by investments in those businesses which suffered but which were considered useful to the French economy.

Finally the businesses themselves have not hesitated to recoup any losses by raising prices. This has already been done to many products and it is only the beginning.

All in all, then, the economy is prospering. The predictions of the plan for 1968 won't be entirely fulfilled, but taking into account the weeks of striking, the result is remarkable.

#### Gaullism Strong

Gaullism's overwhelming majority in the elections gave it a free rein. The Parliament had almost no power before May, but it was at least capable of annoying the government, slowing it down and introducing an element of uncertainty into its plans. Now, all that belongs to the past. More than ever, the government is acting according to the demands of modern capitalism in a strong bureaucratic and technocratic state.

As for public opinion, on the whole it calls for civil peace and bourgeois tranquillity and frowns upon student attempts at agitation. During the revolutionary crisis the "middle classes", feeling the near collapse of the power structure were somewhat favorable to the workers' movement. Now, when the power structure is strong and when the forces of the left have shown their weakness and inability to take power, the middle classes return quite naturally to the side of legality.

Given this alignment of forces the government has chosen to follow the traditional policy of repression and co-optation.

#### Repression

What has happened to those imprisoned in June and July? The first wave of arrests was made "as an example". After several months of incarceration public pressure persuaded the government to free those arrested at the May demonstrations. On the other hand, those unlucky enough to have been taken at the last demonstrations are being forced to serve their sentences to completion. They number about 20. In addition 13 young workers and unemployed, who are politically independent and who threw molotov cocktails and carried out several "terrorist" acts in Bordeaux are awaiting trial.

A second act of legal suppression has dissolved the revolutionary groups. One of them, the Young Revolutionary Communists (JCR) has announced its intention to continue despite the ruling. About thirty of its militants, including several national leaders, were arrested in July on the charge of "reorganizing a dissolved group", for which they risk a maximum of two years in prison. This arrest has proven to be a mistake on the part of the government. Far from deterring the students it led to a renewal of their efforts and the adoption of the slogan "Free Krivine" (Alain Krivine is the most popular JCR leader).

All the militants are now free pending their trial and it is questionable whether they will ever be tried. The government is mainly concerned with avoiding trouble at the start of a new working year and a political trial would be the perfect way to provoke renewed agitation by the revolutionaries.

Another repressive tactic is expulsion of foreigners from France. Hundreds of them, mainly Germans, Americans and Spaniards were taken to the border,

sometimes for the most ridiculously trumped-up reasons and sometimes under the most intolerable conditions. The brutality of these methods even drew a cry of protest from the West German Embassy.

#### Provocateurs

But there are other types of suppression, less spectacular and more frequent, that clearly show that Gaullist France is becoming a police state. One of these is the increasing number of informers, police-spies and plainclothesmen who are being sent out into the Paris area, who penetrate the movements, underground or not, and act as provocateurs. Along the same line, the police are releasing large quantities of drugs into the Parisian market to corner and trap people into becoming stool-pigeons and also to channel the energies of many into less offensive action than the barricades.

The police repression is particularly underhanded and frequent along the Boulevard Saint-Michel (main axis of the Latin Quarter and meeting-ground for students) where about 100 uniformed cops patrol permanently in groups of 3-5 every twenty yards. Licensed newspaper salesmen are illegally taken to the police station and kept for several hours merely for intimidation purposes.

All demonstrating is forbidden and large police forces are mobilized whenever there is any. The police have used the summer months to increase their numbers, modernize their organization and give special training to their men. This new efficiency was demonstrated at the October 4th demonstration in support of the Mexican students. Although the demonstration left from a secret starting place, it was masterfully broken up by the police one hour later with several hundred arrests.

Meetings in the University buildings were forbidden at the beginning of the month and there have been several police raids to prevent any meetings from taking place. However, the government now seems to be relaxing this policy.

University exams have been administered under the "protection" of large numbers of policemen and "special monitors".

#### Fascist gangs

Fascist gangs are openly encouraged--the Comites de Defense de la Republique (C.D.R.), composed of adults and oriented towards the defense of Gaullism; and groups of young neo-nazi enthusiasts like the "Mouvement Occident" ("Western Movement"). They attack newspaper salesmen and leaflet distributors, disrupt group meetings (if necessary by throwing grenades), intimidate and even kidnap the leaders of the movement.

Suppression by employers should not be disregarded. Thousands of militant workers, union delegates or not, who had called attention to themselves in May, were fired and demoted, without respect for legality. The unions were helpless to do anything but make ineffective verbal protests. In the government controlled radio and TV industry dozens of journalists, directors, producers and technicians who took an active part in the long strike were fired from their jobs under the pretext of "reorganization". The government did not hesitate to hit at the most popular of the broadcasters, especially the sports announcers.

Finally, the press is carrying on a steady and largescale campaign of criticism and condemnation of the student movement. The smallest incident, often the result of police provocation, is blown out of proportion with sensational-type articles such as, "the secret plot of the enragés". In addition the press is giving much publicity to a multitude of moderate or apolitical student groups, one as nonexistent as the other.

The task of keeping the students in line on the campuses has been given to the new Minister of National Education,

# FRANCE WE SHOULD HAVE WHEN WE HAD October '68 TAKEN POWER THE CHANCE



Edgar Faure. He has introduced a program of "university reform" designed to destroy the student dissatisfaction and insure a quiet and orderly return to a new school year.

The Faure reform was favorably presented with the help of a huge press campaign, which aimed at making it seem revolutionary and as if it were making concessions to the demands of May. In fact, the reform is absolutely meaningless. It consists of two main points.

First, there is a tighter integration of the university into the French economy, a closer association of private capitalism with the administration of regional groups and the subordination of education to the needs of capitalism. Faure takes up and rechampions an old project that aims at modernizing and adapting to present-day needs a university that had hardly changed since the time of liberal capitalism of the 19th Century.

Next, is a provision for student participation in the decisions affecting university life. It is formulated in such way that the students have no real power. Students can only rubber stamp the decisions made by the bureaucratic university, the state or the local employers. This aims at integrating and assimilating the student "reformists" and at isolating the revolutionaries for further suppression.

The only real concession that has been made by the government is the granting of freedom to form unions and engage in political activity within the university. The government knew that it was useless to forbid political activity because the students would engage in it anyway and it preferred showing itself as a liberal and paternalistic light, even if this were to cause opposition of some diehard conservatives. It goes without saying that these liberties are very limited and are only a caricature of

those that the students asked for, fought for and supposedly got in May.

#### Resistance

Faced with this unfavorable situation, one would be mistaken to believe that all is going well for the powers-that-be, and that May can be viewed as an inconsequential incident.

On the whole, the government's objectives seem to have been obtained: the exams were given with almost no trouble. But, before drawing any conclusions as to the extent of student belligerency two things must be taken into account.

In the first place, the exams are often given under the "protection" of the police and fascist groups. Second, the exams were not altogether peaceful. In Medicine, for example, the General Assembly decided on the boycott, although they did not adequately prepare for it.

There were some skirmishes, a lot of tension and sabotaging (group studying, comparing results, etc.) which made the whole thing ridiculous. In the college of Sciences, police intervention was also necessary.

The exams, however, are a bad indicator of the possibilities for struggle. Inherent conditions make them easy for the police to handle and difficult for the students. This is the case because no matter how radical a student may be, the prospect of wasting a whole year of study is not pleasant, and left up to the individual student, he will understandably decide in favor of taking the exams no matter how critical he is of the system that judges his achievement.

The student movement chooses other areas to struggle in. Political meetings and discussion, with or without the permission of the administration have multiplied and were an instantaneous success. The underground press has continued, stronger than it has been before

May. The revolutionary groups, underground or not, have tripled in strength.

#### The Streets

And on at least one particular terrain the students do not hesitate to reaffirm their determination: the street. In this period of suppression and hostile public opinion, there are good reasons to think that the street demonstration is not the best tactic. Yet it is important to show, from time to time, that the movement is far from dead. The October 4th demonstration gathered together almost 10,000 participants. Other demonstrations took place outside the Paris region and groups which usually do not demonstrate (e.g. high school students) participated. These demonstrations are non-violent. Most people agree that it is no longer the time for barricades.

The workers movement also appears, on the surface at least, to have died and all is calm. But don't be fooled. Two things characterize the return to work: a persistent tension in the factories and the creation of a new and revolutionary avant-garde.

#### Workers Unrest

The memory of the general strike is not gone. Dissatisfaction runs deep and is beginning to manifest itself. For example, at Renault-Flins, workers have been staging a slow down since the first day of work to protest the firing of foreign workers. There are slow-downs all over for different reasons--against attempted speed-ups in the work pace; against antagonistic attitudes of the employers; against dismissal or transfer of militants, etc.

The workers are listening to the ideas of the revolutionaries. It is almost impossible at the C.G.T. to forbid the radicals to distribute leaflets or to sell their papers, as was done in the past. At Renault-Cleon, for example, a busload of cops who had come to arrest people distributing pamphlets were forced to make a quick retreat under a volley of rocks.

Finally new forms of action have broken through the usual routine of the union. Instead of petitions and verbal protests, instead of the strike which brings hardship on the workers both financially and because of the risk involved, the workers are now simply refusing, in many factories, to meet the pace of work that is demanded of them. They have bypassed the usual channels and are directly taking a certain amount of power. In other enterprises, the postal services, for example, the employees have stopped working on Saturday, holding up the entire system and forcing the management to accord them Saturday afternoons off.

#### Revolutionary Avant-Garde

But the most important element is the existence of the revolutionary avant-garde. Before May, the ties between revolutionary students and workers were very weak. May changed this and a strong bond was created, mainly in the form of student-worker action committees. Today, not only are almost all of these committees still functioning, but new action committees are being created all the time.

Renault-Billancourt, the largest factory in France, and the one which gives the go-ahead to the national movement for a strike, now has eight action committees, consisting of hundreds of workers, whereas in May there were almost none at all. They organize political discussions, they initiate new forms of action and they try to change the union. Many print bulletins which are regularly distributed throughout the factory in which they discuss the factory news and the political situation in general. Often these committees are autonomous. One or two students participate and help print and distribute the bulletins and leaflets, and join in the political conversations.

Another form for regrouping the radical workers is the "popular university".

They have regular open lectures and political discussions, organized by an action committee. At Colombes, in the suburbs of Paris, 300 people regularly attend discussions on the May movement, Czechoslovakia, socialism and liberty, etc. The discussions are briefly started off by the guest speakers (often of diverse political views) and the rest of the meeting is devoted to a debate where the workers participate.

Many workers have joined revolutionary organizations which influence large groups in a single factory. May broke the monopoly that the Communist Party held for dozens of years, in the working class. From now on it is impossible to accuse revolutionary groups of being intellectual cliques or petits-bourgeois. If these groups succeed in uniting and founding an important revolutionary org-

anization, a strong core of workers is assured.

The formation of a unified revolutionary organization at the present time is not easy. The aspiring revolutionary groups are divided on at least two questions, one dealing with strategy and the other with organization.

#### Action vs. Propaganda

The question of strategy in simple terms is the debate between those who favor action versus those who favor propaganda. Of course the dilemma is not that simple. Rather it means knowing whether or not to give priority to actions of the type that would revive the combat to the level it had reached in May and which would lead to a crisis of the same order, or whether it is better to be more thorough, to organize, formulate things theoretically, discuss, propagandize, etc.; that is, to do things in a less haphazard way than was done in May.

The question of organization is of course closely related to the strategy question. The debate here is whether the movement should remain as it was in May, i.e. largely spontaneous, organized locally in autonomous committees independent of each other, without direction, without centralization or structure or if it is better to structure the movement, build an organization not which suppresses the autonomous committees but which exists with them in a centralized and disciplined structure.

The connection between the two approaches is of course that those who favor strong organization also favor propaganda and those who favor spontaneous groups also favor direct action.

#### The Revolutionary Groups

What happened to the revolutionary groups that were dissolved in June? The Maoists went through a serious crisis and no longer have a national organization. They split into two camps--one criticizing the disunity of May and June, the other defending it. The March 22nd Movement, which in June consisted only of the anarchists of the coalition, fell apart almost completely. The staunch Trotskyites of the FER (Federation of Revolutionary Students) have regrouped themselves under the name AJS (Alliance of Youth for Socialism), but their following has dropped off since May and June and they have been forced to disband little by little. The Trotskyites of the JCR (Young Revolutionary Communists) seem to be the ones who have become stronger since June. They have regrouped around a newspaper called "Rouge" ("Red") which puts out 30,000 copies and is the most important of the revolutionary papers. Other less important factions are surviving, like the Trotskyites of the paper "Workers Struggle", the advocates of "spontaneity" of the Action and Unity Movement, etc...

In short, the May crisis and the suppression that followed brought about a simplification of the French political scene. It broke up weakly organized groups and reinforced the united and strongly structured ones.

As for action committees, they remain the principal meeting-ground for most groups united in purpose. They are far from being as important as they were in May, but they remain a means of political agitation for the different parts of the country, the factories, and the schools. Some have grown larger since May to such a degree that the traditional politicians are coming to them for political talks and wish to be in their favor.

#### Unity

The final problem is once again that of unity. It cannot be said that the case for unity has progressed much since May. The Committee for the Initiation of a Revolutionary Movement is no longer very significant. There has not yet been any merging or regrouping. Nevertheless, the problem has been simplified by the break-up of many splinter groups. A possibility exists if "Red" and "Workers Struggle" were to merge they could bring together some of the Maoists, a part of the PSU (a legal social-democrat party with a revolutionary wing) and several other groups.

Do not expect to hear much talk about things happening in France for the next few months. We are in a period of discreet work, hardly spectacular, but which could prove quite significant in the future. Already, on the revolutionary scene, others have moved into the limelight--in particular the Mexican students. Today, the international revolution has begun--and nothing can stop it.

by Jean Pierre Lentin



# time to fight

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

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

OR: THE NATIONAL OR  
EXPERIMENT



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

- Peggy Terry, Chicago



NOC grew out of the National Community Union. NCU had been conceived as a recruiting and training operation for students in an effort to develop organizing efforts similar to JOIN's in other midwestern cities. (See THE MOVEMENT, January 1967)

The Fairborn meeting involved people attempting to develop a sense of movement among segments of the working class in several cities. Everyone who came had been working at this for some time in different ways. Most felt extremely isolated from other organizers and other segments of the movement.

The group discussed collective problems, tried to pave the way for a collective strategy and eventually a new working class organization. We saw ourselves as a loose network of organizers mainly among young white working class people. At the end of the meeting we agreed to temporarily call ourselves NOC. The name change from NCU to NOC indicates that we were no longer trying to build community unions. We were beginning to see our target as young working class kids everywhere: in neighborhoods and factories, on the streets, in prisons, the army and schools.

### Potential For Organizing

Objective conditions and organizing efforts in the black and student communities have produced the Black Panther Party and SDS. We see a young white working class movement as the natural ally of the Black, Chicano and student movements. We believe that the objective conditions for radicalism exist among young people in the working class. They are alienated, anti-authoritarian,

more students will look to the working class, both in terms of political perspective and work, when radical political actions (not just militancy) increase among working class kids. We seek to recruit cadre and comrades among working class kids. We felt that a vice presidential campaign on a national ticket would give us a legitimacy attracting some people whose lives we normally would not touch.

### Wallace Is A Phony

5. Wallace is a phony, but he talks to our people. We felt it our responsibility to try and neutralize Wallace as much as we could in areas where our people are working. It was decided that Peggy's speeches would be political attacks on Wallace, as well as on the other representatives of the ruling class. Literature would state that while Wallace sounded cool on some things, he is no friend of the little man.

6. The campaign would also experiment with organizing approaches. We discussed trying "guerrilla action" type organizing in addition to our usual "raping with people" organizing. This meant that in a city where there was action around the grape boycott a group of us might stuff ourselves with grapes in a supermarket, disrupt the shelves and split. The underlying assumption was that by living our beliefs and taking bolder actions we might be able to reach gutsier and harder young people.

7. We believe that the Black, Chicano and Student movements cannot make a revolution without an American radicalism rooted in the white working class. The campaign would be used to inject a working class perspective into the stu-

been written on boards and a couple of kids were kicked out of school because they refused to obey orders not to distribute their stockpiles. We returned after school and joined about 70 students (from several high schools) for a rap in the park about what had happened. Soon the pigs came driving across the lawn of the public park, entered the shelter and grunted "Who gave you permission to be here?" "It's a public park", was the reply. "Who's the leader here?" "We're all together." They kicked us out.

We moved the meeting to someone's home where Peggy, other NOC people and high school Panthers talked with people for several hours. The kids decided to start an SDS chapter, discussed plans for a walkout, tactics on their bill of rights, and control of curriculum.

Other stops in Iowa included campus visits to Iowa State University in Ames, Simpson College in Indianola, the University of Iowa in Iowa City and an SDS regional meeting in Grinnel.

### Low Key In Indiana

A group from Chicago moved on to Indiana University in Bloomington for a speaking engagement. NOC people from Cincinnati joined us in Indianapolis. Our contact there was at a local community center. Our work there was very low key; we hung around the center, played basketball, had water fights and eventually got into a three hour rap with working class high school students and dropouts. We talked about compulsory ROTC, racism and how it's used to divide students, boring classes, un-

derground papers, the war, etc. Two young guys talked seriously about setting up an underground paper in their high school.

Later that night Peggy spoke to a war on poverty group composed, surprisingly, of poor people who were turned on to our program and the idea of linking up with us in the future.

Still later that night we created a scene at a Donovan concert at Indiana University Extension attended by about 2000 media hippies (a good number of them working class kids) when we distributed literature during intermission. The hip-manager-type demanded to know who gave us permission. He was told, "the People's Liberation Army", and backed off. The kids kept saying, "Wow, is SDS coming to Indianapolis?" "Start one."

By morning we were in Louisville where a great deal of leafleting had been done on an anti-Wallace theme by SCEF and former JOIN people. The Louisville organizers, newly situated in two white neighborhoods, had no firm base other than some contacts with young kids and one family who had been active in JOIN when they lived in Chicago. Two more NOC people joined the campaign there and a working collective began to develop.

Peggy spoke in front of an integrated working class high school as school let out. Although they didn't come near us, the cops were there in force, having been "alerted" by a morning press conference. Unfortunately a number of black kids had misinterpreted the leaflet we had distributed and began to heckle Peggy thinking she was for Wallace.

CONTINUED ON PG. 18

## ORGANIZING COMMITTEE & THE PEGGY TERRY CAMPAIGN WITH A TRAVELLING MINSTREL SHOW & REVOLUTIONARY JUGBAND

anti-police, anti-military and materially exploited, but unlike Blacks and students they have no radical political frame of reference. For years radicals have chosen not to do the difficult groundwork necessary for radicalism in the working class. They have not lived nor worked among the people; they have not taught in the schools. NOC came into being to help create that radical frame of reference, to help develop the subjective conditions necessary for radical action and thought among young working kids.

The Terry campaign was seen as a way of getting on with this task. The campaign shouldn't be viewed as an acceptance of the viability of electoral politics, nor of the organizational form and organizing style of the Peace and Freedom Party. Rather, NOC saw the campaign as an excuse to move, to get started, to pull a loose network of working class organizing contacts around the midwest into a tighter collective trying to define a path toward a common strategy.

### Objectives

NOC's participation in the Cleaver-Terry campaign was more specifically conceived of as an attempt to do eight things:

1. We wanted to tie ourselves together, beginning to act as a political collective. We didn't define what that meant, but left the definition to grow out of our work. It was clear to most of us that isolated radical work, as well as individual personalities defining direction was not the way to build radical consciousness and organization among working people.

2. The campaign was viewed as a means of aiding and educating local organizers. A number of people in NOC are young people from the working class. Others come out of the student and civil rights movement and have been working in a working class setting for some time. However, some of us are new to the movement -- recruited from neighborhoods and factories or the campus -- and lack experience. The campaign was seen as an attempt to help newer people move with the support of others.

3. We felt that common work and experiences would help develop a strong working class organization. At this time, we are concentrating on the midwest, especially in the three heavy industrial states -- Illinois, Michigan and Ohio. This is where most of us are located and have built our network. It is a region of the country where people have been organizing among young working class kids, where organizers aren't distracted from their work by the pull of mass demonstrations, and it is a region that has not been scarred by the inner-left political chaos of the Northeast and West Coast. We decided to concentrate the campaign there.

4. We felt that the campaign would help us reach new working class people. NCU had consciously set out to recruit students in order to link their lives with a working class milieu. While NOC will do that, we believe

dent movement and to suggest organic approaches to the working class for radical students. We wanted to get students to think seriously about how and where they will act as radicals when they leave the campus, and to counteract the guilt that certain political groups with a heavy working class perspective (mainly Progressive Labor Party) inject into the important student movement. We believe we have a more realistic and organic conception of how students should move in making the transition to radical activity in a working class setting; a transition that does not have to tone down the militancy of the student movement itself.

8. Finally, our experiences have shown the difficulty of doing working class organizing when there is such a great absence of organizing materials (news-papers, films, literature) that can be used with working class kids. It was thought that the campaign would allow us to experiment with a newspaper geared to young high school and working kids, force us to develop a program stating what we're for, as well as producing leaflets and educational materials such as films and pamphlets.

### The Campaign Begins

The campaign began with four of us hitting Iowa. While we didn't have any NOC organizers in Iowa, we did have contact with some good SDS people and saw our visit there as a trial run. An afternoon in Des Moines turned out to be the most exciting part of the trip. At an evening meeting with an assortment of movement people (SDS, high school kids, Welfare recipients, church and agency people, Panthers) we met several high school students who were doing SDS organizing around a student bill of rights in a working class school. It is important to note that they had been doing good groundwork in the school. What they wanted from us was a boost of enthusiasm. They told a lot of kids we were coming. We were to meet them during lunch period at a drive-in restaurant, to rap. They were a few minutes late and while waiting we began to pass out VIETNAM GI's, MOVEMENTS, NEW LEFT NOTES, FIRING LINES, SDS basic brochures, draft literature and Pig posters.

The place went up for grabs! The owner freaked and called the pigs. They arrived as large numbers of kids came pouring out of the school to get some literature. As the plainclothes detective held the four of us (two local SDS people) we exchanged fists and V signs with the kids and continued to pass out literature to kids who kept coming up to us. We were placed in a pig car and kids yelled, "let 'em go". We were driven back to the drive-in where a crowd of about 100 kids kept coming for their literature and kidded about a riot. The pigs let us go after threatening us.

What had happened inside was a school-wide spontaneous debate on the right to keep the literature, which the vice-principal was desperately trying to seize with little success. "Free" slogans had

by Bob Lawson, Diane Fager and Mike James

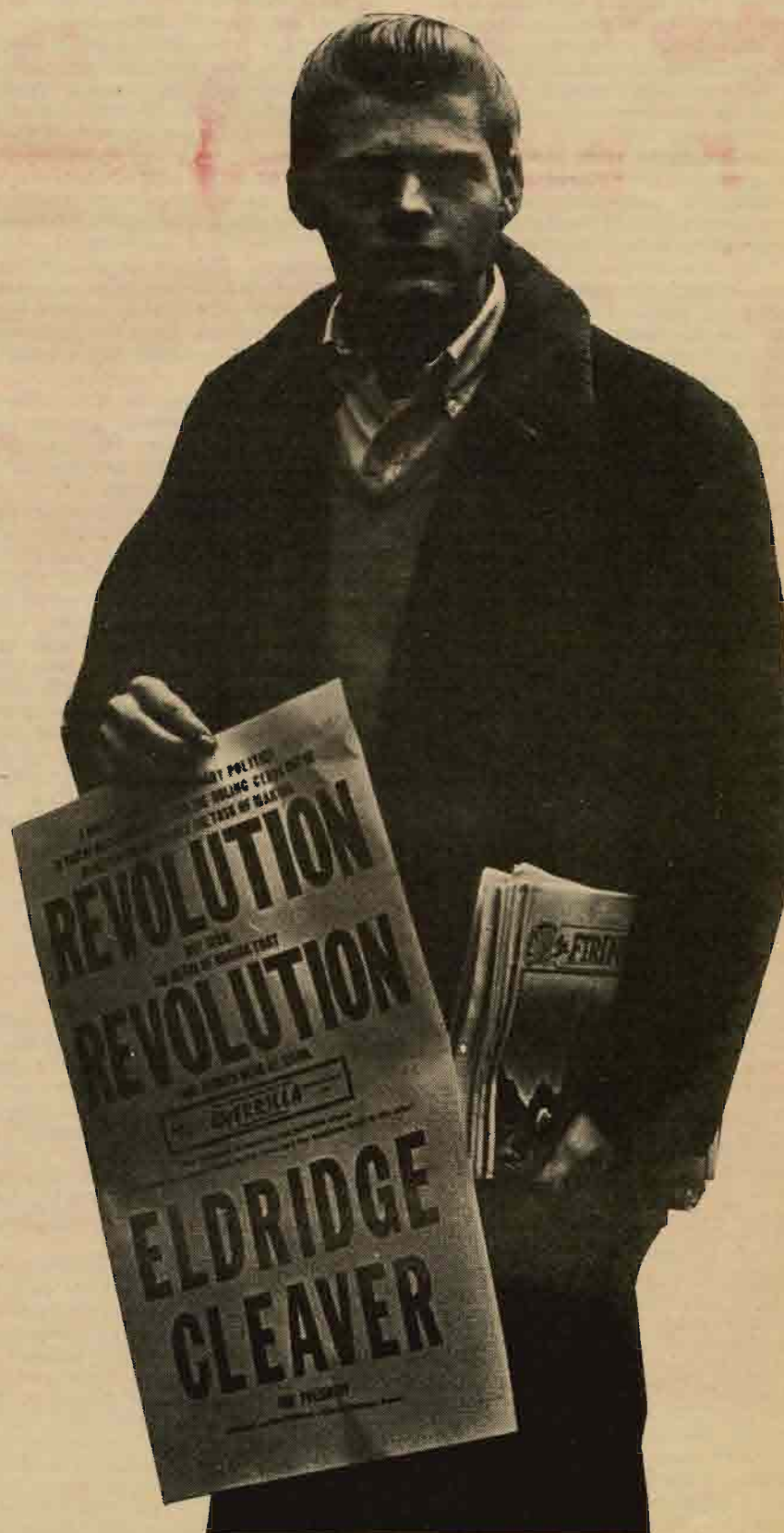


photo: National Organizing Committee



by Martin Nicolaus

Calling in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was one mistake the administration of Simon Fraser University (near Vancouver, Canada) did NOT make this summer. No broken skulls, no property defamation, no TV spectaculars. It was a parliamentary student movement that cost three university presidents their jobs, opened a crack in British Columbia politics, and revived the entire English-Canadian university based movement.

When it opened in 1965 Simon Fraser made headlines as the "instant university". British Columbia has been a northern Bolivia since the 1950's, a utopia for foreign investors. Thanks to the provincial government's Mafia-like fiscal practices, U.S. corporations benefit from an open-legs policy. They find cheap credit, land, roads, power, water, pollution rights, low taxes, easy profit transfer and a brutal anti-union law. In return they take out forests, petroleum, natural gas, copper, lead, iron ore, zinc, sulphur, water and whatever else they can pick up and carry. Not surprisingly there has been an investment boom.

While BC's northern hinterlands shape up as tomorrow's Appalachia, the cities, especially Vancouver, are being redone in the Yankee image: office skyscrapers, and high-rise apartments. The corporations need accountants, low-level scientists, market dopesters, salesmen, etc. Alas! The BC universities could not turn them out fast enough. Hence the decision to build Simon Fraser. Less than two years passed between blueprint and Grand Opening ceremonies.

### Gas Station And A Suspension

But less than one year passed between Grand Opening and the first student uprising. The Board of Governors, capitalists all, built a gas station on student turf. A student-faculty front demonstrated and picketed, but due to inexperience, got shunted into committee while the administration poured cement. The station stood, but the administration's legitimacy fell.

In the Spring of 1967, they blew it in a big way. A high school student in town had been suspended for writing a poem critical of his English teacher, mimeographing it and handing it out. Five TA's from SFU went down to help organize support for him. Beaten and arrested by police outside the high school, the five were summarily fired by the Board of Governors (BoG). SFU students, remembering their high school English teachers, came out solid behind the TA's. A credible strike threatened BoG into all-night emergency session while a thousand waited outside with songs and torches, ready to vote strike. The BoG yielded and reinstated the five.

In line with the business precept that capital should not sit idle, SFU operates all year round on the tri-semester system. Thus puerile freshman/soph/junior/senior sub-identities do not develop and movement organizing can go on continuously. (Capitalism prepares the ground for its own negation.) Over the summer and fall the solid anti-administration front created in the TA crisis lost its central focus, but many had been radicalized and kept up organization and harassment on various fronts. Radicals got two students admitted to the university senate, muckraked in committees, infiltrated student government and the campus paper. TA's and grads formed unions. Faculty pressed for "academic freedom" guarantees, spadeworked on committees, formed a union. Nothing much happened on the surface, but a succession of minor issues expanded consciousness of administrative illegitimacy.

### Enter The Radicals

In January 1968, bolstered by the arrival of John Cleveland and Him Harding (experienced Canadian student-radical and New Democratic Party organizers), the more conscious segment of the broad anti-administration front incorporated as Students for a Democratic University. Borrowing ideas and vocabulary from the recently-expired Student Union for Peace Action (English Canada's rough equivalent to SDS), SDU leadership tied economic issues (scholarships, fees, books) to working conditions (space, housing, food, medical care) and control (curricula, courses). At the same time it promoted consciousness of anti-imperialism, Canadian nationalism and solidarity with Quebec.

Conceiving the university as part factory, part service station for the corporations,

SDU unraveled the more evident chains of administration/business involvement. It gravitated in its tactical talk between strike, sit-in and physical occupation of buildings. While maintaining a negative attitude toward campus committee work and toward the doings of radical-liberal student senators, SDU

confrontationist philosophy stopped short of an anti-grades position. It preferred not to rupture the tacit united front between students and radical-liberal faculty.

Internally it vacillated between tighter and looser forms of decision-making. Influence of older-left splinters within SDU was slight. Progressive Workers (Canadian PL) had realized earlier that winning arguments with students was a way of getting its energies coopted by the academy and withdrew from the hill to advance into the factories. The Trotskists did not attempt to take over.

### The Center Falls Apart

As winter turned to spring, stormclouds gathered around administrators everywhere. Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, Columbia happened. While the Vancouver press played these events down so as to keep the lid of complacent isolation on the labor force, the Vancouver underground paper, GEORGIA STRAIGHT, and the campus weekly, headlined each student advance. Many less publicized student actions took place in Canada at the same time. The Canadian election campaign was warming up, and the New Democratic Party crept toward an anti-Trudeau, anti-US-control analysis. The time had come to move from talk to action.

Two campus developments pushed this further. First, the student government wallowed from a semester of financial corruption into a semester of political bankruptcy. Despite their loud anti-administration noises made to keep student interest the student council turned into a tasteless joke and resigned en masse after escaping impeachment by a technicality.

Since the corrupt and the irrelevant student council slates of previous semesters had been "reform" tickets, student moderates and liberals lost their credibility as campus politicians.

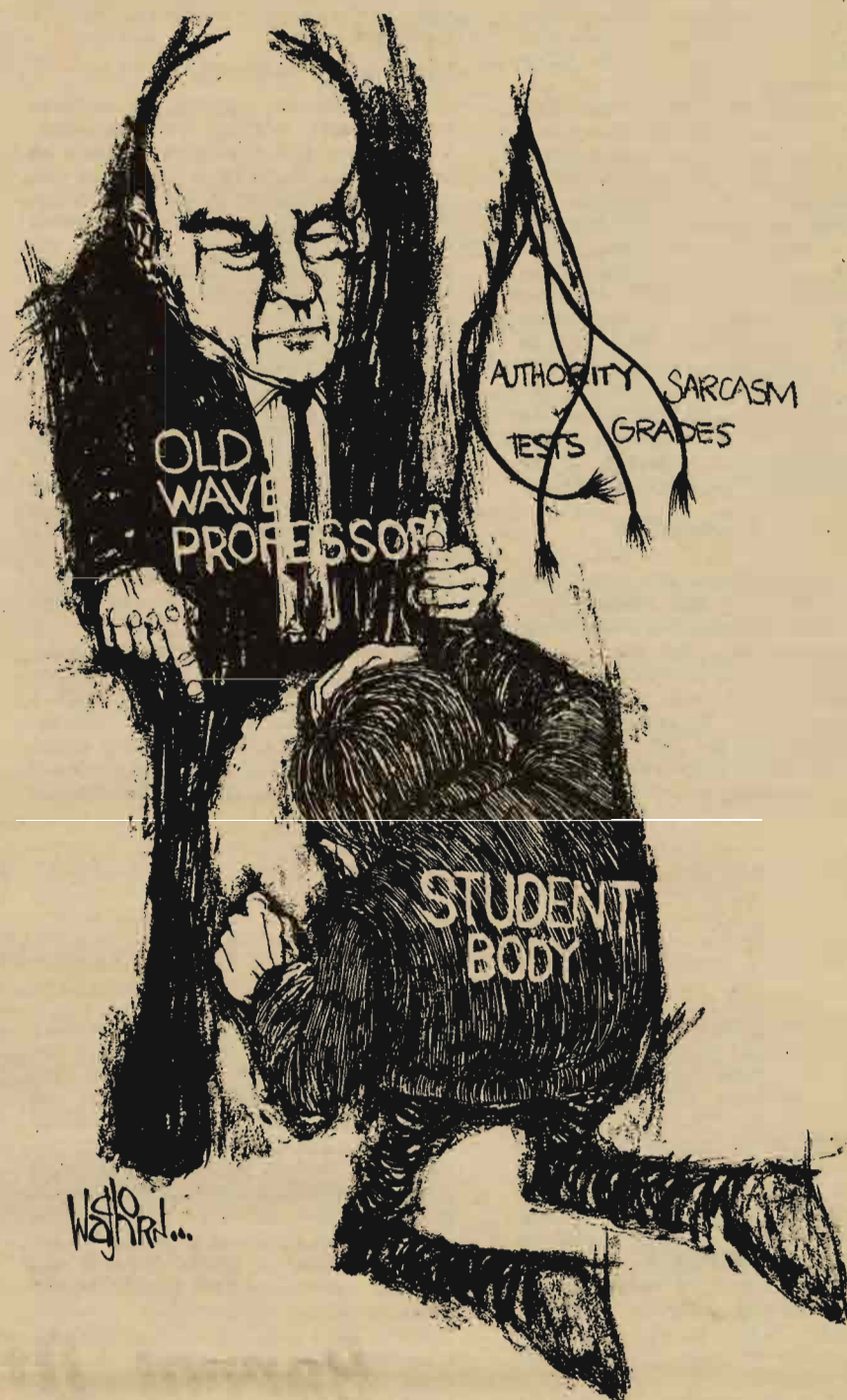
Secondly, a crisis erupted on the long-simmering faculty front. Faculty in the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology department (PSA) had voted to hire Dr. Andre Gunder Frank, author of works critical of imperial policy and in scholarly sympathy with third world revolutions. He had been fired from Montreal's Sir George Williams University for helping organize an anti-Dow demonstration. But higher university committees stalled the appointment process; seeing in Frank the image of Mao, they hoped to throttle PSA, where much of the more militant faculty and student anti-administration opposition was concentrated.

### Witch-Hunt

Fourteen of PSA's 23 faculty issued a signed public statement of protest to the university. On presidential instigation, the Dean of Science convened an emergency Senate meeting to "investigate the quality of the academic environment" in PSA. Knowing a witch-hunt when they saw one, student senator Sharon Yandle and PSA faculty explained the approaching event to massively-attended student rallies.

A sit-in took place outside the meeting, at the end of which friendly senators (deliberately breaking senate confidence) released the Dean's list of ten "charges", unsupported by data and phrased as smears. To prevent rumors and to keep students informed, PSA faculty printed the "charges" and spread them widely. This had the effect of maintaining student confidence in faculty and of discrediting the attack.

Taking the offensive, PSA moved to raise funds to hire Frank outside university channels (Frank eventually ac-



cepted a post in Chile instead). PSA forced the resignation of its head, replaced him with an elected chairman (Mordecai Briemberg, 30-year old veteran radical and scholar and head of the Hire Frank movement), and opened its meetings and committees to students. By constantly moving toward greater openness, the PSA faculty majority assured itself of student support and thereby its own survival. At the same time it provided students not only with an education in society, but also an education in education.

### Student Power

These changes produced the Student Power movement. Catalyzed by the arrival of John Conway, a radical organizer from the east, the student radical movement inside and outside SDU decided to run a student power slate in the student government elections. Campus sympathy with student uprisings around the world was wide. Student opposition to the administration had broadened and deepened as a result of the attempted anti-PSA witch-hunt. Senate and committee radicalism had shown diminishing returns and was headed for the same irrelevancy as "reform" student government. Faculty opposition to the administration was growing and swayed much student sentiment.

The liberal campus politicians had lost their credibility. SDU's reputation was on the rise, and non-SDU leaders Conway and Martin Loney (spokesman for the five TA's fired the previous year) could count on heavy moderate support, in part by sheer personal magnetism.

Those SDU dissenters who preferred the tactical flexibility of minority status were won over to the coalition.

It was not thought that they would win the elections, but that the campaign would be an excellent organizing tactic.

A student power program was drawn up ranging from economic points through curricula to abolition of business control over the Board of Governors.

### Surprise Success

Headed by Loney and Conway, the ticket won by a near-landslide in the heaviest turnout of any SFU election. Loney became president of a council in which only two members were not Student Power. First stunned, then

euphoric, the coalition rapidly became a smooth and efficient team. They cleaned up old business and proceeded to pass resolutions in favor of Black Power, Red Power, Women Power, Worker Power, People Power, while laying the groundwork for an eventual confrontation with the Board with a view to the latter's elimination.

Whether the council would have succeeded in this program remains an open question, for barely a week after it came to power, it was suddenly presented with an extraordinary DEUS EX MACHINA. The Canadian Association of University Teachers (roughly equivalent to the AAUP), which had previously reported "feudal" administrative procedures at SFU, escalated its concern dramatically by passing a motion of censure against the SFU BoG and administration for their handling of a psychology professor's contract non-renewal.

This had the effect of warning university teachers not to accept employment at SFU, and it indirectly cast a shadow over the reputation of the university's B.A. degree. Student sentiment was near unanimous that the censure was justified, and great was the anxiety to have this stain on the university's reputation removed as rapidly as possible. The council had been handed an indisputable mandate to act.

There were those on the council who argued for immediate occupation of the administration building, to be lifted only when the structural changes necessary to remove the censure had been accomplished. But the majority preferred to hold off.

The exact meaning and duration of the censure were not known, nor was it clear what conditions would have to be satisfied to cancel it. Communication with CAUT in Ottawa were not good, and there was a feeling that the faculty would have to make the first move before student action could be legitimate.

Faculty faced the same problems of confusion and lack of communications, and in any case were more poorly organized and inherently politically sluggish than students.

### When In Trouble, Vote

So a week of noon rallies passed where the issue was hashed and rehashed before the council began to make its move. It proposed to submit to a



# THE HARDEST

student vote a plan to impose a moratorium on classes, during which a vaguely defined program of "free" lectures and seminars would be held in the large lecture theatres and on the mall. The aim was to discuss educational values and goals in lectures to be given by liberal faculty.

This proposal was purposefully prudent and mild. The Student Power elections had received heavy adverse publicity in the press. The radio talk-shows were full of solicited talk against the "reds on the hill".

Provocateurs had been sent to cause violence at rallies (with pre-cued cameras grinding). So the Council was at pains to ground every step in unimpeachable legitimacy and moderation.

Past crises had accustomed student militants to working together with a sizeable liberal faculty minority. The word "strike" was avoided, since it would have been interpreted as an attack on faculty. "Boycott" or "moratorium" were preferred, since these milder terms, together with the on-campus "free university" concept, could be understood as a diplomatic invitation to faculty to get moving and/or join with students in creating an educational atmosphere from which administrative structure would be absent.

## The Heavy Hand of Legitimacy

This mixture of prudence, diplomacy and utopia which indicate a desire to shut down the university without daring to declare so openly, was duly submitted to a vote. There was a heavy turnout, and 58% voted "yes".

Legitimacy now revealed its chains. While ordinary votes required a simple majority, this referendum (so council had interpreted its constitution) was extraordinary and required two-thirds. A bitter council debate ended in close victory for the legitimists, headed by Loney. The boycott was declared defeated.

While the now-fractured council spent the rest of the day in post-mortems, the initiative passed to the faculty, who had called an unprecedented meeting to consider what to do. Partly in the hope of sidetracking students from the boycott (which had been expected to pass), partly because of liberal faculty pressure, the joint faculty meeting was declared open to students as observers for the first time.

Faculty filled the lower two-thirds of the university's largest lecture theatre; students occupied the other third across the aisle and the entire rear. White-coated technicians carried hand-held microphones to speaker whom the chair recognized, and closed circuit TV broadcast the proceedings to the next hall for the student overflow. In this highly orderly, sanitary and technological setting, the faculty's parliament slowly--with many pangs, hesitations, regrets, and disclaimers--delivered itself of a no-confidence motion against the university president.

## The President Gets Dumped

Faced with what it had thought impossible, the Board of Governors sent the bewildered president on indeterminate leave and appointed a safe and ambitious dean as temporary acting president. However, faculty began to feel a lusty vigor for democracy, and refused to accept the new appointee. The next day the faculty approved the principle of "democratic selection of administrative officers, i.e. president, deans, department heads, etc."

The presence of the students in the hall was crucial in this unusual display of rhetorical manhood. Cowed at first by the massing of so much professor power and cooled by the setting, the students rapidly found ways to express themselves despite the lack of speaking rights.

Applause for reform minded faculty and loud hissing for the more blatant

reactionaries served as constant reminders to the body that "the whole world was watching", and that they must set an example of integrity or risk loss of respect in their educational function. Goaded by student moral power, the faculty wrested a measure of professor power from the Board. They succeeded in electing their own temporary acting president and set up a committee to make recommendations to implement the approved democratic principles. The only concession students gained was participation on these committees, but this proved meaningless, as student demands were ignored or trampled on weeks later when student militancy had dissipated.

## Back To Normalcy

In the interval, SDU, independently of council, initiated a mini-occupation of the plush-carpeted Big meeting room on campus. Knowing that the BoG would be met by a confrontation if they met anywhere on campus (they were meeting secretly in that period), the president ignored the intrusion and allowed free access, keeping even campus cops at a distance. Occupiers turned it into a nursery by day, crash-pad for homeless heads by night, and set it loose after a week.

Near the end of the term, a council-sponsored initiative to rename the un-

iversity after Louis Riel, a 19th century Canadian Zapata, failed, provoking an unsuccessful and unpopular move to impeach the council. One by one, the council's left wing resigned. The term ended with attendance at council-convened rallies waning below a quorum of the students. A depressed normalcy returned.

Student power, staying within its legitimate political boundaries had yielded to professor power, thus moving the center of small-unit decision making nearer to student inspection and control, and pointing the direction for further advances. In the fall term, John Conway ran unsuccessfully for council on a "power in the classroom" campaign, but found a base of 800 votes to work with. The Social Credit Party, which runs BC politics, lost heavily among the growing city middle class over its handling of the crisis. Its favorite target for red-baiting, Martin Loney, was elected president of the Canadian Union of Students by acclamation, much to the panic of the local press, who saw that the struggle they thought was over was in reality beginning again on a higher level.



# Political Power Doesn't ONLY Come From The Barrel Of A Gun

Many in the movement talk of the need for self-criticism, in our organizations and as individuals within a movement. It seems clear that a revolutionary organization must constantly engage in criticism in order to advance.

Yet too often self-criticism comes to mean the temporary putting on of a false humility, or is used to advance personal gains, or becomes an exercise in despair--wallowing.

The following article is a good example of self-criticism. It appeared in the Black Panther newspaper. It is important to stress that the points raised here were made in the mass circulation organ of the Panthers and were not only discussed within the ranks of the organization itself.

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## CORRECTING MISTAKEN IDEAS

by Capt. Crutch

There are numerous adverse ideas within the Black Panther Party and in the Black Liberation Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct ideology. But unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Black Liberation Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in Black Americas' great revolutionary struggle. The source of such

incorrect ideas is that the party is composed largely of ghetto street niggers, together with elements of petty bourgeois niggers. The leaders of the party, however, fail to wage a concerted and determined struggle against these incorrect ideas, to educate (and re-educate) the members in the party's correct ideology--which is

also an important cause of their existence and growth. Therefore, I shall attempt to help point out some of the manifestations of various incorrect ideology within the party. And I call upon all party members to help eliminate mistaken ideas and incorrect methods thoroughly.

1. The purely military viewpoint is highly developed among quite a few members.

a. Some party members regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks.

b. They don't understand that the Black Panther Party is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of revolution. We should not confine ourselves

merely to fighting. But we must also shoulder important tasks as doing propaganda among the people, organizing the people, arming the people, and helping them to establish revolutionary political power for Black people.

Without these objectives fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its existence.

c. At the same time in propaganda work they overlook the importance of propaganda teams. They also neglect the organizing of the masses. Therefore, both propaganda and organizational work are abandoned.

d. They become conceited when a battle is won and dispirited when a battle is lost.

e. Selfish departmentalism--they think only of the Black Panther Party and do not realize that it is an important task of the Black Liberation Army to arm the local masses. This is cliquism in a magnified form.

f. Unable to see beyond their limited environment within the Black Panther Party. Such statements as "us San Francisco Panthers," "us New York Panthers," and etc. They have to realize Panthers are all one and the same. Also, a few Panthers believe that no other revolutionary forces exist. Hence their extreme addiction to the idea of conserving strength and avoiding action. This is a remnant of opportunism.

g. Some Panthers disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity. They will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses. They do not want to distribute leaflets, sell newspapers, etc. These things seem small although they are very important. Yet they are riddled with illusions, and want only to do big things. This is a remnant of putschism.

The sources of the purely military viewpoint are

1. A low political level.  
2. The mentality of mercenaries.  
3. Overconfidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people. This arises from the preceding three.

The methods of correction are as follows.

1. Raise the political level in the party by means of education. At the same time, eliminate the remnants of opportunism and putschism, and break down selfish departmentalism.

2. Intensify the political training of officers and men. Select workers and people experienced in struggle to join the party; thus, organizationally weakening or even eradicating the purely military viewpoint.

3. The party must actively attend to and discuss military work.

4. Draw up party rules and regulations which clearly define its tasks, the relationship between its military and its political apparatus, and the relationship between the party and the masses of the people.



photo: Steve Shames

from THE BLACK PANTHER



# BRINGING A LOT OF IT

Todd Gitlin

For Joe Blum, Bronx High School of Science '58

New York, a gargantuan dog-corpse of wires and dark places, chewing itself. Still there, New York, and will be until the great tidal wave -- when, o Lord? -- bounds up one inch too many and suddenly all the victims are dashed smashing against the perpetrators, the cleaning lady against David Goliath Rockefeller, everyone goes down at once as natural history substitutes for class war and men, women and children, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, realize too late it is too late for New York and subside bloated onto the scummy surface . . .

Nothing seems to change except the borders of the ghetto and the number of cops.

But this time the teachers were on strike, the third strike this semester, out for all but eleven days. Images of "disintegration" and "ungovernability" suddenly came into focus: one million (1,000,000) public school students locked out; parents occupying schools; a liberal teacher passing a pile of dog turds in Central Park and placing a sign there: "Lindsay Was Here."

## Teachers

I come from a teacher family. To them the strike is a vast and grievous interruption, but a necessity too, because the uppity black governing board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville had asserted its right to hire and fire teachers and nothing is more sacred to a New York teacher than security. The New York teachers have built a union to safeguard their guild status and they now insist, brandishing their normal-school certificates, that they and only they know what and how and even why to teach. Not to be unsympathetic toward the teachers: they wasted all that time in school, they have to believe there was a purpose to it. The teachers are devoted to the myth that professional status confers purpose; how can you think that your work is waste or worse than waste?

The blacks have the nerve to know that their children aren't being educated, by ANY standards, that each grade their children fall farther behind the whites' (a hard fact that the white teachers prefer not to notice, or prefer, rather, to turn upside down into an accusation against the black kids). The teachers divorce their profession from its function; they proclaim on their banners the "right to teach," disregarding the patent evidence of their failure. Failure they rationalize into arrogance, the staple of an agent-client relationship: if the client bridges, he is an ape and an ingrate. In this case, he must also be an anti-Semite: two-thirds of the United Federation of Teachers' 55,000 members are Jewish. If black anti-Semitism did not exist, it would have to be invented, so that the strike could be clothed as a holy crusade. But I don't pretend to follow all the intricacies of the strike: there is a good summary in an article by Sol Stern in the November 17 Ramparts.

Before I'd heard my family sounding off, I'd "supported" -- in the usual abstract way -- the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board, although the strike was for me only another newspaper episode. Now the passions of the nouveau labor militants flicked my curiosity: what new-found commitment had driven my quite private mother to tell my grandmother not to buy grapes? Then I got busy -- the only way to survive in New York -- and I forgot about the whole business.

One day in late October I had occasion to call the office of Liberation News Service, and when I relayed my message the person on the phone asked my name. When I gave it he let out a slight Oh! "Oh! Hey, you were once a valedictorian at Science." (That's what you call the Bronx High School of Science, the school that helped Stokely Carmichael into radicalism sort of the way prison pushed Eldridge Cleaver along.)

In a mock-humble gruff tone, I said, "Yeah, that was a long time ago, and so what, and who are you?"

His name was Dave Graham and he was with the High School Student Union at Science. "Well, we're having liberation classes in the school, and Chuck Pasternak from Newsreel was up shooting a film the other day and he noticed the

something still grander when somebody does what you didn't even know you wanted at the time.

The Bronx High School of Science looks like a factory and it is the closest its students will ever come to one: about 99% of the graduates go to college. Above the entrance hall, behind glass, is a gigantic mural having something to do with Galileo standing under a rainbow, and people like that. Out in front, about thirty striking teachers were meeting to keep up their stamina on the picket line. I recognized an old math teacher (a left-winger, I later learned), who had been instrumental in building the union: what agony it must be for him now. And there was the old disciplinarian whose name we used to forge on pass-slips; if he was outside, something good must be going on inside.

I walked to the main doors, naively expecting a roar of solidarity from inside. Instead a sentry-teacher asked my



Times that the state law which decentralized the city schools had left a loophole. The "special schools" (Science, Stuyvesant, Music and Art, Performing Arts, etc.) were left under the jurisdiction of the state. Since the state did not recognize the strike, since in fact the strike was illegal, the schools were legally open, and authority devolved on whomever would keep them open. Rossner said he understood cops better now: once the liberators convinced the cops that they, who wanted the school open, were the duly constituted authority, the cops switched sides to enforce the opening. Servants of the law after all.

The school had been open now for three weeks. There were about 300 students (a little less than one-tenth of the student body) and 20 teachers (about one-eighth). At first, students had insisted on conducting their classes and free-for-all raps in the hall, to break down the mystique of the classroom. After two weeks of it some alliance of traditional-minded students and teachers combined to reinstate a definite class schedule. Most students wanted their science classes continued along the lines of the standard curriculum: they are, after all, college bound. Other classes were re-defined: Rossner's own English class was reading Claude Brown's "Manchild in the Promised Land." Students walking through the halls were consulting the dittoed class-list; teachers were encouraging consistency, but the students were still free to choose.

The striking teachers seemed especially threatened by the notion that traditional class trajectories would be disrupted; that fear fused with their bigotry. A popular young social-studies teacher named Schwartz was a distinctive target. As he walked into the school one day, according to Rossner, strikers yelled, "What are you going to teach today, Schwartz -- African history?" "Where'd you get your haircut, Schwartz -- 125th Street?" Schwartz' class that morning, I noticed, was mobbed.

Once the principal had been shamed into skulking off, the liberated school was being governed by a steering committee of eight students and eight teachers, all elected. They met daily, and their proposals were referred to the next morning's general assembly of all students and teachers. As we walked around in front of the building, smoking, Rossner noticed two students making faces at him from inside; sheepishly he dropped his cigarette and ground it out. He told me that one day a teacher had come upon a couple of students smoking grass in a stairwell. The teacher hadn't threatened the kids, only reminded them that the purpose of the liberated school was to show support for Ocean Hill-Brownsville and that the union would be looking for a pretext to close the school. The steering committee had then decreed that there would be no smoking, OF ANYTHING, BY ANYONE, student or teacher, on school grounds. Fair enough, everyone figured.

Rossner is keeping a diary he expects to be published by Dial Press. When we walked back inside five students were squatting on the floor -- as if they owned it! -- talking about the affairs of the newly-formed High School Student Union. One girl called him Papa Bear. Rossner said delightedly that he had picked up a phone message in the Office one day -- for Dave Graham. His book should be worth reading.

## Self-Government

Hierarchy there still is, and I wasn't around long enough to trace it. I was ushered into the Math Department office, where almost ten years ago I had spent many provincially happy hours. The sort-of principal is Henrietta Mazen, a math teacher I remembered distinctly. Mrs. Mazen -- I couldn't call her anything else -- is the kind of woman you want your mother to be. She is one of the NICEST people around. Flying around in the rush and drama of scheduling, consulting (a



roster of valedictorians and he pointed out your name."

## Liberation WHAT?

"Liberation classes. Supporting Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Look, why don't you come up there and talk to us? We're there every day."

It was the last place I had ever wanted to see again. Immediately I said I would go; I conjured up images of Destiny for the first time in a long time.

## Bronx Sharecropper

Two days later I took the subway up to 200th Street, all the way rehearsing my astonishment so as to be able to learn from it. I knew as much about high school kids (one hears they smoke dope and fuck a lot) as my parents knew about me, but I knew I would feel the liberated, not the liberator, and this was how it should be. I had never much liked being a math whiz, one of those funny myopic kids carrying slide rules on our belts (really!), sneering a lot at the dumb clucks who fell into other schools, reading Riesman and H. L. Mencken and matching College Board scores and pining all the while in some very dark and sealed-off corner of ourselves for a more whole way of being. Even before I got off the IRT I was starting to feel like an old black Mississippi sharecropper watching the first SNCC workers arrive in 1961. When somebody does what all along you wanted to do but dared or could not, that is relief and gratitude and vindication; it is

purpose. I said I was an alumnus, invited up by Dave Graham, and I was getting nowhere when another teacher walked up, told me the liberators had to watch out lest anyone from the UFT gain entry in order to gum up the works. He had a neat beard and seemed to be enjoying himself immensely but without the possessiveness teachers usually exhibit to outsiders, and he beckoned me in.

His name was Bob Rossner, teacher of English, maybe in his early 30s -- one of the generation swept by the civil rights movement and the stirrings of the New Left. I asked him how the liberated school had come about. When the UFT declared its third strike, the local governing board dutifully voted 8-0 to close the school. (Science students come from all over the city, but the local board thought it had the authority.) Teachers and students who supported Ocean Hill-Brownsville gathered in front of Science and demanded that the janitors, who backed the UFT, let them in. The janitors refused, and locked the doors, whereupon a student who knew the doors would still open from the inside climbed in through a window, made his way behind the line of janitors, said, "Excuse me," and simply opened a door. Liberators poured in and sat down in the hall. Police lined the walls and booted them out.

## Scabs?

The liberators remained locked out, according to Rossner, until a couple of students read one night in The New York



# BACK HOME

precise description of her relation with students), keeping the sometimes perplexed teachers happy, she didn't have much time, but she was glad to take out what she had.

The liberated school was no revolution to her, she's been around too long for that: she supported Ocean Hill-Brownsville but also wanted the school to go on for its own sake. She demarcated herself from the radicals with a plain noncommittal definiteness which signaled respect, as if to say, "We, in our community, differ among ourselves, but no mistake, we are one community." She said she liked seeing the radicals obey the rules now that the rules were of their own making, but she said it without condescending: house mother in a good house. Scrambling to keep things going, her trouble would come if voluntary order became sticky enough, if serious conflicts arose between teachers and students. A striking physics teacher, the one we used to call Bugsy, had decided to join the liberation. And one day thereafter in study hall he had blown his stack and told the kids to fill out regular program cards. "The kids called him down," said Mrs. Mazen, "but he almost jeopardized everything we'd been trying to do. The next day he came back and apologized, told the kids, 'I'm sorry. Please understand we teachers are under a lot of strain.' So we held together."

Why are the students coming? Certainly almost all want to declare themselves on the side of Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Probably many also fear falling behind. The striking teachers were holding their own hideously-misnamed "freedom schools" in a local Jewish community center — announcing too that THEIR students would be tested on their work. The liberation classes would not be tested: a considerable inducement right there. And then there was that tonic feeling of self-government, a feeling that gets into your blood. Students were coming and going as they pleased, but the steering committee had recommended (and the assembly had agreed) that everyone should be encouraged to come at nine and stay through lunch. I heard a white student wearing a Stokely button tell a hall monitor (a rotating job, one teacher and two students at a time), "Tell them, 'Is it that urgent that you can't wait for lunch?'" A kid left nevertheless: school is still school for some.

## Aretha In Study Hall

The corridor said a great deal about the new Science. There is a line painted down the middle, to keep traffic moving on either side; no one was observing it now. One bulletin board proclaimed "IMAGINATION TAKES POWER," with a drawing of the upraised fist (glad universal symbol!) and photos of the Columbia Insurrection. Another one: "SCIENCE OPEN TO SUPPORT OCEAN HILL." Under "Science," someone had scrawled "is objective": the students are in many ways the same eager grinders and pushers and arrogant wags they were in My Day; all the more remarkable that at the same time they are, many of them, restless and inventive and taken with the radical possibilities of their generation. One room was resounding with Aretha Franklin records: this was study hall, and most of the students inside were black. (Seventy

percent of the school's 6% black population were attending.) The corridors were clean; only the first floor was in use; with the janitors on strike, the liberated collective were cleaning up by themselves. Nobody bitched.

Most of the liberated students don't seem to be radical; I saw two Humphrey-Muskie buttons for the one Stokely. But the radicals seem to dominate the student wing of the steering committee and their spirit also prevails: they are perhaps the vanguard in a true sense, the tone-setters. They don't always push through their positions. The steering committee had agreed to distribute draft information but not to allow draft counseling in the school: "The reason that the proposal to have draft counseling was defeated," said the posted summary of the day's decisions, "is the possible reaction when the strike ends. There would be a perfect reason (I didn't find out whether they meant "reason" or "excuse") for the administration to reinstate military assemblies." The liberation is thus tinged with a sense of interlude, fantasy: everyone knows that sooner or later authority will revert to the established order; the teachers will try to forget their differences; there will be multiple-choice exams, grades, irrelevance, college applications. The most concrete future the liberators have imagined is to retain the part of the first floor they are now occupying for some sort of liberated sub-school in the gut of the unliberated school.

## Monitor!

But on whatever terms the strike ends, the 300 students and 20 teachers will have shared an experience that will stand out all the stronger by contrast with the keep-on-time-take-your-tests routine of the strikers. The Administration or returning teachers may insist on grading the liberated students; certainly they will try to restore the old rules; in any case the memories will not easily fade. Normalcy will lose the rock-solid legitimacy in which it is ordinarily sealed. The shake-up does not lead inexorably to revolutionary change in curriculum or rules, and there is a great burden beside the great glory in being a high school radical organizer these days.

But some year, sooner rather than later, a substantial chunk of the senior class at the Bronx High School of Science may walk into the dimly-lit star chamber to take their College Boards, and suddenly everyone will break the point on his pencil, and everyone will call, "Monitor, monitor," and the monitors will scurry and find more pencils and then in a flurry of cracks all the points of the new pencils will be broken, and someone will jump up on a table and say No, we aren't going to be graded like sides of beef anymore, we are going to learn however and whenever we see fit and we are going to stand with our brothers and sisters in Ocean Hill-Brownsville....

I never got to speak formally; they wanted me to stay for an assembly, but I couldn't take the time, and I felt more like listening anyway. When I left Science in 1959, I celebrated my relief. In 1968 I left feeling a little more free than I'd felt in a long time. ♦

## Columbus Cont. fr. p. 9

In the neighborhood there is deep hostility and anger over the Gladden executive committee's decision to fire the staff. None of the neighborhood board members were consulted. One of them, Mrs. Juanita Freeman termed the firings "terrible". She added that when the settlement house focused on community issues, "people get leery. But you can't cover these up. Maybe Gladden was just getting too close to the real issues."

Students from Starling Jr. High School have been meeting at Gladden. The Principal of Starling, Calvin Park, is the President of the Board of Gladden. The students have been raising questions about the quality of their education and about their treatment at school. They complain that students are insulted, paddled and have been suspended for things like wearing shirt tails out or going down the wrong stairway. They have discussed action on their charges that teachers and administrators try to divide black and white students and generally try to solve their problems by weeding out "trouble-makers".

Outside the settlement house, Gladden staff have been active in protecting young

people from police harassment. Buckley reported an incident where two cops swore at a group of young guys on the street. Because of Buckley's report one cop was reprimanded and sent to a rookie course on community relations. Since then the cops and juvenile authorities have bragged that they will shut down Gladden House because it's the "breeding ground of delinquency in the 'Bottoms'".

Since the firings, the Gladden staff and the young people in the community have formed a group to fight the board's decisions. Legal action is in preparation and a rally press conference outside the settlement house has been called. The group will shortly launch a fund-raising drive of its own to open a store front in the neighborhood.

NOC will be drawing some of its organizers into Columbus to help set up the store front and work with the local organizers to build on the support that the Gladden staff already have among young people in the community. People with bread to help NOC do this should send it to NOC, 4401 N. Broadway, Chicago, Illinois 60640. ♦

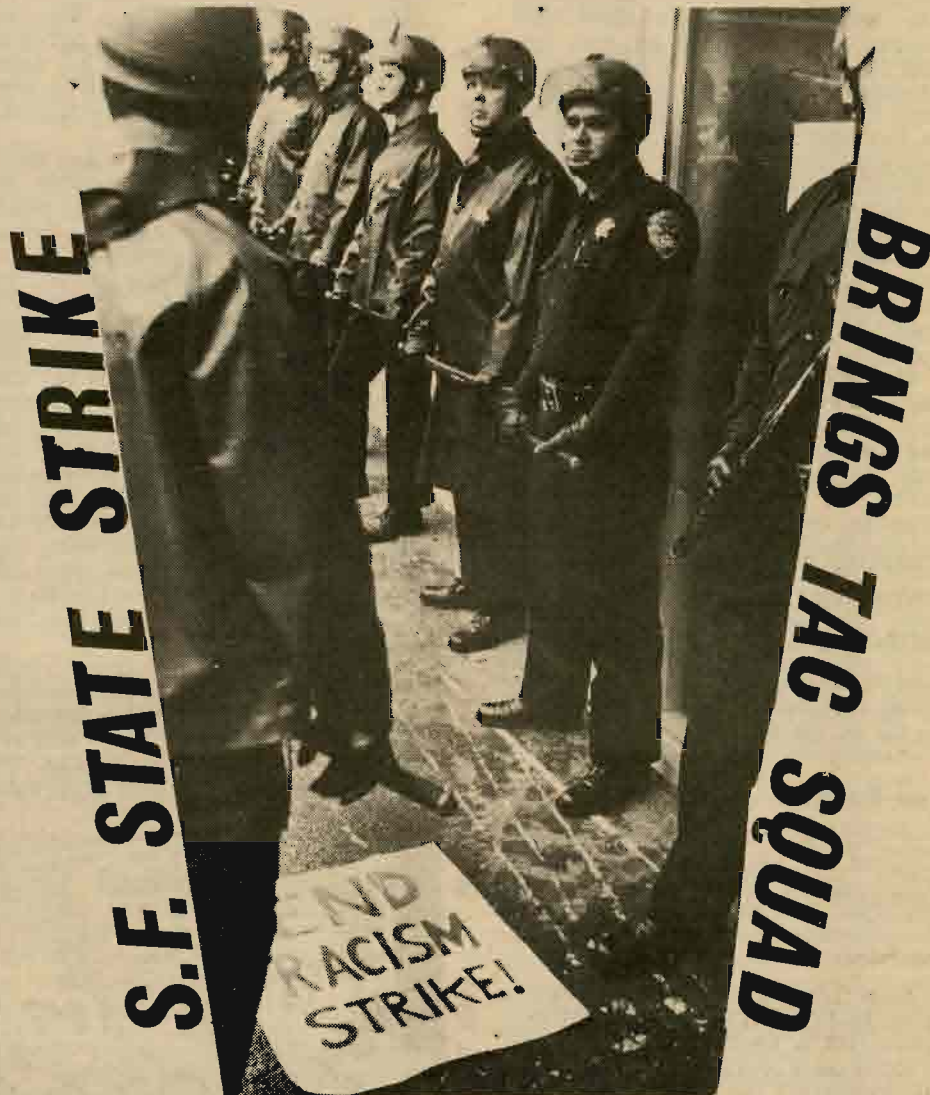


photo: Nacio Jan Brown

by Todd Gitlin

When Berkeley blows, the whole Left creams. When San Francisco State strikes, everyone is puzzled: it's too hard to figure out, and who really cares? But the State affair bears a close look: it may be establishing a new model for campus insurgency, disruptive tactics underneath a mass strike. No "confrontations," no mass arrests, no imitations of Columbia, but tactics tailored to stage of higher finesse.

What anyone can know from the newspapers last week is that the strike at San Francisco State was precipitated by the firing of English teacher George Murray, who is also Black Panther Minister of Education. What the newspapers haven't said is that there are nine other demands, including: restoration of student control over student funds (the Trustees are about to take them over in a statewide crackdown), elevation of Black Studies to full departmental status (the Administration has been dragging its feet), and admission of all black and Third World students (Mexican-, Latin-, Chinese-, Japanese-, and Filipino-Americans). This last demand is probably the most controversial; it has the same ring as the Panthers' demand that all black prisoners be freed on grounds that none of them could have received a trial by jury of their peers.

"But there wouldn't be enough room for every student who applied," Precisely, if blacks and third world students did apply in proportion to their numbers. (They number over half the Bay Area high school population, less than 10% of the student body at State.) Yet how else to compensate for the inequity?

The strike was called last Wednesday by the Black Student Union, with support from SDS, the Third World Liberation Front, the Associated Students, and "the Programs"—a collection of State-financed activities including the Experimental College, the newspaper Open Process, and various tutorial and community ventures. Organizationally the strike is a muddle; the BSU makes its plans, SDS and the Programs follow behind, the first two not sure how to pace their militancy and the latter offended by the violence that has punctuated the strike.

For all the confusion, and despite the shrill wishful thinking of the establishment press, the strike has been remarkably effective. Last Friday the Daily Gater reported that a survey of department chairmen showed class attendance down between 40 and 50 per cent; some days more than that. Some teachers will strike Wednesday morning. Momentum seems to be building but it is hard to tell whether new support is growing fast

enough to compensate for the exhaustion of the original strikers.

Strikers have damaged some school property and many whites have reacted to the throwing of a typewriter out the window as they would if somebody pissed in their living room. Perhaps most of the students are so intimidated by the blacks, they fail to distinguish between violence against their person and violence against State property. All they can see is that crime stalks their corridors — THEIR corridors. They really believe they own their school, their school is for them.

Some classrooms have been smoke-bombed, but the main intrusion into the classrooms has been peaceful. Strikers have been doing what they call "classroom education"—arguing for the strike before astonished classes—with uneven success. There have been too many harangues and not enough work to get underneath the basically racist rationalizations the students have thrown up like barricades. The Agitprop theater has helped, though, and some SDS people have made a three-minute Godard-style solidarity film for classroom use. This week will be more interesting.

Meanwhile the Administration hangs tough. President Robert Smith has not yet flown off to Ethiopia, nor, apparently, is he interested in negotiations. He has once called in the Tactical Squad to shut down the campus and he may have to do so again. The State College Trustees, for their part, would probably fire Smith as summarily as they did Murray if Smith made a move to reinstate Murray—a move he is unlikely to make anyway.

Plainclothes cops are everywhere, fingering suspects (at least three black students have been busted on bomb and mask charges), but one tribute to the spirit of the strikers is that they drove two of the plainclothesmen off the campus during a noontime rally Friday.

Chancellor Glenn Dumke, in a September 13 interview with U.S. News & World Report, said the entire state college system is "combat-ready." He will try to keep State open by any means necessary—even over dead bodies, presumably. ♦



The leaflet began: "If not George Wallace, Who?" We learned a lesson in leafletting. A number of NCO and SCEF people moved around the crowd getting into smaller discussions about high schools, what we stood for, and why this Alabama lady with a 4th grade education was running for Vice President. A lot of the discussion that went on was good, but toward the end as the crowd got small, a group of blacks and whites, egged on by teachers (who weren't in the small struggling American Federation of Teachers), just hassled with us. We attempted to work around the edges of the crowd, verbally pulling people away from Peggy and a Louisville NCO organizer, but things weren't getting any better so we split.

That evening we had a rally in a vacant lot in a pretty poor neighborhood. The crowd was small--mostly kids and young teenagers--in part because the pigs had blanketed the area with patrol cars. This turned out to be a pretty effective counter-insurgency tactic in neighborhoods where we didn't know many people. We played the guitar and sang attracting a crowd which Peggy and other organizers spoke to. Many small discussions began. Later a number of guys from the neighborhood and one union factory worker went over to one of the Louisville NCO people's house where discussions continued.

## Red-Baiting

A rally was scheduled for the next day, but the media really did us in. They reported that we had been kicked out of the high school by the students. In addition to the hostile tone set by the reporters, Kroger placed an ad in all the daily papers saying nobody could have a political rally on "their property". Although the lot we planned to use was adjacent to Krogers' they didn't own it.

The neighborhood was tense; the pigs and Kroger had organized. Crowds of on-lookers were standing around, waiting on "the riot". We got out the guitar and started singing. We drew a bigger crowd than at the rally the previous night and got the crowd to start singing with us. When Peggy was introduced there were a number of cheers. Her talk was well received, but when an attractive tough and aggressive woman in her late-twenties (who had been seen talking with police and was rumored to be a Kroger employee) started yelling Communist, we lost the crowd. The scene was tense, with lots of shouting, arguing and some shoving. We split.

The Kroger scene was the roughest, though perhaps the most important happening in the entire campaign, resulting in a greatly increased seriousness on the part of the road collective. We discussed arguing tactics, helping others in trouble, how to work off the edges of a crowd and we decided to be far better prepared in the future. Also, the neighborhood family who had been active in JOIN began to feel their responsibility to act as organizers in that neighborhood, as did some of the young people who we had met the night before.

The travelling revolutionary jugband of eight moved on to Columbus. Our people there had a small base and we gave the teenagers they had been working with a sense of working class movement and pushed them toward action around their high school. At a fund-raising meeting some Ohio State University students were turned on to our work and volunteered to work with the local NCO people.

## West To California

Most of the group returned to Chicago, while Peggy and another NCO organizer went to San Francisco. The trip to California had been fought by some because we didn't have organizers there. Others argued that California was fertile in terms of recruiting potential and ripe for the kind of slow, living among the people kind of organizing that most of us in the midwest have been into. Furthermore, we thought, the trip would produce some desperately needed funds to keep the real working going back home. Our newspaper was being held up because of no money.

California turned out to be talking mostly with Peace and Freedom groups, a few campuses, press interviews, radio tapings and call-in T.V. shows. National Peace and Freedom--pretty much an idea, certainly not a reality--never came through with the \$500 promised to start the campaign. California Peace and Freedom was too busy producing bumper stickers and posters that said, "a vote for Peggy Terry is a vote for Eldridge Cleaver" (Cleaver was under age, and a write-in for him marred PFP's chances of staying on the ballot in the future) to give much concern to our desperate money needs. Speaking to PFP groups in fancy homes produced no money for

our people back home, some of whom had quit factory jobs and street hustles to work on the campaign. We were extremely angered by the slogan, "A Vote for Peggy Terry is a Vote for Eldridge Cleaver", which we felt to be the epitome of unconscious, but deep-rooted liberal guilt and we felt we were being used to legitimate some bull-shit bourgeoisie political game.

It was a stone drag. PFP had set up our itinerary. That was a mistake. We didn't get to talk to very many people who had any idea of what we were doing, much less open to getting into it. We just rapped that working people, too often mistakenly written off as "Wallaceite, racist, redneck fascists" were not the enemy. There were some exceptions to an otherwise very bad trip. Talks were set up with SDS and other movement groups (we should have demanded more from our SDS brothers and sisters). There were some people who dug what we were saying, liked the idea of the newspaper and the program and thought they could use them. Enjoyable moments were those spent with L.A. Regional SDS, San Francisco State's Poor White Organizing Committee, and Palo Alto's PFP-SDS.

Meanwhile, back in Chicago very little had been set up. This, coupled with the differences in spirit between the travelers and some of the Chicago staff resulted in a lot of internal hassles. The myth of the superior mother, home base, uptown, was smashed.



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

Organizers got to know some parts of neighborhoods they did not know, they checked out bars, met some new people, learned a lot of stuff about each other, talked about our perspective with a very good middle-class high school organizing group, and brought a sense of movement to some people in Detroit. Several fine movement people were pulled into the NCO group.

A major unresolved question emerged in Detroit: How does a political collective deal with personal problems and styles that don't allow people to act responsibly toward other members of the group.

## Where Are We At Now?

Evaluations are going on in each city where there are NCO people. A second major meeting of people from each city, to discuss future plans and look at our common experiences, will be held over Thanksgiving. Several Chicago NCO people are now helping out in Columbus where one of our people is in jail for distributing obscene literature (The FIRING LINE), and two local NCO people have been fired from their jobs for their political work at a local community center.

While a major evaluation must wait until the group meets as a whole, some things can be discussed. The campaign

did begin to pull organizers together as people traveled from city to city. We shared ideas, disappointments and successes. We talked realistically about organizing and people broke through their public relations images of what has been done so far.

Besides strengthening organizers, people got a lot of experience and the work around the campaign did reach out to new working class kids, though not enough. Why? First, the fact that the promised money never came through (we're \$400 in the hole) forced us to spend more time on campuses than we should have. Second, we depended on local people to set things up and since most of the movement is located on campus we were pulled there. Part of that pull is the radical frame of reference that exists on the campus, making it easier to go there than turning left off the interstate and going to the people we set out to reach.

## Reaching Isolated People

In addition to reaching new people, the campaign did bring a sense of working class movement, and movement in general, to isolated people. We pushed these people to identify with the movement and to begin to act. Working class kids who had in one sense or another related to the movement now know that they are more than isolated individuals. They are part of a small but struggling

November 5. Thus NCO must further deal with this problem, which means organizers, educational materials and funds.

## "Going Back Home"

On the campuses students were receptive, some thinking about working whites for the first time. The more sophisticated listened to our demand for a movement for power. We suggested that some of them start to organize in white working class areas, whether it be the army, factory, neighborhood; as a teacher, parole officer, lawyer, etc. We found many people who had working class roots, who would come talk about, "I never thought of it" when we would make it clear that for some students what we were talking about was "going back home".

We produced a newspaper that can be used among a lot of different young working class kids. The special issue of the FIRING LINE included articles on sell-out seniority-catering unions, the cops, the army and the draft, girls, music, high-schools and motorcycles. It was conceived of as an experiment in the development of a youth oriented working class paper. People like our TEMPORARY 13 point program. Although most of us have criticisms of the program, people respond well to something that states what you are for, not just what you're against.

However, we didn't develop a lot of literature that can be used among young working people. What we saw clearly, again, was the desperate need for that material. We made a step forward. An extremely important task at our region-wide get-together will be the work on a communications arm.

## Political Collective

The campaign helped us define and develop a working political collective. This means that when people come together to do specific political work they must gain a collective sense of responsibility based on politics, not personalities. The group exists for a political reason, the political task it faces, and all actions must relate to that task. Old personal friendships break down, becoming less important than the struggle; new friendships develop through political work, which means trust.

This doesn't mean we reject a free wheeling, hang loose style. It means we're together for a reason; we know why we're together and what it is we're doing. We also learned that collectives aren't utopian, that the group doesn't exist for the sake of the group. There will be splits and that is healthy. However, we didn't learn how to deal with individual styles that contradicted collective consciousness based on work and action, but we know now that we must deal with that problem.

The campaign gave us practice. We tried some new things that worked and some that did not. Guerrilla leaflet attacks are good when the groundwork has been laid. Calling an afternoon meeting by leafletting a plant gate is not especially on a Friday and in a UAW hall. We failed to try all the guerilla actions we had planned. It just didn't happen, although we see it as a potentially good organizing tool that needs to be tried and developed in working class settings.

Electoral politics wasn't our bag. We needed to pull ourselves together and get to work. The Peggy Terry campaign is over. There was virtually no national coverage, very little local coverage and not a whole lot of movement coverage, but the campaign put a lot of people to work over an intense six week period. We feel that a good number of us who participated in the formation of NCO in Fairborn have started to get it on. The election's over. One of our people, 17 year old Gary Maynard is still in jail. Jim Buckeley, with a wife, four kids and one on the way is out of a job. Dana Tabscott is out of a job.

The election's over, but we're still moving. Got to.

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# OAKLAND BROWN BERETS



by Arlene Eisen Bergman

"We here in our invaded land have been without voice for so long, have been deceived for so long that we are forced to function in a dimension of action--a dimension of revolutionary action! We have not forgotten--The scar deep in our soul has risen."--Manuel Gomez, Organizer for Brown Berets.

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

Manuel insists that Chicanos are the least assimilated of all oppressed groups in America. "The system has failed to defeat us or destroy our identity". But the gringo system has confused the Chicano.

"We've been put in a trick bag. The system classifies us as Caucasian and then makes us third-class citizens. "This trick bag has worked to divide Chicanos, give them some hope for advancement on an individual basis. This is why there are so many Tio Tacos Uncle Toms) among the Chicano community.

"The Anglos have taken all our values that are beautiful--honor, pride, respect for authority and other men--and distorted them. The Anglos use our own culture against us to subordinate us."

The school system is one of the most important tools of the Anglo in this process. They say that the Spanish language is a liability. They lie about American illegal occupation of Mexican territory and try to make Chicanos into Anglos.

## Role of the Brown Berets

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

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

## History

The Brown Berets in Oakland are very new, barely two months old. A group of Berets in Los Angeles became public last spring during the school boycotts. They arose to fulfill the specific need of protecting school kids from the pigs. Since then, groups of Chicanos have

formed Beret chapters all over the state. The chapters have been formed almost spontaneously in response to local needs, urgently, almost frantically.

The Berets in Oakland formed after a number of Chicanos were murdered by cops. The example of the Black Panther Party, combined with the fame of the L.A. Brown Berets, made them realize that they had to organize for their own self-defense. Manuel had been the leader of the Brown Caucus of the Peace and Freedom Party. He says that he learned a lot about politics from them but that he left the PFP because his people, the Chicano community, could not relate to it. "All those meetings were divorced from the streets. We had to build our own organization rooted in the community."

A definitive program for the Berets in Oakland is yet to emerge. "We need more experimentation. We are unified by the knowledge that you can't make it in the system, that all Chicanos must be armed, that we need unity, education and protection."

## Organizing Strategy

The Brown Berets are a self-defense organization, but they have learned from the experience of others that single-issue organizations are usually weak organizations. "We don't emphasize the gun thing, although all of us have guns and discipline. We emphasize getting people behind us first, preparation."

"We have served members of the Chicano community in many ways: moving their households, defending kids against arbitrary school principals, we have repelled a gang of hoodlums from attacking members of the Mexican community. We have aided those who wanted to find out their rights under the law."

The Berets also provide translation services for their community. They have recently opened a recreation center. A church offered the building and they made their own pool tables.

But the Berets are not just another community service organization. They provide these services because they are what their people need and also prove to the people that the Berets are a serious organization, not just another gang. Through these activities and the romanticism of the Brown Beret uniform, young people are attracted to the organization.

The next step is to teach the young Chicanos that the Beret, a sign of dignity, is really in their minds. To become a member of the organization at least three members must already know the candidate. This is a minimal security measure.



## Sensitivity Sessions

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

"The sensitivity sessions are a kind of vomiting of the soul. The fatal error of the Pachuco was his armor, his refusal to talk, even to his brothers. Through these sessions we learn that our problems are not individual. They are collective and will require collective solutions. The Beret is not afraid to bear his scar to a fellow Chicano. The Beret today is a politicized and organized Chicano with the anger of the Pachuco."

During these sessions, the Berets develop trust and solidarity. They gain the confidence that a group needs if it is to be able to protect its people. Manuel thinks that the Berets will some day be the guerrilla arm of a revolutionary Chicano movement. Sensitivity sessions are a kind of psychological preparation for these future guerrillas.

## Chicano Politics

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

Manuel explains the reasons for Kennedy's appeal among Chicanos. The Catholic Church is still a strong influence among his people. It's a conservative influence because its part of the system, especially when it spawns a saint. The Kennedy image also played on the Mexican values of honor and machismo. "It's all part of the trick bag I was talking about," Kennedy was a phoney prophet. Among many Chicanos he had the charisma of a prophet. The theme of death is very much part of the Mexican culture. Most of Bobby's charisma came from the martyrdom of his brother, whose Spanish-speaking wife was an added attraction.

But Bobby had to hire mariachis to perform at his rallies. "He was phoney because he didn't spring from the community and was incapable of really meeting our needs. The Chicano movement is very, very young and needs time to get turned off by the electoral process.

The Berets reject the two-party system, but they haven't emphasized this rejection yet. They feel they must move slowly. "If we had attacked this strongly, we would have alienated our base. We are just learning now that we have to move against our internal enemies, the Tio Tacos and the Catholic Church. But we've got to establish respect in the community first."

The Chicano movement is still very fragmented. Many Mexican American political organizations are opportunist. Manuel says that the Berets plan to work within other organizations to try to straighten them out politically and to unify the Chicano community in a bond of blood. They plan to create a Chicano Party that would unify the whole Southwest.

The Chicano Party would be independent. Manuel envisions for it legal and illegal activity. When I asked him about the tendencies towards cultural nationalism when unity is achieved through "a bond of blood", Manuel replied, "Cultural Nationalism is a drag. The leadership must be aware of its dangers and move the cultural nationalists to a revolutionary awareness."



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

## PALO ALTO

Tuesday night kids from Mountain View, Redwood City, San Mateo and adjacent towns converged on Lytton Plaza in downtown Palo Alto. For two months, Lytton Plaza has been the scene of hassles with the pigs. It's privately owned, and Palo Alto officials decided to crack down on Friday night rock concerts. In the past month, the city fathers escalated from rhetoric to action, bringing in cops in an attempt to bust the bands. Election day action on the San Francisco Peninsula naturally centered here, tying the elections organically in with ongoing struggle.

The Resistance marched from the Stanford campus to a church about five blocks from Lytton Plaza in a candle-light procession, marking another in their series of draft-card turn-in-burn-ins. Several Stanford SDSers joined the march and announced the gathering in Lytton Plaza. Four hundred or so marchers went over to the plaza, where the crowd was now so large that it overflowed into University Avenue. As rock bands continued to play, people in the streets kept time by banging garbage can covers.

### Here Come The Pigs

The kids in the intersections took the streets over completely, blocking traffic, lighting bonfires, and lining University Avenue with candles from the march. No uniformed pigs were visible. At about 9:30 a fire truck showed up accompanied by two police cars and twenty-five cops in riot gear. The firemen were blocked, but finally succeeded in getting through and putting out the bonfire.

Chief of Police Heidi told the people in the intersections that they were an

worked on the demonstration and helped publicize it on their campuses. Groups at Kenyatta College and Menlo College, two other JC's, organized rallies and brought people down on Tuesday. One of the organizational goals of the demonstration was to help build SDS chapters at some of the smaller schools.

The high school kids in Palo Alto's United Student Movement did a good job at their schools as well as getting word out to other schools in the area. In addition USM did leafletting at drive-ins and restaurants which helped turn a lot of people out.

Many of the kids who showed up on election day had never faced the pigs before, and the demonstration opened their eyes. The fact that SDS chapters were the primary organizers, along with USM, gave it a coherence that was lacking in the yuppie-oriented San Francisco demonstration, and the fact that kids with low political consciousness were attracted made pig-fighting a politically effective weapon. ♦

by Jack Gerson

## LOS ANGELES

The Election program was an important experience for the Los Angeles SDS region. Over the last year and a half a region of 27 chapters, including a non-student chapter, and a regional office with 11 staff members has been built. We ended the summer in a rather dispirited and organizationally sloppy fashion, but when our people returned from the Boulder NC new energy came with them.

The major impact of the program on the region was that it brought content to the organizational forms that had already been established. Through practice and through working out and accomplishing the program, we began to develop a real consciousness that we were a region-wide organization, part of a national organization, and that we could all move as a unit. A good index of this was our efficiency in getting out large numbers of leaflets, a wall paper, having rallies throughout the region. In fact we realized that we were probably underestimating the capabilities of our organizational structure -- we were capable of doing much more.

At the same time it is clear that without the forms -- the regional conference, regional council (a bi-weekly meeting of chapters), chapters, and the regional office -- the program would never have happened. This same process of the mutual strengthening of organizational structures and program happens on a national level also. Just as the Boulder NC was a working NC where people began to think of SDS as a national whole, at our regional conference we discovered a consciousness of ourselves as a regional unit.

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

Between 150-300 people attended sessions of the conference. Like most conferences we began with an agenda debate; there were two proposed agendas. The one proposed by the PL people had us talking abstractly about the SLAP program, labor organizing, relations with trade unions, etc. The other agenda, which was followed, made the conference a working conference, emphasizing the election program, but including high school organizing, junior college organizing, general campus work, non-student young workers organizing, internationalism, and creating a truly international anti-imperialist movement that works together and not just sends telegrams of support, and regional structures and institutions.

### Let 1,000 Flowers Bloom

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



illegal assembly, and order them out of the streets. Pigs told about 10 people that they could identify to get out of the area--an indication that Palo Alto is forming a Red Squad.

The pigs proceeded to clear the intersection, and many kids who'd never seen pigs in action before split. But the kids that stayed refilled the intersection, and it took forty more cops to clear the streets.

At about 11:30, the entire gathering was declared an illegal assembly, and a few people were busted on charges ranging from refusal to disperse to inciting to riot and felonious assault. Three days after the demonstration, the pigs busted a guy for failure to disperse, and it's rumored that they have a warrant out on one or two others. These guys who are being busted after the demonstrations are well-known activists who the cops are obviously after.

### Here Come The People

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

On Tuesday morning there was small-scale classroom speaking on the elections. A noon rally featured mock speeches by the major presidential candidates, followed by a march to the Applied Electronics Labs by about 100 students, in line with SDS's program to get Stanford out of Southeast Asia.

SDS chapters at College of San Mateo and Redhill, both nearby junior colleges,

## CHICAGO

The morning after election day Nixon called for unity. Unity behind racism, genocide, the empire and its exploitation of the people. In Chicago, as in many other cities across the country SDS called for the people to unify against the fraud of elections and the policies of the rulers. SDS said: vote with your feet. We have to begin to demonstrate that a people's alternative to the criminal power of the ruling elite can some day be created. But even as a beginning the turn out in Chicago was small.

### Chicago Whip was Elected

After three weeks of leafletting, meetings, showing films and a more urgent sense in our organizing than usual there were actions on almost all the major campuses in the Chicago area on Monday. They ranged from teach-ins to guerilla theatre in classes and hallways, to marches through the dorms and into university buildings. White high school students called for a boycott of classes on Monday to support the black students' demands on Chicago high schools and to denounce the elections as a fraud. Later in the day some of them gathered downtown for a picket line. Four were busted on truancy raps.

### Anti-Election Festival

Tuesday, a little over a thousand turned out in Lincoln Park for an "anti-

election festival". There were some rock bands, talks, street theatre and teams of folks went out through the day to leaflet the surrounding north-side neighborhood. Tuesday night we marched down to the Hilton for a short rally. The pigs policy was hands off, but the entire red squad turned out to film the march. Probably they had decided that to break-up the "illegal" march would give it too much coverage. So they took notes for future use.

There is no way of denying that it was a small turn out. Even the crowd that showed was confused about what it was doing, and not too militant. Marchers shouted "peace, now" sometimes, sometimes "the elections are a fraud", "dump the hump", etc. We were not able to maintain the level of seriousness that reveals an understanding of power. The conception of a demonstration that chal-

lenges the legitimacy of an institution of state power itself has to be made a lot clearer for all of us. But anti-war demonstrations were small and confused when they first began. Everything must begin. What we didn't know was that a demonstration against the elections--against all three candidates--was a new kind of political form. People will have to think about this. Possible action at the inauguration will give us a chance to see if that form of political opposition catches on.

### City-Wide Organization

The action was very important for building city-wide organization. It will teach us to think as much about what a demonstration builds as what it shows. Contacts were made at a lot of new high schools and junior colleges. Young working people from the north-side who had been involved in the convention actions came down again and now we will be able to follow up with them. The city-wide action gave us the opportunity not only to reach new folks who were drawn to it, but to raise broader political issues among high school and campus constituencies.

We see now that city-wide confrontations around important political questions are vital to building a city-wide, anti-capitalist, youth movement with roots in the schools and among working class youth in the community. What we have to see now is whether or not the folks who worked three weeks around the elections, who worked creatively and hard, will continue the day to day work from now on in the same way. There isn't going to be any revolutionary organization without that work. ♦

by Les Coleman

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



# ...IT'S ALL OVER...AMERICA LOSES...

of "letting 1000 flowers bloom" on the local level.

For election day we decided on a region-wide rally downtown followed by an action directed at a target. The target had to meet two conditions: 1. It had to be an institution that represented the ruling class and/or the electoral process, since our message was that all elections are a fraud perpetrated on the people by the ruling class. 2. It had to be on good turf for us, tactically.

## Tactics

The regional conference was two weeks before election day. One week after the conference we had regional council meeting with about forty people (during the summer, average was about 8-15). We had discovered that the place where they counted the ballots was a tactical disaster -- high buildings, blind alleys, etc. so that it was necessary to decide on another target. In general our intelligence for this action was miserable.

We decided to have two days of investigation and meet again. The rest of the meeting we spent in teaching and learning about how to attack and protect ourselves on the street -- kind of a helpful hints session -- wear dark clothes, men wear a cup, move in groups of four or five, always have an escape route, never get isolated, etc. This was good both for itself and for the concrete, together mood it created. At this point people were expectant and a little nervous.

By the next meeting two days later, people had become more afraid than angry. We had decided that we would meet downtown at 3 P.M. for a rally

and then move out from the rally site and hit various targets downtown during rush hour. But no one really knew what was going to happen downtown -- we had no idea of how many people would come and what they would be willing to do. This made people worried because they had very little experience in militant street actions and were unsure of themselves. We were also worried that our organization would be crushed.

One chapter presented a resolution that demanded controls to keep "people from getting out of hand" and generally argued that confrontation with the police should be absolutely avoided and that if this was not passed they would not come in force but would only send a token delegation of four. This chapter has a history of isolation from the rest of the region for geographic, political, and personal reasons. People responded by saying this was a "breach of discipline" and showed a lack of trust and solidarity and that the pigs not us should worry about the people "getting out of hand."

Someone then pointed out that SDS was not a disciplined organization since chapters were autonomous. People agreed, but all understood that this "control" resolution, coming after the conference and council decisions, showed exactly the error of that autonomy and still remained in fact, if not formally, a breach of discipline. After a stormy meeting, we were all reconciled, the resolution tabled, and we were moving again on getting the program together.

## Regional Office

Throughout this period excellent work was done with propaganda production and distribution (buttons, leaflets, wall-

papers, etc.), rallies, speeches, guerilla theater on the local level as well as defense training and technical work on the action itself. We put into practice a lot of the theory about how the regional office should help the chapters and the chapters, the office and each other.

Also the office staff learned to work together and performed much better as a unit than it ever had before. The energy created by the program carried over into all other areas of our work and everything got going much faster. At the council meeting, two days before the action, people began planning other programs for after the election after some detail work was out of the way.

The action itself came off very well. We had 300-400 people at our rally in a park downtown and then we moved out and marched down the middle of streets stopping traffic and chanting "The elections are a fraud, vote in the streets." We seemed to have outflanked the cops or caught them by surprise because they made no moves against us for a very long time. We kept moving quite quickly, handing out literature and talking to people as we went along. No one had planned to take over streets exactly and no one had planned a route -- the groups spontaneously decided how to move. It was primarily an organizational action, and almost all of the group was SDS people, chapter people.

## Up Against the Wall

Because of both L.A.'s history and politics and SDS's history and politics, everyone knew that there was a good probability of doing battle with the pigs, so that people came prepared mentally and physically for direct fighting and legal hassels. Twenty cops did appear

and tried to cut us off the street. After a moment of confusion, people went on the sidewalk around them.

We ended up going to the Federal Building and we held a meeting there to decide what to do next. We went back to the park passing the pig station on the way and chanted "up against the wall" at it. In general the whole thing was new to people and they were a bit unsure of themselves but they moved pretty well and everybody dug it.

By the time we were back at the park we had grown to 600-850. Everyone was tired from running and pigs were beginning to gather in force so we broke things up and decided to show up at the winner's victory celebration at ten that night. We had about 100-200 people at Nixon's thing that night at Century Plaza Hotel. They wouldn't let us in so we chanted outside and brought every hotel "guest" to his window.

The program was also very successful in the high schools with one school having a walk-out of 750 students. There were several local follow-up events of varying success. The next regional programs will be actions around the Valley State busts and Title 5 of the election code proposed revision which would put all organizations and funds on State College campuses directly under the control of the Board of Trustees, among other things.

by Bill Vandercook



photos: Jay Cassidy

## MICHIGAN STATE

by Scott Braley

Two weeks before the elections the Michigan State SDS chapter voted to take some kind of action. It was decided not to follow the strike proposal of the N.C. because it would be "unsuccessful". Chapter members opposed to the strike felt that a strike would mean organizing a vast majority of the students around bread and butter issues. Elections they felt did not focus on immediate demands which would be able to mobilize enough students to shut the university down.

Members in favor of the strike argued that such a conception of a strike was too rigid, and that a strike should be used as an organizing tool, not as an attempt to shut down the University. In the spring elections McCarthy had received 12,000 votes at MSU, while the chapter had stayed small. The election strike was seen as an opportunity to reach out to many of these students.

An election committee was set up and it leafletted, ran a game and had a festival of life on election night. The theme of the actions was built around "tweedledee, tweedledum, and tweedledummer".

## Not Against Voters

The strike committee decided to keep actions on the campus, rather than go

to the polls, so that it would be clear that we were NOT against the voters, but against the candidates.

The committee decided on several actions--pamphlets explaining our feelings on the elections and the actions we were taking. Three costumes were made and worn all over campus of tweedledee, etc., and eight foot puppets: one red, one white and one blue.

Teach-ins were held in some classes on Monday. On Tuesday, a "gorilla band" covered the campus, a la Mime troupe, with Tweedle.

## American Electoral Game

This was followed by an "American electoral game". People went through a maze set up like registration, people getting a handful of IBM cards and

having to relinquish them as they went through the game--identity cards, draft cards, etc. The appropriate numbers of people were pulled out for the army, for Dow, etc. Anyone who gave trouble or fucked up was appropriately stomped by our police force. At the end the ones who made it through intact were allowed, after paying their income tax, to vote at one of three toilets provided. When they left that booth, they ran into an eight foot wall labeled "This is the wall you're up against". The game was very well attended and many people said that it was the first time they had ever been able to identify with SDS.

At the appropriate time we started a revolution, where the entire apparatus covering about an acre was totally demolished.

## Rally

This was followed by a rally at which SDS tried to explain and analyze the activities. A Puerto Rican freedom fighter also spoke and the rally closed with an hour long open forum.

At night there was a "Festival of Life while the death votes came in"--folksingers, recorded music, Kool-Aid, popcorn, over head projectors with war pictures etc. Three projectors alternated from different corners with newsreels. Over all this were T.V.s with the election returns on. Rap sessions went on outside.

## Coffee - Cont. fr. P.22

if there is no other way out, go in. Work with the people. But, well. . .

Mike: How is your trial coming?

Josh: They keep putting it off. They said they're going to bring it up in December or January.

Mike: Have there been a lot of dope busts on political people?

Josh: Yes. Lee Otis Johnson, a SNCC organizer in Houston got the same thing. He got 30 years. In Texas, for the first offense, possession is two to life. Since Nicholas Von Hoffman (AP and Washington Post correspondent) got down here in July, and wrote that fucking story about "Fort Head", that's what's been going on, busts and severe sentences. People should put a boycott on Von Hoffman. He fucked up a lot of people as a result of that story. He brought down a lot of static from the Fourth Army and from the Pentagon.

Mike: What are your immediate needs?

Josh: We're really pushing hard to get a staff attorney down here. We had to fight like hell to get an attorney for Bruce Peterson who was sentenced to eight years for possession. We got one but it was a last minute deal.

FUNDS AND LAWYERS AND STUFF CAN BE SENT TO JOSH GOULD, C/O OLEO STRUT, 702 W. AVE. C, KILLEEN, TEX.

from NEW LEFT NOTES

# ...IT'S ALL OVER...AMERICA LOSES...



# Coffee Off Limits!

# FELONIES



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

Mike Klonsky: Josh, what kind of progress are you making down in Killeen now that summer is over?

Josh Gould: Well, the Strut right now, is in a little bit of a slump. There are a number of reasons. The first is that it's winter and it's getting cold in Texas. The guys aren't coming in to Killeen as much now. They've started going down to Austin. The more important reason is that ever since we've been open, the NCOs, people in command, have been intimidating the guys to keep them from coming down to the Strut. There's never been a direct order. There's never been an official action making it off limits.

There has been a lot of cooperation between the civil and military authorities to intimidate people from going. The common reaction amongst a lot of guys is, "I can dig the Strut, but it's a bust." That's one of the things we're trying to overcome now by doing more work on base.

We've also had a lot of problems getting entertainment. The daily kinds of bureaucratic shit like the restaurant supplier boycotted us. So we haven't been able to get the supplies we needed.

So right now we're in a little bit of a slump. We had a damn good summer, very dynamic, getting a foothold with our kind of ideas. We've just now solved the conflict between culture and politics. We have one room that's culture and one room that's politics.

## G.I. Week

Mike: How important was G.I. Week?

Josh: Well, it's kind of hard to judge from here. We were pretty isolated from whatever national impact it had. As far as Killeen and Fort Hood goes, it had little significance for guys, even guys who were involved in organizing the teach-in here and down in Austin. We don't even know what happened at Dix. We don't know what happened up at Ord. We don't know what happened at any of the other bases. Possibly there should be efforts made to analyze and communicate what did happen. We're analyzing our mistakes and what we did. There was a small turnout in Austin. This was for a number of reasons. The main one is that people just didn't do a lot of work around it. There wasn't the motivation because people just didn't understand the basis of it. Was it supporting GIs who were against the war? Was it supporting GIs against the brass? These kind of questions were never really clearly talked about.

Mike: What about the future? Do you think there are potentials for the movement outside trying to relate to the movement inside? If so how do you see that developing in the future?

Josh: As far as we're concerned down here, I seriously doubt that we're going to take part in any national actions for a long time. We're going to do a lot of retrenching. We're going to be doing a lot more work on base. There has been a conflict between the ideas of organizing on base and organizing in the Strut or out of the Strut. We're coming to a resolution of that conflict very quickly now. People are beginning to see that they have to go back to the barracks to talk to guys.

About 60% of the guys here at Hood are Nam vets and they're in riot-control. And those are the issues, Nam and riot-control, the primary issues that are facing these guys.

## Linking Up

Mike: Does that mean that you see little possibility for linking up what's going on at Hood with the movement outside, like in Austin at the university there or in Denton with the North Texas State movement?

Josh: No, there is going to be that. A lot of guys go down to Austin on the weekends. When they go down, they go down to see SDS people, people who work on the RAG, they go down to see anti-war people and I think that's great. They have that personal contact with the movement that they've been isolated from for so long. That's one of the functions the Strut has served.

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

When guys get out, well, one guy's working on the NEWSREEL project, one guy's working in Washington, one guy's working in the Tacoma coffee house that came out of Hood. So because of these things, we think a link up with the movement outside is important.

## Army Organizing

Mike: What do you think about SDS people or organizers going into the army now and trying to organize instead of trying to resist the draft or in conjunction with draft resistance but instead of going to Canada or doing time in jail?

Josh: Going to Canada, it seems to me, that you've got to have a commitment to your people, the people in this country. From what I've heard about what's going on in Canada, it's not too hot. I think people should stay in this country. You may be able to organize in jail but I doubt if many people are doing that.

I think people should resist the army as much as they can. They should try every way possible to get out. Guys in the army do relate to civilians very

strongly. It's wrong to say that civilians can't work with guys in the army just like white people can't work with blacks.

You have guys from many different class backgrounds in the army. A place like the Strut is a place where people from those different backgrounds have been able to get together and talk and feel comfortable and that's been a very conscious thing. That's why we play down the hippy thing, at times play down the left thing so that guys can feel comfortable.

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

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

1. an assault upon a BSU member by the freshman football coach;
2. the placing of all campus activities under direct control of the board of trustees; and
3. the curtailing of funds for the minority admissions program.

While the students occupied the administration building, acting president Blomgren negotiated with a student delegation and agreed to a number of demands, including amnesty for all involved. The next morning Blomgren announced that since the agreement was made under what he called "coercion", he would not keep his word.

Operating out of a command center set up in the administration building (which is still in operation) police began to arrest people in their homes. To date 30 BSU members have been arrested on 24 different felony counts, including kidnapping, assault with a deadly weapon, grand theft and conspiracy to commit misdemeanors. Many students have been hit with multiple counts and some of the charges (e.g. kidnapping with concealed weapons) carry a possible death penalty. Nine SDS members were also arrested on minor charges.

The police have obviously prepared for this action for a long time. One BSU member, who has been in jail since July 21, has been charged with kidnapping. More arrests are expected soon -- rumor has it that 75 warrants are still outstanding including 25 for felonies.

Twenty-one students have been suspended so far. Hearings on further suspensions and expulsions are scheduled to begin on November 11.

A new coalition called the November 4th Committee has been formed to fight this repression. On November 8th they held a demonstration attended by about 1000 students. The police were also present in strength.

Cops are all over the campus now, in and out of uniform. Chief Pig Reddin announced last week: "There will be no campus disturbances in Los Angeles." That remains to be seen.

# sds in kalamazoo

by Ed Jacques

The Municipal Employees Union Local 1677 invited Kalamazoo SDS to join them on their picket lines and in demonstrations which are to continue each Saturday until the city agrees to negotiate a new contract. The Local is racially balanced: leadership is white. The invitation came after discussion by the workers; and after Secretary of State James Hare publically announced that SDS was going to dynamite polling places on election day.

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

A majority of the City Commission are Birchers. The city claims the strike is illegal and refuses to negotiate. It's now the longest municipal employees strike in the history of the state--25 days at this writing. The workers have no strike fund.

The probable reason for the invitation to join the strikers came from a lucky break. An SDS member raked the City Commission over the coals during the Commission's meeting a few

days before the invitation was made. The SDSer talked about the workers being unable to feed their kids. The lowest paid workers take home \$75 a week.

The Commissioners' talked about channels and proper procedures. SDS said the procedures don't work and besides they are the city's procedures, not the workers'. Apparently a number of workers were listening and recognized the SDS person's name. It comes down to the idea that the workers seemed to feel that at least that guy could talk and he understood what they were up against. They could have cared less about his politics; he understood they were up against it. So SDS is on the picket lines with workers who probably voted solidly Wallace.



# BRAZIL: con't from last page

Brazilian left has a long way to go before taking power.

## Before The '64 Coup

In 1937 a group of student leaders founded UNEB. A few months later, Getulio Vargas, the Brazilian Fascist, took power and held it for 8 years. During Vargas' rule, UNEB took an anti-fascist and vaguely nationalist position. UNEB sided with the Allies during World War II and held several anti-fascist demonstrations during which some students were killed.

From 1945 to 1961-2, UNEB raised the level of its political demands while remaining essentially reformist. It demanded nationalization of oil and steel industries, but ignored the basic corporate structure. These industries became state monopolies.

In 1961, it struck for student power-type issues: participation in the University administration, stabilization of book prices and scholarship funds. The strike was violent. Nothing really changed. UNEB also supported the liberal Goulart against a threatened right-wing coup in 1961.

During that period, UNEB made alliances with workers and peasants over reformist demands like price stabilization, salary increases, voting rights for illiterates and agrarian reform. Students participated in actions called by workers and peasants around these issues.

In analyzing those times, the UNEB leader wrote, "And what was the level of political and ideological consciousness of the great mass of students? It's easy to answer--low, very very low. The leaders were politically isolated from their base. The only existing tie was on the formal organizational level. The large mobilizations were really only the result of a bureaucratic administrative apparatus that UNEB had in those years. Proof of this is that this apparatus was completely paralyzed when the HQ was occupied by military police and any kind of protest demonstration was impossible to pull off."

## Flying UNEB

UNEB was forced to de-bureaucratize itself, and form closer links with its base. UNEB became UNEB-Volante (literally flying UNEB), with no headquarters. Congresses, formal relations at the leadership level and hanging around the office were replaced by mass assemblies, demonstrations, rallies and relations at the mass level. This new kind of organizational form was the beginning of a political policy which was later to be developed in the "mass line".

The People's Center of Culture (CPC), founded at this time, launched a national literacy campaign and showed movies and plays with anti-imperialist content to masses of workers.

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

The military coup dramatized this lesson. Under Goulart, in spite of relative political freedom, a growing economic crisis was taking on explosive proportions. Everyone talked about how a coup was imminent, but just as we all talk about increased repression--no one wanted to believe it.

Reformism had reflected the conviction that the national bourgeoisie of Brazil was anti-imperialist. Before the coup, few people spoke of political power in class terms, nor did they realize that the revolution had to be violent.

## The Generals Coup

The Generals conspired with U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon and Colonel Vernon Walthers, military assessor of the U.S. Embassy, to take power. Their military dictatorship revoked all nationalist laws and opened the door to total U.S. domination of the economy.

The so-called national bourgeoisie, with some exceptions, not only supported but also participated in the coup. They were NOT national (anti-imperialist). The coup suited their class interests. They proved the universal thesis that when faced with the alternative of revolution or reaction, the bourgeoisie will choose reaction.

UNEB and the Brazilian people in general were jolted out of the bourgeois illusion that reform was a viable political alternative. UNEB realized that its ally could not be the middle class.

## Revolutionary Politics

Several weeks after the coup, UNEB

was made illegal, its offices burned, and over 3000 leaders were forced to take refuge in foreign embassies, leave the country or be arrested. A military chief was named head of the University. All political and cultural activity was banned.

UNEB reorganized clandestinely.

Militant demonstrations began again in 1966. In October, simultaneous demonstrations in all the principal cities denounced the electoral farce the dictators were trying to stage. The following month 8 million blank and abstention votes (almost half of those eligible to participate in the forced vote), showed that the masses understood the political message of the student-led demonstrations--legal solutions to dictatorship and imperialism are impossible.

In February 1967, UNEB organized a national educational campaign on imperialist infiltration of the educational system. They exposed the network of CIA, Foundation, MIT and scholarship controls. They also exposed Project Rondon, a Brazilian version of the domestic Peace Corps designed to channel humanitarian energies into pacification programs and to militarize the educational system.

In June, the Union of High School Students and UNEB staged a national day of protest against U.S. control of Brazilian education. Tanks rolled out in every city against the demonstrators.

This year, the number and militancy of demonstrations has increased. There has been much destruction of property, many deaths, including one cop and several workers. On May Day workers carried slogans like: "Armed struggle will oust the dictatorship"; "To die fighting, yes. To die of starvation, no."; "Workers, students, peasants united to liberate Brazil from imperialism"; and, "Our struggle is the same as our brothers in Vietnam".

## Strategy: Offense

UNEB makes demonstrations the cornerstone of their strategic thinking. They feel that the political struggle prepares the way for armed struggle and that students are central to the urban political struggle. Street demonstrations, mostly violent with mass popular participation, facilitate the development of armed struggle--the highest form of class struggle. UNEB says

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

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

## An Example

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

UNEB didn't call a street demonstration right off. First they proposed a mass meeting. After the students responded positively, they escalated to a rally, and finally, a demonstration.

They staged a street demonstration whose political content was the student grievance. The police intervened violently and murdered a young student. Immediately, the students took to the streets, but this time the content of the demonstration was revolutionary--against the dictatorship and imperialism, those responsible for the murder. The strategy worked. UNEB was able to provoke a qualitative leap in political consciousness.

## The Mass Line

The mass line is a concept proposed by Lenin and developed by Mao. It is an orientation towards political work that assumes that leaders can only be competent and effective if they rely on

the creativity of their base. All revolutionary work begins with the needs of the people. Leaders shouldn't stand above the people, but rather immerse themselves in the lives of the people they're trying to organize. Then leaders can take the general ideas and feelings of their base, systematize them and translate them into action. UNEB takes the mass line seriously. They insist on constant interaction between their cadres and the base so that UNEB will always be articulating what their people want.

Organizationally, UNEB has eliminated almost all vestiges of bureaucracy. There are ten members of the national directorate. They meet and elaborate a plan of work according to the political line approved at the latest Congress of UNEB. Then each national leader leaves for a different region of the country where he stays from 15 days to 2 months. In each region they visit the faculties, going to the lecture halls, discussing with their base the orientation of the student movement, helping the development of local struggles, participating in them, investigating with the people the problems of the region.

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

The direct action of leaders, together with their base, has given UNEB remarkable resiliency in the face of repression. Only last month about 1000 UNEB delegates were busted at their 1968 Congress. The movement was not destroyed. Militant protest demonstrations all over the country, involving thousands of people, have taken place.

## Operating Underground

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

All students sympathetic to UNEB are organized in Work Fronts of 5-10 students. These are the permanent units of organization which meet regularly to discuss the politics of the student movement and how they can best carry out its various activities. One member of the Work Front is the coordinator. He is responsible for the political orientation of UNEB at the mass level.

To avoid prior repression of the demonstration, only the time and date of the demonstration is announced in advance. It doesn't have to be voted on at a formal meeting because the leaders know the position of their base from constant interaction. To make sure the army and the cops are not at strategic points beforehand, the starting place of the demonstration is only announced once it starts.

The chairmen of Academic Centers, at the departmental level, know the starting place (or places) if there are many students in the city for the demonstration. The coordinator of all the Work Fronts lets each Work Front coordinator know the gathering points for the demonstration minutes before it begins.

Before the demonstration begins the students blend into the usual crowds found on the streets--in bus lines, movie theater lines, etc. Their posters and sticks are hidden under clothing or in rolls of newspaper. A whistle, a shout, the exposure of a sign or poster, anything can be the signal for the start of the demonstration. Then demonstrators emerge from all over, apparently spontaneously.

The site for the demonstration is carefully chosen. It should be a centrally located avenue which is wide and has a lot of normal activity. The avenue should be cut by many side streets. When the repression gets heavy, demonstrators disperse quickly in groups of about 100 down the various side streets. They always advance on a one way street the wrong way to make it harder for the army vehicles to catch them.

When the cops start to shoot, special cadres, chosen from the Work Fronts, begin throwing molotov cocktails to cover those who are dispersing. After dispersing, and the cops are off their guard, the crowd returns for another confrontation. Mobility is the most important thing for this tactic of dispersal-concentration.

The Brazilian student leader went into much greater detail about how they prepare for meetings and demonstrations. Most of the details probably couldn't be adapted to the American scene, but the general idea of the Brazilian student movement seems relevant to us.

■ by Arlene Eisen Bergman

(This article is based on conversations with a leader of the Brazilian movement and on the literature he gave me.)





# BRAZIL



**how  
the  
students  
moved  
from  
reform  
to  
revolution**

Our victory is tied  
To our unity---  
Land monopoly destroyed  
Gone our slavery.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## No Idle Rhetoric

Today UNEB believes:

The liberation of our people cannot be won through favors. It can only be won through struggle...The fundamental contradiction of our society is between workers-peasants and the ruling class of Brazil over the issue of imperialist hegemony. The fundamental force of this struggle is the alliance among workers and peasants...

The basic task of the student movement is the political struggle. In the student movement this struggle is marked by the denunciation of the dictatorship and imperialism and by the concrete struggle against what the dictatorship and imperialism impose on the University. The student movement must prepare itself for alliance with the classes (workers and peasants) which historically are in a position to carry the revolutionary transformation of society forward. (from the Political Charter of UNEB adapted in Sao Paulo, 1967)

This charter is not idle rhetoric. About a month before the UNEB congress met to approve

this charter, the head of State Security announced that all the State's resources would be used to prevent the congress. As the date of the Congress neared, army troops occupied all highways leading to the city. Federal Police and the Air Force occupied the airports, RR and bus stations. Military Police and Secret Servicemen occupied the city of Sao Paulo and others in that state. The 600 delegates, who came from all over the country, met a few kilometers outside of the city. All the governmental apparatus did not prevent one delegate from attending the clandestine meeting.

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

## Parallels

UNEB arrived at this position only after certain changes in the Brazilian political scene and the world situation (especially Cuba and Vietnam). UNEB's development suggests some parallels with our movement here.

The country is large, and its regions at different stages of political and economic development. The mass movement acts mostly through demonstrations. Students are the most active forces in the movement. They have only recently liberated themselves from old-left-type politics. Until recently, student leaders did not tie in with a base. Political problems were dealt with mostly as organizational questions. The

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