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MOVEMENT

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in this issue:

oakland seven

rudd on columbia

richmond oil strike

interview: bobby seale



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INFLATION

With this issue the MOVEMENT is forced to raise its prices for individual copies, subscriptions and bulk orders. This price increase is mandatory because the costs of printing and mailing have gone up drastically in the last two years. In addition the old price of the paper was computed in the days when the MOVEMENT was a 12, and occasionally 16, page paper.

So, starting with this issue the price of a single copy of the MOVEMENT will be raised from 20 to 25¢. Individual subscriptions by mail from \$2.00 to \$2.50 (\$3.00 for foreign) for 12 issues. Bulk rates for less than 10 will remain at 20¢ each; 11 to 99, 12.5¢ each, plus postage; 100 or more, \$9.50 per hundred plus postage.

Even with these price increases the MOVEMENT is still not likely to become financially stable. No one on the staff yet gets paid, although several put in full time. We have been sustained in the past six or nine months by generous contributions from unknown friends, as well as by pledges from several MOVEMENT "sustainers". We hope that more people who think the MOVEMENT makes a contribution to the growing revolutionary struggle in this country will become sustainers. We can offer no gimmicks or rewards: only the knowledge that those who help will insure the continued publication of the paper. We urge all who care and can afford to help to fill in one of the sustainer forms below. Regular monthly income is what we need.

Anyone interested in helping to distribute the paper should contact the office nearest to them where bulk orders are available.

Finally and perhaps most importantly we would like our readers to begin to correspond with us more. We know we send out almost 15,000 copies of the MOVEMENT each month, but we get too little critical feedback from our readers. We would like to get critical comments on our articles, as well as compliments if they are deserved, although we will probably only print the former.

Let us hear from YOU.

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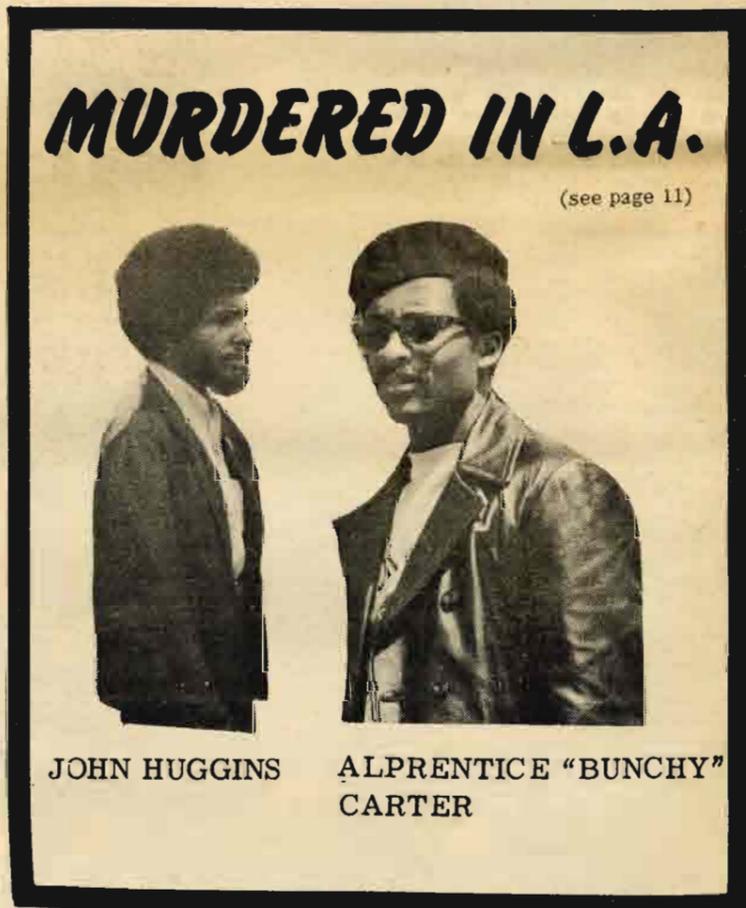
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People starve
If taxes eat their grain,
And the faults of starving people
Are the fault of their rulers.
That is why people rebel.
Men who have to fight for their living
And are not afraid to die for it,
Are higher men than those who, stationed high,
Are too fat to dare to die.

Lao Tzu



THIS IS THE HUEY P. NEWTON BIRTHDAY EDITION

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THE PEOPLE vs. STANDARD OIL

by Robert Avakian

A strike, when it is not a token tactical ploy in "labor-management relations", is in many ways like a miniature revolution. Struggle, instead of collaboration, is the order of the day. The old individualistic ways of solving, blunting, or avoiding contradictions and confrontations give way to collective ways of facing them and fighting. Private property--at least that of the company and its scabs--ceases to be sacred. "Law and order" is understood to mean maintaining--by brutal force if necessary--the very status quo that you yourself are now opposing.

A whole new set of values and assumptions grows up around this new experience. Former "friends" turn into bitter enemies. New allies appear and are sought out among the ranks of those who were formerly feared and often fought against.

This is what we have been learning with and from the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) who are striking the Standard Oil Refinery here in Richmond. When the strike began, as part of a nationwide walk-out against the whole oil industry, it appeared to be a rather routine squabble that would be marked by nothing more than formal picketing and would be over within a few weeks.

The union demands--a 72 cent wage increase (over two years) plus increased retirement and medical benefits--gave no indication that this fight was likely to take on serious political dimensions.

This notion was shattered almost immediately when police, first at the Shell plant in nearby Martinez, and then in Richmond at the gigantic Standard refinery, beat, MACED and arrested oil workers and their wives and kids on the picket line. Some credit for heightening the contradiction is due to students from SDS who joined the picket line at Standard, helping to turn it from a harmless decoration to a real obstruction of the plant; and forcing Standard officials to call out the cops. But the union pickets readily accepted the student support and most held their ground when the cops moved in to bust up the line.

In reaction to the police strikebreaking a meeting of the County Central Labor Council was called and the delegates voted to confront the County Board of Supervisors and local city councils and threaten a general strike if the police brutality did not stop at once. This met with the usual run-around from the politicians who promised to "study" the matter. While they were still studying, a couple of union pickets were arrested at the Standard refinery for allegedly throwing rocks at a scab truck (they were charged with violation of an obscure "felony rock-throwing" sentence which carries a mandatory one-year sentence). When Jake Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer of the union local went down to bail the men out, he was stomped on and arrested by five of Richmond's finest.

A few days later Jacobs told the Richmond City Councilmen: "I know there may be some honest and fair-minded cops on the Richmond police force, but those five who beat me up unnecessarily deserve to be called just what I hear other people calling the police these days: Pigs!" Earlier, Jacobs told these startled flunkies of Standard Oil, "Many of us heard about the gestapo tactics in Chicago and other places, and we didn't believe it. But now we do." And he added that, as a result of the support from students, he and other oil workers "used to think that we disagreed with the students' philosophy, but now we're not so sure. But we do admire their courage". A few days later, at a weekly union meeting, Jacobs said, "I think a lot of us didn't support them over there (at San Francisco State) because we believed what we read in the newspapers. Now we know what kind of coverage we have been getting from the press, and I think we should be finding out what's happening from the people actually involved and we should be supporting them, just like they have supported us".

He was referring mainly to the teachers at San Francisco State. But although the oil workers' local has officially endorsed the AFT strike--with its backdoor support for the Third World Liberation Front--Jacobs himself spoke at a rally backing both the students and teachers, and he issued a press statement calling for a "Mutual aid pact" between teachers, students and oil workers.

RANK & FILE POSITION

The position of the rank-and-file oil

workers on the student strike is more contradictory than the public stand assumed by Jacobs. Almost all the guys are gratified by the student support they have received and even anti-student elements are forced to acknowledge that the massive turn-outs by students, on at least

around during the last strike against Standard Oil, in 1948, when the company successfully crippled the OCAW and then divided the plant workers into about 10 unions--with contracts coming up at different times and "no strike" clauses for the duration of each contract. So, during the current strike, a majority of the refinery workers are bowing to company pressure and crossing the OCAW picket lines. Many scabs are working 12 hour shifts and sleeping in the plant.

Many of the old-timers are quite candid in admitting that if the union had not voted nationally to go out against the oil industry, the Richmond workers would probably have not risked a fight with Standard. One older worker confided that it was the younger workers who have kept the strike going, with the help of the students. Many of these younger workers have long hair, wear beards, moustaches and sideburns, have spent time around Berkeley and a few have even participated in anti-war marches and Stop The Draft Week.

It is these younger workers who have stood up to the police and have twice engaged in pitched battle, clubs in hand,

meeting has been held, it is the best-kept secret in labor history. Only the more militant and politically advanced local unions--like the Painters and Longshoreman in San Francisco--have sent members over to Richmond to join the picket lines.

To some degree, at least, their open association with student radicals has branded the oil workers as pretty far out in the eyes of their "brothers" in other unions. The economism and union individualism that has infected the American labor movement for the last 20 years apparently prevents workers who are not directly involved in the struggle from seeing the crucial issue behind the Standard strike. As in 1948, Standard is out to bust the union and to discourage the oil workers from daring to challenge it for at least another 20 years. This is not just a mean streak peculiar to Standard Oil: it is part of an offensive by the ruling class to weaken working-class organization, so that the increasing costs and dislocations of Imperialism can be shunted onto a passive people.

Those of us who have been doing working class organizing in Richmond (see the MOVEMENT, January, 1969) got involved in the strike the day after the police did. We pulled together a few guys we had been working with who were members of different unions--auto workers, machinists, etc.--and, drawing from the experience of our brothers in the International Harvester Plant in Chicago, we formed a SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE with the two fold purpose of building support for the oil workers in other unions and of joining with the oil workers ourselves, helping them in the immediate fight and raising the struggle, both tactically and politically, to a higher level.

TO THE MASSES

In relating to the oil workers we have tried to follow Mao's principle on the mass line: "from the masses, to the masses". This means that, instead of reading the newspapers and trying to figure out what the feelings of the workers were, we spent as much time as possible every day on the picket lines, in the union halls and even in workers' homes, talking with them about the issues of the strike itself and the political implications of police intervention and city-council footshuffling. After we had a pretty clear idea of what the basic gripes of the workers were, we tried to tie them together in a concrete, coherent form and subject them to political analysis. The result was a leaflet headed, "We CAN Beat City Hall," which reviewed the strikebreaking actions of the pigs and the cover-up job of the local politicians and then explained: "The big oil companies think they can get away with this because they have billions of dollars in combined assets and they are controlled by some of the most powerful corporation bigshots in the country--men who buy and sell politicians, judges and cops".

The leaflet talked about the Rockefeller family and their operations through Standard and other companies in Africa and other parts of the world where they exploit the people and resources. Then the leaflet pointed out that, if a company as powerful as Standard was forced to call out the cops to break the strike, it proved that the workers themselves were a very powerful force and that despite all their capital "without the workers, they (the bosses) cannot make any profit at all."

Finally, the leaflet pointed out that the tactics of the cops were exactly what black people faced all the time; and that the local police had warmed up for their strikebreaking brutality by cracking heads at San Francisco State. We included a clenched fist at the bottom of the leaflet, with the explanation that it symbolized solidarity.

There was mixed reaction to this first leaflet: most of the workers dug the part about Standard Oil, its assets, and its ability to meet the demands of the oil workers. But some of the guys were not prepared to accept our analysis that their bosses at Standard, "are the same class of men who sit on the Boards of Trustees and Regents of the State Colleges and Universities and who own most of the land and property in the black ghettos. They are used to calling out the cops to smash down students and black people. And now they are turning these same police forces on more and more working people."

ANTI-RACISM

We are more convinced than ever that, despite the resistance of many white workers--particularly older guys--to anti-racist agitation and propaganda, it is crucial to win white workers to struggle

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



four occasions, have forced the company to nearly shut the giant refinery down and have introduced an aspect of uncertainty, which continually keeps the company off balance and fearing for its refinery. But racism is still rampant in the white working class, and the striking oil workers, many of whom have come a long way in a short time on this question, still have difficulty identifying with a student struggle led by black, brown and yellow people and based on the needs of the Third World communities. Still, the direct contact between these workers and hundreds of students, some of them third world students, who have been mobilized to join the workers' picket lines; the joint confrontations, on several occasions, with the Richmond pigs; and the exchange of experiences and ideas has gone a long way toward overcoming the mutual ignorance and often contempt with which workers and students have looked at each other and their previously separate struggles.

Ironically, it has been the relative weakness of the union local--and the strong union-busting tendency of paternalistic Standard Oil--that has forced the workers to seek outside help. Many of the Richmond refinery workers were

against a company goon squad, composed of lead pipe, wrench and chain-swinging foremen and supervisors. While most of the older workers may not actively involve themselves in these battles--or in the acts of sabotage against the plant, scabs, cars and trucks--the great majority of them approve of the militancy of the younger workers and recognize that, along with the students, the young turks have so far prevented the strike from turning into a disaster like the 1948 debacle.

OTHER UNION SUPPORT BULLSHIT

Meanwhile, most of the support from other unions has proved to be bullshit. The Central Labor Council, when faced with continuing police brutality and strikebreaking, was forced into calling a general strike. But no serious preparation among rank-and-file workers had been done and the Council no sooner passed a resolution for a general strike than it began backtracking. The general strike would not really be a general strike, but a half-day work stoppage. It wouldn't start immediately, but a meeting would be held soon to work out the timing and tactics. So far, if that

I SAW THE LITTLE JUDGE

The judicial system is the religion of bourgeois democracy. The Trial is its Passion Play.

On stage right of the passion play are the gates of Heaven, on the left the mouth of Hell. In between, the saints and devils and common people. The stage itself is in the shape of a cathedral: the medieval courthouse of the soul. The fate of the common man is at stake. The cathedral, the law, decides.

In the foreground, the ruling class, safe in the expensive boxes, observes.

Here in Oakland the angry, the sick at heart, the desperate and the rebellious are hailed to the Bar to be judged into freedom or to jail. Here there is no more Heaven; the greatest reward is release into the life you came from; the worst is still Hell.

THE OAKLAND 7 PASSION PLAY



They are brought before those who embody the social values of the law; the middle-class. The origin of the jury system measured a shift in power relations away from the aristocracy and toward the merchant class. Our society is still in their possession; the law is in their hands; they are on the jury.

The country is not in their possession. Perhaps they THINK it is and perhaps they do not. This is crucial. If their class rebels, the revolution is at hand. If these twelve rebel, the Oakland Seven go free.

Who are they?

A woman, 45, her husband an assistant city engineer at Oakland City Hall. What are her feelings about her son's work; missiles for Lockheed? "That's his decision, not mine." People have the right to dissent; she has no strong feelings about the war.

A black man, Post Office worker. His son, wounded in Vietnam, asked for news clippings about Stop The Draft Week when it happened. Returned home, his son told him, "These demonstrations don't help the boys on the front lines."

A young man, 33, of indefinite Eastern extraction. Divorced. I have feelings about the war. He was in the Air Force Reserve and is a young professional. He has pride.

A man 49, experimental machinist for the Defense Technology Lab in Santa Clara. For his job making models of secret weapons he has security clearance. Asked about the Selective Service System he said: my father left Europe for the same reason. He didn't want to serve in the military either.

A 52 year old Portuguese heavy construction carpenter. Would he be prejudiced against hippie-types? "Years ago I had a beard too". Why does he lack an opinion about the war? "I haven't been personally affected". He is articulate and careful.

A Post Office worker, 44. On the war: I think it is possible for a country to make a mistake. Cops too. He reads a great deal and served in the Pacific in World War II.

A middle aged woman, secretary for an electronics firm. "I thought the demonstrators were very enthusiastic, they were full of fervor, and I didn't understand it. I was surprised at their enthusiasm". A son and son-in-law work for the Navy.

A young man, inspector for GM. Answered yessir, nossir. He never heard of SDS or SNCC and has no feeling about the war. Cops are not always right and people have the right to demonstrate.

41 years old, the design engineer for Lawrence Radiation Lab, security clearance. The only reason I don't grow a beard is everytime I do it turns grey. One year at the U of Houston, semi-flashy suit and vest, long sideburns.

Retired Colonel from the U.S. Marines, 62. (Reader: do not be quick to judge). Upon retirement he worked in a used book store. Stern, dignified, concerned under cross-examination to reveal any possible bias, possibly a General Shub-type Marine, at least of the prefascist school. He will stick to the law.

The switchboard operator for Moore Business Forms, Inc. Separated from her husband, her son in the Marines. Q: If one of the defendants' aims was to bring the troops home, would you be biased against the prosecution? A: If they could stop it and bring them back, that would be beautiful.

39, wife of a druggist, confused by the war. She says she is not a law-and-order advocate. "I'm an independent thinker; I don't believe in clamor." About the defendants, "They're independent thinkers too, I guess".

They are important beyond themselves. They judge and they represent. They, like us, are creatures of their class. Where is their class? Engineer's wife, Post Office, carpenter, secretary, inspector, switchboard operator: members of the famous New Working Class and the aristocracy of the Old.

The children of their class become policemen, Marines and also demonstrators. How far has the Revolt penetrated into their minds and hearts? What does it all mean in the white ghetto suburbs

COMMENCE TO LOOK ABOUT

of Fremont, Hayward, Castro Valley--our message of a nation disintegrating, and the proud force that wishes to replace it? Can we organize these twelve? The end of the Passion Play will tell. Then there is a third character too: The Holy Writ in the person of Judge Phillips, who may order them to bend to its will, despite their sympathies.

In the 1880's the use of conspiracy indictments against labor organizers was suspended and replaced by the injunction--juries of small farmers and businessmen who shared a hatred of monopoly capital refused to convict. They kept setting the bastards free. The ruling class abandoned the juries and turned to their own--the presiding judges.

The Peace Movement was created by members of the middle and new working classes, not so far removed from the members of the Oakland Seven jury. If they rise to an acquittal, something has been proved.

VOIR DIRE

Attorneys Charles Garry, Dick Hodge and Mal Bernstein used the jury selection process to achieve the politicization of the trial. During the first week, they were not allowed to inquire of the political attitudes of the jury. "I don't see what the Vietnam War has to do with this trial," the judge sincerely and plaintively said.

He learned quick. By the third week of jury selection, only District Attorney Lowell Jensen remained under the illusion that this was a criminal trial. The judge was convinced by the jurors who excused themselves. Half of them didn't know who the Oakland Seven were, didn't care, hadn't heard of Stop The Draft Week, but were damned if they could be fair to longhaired hippie maybe communist anti-war activists. "You mean you don't even know who they are and you are prejudiced against them?" the judge asked a prospective juror, amazed. "That's right, Your Honor, these people are trying to undermine our way of life."

On the other side were almost all the blacks but one (he's on the jury). One, a stone angry blackman, custodian for the Air National Guard, coldly, "I couldn't go against ANYONE who demonstrated against the war in Vietnam."

A 55 year old Italian truck driver told the prosecution "I couldn't convict anyone who is against the war. I don't care WHAT they did." Asked by the judge if he could comply with the law, he said, "If there's a law against them for opposing the war, then that law is wrong." The judge excused him. "Feeling certainly runs high in this case," the judge said.

By the second week Judge Phillips was himself asking the questions he had not allowed the defense to ask. DA Jensen was furious. Whenever the judge asked a juror, "Do you have any feelings about the Vietnamese War that would prejudice you in this case?" Jensen made little unhappy fishlike repressive motions with his lips.

NUREMBERG

The judge refused to allow Nuremberg testimony into the trial, and ordered the defense to stop asking the prospective jurors questions about it. While allowing as to how Nuremberg is part of the "fabric of our judicial system," (his proof was that it is incorporated into Military Law!) he ruled that it only applied to people under direct orders.

Mal Burnstein argued that soldiers were not the only ones tried at Nuremberg. So were industrialists who gave, not received orders. Besides, the defendants were under orders: to obey the SS System, to register for the draft, to go into the Army. "But they weren't disobeying any specific orders that week," Phillips protested.

Mal: The defendants had a legal duty to perform. If we were on a street corner and saw a mugging, we would have a duty to defend the person. Vietnam is being mugged and the defendants have a duty to resist it.

Phillips: I don't think Nuremberg is relevant to this case.

Mal: Nuremberg declared certain entire organizations illegal--the SS, the High Command. Mere membership was prosecutable, even to the lowest paid functionary. My defendants have been trying to disassociate themselves from a vast criminal conspiracy.

Phillips: I am just a Superior Court judge. I am faced with courts of a much higher stature, and I must go along with them. Society has to be just and ordered. You can't under Nuremberg turn over the right to people with moral objections to run around the city. That would be anarchy.

Mal: We're not just talking about anybody. A Nuremberg defense helps if you're RIGHT. And I'm prepared to prove we're right.

But if Mal is right, then Phillips is wrong. And if Phillips is wrong, he's a war criminal. When Garry suggested that LBJ and the Democratic Party could be tried under Nuremberg, Phillips got visibly upset. To allow a Nuremberg defense is to allow the possibility of it being applied against him. Phillips couldn't deal with that.

SELECTIVE PROSECUTION

If anyone has ever been selectively prosecuted, it's the Oakland Seven. J. Francis Coakley, the man who did it, said so. He picked the seven because "we don't have enough courts to go around" to try all the "persons unknown" who conspired.

Selective prosecution is a legitimate defense. Several Peace & Freedom people were acquitted on a charge recently of defacing San Francisco property because they proved that members of the Democratic and Republican parties were not arrested for putting up their posters.

A session is being set aside for arguments on this.

THE TRIAL BEGINS

The Prosecution's opening statement was workmanlike and uninspired. Jensen is not a fanatic, he's doing a job. This accounts for the sloppiness of some of his key witnesses; he hasn't trained them enough.

"This particular demonstration had as its purpose the commission of crime," he opened.

So it is the purpose of Stop the Draft Week that is on trial, it is the crime. There will be no dramatic eyewitness accounts as in the Huey trial. All the criminal events were witnessed by from 20 to 10,000 people. No ballistics tests, the bullets in this crime are leaflets printed in the thousands. The conspiracy took place before microphones and on TV. The prosecution case has already taken place before the Grand Jury. Jensen is trotting out the same witnesses, no more no less than those who appeared a year ago on another floor in the same courthouse.

All the surprises are up to the defense. They cut and slash at the prosecution witnesses, attacking their honesty, their facade, their self-images.

First prosecution witness, Raymond Brown, deputy chief of police. At first cool, his wash-and-wear personality begins to fade.

GARRY: Did your men brutalize the press?

BROWN: No.
GARRY: Did your department hold hearings on charges that you brutalized the press?

BROWN: Yes.
GARRY: Mr. Brown, do you know what a stool-pigeon is?

JENSEN: I object.
GARRY: How many stoolpigeons did you have in the crowd?

JENSEN: I object.
GARRY: More than 5000?
BROWN: No.
GARRY: More than 4000?....

DIRTY LITTLE POLICE SPY

James Bruce Coleman, OFFICER James Bruce Coleman, known to the Seven as James Bruce Johnson--fink. The next day in the Oakland Tribune, a banner headline reading SECRET AGENT'S STORY OF ANTI-DRAFT RIOTS...

"Coleman's story was one of intrigue, leadership direction and open solicitation for demonstration support on the Berkeley U.C. campus..."

Coleman, sporting a two-week beard, was one of the STDW monitors. The leadership knew he was a fink, but didn't know what to do about it. The night before STDW he was taken up into the Berkeley Hills, told to split and not show up at the demonstration.

Coleman wouldn't say anything without his notes, which he led the defense to believe were the original notes he had taken during STDW. They turned out to be re-written, edited versions of his originals, much to the embarrassment of the DA.

Most of what he had to contribute was carefully culled militant statements; and then Terry Cannon said "We're going to shut the mother down." And then Steve Hamilton said, "We're going to lay siege to the induction Center..."

And then Bob Mandel said, "A cop'll get you for assault if you just breathe on him."

The next day Garry continued the examination:

GARRY: Yesterday you told us that Bob Mandel said, "A cop'll get you for assault if you just breathe on him," isn't that correct?

FINK: That's correct.

GARRY: Isn't it a fact that Mr. Mandel didn't say that at all?

FINK: No sir.

GARRY (handing fink his original notes, subpoenaed that night): Read this!

FINK (reading): "And then Morgan Spector said, 'A cop'll get you for assault if you just breathe on him'".

The audience breaks into rage and laughter. Jensen leaps up screaming "Your Honor, put a stop to this!" The judge gavels down the laughter and threatens to clear the court.

GARRY: Mr. Witness, when Mr. Felsenstein told you not to show your face around the demonstration, he called you a Rat Fink, didn't he?

COLEMAN: Yes.
GARRY (after a well-timed pause): And he was RIGHT, wasn't he?

JENSEN: Your Honor...!

THE WAY IT SHOULD BE

It is difficult to criticize the way the defense is going. At first there was a little too much emphasis on the moralistic motivation of the Seven: that is no longer true. It is a political trial in the best

sense.

The jury knows who the Seven are, what they stand for. By the end of the defense case the jury will know why they organized STDW, why it was necessary, what the war is about. They will be twelve people subjected to the most careful and hopefully passionate series of political arguments around.

What happens is a measure of how capable the ideology and argument of the movement is in reaching members of their class. It is not a final judgement, because the distorting mirror of the courts makes honest discussion impossible and passion suspect.

The rising of a people is reduced to black and white photos "with circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back". A trial stands in the same relation to the aspirations and terror of a political movement as the medieval Passion Plays had to the death of Christ or to the torment in mens' souls.

Yet it is never the same play twice, and I keep thinking, those are real people in the jury seats and there are things to tell them they both want and hate to hear. And if men have found freedom in prison chains, we must not cease to feel that men may find truth in an oppressor's court.

● Ernest O'Shea



photo: nacio jan brown

photo: julien sorel

PROSECUTOR LOWELL JENSEN

SHELTER HALF HASSLED

What's a shelter half? Half of a tent, usually carried by one soldier. When two soldiers get together, they have a shelter.

The Shelter Half in Tacoma, Washington is a place for GIs to get together. It's a coffeehouse where men from nearby Ft. Lewis can get away from the harassment and hassles of the base. There they can rap with people their age from the town, read movement literature, be entertained, relax, talk about army privations and politics.

They might go to watch the most recent Newsreel film, to argue about the Panthers and some to sign a petition for Eldridge Cleaver, to get the injustices of the army off their chest and some to sign a petition protesting the mutiny trial of stockade prisoners at the San Francisco Presidio, to read some of the little counter-information available in Tacoma, or just because they dig the atmosphere.

The Shelter Half also provides a place for community youth to meet and rap together--there being virtually no place else for them in Tacoma.

One half of the shelter is carried by the four people who run the coffeehouse, the other half provided by the soldiers themselves. The Shelter Half has been in existence for three months, starting with the Summer of Support program and continuing under the national heading of Support Our Soldiers. Initial funds were raised by the Summer of Support. A place was found and flyers were distributed on the base and in town. But a lot of plumbing and repair work had to be done.

These days the coffeehouse is all fixed up. It seats 60 people, but can squeeze in over 100. There is a library of books and periodicals, a stage, and a good collection of records and tapes. Many varieties of coffee, sandwiches, pastries and a fountain provide the refreshments. Posters adorn the walls.

THE WORKING STAFF

The four people who are working at the coffeehouse now have to manage everything...paying the rent, buying supplies, washing dishes, scrubbing floors, keeping books, cooking, contacting entertainment, ordering literature from around the country and dealing with the various practical and political hassles which arise day by day.

Mostly the hipper GIs frequent the Shelter Half. No alcohol is served and a lot of guys would rather hit the beer joints than sit around a coffeehouse. There is a natural tendency to attract mostly anti-war GIs, but that sentiment is strong these days among enlisted men.

Many men come to the Shelter Half. The brass at Ft. Lewis make it a point to suggest that their men steer clear of the place and this serves to attract many GIs to it. Sometimes a few guys from one company discover it and soon most of the rest of the company check it out.

The staff found they had to get rid of many stereotypes about GIs...to get down to the nitty-gritty truth that these were young men who happened to be in the Army and that many didn't dig it and all had stories to tell about their experiences. Most of the communication between staff and GIs comes through interpersonal relationships...some of which have become very solid.

Tacoma is described as a town with racist cops where a power struggle for control is going on between a powerful right wing and a somewhat more liberal group. There's been no "official" action against the Shelter Half, but the threat is a continual one.

HARASSMENT

The day after the coffeehouse opened the city passed an ordinance making it illegal to sell, display, or distribute literature that does, or has a tendency to, encourage disrespect for the law. As yet the ordinance has not been used, and may well not be--its wording being a somewhat too clumsy tool for reaction when there are other methods.

There are vigilantes, some of them cops, who've done some minor damage

and continually harass the Shelter Half. Staff people are often followed home (no one drives home alone anymore). The front window of the coffeehouse was kicked in. Police often come inside and make choice comments on the posters or the people, or with some pretense of looking for someone. The home of the staff (all live in one big house) was broken into, messed up and some papers stolen. Whoever broke in even went so far as to smear shit all over the walls, and burned out flashbulbs attested to pictures they took. These attacks have necessitated vigilance and caution. Care must be taken, for example, to insure that people don't use the coffeehouse for dope dealing.

The coffeehouse has withstood these attacks. There is some support from neighbors, from friends in the town and from several churches.

The staff of the coffeehouse have many stories to tell about individual GIs who they've gotten to know. They tell about a southern white GI who came in and when one staff member started a conversation with him she couldn't understand him--the accent being too thick. But one staff member hails from Kentucky and the gap was bridged. They tell about long discussion with mostly white GIs about black liberation, often meaning a simple stating of the ideas of a group. The racist myths perpetrated about the Panthers, for example, can be destroyed with facts; a reading of an article or an interview. Many of the GIs who come to the coffeehouse are not "political" in the movement sense, or feel that they can't do much inside the Army, but direct discussion or osmosis leave them more open to change. One GI had a gung-ho, let's get em, right wing past, but after being in Vietnam and thinking about it he's changed. He comes to the coffeehouse to read--poring through every article in Liberation News Service.

BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS

The staff also stressed the importance of breaking down barriers between kids in town and men from the base and this has often happened inside the walls of the coffeehouse where the atmosphere can get simpatico.

Some group efforts have evolved. At the Shelter Half a group of GIs and civilians meets weekly to plan an upcoming GI March for Peace, rally and dance on February 15. Recently a meeting of community people took place to attempt to organize against police harassment. There are some good links with a black group in town, and some contact with SDS members on nearby campuses though the chapters are weak.

The staff sees the Shelter Half as a place for GIs to organize, but not being in the Army themselves do not feel that they should try to be organizers. Any efforts are encouraged, and should a lawyer or publicity be needed they contact one or send out information. They provide as much literature and knowledge as possible of GI struggles throughout the country, including all the newspapers which are written especially by or for GIs. It's been a struggle in the first few months just to insure the existence of the Shelter Half and they stress that it is still in its formative stages and there's plenty of room for development.

The struggle for existence has not been only a political one. It is also financial and the coffeehouse is continually in debt. They want to keep prices low so they can serve people who don't have much, because that's their purpose. Paying the rent every month is hard enough, not to mention supplies.

HELP IS NEEDED

They are about \$275 in debt and the heavy snow in Tacoma right now isn't helping business. With more money they could get out of debt--and could get boots for staff members (who only get food and lodging), make some improvements in the place, have better films

and entertainment. They're doing what many in the movement have talked about and even small donations will help serve this purpose.

Staff is also needed. People who are willing to work hard and who have themselves together. It's added that it is easiest for a together couple to work there. It's an important task that needs doing, but life isn't a bed of roses there and people who want to work at the Shelter Half should be hip to that.

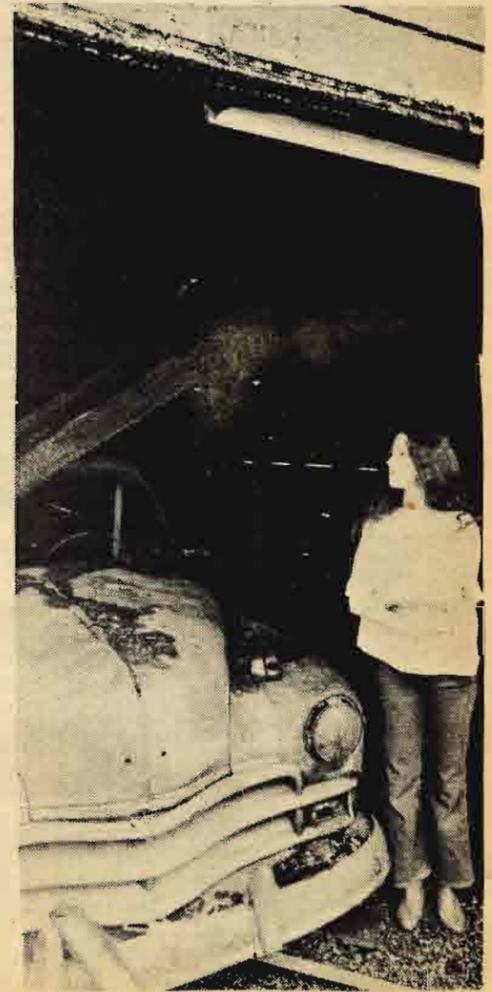
Think about that GI who used to be part of a right wing bunch of guys who heckled peace marches and held up signs like "Kill the Commies". With Vietnam he has changed and he's up in Tacoma now reading LNS. He's not alone.

He's changed. Think about the responsibility say, in this case, of someone who writes for LNS, knowing who is reading it. It's a big responsibility and taking it seriously demands a lot of changes on the movement's part too.

If you feel that responsibility contribute some money to the Shelter Half if you can--if your situation allows write to ask about working there.

It's a responsibility--for the people who work at the Shelter Half now, and at the other coffeehouses around the country. In spite of all the hassles it's been good for both of the groups--the staff and the GIs--who each carry one half of a shelter.

FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OR INQUIRIES ABOUT BEING ON THE STAFF CONTACT: Miranda
c/o The Shelter Half
P.O. Box 244
Tacoma, Washington 98409
Phone: 206 Gr5-9875.



BULLETIN

Pig harassment of the Shelter Half intensified the first two weeks in February. On February 6, three plainclothes and one uniformed pig busted two staff workers at the Shelter Half on vague charges about corrupting the youth. An hour before curfew time in Tacoma, there were a few juveniles playing a table soccer game. The game was licensed and involved no gambling. Before that night, no "authority" had ever said anything about juvenile restrictions.

The landlord has been anxious to have an excuse for breaking the Shelter Half's lease. The lease has a "morality" clause and when in jail one of the busted staff workers overheard the pigs talking about how the landlord wanted to break the lease. The landlord had been in the coffee house a few weeks before threatening something like: "I'm going to send the bulls in here, there's going to be some hair pulling around here."

A few hours after the bust, at 4:30 AM one of the staff workers heard a strange sound from the back of the house where

all the staff lives. He looked out the window and saw the garage in flames. The fire department arrived in seconds, before the staff worker could even call. Someone else had called in the report, they said. The garage and staff car were destroyed. Arson seemed obvious, but the fire inspector never returned (as he promised) to make the arson tests.

On February 11, the Shelter Half received a letter from the Tacoma city government. The letter said that, having heard about arrests on the premises, it had no other choice than to revoke the coffeehouse license. Appeal can be made to the City Council within 10 days (the vote will probably go against the Shelter Half) and then to Superior Court. The main concern seems to be according to what a man in the city's Community Relations Department told the staff, the fact that there are underground papers and anti-military literature at the coffeehouse. The city's primary goal: shut it down.



revolution is the best education for honorable men che

notes on columbia

by Mark Rudd

Before and during the Columbia rebellion, the SDS chapter faced situations very similar to those encountered by other chapters around the country. Questions of militancy vs. isolating yourself from the base, questions of relating to a black students' movement, questions of student power vs. a radical position on the university, questions of how to work as a radical within mass political situations, all came to the forefront in our experience at Columbia. They also became the key questions at places like Brooklyn College, Kent State in Ohio, San Francisco State, Brandeis and literally hundreds of other campuses where the movement is at various stages of building itself.

This article is being written with the belief that our experiences can be absorbed and used, and, what is most important, the movement can go on to higher levels, evading old mistakes in order to commit the mistakes of the future. It was originally meant as a reply to certain points especially on "radical student power" and the "failure of mass politics" in Eric Mann's article which appeared in the Fall edition of OUR GENERATION and was reprinted in the November MOVEMENT. Eric's article can be read for its outstanding description of the rebellion after the April 30 bust and of its nationwide significance in answering the McCarthy threat.

NEW LEFT NOTES this fall reported a split which had occurred in the Ann Arbor, Michigan chapter of SDS, between advocates of a liberal-radical position on student power and "basebuilding" (called "The Radical Caucus"), and advocates of struggle and aggressive action in exposing the imperialist and racist university and building a radical movement ("The Jesse James Gang").

A roughly parallel split in the Columbia chapter in March had prepared the way for the militant and aggressive stance of SDS which led to the blow-up of April 23. For years SDS nationwide has been plagued by the "base-building vs. militant action" debate--revolution in the chapter at Columbia and the subsequent mass student rebellion to show the essential unity of the two lines, and the phoniness of the debate. (Recently Progressive Labor Party has pushed this stupid debate to discredit the "right-wing, anarchist, debrayist, mindless activists" it sees everywhere. The only result of this, based especially on the experience of Columbia, should be to discredit PL as the real right-wing).

From April, 1967 to March, 1968, the SDS chapter had been led by a group of people who tended to stress "organizing" and "base-building" above action and "confrontation".

Though possessing a "Marxist" analysis, they believed that the way support is gained is by going out to people and talking to them about our analysis. Various pieties about the necessity to build the base before you take action, and the dangers of isolating yourself from the base were incessantly pronounced in the name of the "Marxist analysis". The word "politics" was used as a bludgeon with which to beat unruly upstarts into place and to maintain control over the chapter. One example will illustrate this point.

In early March, at a meeting of the SDS Draft Committee (which had been doing something called "political draft counseling"--a total dud as far as building a radical movement goes), the question of what to do when the head of the Selective Service System for New York City came to speak at Columbia came up. Someone suggested that SDS greet the Colonel by attacking him physically--which would clearly define the fact that we consider him to be an enemy. The idea was defeated by a vote of 30-1 after the old leadership of the chapter argued that an attack on the Colonel would be "terrorist, apolitical and silly", and especially would not communicate anything to anyone (since the action had "no political content"). It was decided that the draft committee would be present at the speech to "ask probing questions".

Several SDS members and non-members then organized clandestinely the attack on the Colonel. In the middle of his speech a mini-demonstration appeared in the back of the room with a pipe and drum, flags, machine guns, and noise-makers. As attention went to the back, a person in the front row stood up and placed a lemon-meringue pie in the Colonel's face. Everyone split.

Only two groups on campus did not dig what became known as the "pie incident". First, was the administration of Columbia University. Second was the old leadership of Columbia SDS, which disapproved because the action was terroristic and apolitical and would jeopardize our base on campus.

Meanwhile almost everyone on campus thought this was the best thing SDS had ever done (though we disavowed any part in it and said it was the NY Knickerboppers who had done the job). People understood the symbolism in the attack and identified with it because of their own desires, often latent, to strike back at the draft and the government. This was

in symbolic miniature form, the same dynamic of militant action by a vanguard and then mass identification which worked so well during the rebellion a month later.

In a criticism session held after the pie incident, members of the chapter began to learn the difference between the verbal "base-building", non-struggle approach of the old leadership (now called the "Praxis Axis" after the supplement to NLN edited by Bob Gottlieb and Dave Gilbert, of whom many of the old leadership were self-styled followers) and the aggressive approach of those who saw the primacy of developing a movement based on struggle. This latter group, centered around myself and John Jacobs, as well as others in and out of SDS, came to be known as the "Action-Faction" due to the never-ending search for symmetry.

Subsequent to the ascendancy of the ideas of the Action-Faction the chapter began engaging in more and more militant confrontations--an illegal demonstration on March 27 against IDA, in which we chased 2 Vice Presidents around the campus; the disruption of a memorial service for Martin Luther King in order to expose the fact that while Kirk and Trumand were eulogizing King, their University was completely racist toward the community and toward its employees. The open letter I wrote to Grayson Kirk, printed in the chapter newspaper "Up Against the Wall" on April 19 (and later reprinted in the GUARDIAN), was an attempt to express to the entire campus the spirit of militancy and struggle guiding our chapter.

This prominence of militancy and the aggressive approach should not be interpreted as a victory for the action side of the action vs. base-building dichotomy. In fact, action and education (verbal and otherwise) are completely united, two aspects of the same thing (call it "base-building", "organizing", "building the movement", whatever you like). A leaflet or dorm-canvassing is no less radical activity than seizing a building--in fact both are necessary.

At Columbia we had a four year history of agitation and education involving forms of activity from seminars and open forums on IDA to confrontations over NROTC and military recruiting. All went into developing the mass consciousness that was responsible for the Columbia rebellion. The point is that we had to develop the willingness to take action, vanguard action, before the tremendous potential of the "base" could be released. In addition, the vanguard action also acted as education for many people not yet convinced. The radical analysis never got such a hearing, and a sympathetic one, as during the rebellion.

There are no sure ways to know when the base is ready to move. Many militant actions which expose the participants will result only in an educational point entering the consciousness of the people, without developing mass support. An example of this is the sit-in against the CIA which took place at Columbia in February, 1967, involving only 18 people (led by Progressive Labor Party, before it turned right). This seemingly isolated action (even the SDS chapter did not participate) helped ready people for the direct action to come one year later by making a first penetration into students' minds that direct action is both possible and desirable. (For a fuller discussion on the complex and significant history of the movement at Columbia, see COLUMBIA LIBERATED).

We had no way of knowing whether the base was ready at Columbia; in fact, neither SDS nor the masses of students actually were ready; we were spurred on by a tremendous push from history, if you will, embodied in the militant black students at Columbia.

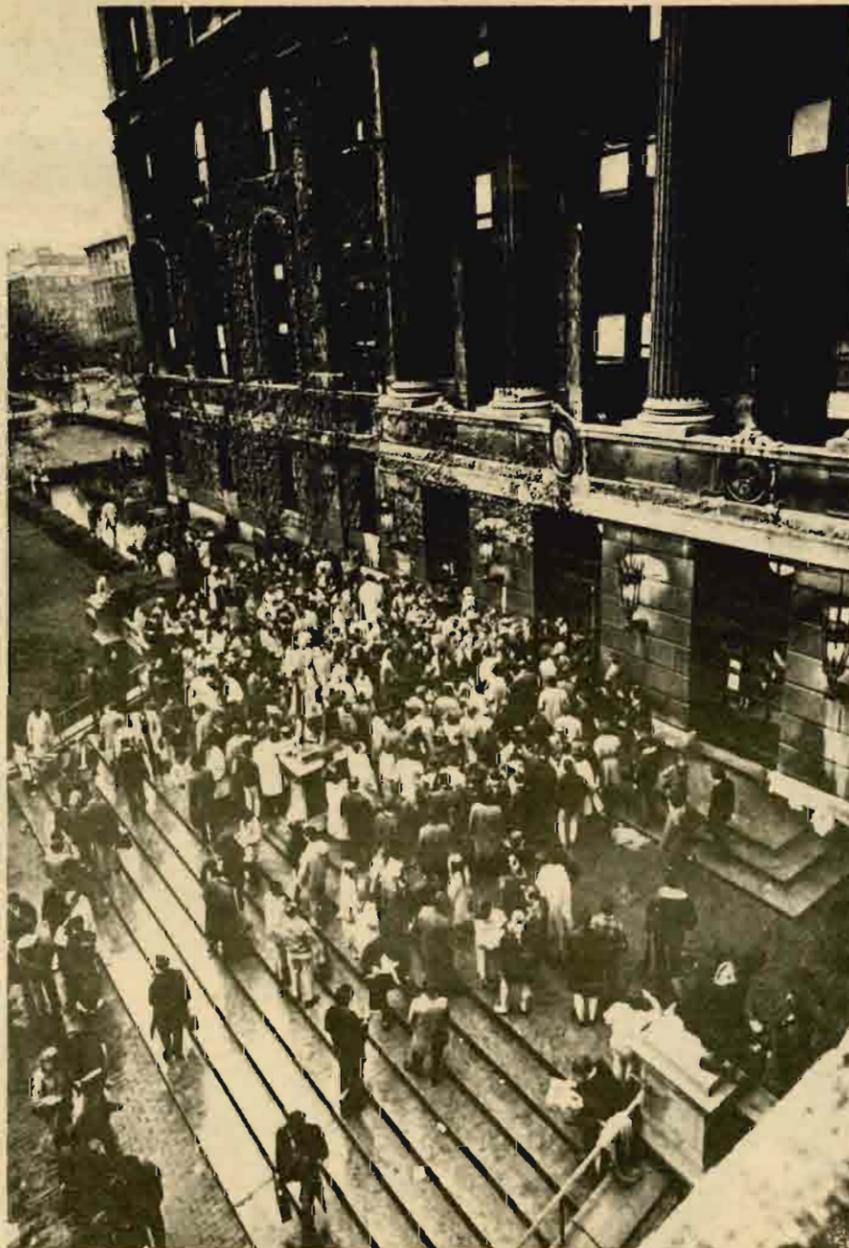
Before April 23, the Students' Afro-American Society and Columbia SDS had never joined together in a joint action or even held much cross-group communication. SAS had been mostly a cultural or social organization, in part reflecting the class background of its members (SDS' position on campus likewise reflected its members' middle-class background--the tendency toward over verbalization instead of action, the reliance on militant, pure, revolutionary rhetoric instead of linking up with people).

It was only with the death of Martin Luther King SAS began to make political demands--though still mostly about the situation of black students at Columbia. Another important factor in the growing militancy of SAS was the struggle of the Harlem community against Columbia's gym in the form of demonstrations, rallies, and a statement by H. Rap Brown that the gym should be burnt down if it somehow was built.

The push to the whites and Columbia SDS I spoke of came in its first form from the assassination of Martin Luther King, which spurred SDS on to greater militancy. Secondly, and more immediately, was the speech at the sundial at noon April 23, by Cicero Wilson, chairman of SAS, at which we were honkey-baited, but also at which people developed the anger and the will to engage in direct action--i.e., tearing down the fence at the gym site. This one symbolic act opened the flood gate of anger and strength and resolve against the racism and pro-war policies of the university, and set the stage for the occupation of Hamilton which followed.

The pivotal event of the strike, however, was the black students' decision to barricade Hamilton Hall the night after the joint occupation began. In this decision, the blacks defined themselves politically as members of the Harlem community and the black nation who would fight Columbia's racism to the end. It was also this action that gave the whites a model for militancy and, on a broader scale, forced the whites to wake up to the real world outside themselves.

At the time that the black students in Hamilton Hall announced they were going to barricade the building, SDS' goal was the same as it has always been--to radicalize and politicize the mass of white students at Columbia and to create a radical political force



of students. This self-definition, however, led to the conclusion that we did not want to risk alienating the mass of other white students by confronting them, say, from behind a barricade. Part of our decision not to barricade must also be seen as a remnant of the earlier timid and non-struggle attitudes so common in the chapter.

The blacks, for their part, had decided that they would make a stand alone, as a self-conscious black group. This decision was also prompted undoubtedly by the lack of militancy on the part of the whites in Hamilton and especially our lack of discipline and organization.

After leaving Hamilton, a change came over the mass of white students, in and out of SDS. People stayed in Low Library "because we can't abandon the blacks". Not only did people see the model for militancy in the black occupation of Hamilton, but they also began to perceive reality--a world outside themselves--and the necessity to fight, to struggle for liberation, because of the situation in that world.

It was the action of the black students at Columbia--a group outside the individual fragmented "middle class" students at Columbia--that woke up these students to the fact that there is a world of suffering, brutalized, exploited people, and that these people are a force willing to fight for freedom. Especially important to this realization was the power of Harlem, both manifest and dormant. Now the liberal universe--the isolated self--was shattered, and the mass occupation started by a handful of whites, the 23 who stayed in Low, grew to be the natural response of well over 1,000 people who wanted to fight back against the oppression of blacks, Vietnamese and themselves.

From another point of view, the militancy of the SDS whites forced others to reconsider their position and eventually to join the occupation. But the SDS occupation itself hinged on that of the blacks, and the overwhelming presence of the black students and Harlem itself forced us to keep the image of the real world clear and bright in our minds. Because of the blacks, we recognized the immediacy and necessity of the struggle: Vietnam is far away, unfortunately, for most people, and our own pain has become diffuse and dull.

This point about the example and vanguard role of whites vis-a-vis other whites must also be stressed. When neutral or liberal or even right-wing students see other students, very much like themselves, risking careers, imprisonment, and physical safety, they begin to question the political reasons for which the vanguard is acting, and, concomitantly, their own position. Here, education and propaganda is essential to get out to people the issues, and also the rationale for action. At no time is "organizing" or "talk" more important as before, during and after militant action.

One of the reasons why people joined en masse was the fact that white students, with the same malaise, alienation, unhappiness about this society and their lack of options in it, and the same hatred for the war and racism, saw a way to strike back at the enemy in the actions begun by a few. This was the same enemy, the ruling class and their representatives, the Board of Trustees of Columbia, that had been oppressing blacks and Vietnamese. So, with a little class analysis, articulated by SDS, hundreds of whites saw how they had to move for their own liberation as well as that of others.

This is not to deny the importance of black militancy, but only to emphasize the complex and dialectical relationships existing between blacks, white militants, and "the base". In struggle after struggle on campuses and in shops, the blacks have been taking the initial and even vanguard role. San Francisco State, where the direction and militancy of the struggle has been given by the Black Students' Union and the Third World Liberation Front, is the best example of the most oppressed taking the vanguard.

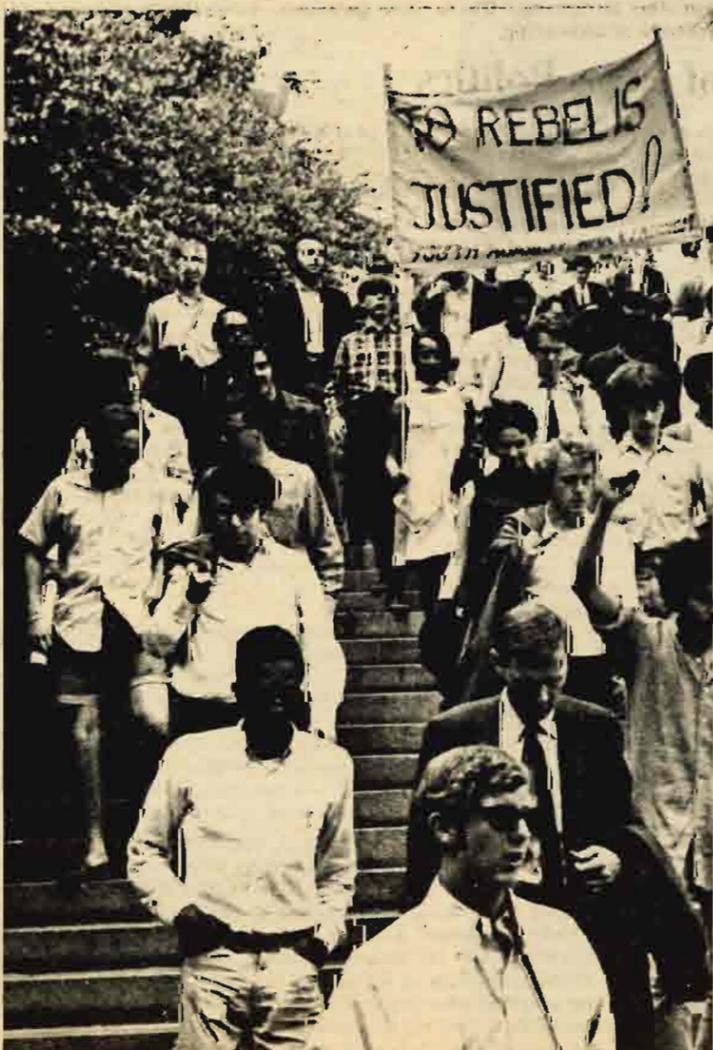
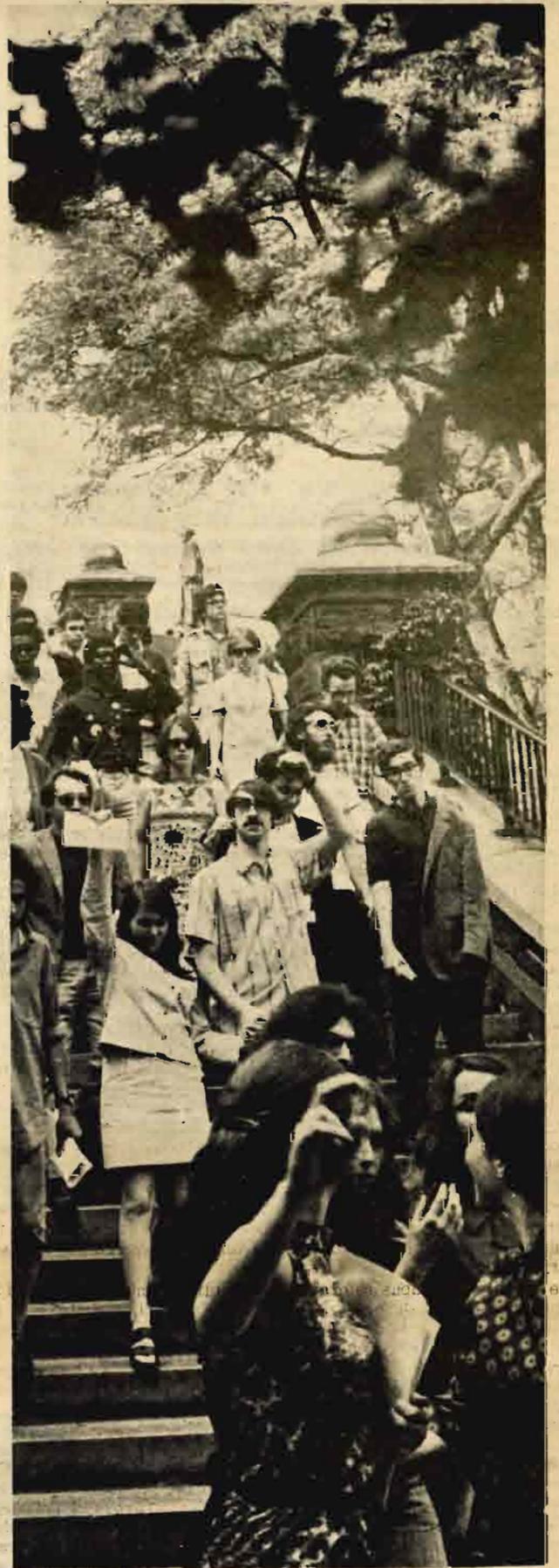
Kent State in Ohio, Brandeis, the high school students' strike in New York City, and numerous other cases, similarly show the importance of black vanguards. This is not an empirical fact peculiar only to schools, but in shops and in the army, too, blacks have been taking the lead and whites following--e.g., the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, which gave rise to a white insurgent caucus in the UAW (see the MOVEMENT, December, 1968), and the Fort Hood 43.

The implication of the primacy of the black movement is not that whites should sit back and wait for blacks to make the revolution. It is, rather, that we should study and understand the roots, necessity of, and strategy of the black liberation movement in order to understand how our movement should go.

At Columbia, our understanding of the dynamics at work was at best intuitive: we knew that whites and blacks had to organize their own, but we didn't know how this worked in practice--separate tactics, separate organization. At some schools, such as Kent and San Francisco State, the white militants did as well or better than we to the extent that they were conscious of their own role in relation to black militants.

This question "in relation to" has at least two clearly different pit-falls. First, because of the intensive and all-pervading racism in the United States, white radicals are sometimes unwilling to follow black leadership. This was the situation during the recent UFT boycott of the New York City schools over the issue of community control. Both Progressive Labor Party and their arch-enemy, the Labor Committee, manifested their racism by refusing to support community control on the grounds that it was a co-optive plan designed by the ruling class to split the working class (both racist teachers and black parents are "workers" primarily, according to PL). Neither grouplet saw the class nature of a united black community fighting for better schools against the racist ruling-class school board and racist teachers unkon.

The implication of this blindspot on the part of PLP is that blacks are too stupid to figure out when community control turns into co-optation, and therefore, they should follow the dogmatic and unreal line of PLP; black parents and white teachers unite to fight for better education (a position which ignores both the racism of the white teachers and the fact that blacks already are fighting for better schools). SDS, because of its internal factional warfare, lost numerous opportunities to support the black struggle and also to being educating the white community about its own racism, both of which are absolutely necessary.



The second pitfall "in relation to" the black movement is a passivity based on the opposite side of the traditional white leadership syndrome. Blacks are often unwilling to take the leadership or vanguard position in a struggle, having had white leadership thrust on them for so long, or else feeling isolated (as they, in fact, are at many white schools), or else having assimilated traditional middle class values of success. (This latter point is both the most common and the most complex. For a fuller discussion of this phenomenon, see James Forman's new book, SAMMY YOUNGE, JR.) White radicals at many places feel that blacks must initiate anti-racism struggles, and that they will follow in support. The origin of this feeling is both the desire to see blacks taking leadership positions, a good thing, and also the attitude that racism is a "black problem" and cannot be raised legitimately by whites as a "white issue".

But any anti-capitalist or "revolutionary" program must fight in the interests of the most oppressed--the blacks and the Vietnamese--as well as in the interests of the working class in general. Thus our movement must be consciously anti-racist if it is ever to advance beyond short-term self-interest or economism or reformism or any of the myriad other liberal errors.

Racism must become a conscious "white problem", and must be fought at every point. This was our belief at Columbia, when Columbia SDS took independent action against the Administration for its racism by disrupting the Martin Luther King Memorial service. The black students did not take part in this disruption, but the disruption did help shock SAS into action, along with other factors, especially the demonstrations of the Harlem community against Columbia.

Similarly, at Kent State in Ohio, the demonstrations against the Oakland Pig Department recruiters, as anti-racist demonstrations, were initiated by the white SDS chapter and picked up by the black students. At both Kent and Columbia, the black students then went on to take dominant and even decisive roles.

At school after school, white radicals are waiting for black students to take the lead. Since racism must be combatted, they are in error in not taking the initiative, giving both black students and the mass of whites the impetus to carry the struggle forward. They must also, however, know when to follow the lead of blacks, and when to work parallel. At Columbia, inadvertently sometimes, we did all three.

Student Power

One of the things we learned at Columbia is the old SDS dictum, "People have to be organized around the issues that affect their lives" is really true. Not in the way it has always been meant, i.e., student interest type demands like dorm rules, bookstores, decisions over tenure, etc., but in the broadest, most political sense. That is to say, that racism and imperialism really are issues that affect people's lives. And it was these things that people moved on, not dorm rules, or democratizing university governance or any of that bullshit.

The general public, and the movement in more subtle ways, has subjected to a barrage of propaganda trying to show conclusively that the rebellion at Columbia (as well as other rebellions) was due to campus unrest over archaic administrative procedures, lack of democracy in decision-making, and, above all, an immense failure of communication among students, faculty and administration. It is unnecessary to document this beyond

referring the reader to any article about Columbia in TIME magazine.

In general, the Left itself has understood the primacy of revolutionary anti-imperialist politics present in the core of the rebellion, but few have had access to our arguments concerning student power and "restructuring" of the university, and thus many have believed either 1) We admitted the necessity for reform and at least partially worked toward it; or 2) The failure of the movement this fall was due to the failure of Columbia SDS to respond to the mass movement for restructuring and reform. In other words, we were co-opted by the new liberal administration and Students for a Restructured University. Neither is the case.

Every militant in the buildings knew that he was there because of his opposition to racism and imperialism and the capitalist system that needs to exploit and oppress human beings from Vietnam to Harlem to Columbia. It was no accident that we hung up pictures of Karl Marx and Malcolm X and Che Guevara and flew red flags from the tops of two buildings. But there was some confusion over our position toward the university itself.

We were engaged in a struggle that had implications far beyond the boundaries of the campus on Morningside Heights--and, in fact, our interest was there, outside the university. We did want to stop the university's exploitative, racist and pro-imperialist policies, but what more? This uncertainty over program toward the university reflected a political confusion that only became solved as the radicals discussed more among themselves and were faced with a greater number of self-appointed liberal reformers who wanted to "save the university".

Given that the capitalist university serves the function of production of technology ideology, and personnel for business, government, and military (we had hit at these functions in our exposure of IDA and expansion), the question of "saving" the university implies capitulation to the liberal mythology about free and open inquiry at a university and its value-neutrality.

Whatever "good" function the university serves is what the radical students can cull from its bones--especially the creation and expansion of a revolutionary movement. The university should be used as a place from which to launch radical struggles--anything less now constitutes a passive capitulation to social-democracy and reformism, whatever the intention of the radicals involved.

This position on the university leads to a clear position on "restructuring". It is irrelevant. Tremendous pressure on the coalition strike committee was brought by liberals who proclaimed the creation of a "new, just, democratic Columbia University" as their goal. Professing revolution as another one of their goals, they saw reform of the university as one of the many "steps" toward revolution. Behind this conception, of course, was the traditional liberal view of reform of institutions, one by one, which would through evolution lead to enough humanistic reform, somehow called revolution. Also present was a healthy fear of both the personal and social effects of struggle.

Demands about democratizing the university are PROCEDURAL--form which of necessity will be empty and early co-opted by an extraordinarily powerful ruling class and its representatives, the Board of Trustees and Administration. What we are after is SUBSTANTIVE change--such as was embodied in the six demands, and especially the demands on IDA and the gym. This is where our fight for power is located. How can any reforms in procedure ever mean power to change the university's exploitative function if we can't even win our direct demands on that function now? For radicals who were somewhat confused, we added, one of our main goals is the building of a radical movement that can engage in fights, that can struggle against capitalism and expose it and its institutions to more and more people and also gain support. Will our fighting over some petty little tri- or bi-partite committees do this? Or will we just be co-opted into some silly little liberal game, deflecting the focus of our movement and de-politicizing it.

Eric Mann, in his OUR GENERATION/MOVEMENT article, criticizes the strike position on student power by saying, "leaving the issue of student power to the liberals is a bad mistake". According to Eric, there is a "radical position on student power", though it never gets explained beyond some vague phrasing of "structural changes within the context of the (radical) critique (of the university)". What are these radical structural demands? What will they accomplish?

According to Eric, there are TWO VALID categories of issues: 1) Off-campus type issues, such as embodied in the IDA and gym demands. 2) On-campus reform issues, which Columbia SDS left to the liberals. "Building alliances with off campus groups is an important task for the radical student movement", but this second type is also important. Much work was done by ad-hoc liberal-radical groups on departmental reform, but ultimately, the political content of this work was null in terms of building a revolutionary movement.

The validity of campus reform issues implies an understanding of the tasks of a student movement which is different from ours at Columbia and also that of the most advanced elements of nation-wide SDS. We see the goal of the student movement not as the creation of an eventual power base, involving all students around all their concerns, radical and otherwise, which is a very old conception of what we're up to, but rather, building a radical force which raises issues for other constituencies--young people, workers, others--which will eventually be picked up on to create a broader, solid revolutionary movement.

Since the working class will be the agency of change, it is these people who must be addressed by any action initiated by students. This is very different from "creating alliances". It means the entire content of our movement must be radical--i.e., anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist--not concerned with the parochial, privileged needs of students. This use of the student movement as a critical force is exactly what began to happen at Columbia--no power base was carved out; rather, good, solid radical issues were raised for the community, the city, and, in fact, the entire nation. To the extent that our issues



lacked a focus and a target outside students, they were not consciously "revolutionary".

The reason we went so far with "restructuring" demands--we added the demand for participation in restructuring to our six demands (after the Trustees had already called for a student committee on restructuring)--was both because of a certain amount of confusion along the lines of Eric's thinking described above, and because we misread the extent of the liberal base on campus for "student power", very much as Eric Mann does in his article. Self-proclaimed liberal "leaders" kept coming to the strike committee saying that their constituencies wanted restructuring and the strike committee was going to lose their support if it wasn't granted. Throughout the summer we considered the arch-liberal Students for a Restructured University to be the main competition to the radical movement on campus. But we were totally mistaken.

After people have been exposed even peripherally to a movement that fights for meaningful goals--an end to racism, an end to exploitation--the creation of a better world, how can they go back to their old liberal ideas about reform of institutions? We had underestimated the relevance of the radical movement at Columbia, and how deeply it undercut all the liberal sops.

This fall, the fifteen student, faculty, administration and trustee committees on restructuring held hearings on plans to reform Columbia. Out of a University of 17,000, forty people showed up. Columbia College, the undergraduate liberals arts division, held elections for candidates to various restructuring committees. Out of a student body of 2,6000, two hundred and forty voted. Don't blame the turnout on apathy--15% of the College was busted in the demonstration last spring. The answer is clear--"restructuring" is not only irrelevant to radicals, it's irrelevant to anyone.

Analysts of the New Left, both in and out of the movement, are fond of saying that Columbia SDS failed to revive the strike because of Administration co-optation. Randy Furst, in a celebrated mis-article in the GUARDIAN wrote, "Strike fizzles as liberals take over". James P. O'Brien, writing an all-inclusive history of the New Left, makes this authoritative remark, "The SDS chapter has been baffled by a liberal new president and by a proliferation of student proposals for structural changes in the University that have little relevance to the questions (still raised by SDS) of the University's relationship to society." And Eric Mann, in his article, warns of the SRU/liberal/co-optation threat.

Don't our comrades realize that this position that the movement was co-opted is exactly the position of the New York TIMES in what it hopes is the obituary for the New Left? It is a liberal position which denies the integrity of our original struggle, saying that the radicals who were interested in real issues were only a tiny minority in the strike, and the other thousands were just protesting the lack of communication and democracy in a great, but archaic university. Of all possible reasons for the failure of the strike to revive, this one of liberal co-optation is the least important. Cordier is a fat, imperialistic joke. (Once when he appeared at an outdoor meeting on campus to "meet the people", the people kept yelling, "Speak to the issues", to which he replied, "Yes, there are many issues, and there seem to be more of them every day".)

There are many reasons why the movement waned this fall, an analysis of which should be done separately when enough people have discussed the subject. Included in this discussion should be the effects of the baseless Liberation School, the repression playing on fear of further arrest and being thrown out of school, the escalation in rhetoric by SDS, the rise of an elite leadership in SDS, the insane sectarian faction fighting forced on the chapter, first by the Labor Committee sectarians, and then by Progressive Labor Party members who moved into Columbia (there was one member over the summer), and most of all, the failure of many students to see where the whole movement is going, how a revolution will be made, and what are the life-alternatives for people within the movement. These are questions which the movement itself is only now in the process of answering.

Failure of Mass Politics

After the police bust which cleared over 1,000 people from five buildings, the rebellion faced a critical turning point. The mass of students, faculty, community people and others demanded spontaneously a strike against classes, shutting down the university. But the political basis for this strike--its demands, tactics and organization were still unclear. Radicals wanted the strike to maintain the original six demands, as a means of keeping the political focus on racism and imperialism, while liberals pushed for as broad a strike as possible--"You've got a good thing here, don't blow it, everyone's with you, but don't force your politics onto people" was a typical liberal remark.

The real danger despite the chorus of liberal warnings, was in watering down the politics and the tactics of the strike. This the radical strike committee knew (this was the same strike committee that had been established during the liberation of the buildings, with two representatives from each building), and yet the result of the expansion of the strike committee, even with the politics of the six demands, was the eventual weakening and loss of mass base which occurred in the weeks after the bust.

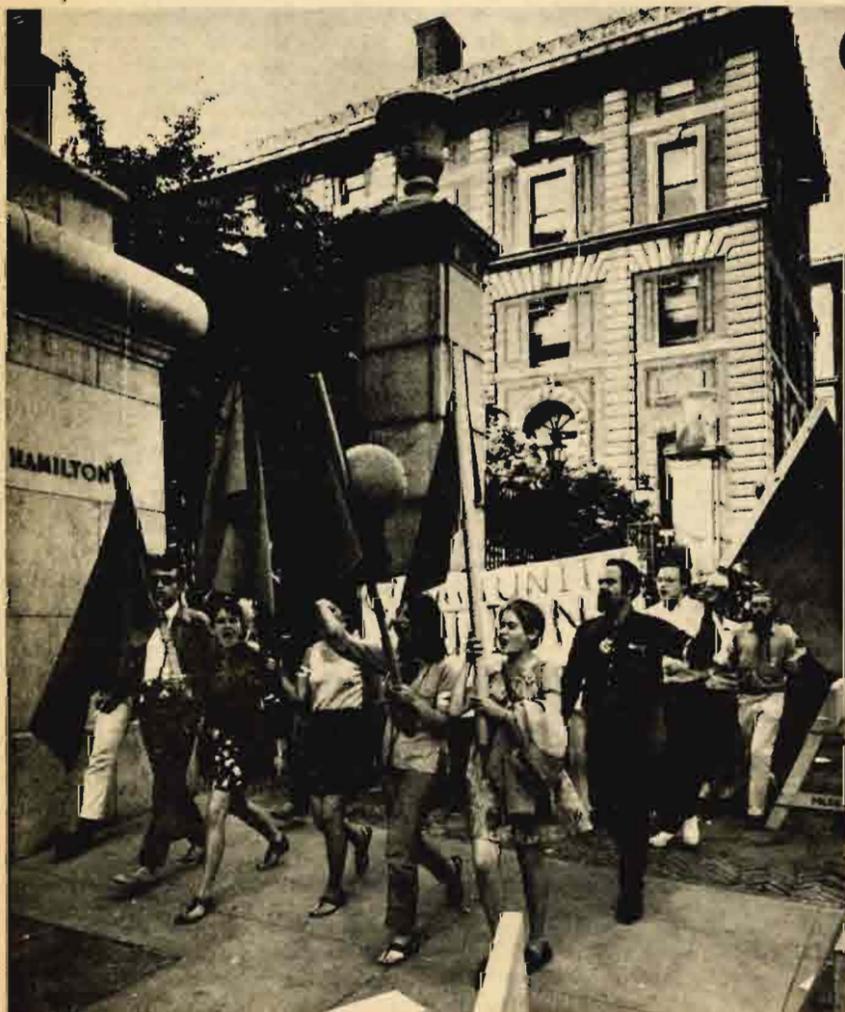
In brief, the story of the expansion of the strike committee is as follows. The original committee called for a mass meeting for Wednesday night, the day following the bust. This meeting was attended by over 1,300 people, all vigorously anti-administration, and most of whom were ready to follow radical leadership. At that meeting, the strike committee proposed a two part resolution:

- 1) Expand the strike committee to include representatives of any new constituency groups to form on the basis of 1 rep to 70 members. Groups could join if they supported the original six demands.
- 2) Restart the university under our own auspices by running liberated courses, and eventually establishing a provisional administration.

Debate centered around the question of requirements for joining the strike committee: the radicals thought it was absolutely necessary in order to maintain some political coherence, while the liberals, centered around the graduate-faculties student council grouping, wanted, as usual, the broadest base possible and no requirements. A full description of the political and psychological vicissitudes of this meeting is given by Eric Mann in his article, but in brief, through a misunderstanding, I capitulated the strike committee position to the liberal one, establishing an apolitical strike committee.

This error in itself did not have to be fatal; nor was it, since the radicals did go out and organize like hell the next day, both in the constituent groups which were being formed and in the new strike committee itself. The new committee passed almost unanimously the six demands, plus a seventh on being able to participate in restructuring, so it looked to us (the radicals) that we had "reinject" politics back into the committee. One good aspect of the error, which should not be underestimated, was that the liberals were prevented from organizing themselves into an opposition for two whole weeks. They had had plans to walk out of the original meeting described above and form a rump strike committee, but those plans were blocked by my "co-optation".

The failure to deepen and expand the radical base which had formed during the oc-



cupation of the buildings, however, lay at the root of our problems. In stead of maintaining the communes as the bodies with effective power, they became only the left-wing which sent delegates to a coalition strike committee organized much like a student council. Not only political sharpness, but also the militancy which defined our strike by struggle was lost.

The people in the buildings had fought. Many were new to the radical movement, many were just learning--this was a time of openness, of new experiences and life-situations. If ever the phrase "practice outran theory" was true, this was such a time. People seizing buildings, yelling "Up Against the Wall, Motherfucker", fighting cops, committing their lives and careers to a movement for liberation--this was all new and unexplained in political terms. During the liberation of the buildings, too, the frantic pace had kept discussion on too much of a tactical level (should we barricade?, should we negotiate with the cops?), often focused away from the broader questions that would tell people why, where this is all going, how it fits into a broader, world-wide struggle.

After the bust, there was more time, yet two important factors relating to the formation of the coalition strike committee intervened: 1) The communes were kept together, but their function became more and more a combination veterans' organization and discussion group rather than power source. In the buildings the knowledge that political decisions had to be made, and no one else would do it held the discussions together. Now, through a system of representative democracy, and also the sharing of power with liberal groups, people in communes, feeling powerless, said, "so what?". The communes should have been given effective power. 2) The radical leadership was kept occupied in the nightly torture session called "Strike Coordinating Committee Meetings". This was totally wasted time since the Strike Committee, instead of being a source of strength for the strike, was really the weakest element. Vis-a-vis the needs of the radical constituency, the strike committee kept the leadership tied up instead of free to talk with and "organize" the real base, working with the people, the real power.

This denial of power to the militants and reliance on the coalition strike committee resulted in the lack of militancy which sealed the fate of the strike and kept it from becoming a struggle as intense and drawn out as San Francisco State.

There were many of our number who saw the mistake, but their counsel, "escalate at all points", certainly the wisest strategy in a struggle where radical politics have the upper hand and the initiative, went ignored.

How does a mass radical movement involve greater and greater numbers in decision-making? How does it maintain its radical politics when faced with demands for coalition? These problems are still unanswered, though the experiences of Columbia and San Francisco State do help provide some ideas.

Significance of the Columbia Uprising

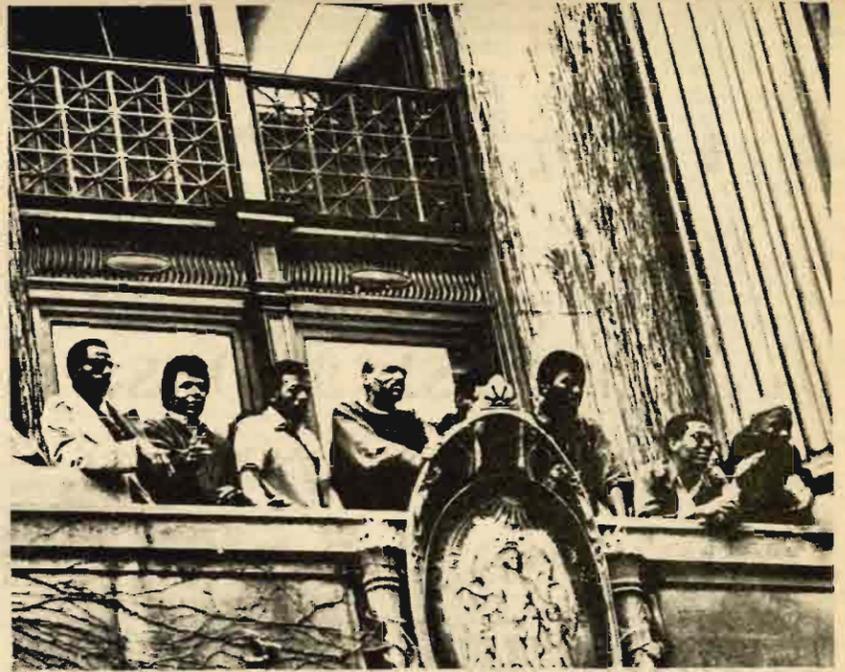
In these notes I've tended to emphasize the errors we made in order to communicate some of the lessons learned during what was for all of us the most intense political experience of our lives.

The failure to establish mass, militant, long-term radical politics has at least in part been answered by the experience of San Francisco State and other schools, Martin Nicolaus writing in the MOVEMENT has also pointed out that the TWLF/BSU movement at State has allowed no leader/symbol/star figures to emerge through the mass media. Both politically and personally this has been a bad error in the Columbia struggle, though it has had some advantages (ability to sue my name to draw large audiences, make money, etc.)

The confusion over the radical position on the university, and the function of a student movement in building a revolutionary movement has begun to be cleared up by the Revolutionary Youth Movement proposal passed by the Ann-Arbor - Winter NC. The ideas in this resolution have not been completely clarified in SDS, but the departure from both student-movement-in-itself and also worker-student alliance politics is clear to most. This proposal is, in a sense, the ideological successor to Columbia.

The victories of the Columbia struggle, however, were great. It was the most sustained and most intense radical campus struggle up to that time, around the clearest politics.

At a time when the radical movement was the most dis-heartened and dis-spirited due to the grins of McCarthy, the Columbia rebellion broke through the gloom as an example of the power a radical movement could attain. It is no coincidence that the McCarthy movement at Columbia, starting off with over 600 members the first day, has never been able to revive after the rebellion of the spring. Liberal politics were exposed as just so much shallow verbiage and waster effort when compared to the power of a mass



radical movement, around significant issues such as racism and imperialism. The radical "base", for the first time ever at one campus, attained a number in the thousands.

Nation-wide, Columbia and Chicago provided the models for militancy and energy which attracted masses of students after the total failure of conventional politics this summer and fall. The content of that politics, too, the compromise and reformism of McCarthyism, were juxtaposed to the thorough-going analysis of the left on imperialism, racism, poverty, the class nature of the society. All this was highlighted by Columbia.

At Columbia, our two principle demands, the ending of construction on the gym in Morningside Park, and the formal severing of ties with the Institute for Defense Analyses, were, in fact, met. This laid the basis for broadening the demands this fall to ending all defense and government research and stopping all university expansion into the community.

Perhaps the most important result of the rebellion, in terms of long-term strategy for the movement, was the creation of new alliances with student, non-student, community and working class groups throughout the city. A chapter that had been mostly inward-looking and campus oriented suddenly opened up and began to realize the tremendous importance of the various types of hook-ups--support, tactical alliance, coalition--which would broaden the radical movement beyond its white "middle-class" student base.

First of all was the tactical alliance with the black students in Hamilton Hall, sometimes close, sometimes more distant, but always working parallel toward the same goal. This was described at the beginning of this article, but it's worthwhile reiterating the tremendous importance of the experience as a model for the different types of relationships possible with militant black students.

Backing up the black students as a source of power, and to some extent behind the whites as well, was the Harlem community, sometimes mobilized, sometimes lying in wait. This force proved not only the greatest single deterrent to a police bust, but also provided ALL demonstrating students with support in the form of mass rallies and demonstrations, manpower, money, food donations and morale boosting. Black high school students sparked the militants in Fayerweather Hall, then returned to their own schools and within two weeks had created the most militant high school anti-racist strikes New York City has seen in recent times. A Strike Committee member spoke at a rally at 7th Avenue and 125th Street in Central Harlem, the first white person to do so in anyone's memory. After the rebellion, the relationship between N.Y. SDS and N.Y. Black Panther Party has grown increasingly closer.

As a result of the liberation of the buildings, anti-Columbia organizing activity in the mostly white Morningside Heights neighborhood revived to an all-time high. The Community Action Committee, organized completely by community residents, provided support to the students in the form of demonstration and even a rent-strike of tenants in Columbia's tenements. On May 14, the CAC liberated an apartment in a tenement on 114th St. in an effort to dramatize the decimation of the community by Columbia's racist expansionist policies. The CAC led numerous actions over the summer, all working closely with students at the Liberation School. The work of the CAC was not all a bed of roses, problems developed over the fact that the organizers were mostly middle-class young people who were estranged from both white working class residents who were threatened and the middle-class residents whose buildings were not in jeopardy.

As a direct result of the strike, Cafeteria workers, mostly Spanish-speaking, ended their 30 year battle with Columbia, one of the most repressive employers in the city, with the formation of a local of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers' Union, one of the few anti-war unions in New York City. Student organizers, all SDS members, did most of the work for Local 1199, and red-baiting by the bosses was effectively turned against Columbia since the workers knew the students would be on their side if the union was denied.

More general off-campus results of the uprising, though important, are hard to estimate. Despite the distortions of the press, many people began to see that students are willing to fight militantly for good goals--ending racism, ending the war. Though no mass or general strike erupted in the nation around our demands, we feel the Columbia rebellion helped break down the antagonism of working people toward students fighting only for their own privilege (at least where the truth got through).

Internal changes in the chapter took the form of the wealth of experience absorbed by hundreds of individuals. It is almost a truism at this point to cite the incredible changes in consciousness that took place through the action ("Revolution is the best education for honorable men"--Che). The rebellion trained new leaders, some of whom have left Columbia to provide other local movement with leadership. From my travels around the country, I've seen that the level of political discussion at Columbia is as high or higher than anywhere in the country, including the radical "center" in the Bay Area. Though the number of militants active in the chapter is only slightly greater than last year, a terrible falling attributable to reasons cited above, a chapter member with many years' experience recently commented that the entire undergraduate school and most of the graduate students look to SDS for political leadership, and, most important, see SDS as acting in their interest. This is perhaps the only campus in the country where the SDS chapter can call the whole school its "base".

Our strength was greatest at the time of our greatest militancy. It was also the time that we resolved to fight--to disregard all the liberal Cassandras warning us of the horrors of the police bust and the right-wing reaction. In a sense it was a time when we overcame our own middle-class timidity and fear of violence. We, of course, were following the lead of the blacks, but we were also forging new paths where elite white students had never been before. At that time nothing could defeat us, not the police, not the jocks, not the liberal faculty, so treacherous and yet so important, only our own (we found out later) weakness and bad political judgement. The liberal world was paralyzed; radicals had a vision of what victory seems like.

Of course we made mistakes, dozens of them. At the lowest points, feeling that the movement itself had erred in irreconcilable ways (such as leaving Hamilton Hall, which we at that time did not understand as inevitable and even a source of strength), we found the strength to go on in the knowledge that somehow history was carrying us forward. Also important was the observation that after making 43 mistakes, 44 wouldn't make any difference, so we threw ourselves into the next crisis.

Above all, we learned almost accidentally the great truth stated by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, "Dare to struggle, dare to win".



BOBBY SEALE

talks to **THE MOVEMENT** about
L.A. assassinations,
cultural nationalism,
exhausting all political means,
community programs,
black capitalism



THE MOVEMENT: Recently the Black Panther Party announced plans to hold nationwide birthday parties for Huey P. Newton. Would you tell us when they are going to take place and some of the thinking behind this program?

BOBBY SEALE: Huey's birthday is on the 17th of February and we plan to hold the rallies on that date or on that weekend. We want people around the country to celebrate Huey P. Newton's birthday and the Party is going to do its best, through its forty odd chapters around the country, to get out as much information as possible to people concerning the status of Huey's case.

Just recently the California Supreme Court turned down a Habeus Corpus bail motion and that is now going to be sent to the U.S. Supreme Court. In addition there is a motion for mistrial also going to the Supreme Court. The basis for this mistrial motion is the fact that Greer's (star prosecution witness) testimony was changed by the District Attorney. The original statement that he gave to the police department stated that he "DID NOT" GET A CLEAR LOOK at who it was, but later Jensen, the assistant D.A. changed the statement saying that he did. The judge had to admit, while the jury was out deliberating, that Greer's statement was changed and that this information should be given to the jury, but it never really was. Later after the jury convicted Huey of THIRD degree murder, and not FIRST degree, the members of the jury stated that they didn't know anything about the fact that Greer's testimony had been changed by Jensen. (For complete details on the Greer testimony and other aspects of Huey's trial see the MOVEMENT, October, 1968). We feel that these are the key grounds for mistrial and that a mistrial will automatically warrant bail for Huey on this particular charge because the only thing they can charge him with is third degree murder (manslaughter) and not first.

I'd like to say too that we respect the fact that a lot of people came forth and stood for the position that Huey P. Newton should be set free. We've found out, now that all this is over, that the jury did have a lot of political pressure from the masses of the people out there, black, white and Mexican-American who stood for the fact that Huey P. Newton should be set free.

We want now to remobilize the people around the fact that Huey P. Newton must receive a mistrial--that the battle is really not over just because some slick politicians did some lying and pulled some tricks in the courtroom. We should not stop and give up and say this is the end of it because with the forty some odd chapters of the Black Panther Party across the country and other organizations such as SDS, Peace and Freedom parties and other organizations who understand the tricks that the pigs and the power structure are going to pull we can once again put pressure from the masses of people on the courts. If we don't they will just sit there and pull their same old lying tricks again and try and keep Huey P. Newton as a political prisoner for the next fifteen years.

DEFENSE COMMITTEES

What we want to do is set up defense committees across the nation--Newton/Cleaver defense committees. The International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver is the same as Huey's defense fund drive. These groups are working and functioning to raise funds for the legal defense primarily. At the same time they are trying to educate the masses of people about political prisoners as a whole, all of them. We understand that Huey P. Newton is the key political prisoner in this country at

the present time. Eldridge Cleaver, who has been forced into exile, is also highly significant. We have a lot of brothers here in the party who have been charged with crimes and who are also political prisoners as long as they are within the confines of those jails that the pig power structure puts up. We want people to be educated on a massive level and the key issue is to get them to relate to the fact that we want Huey P. Newton set free. We want amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver and we want all black political prisoners, all political prisoners regardless of their color, to be set free. These people who are political prisoners are only trying to educate us to the true nature of this racist, decadent, exploitative, capitalistic system.

We want these Newton/Cleaver defense committees to be ongoing. Their first objective should be to raise some funds and that is one of the purposes of the Free Huey birthday benefit celebrations. After that we want the Newton/Cleaver defense committees to hang together and build their committees so that they can go forward with the program to educate the masses of people until we get Huey P. Newton set free. Ongoing until we get amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver. Ongoing until we free all political prisoners and begin to change this racist, decadent system.

L.A. ASSASSINATIONS

MOVEMENT: Recently in Los Angeles the Black Panther Party was attacked by groups other than the official police in the form of assassination of two key leaders, John Huggins, Deputy Minister of Information of Southern California; and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, Deputy Minister of Defense of Southern California. Would you comment on these assassinations?

BOBBY: The political assassinations are, of course, directly related to this atrocious, murderous system. As Brother Maasia, one of the new leaders of the chapter in L.A. says, "There's a hog (demagogic politicians), there's a pig (racist police forces), and there's a boar (avaricious businessmen). Those who committed the assassinations in Los Angeles are pork chops and the pork chops are in fact the same as the pig. Now we know for a fact that the pork chops, the cultural nationalists in this country, are easily swayed and used by pig power structure. In Los Angeles it was the pork chops of the organization, US, led by Ron Karenga that are responsible for the political assassinations of two of our main leaders, John Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter.

This is not the first conflict between the Panthers and US. In the past they have been protected by the pigs. Over a year ago a couple of members of US got into an argument with a Black Panther member and they followed him home and as he was going into his house they started shooting at him. The Panther drew out his gun and started shooting back while he retreated into his house. There he continued shooting out the window. Some neighbors called the police when they heard the shooting. Here's these bald headed US niggers standing out behind a car shooting in at the house and this Panther and a couple of his friends inside shooting back out, defending themselves, when the pigs drive up. The righteous police force drives up and they stand out behind the cars helping the US niggers shoot the man inside his house. Finally they charged the house and arrested two of the three people inside, the other one escaping. It just shows that the pork chops have direct, actual protection from the racist pig department who've been murdering black people in the streets.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

It's a known fact that the US organization uses coercion against other black people, specifically against members of the Black Congress in Los Angeles and members of the BSU in Los Angeles. While I don't have any definite information I'll be willing to bet 10 to 1 they killed some of them down there and it's just absurd. The pig power structure is out trying to crush the Black Panther Party because the Black Panther Party is significantly relating to the basic political desires and needs of black people in a revolutionary political fashion. The pork chop nationalists being part of the pig have been aiding them in this attempt.

CULTURAL NATIONALISM

MOVEMENT: What do you think there is about cultural nationalism, aside from the agents within their groups, that makes them the enemy of revolutionaries?

BOBBY: Well, I understand cultural nationalism this way. They come primarily from the middle class bourgeoisie. They have a tendency to practice a form of black racism, initially through rhetoric. Franz Fannon, who wrote the book, *WRETCHED OF THE EARTH*, states that many times our black brothers who are in these colleges and who relate to the bourgeois class have their intellectual possessions still in pawn to the Man's system so much that they begin to hate a white person simply because of the color of their skin. That's really practicing the same racism that exists in the system that we are trying to destroy. This is trying to fight fire with fire. This is not a functional thing to do because every practical person in the black community knows that if a fire starts in their house they don't go running to get some fire to put it out, they get some water to put the fire out because everybody knows that you put fire out with water.

The Black Panther Party gets this analysis and this understanding from having a broader perspective of what the class system is about. We think the cultural nationalist's ideology is very limited. The first thing they start talking about is their culture. They're trying to identify, they're the ones who've been lost, that have been most disconnected with the culture of Africa or what have you or whatever they think they might need to sustain themselves. They are more easily used by the pig power structure than the masses--the field niggers. A field nigger is literally robbed by the pig power structure and he figures out a way to go forth and take back some of that stuff that was robbed from him--as an individual without being able to articulate it himself.

Now this cultural nationalist is suppose to be able to articulate and he does, but he does so in such a fashion that projects this same racist capitalist system. That's very important because the capitalist system is a class system. The Black Panther Party is dealing more with killing and getting rid of the class system. We're talking about socialism. The cultural nationalists say that socialism won't do anything for us. There's the contradiction between the old and the new. Black people have no time to practice black racism and the masses of black people do not hate white people just because of the color of their skin. What the masses of black people actually hate (and this is something I have said time and time again; Huey has said it time and time again) is what is being done to us and the system that creates what is being done to us.

The masses of black people understand there's a few John Browns around somewhere who are going to be helping to get rid of those racist, capitalistic exploiters in this country. So we're not going to go out foolishly and say there is no possibility of aligning with some righteous white revolutionaries, or Mexican-American revolutionaries, or other poor and oppressed peoples in this country who might come to see the light about the fact that it's the capitalist system that they must get rid of.

A cultural nationalist is a fool. The white racist power structure will holler "black capitalism" and just because the word black is on the front of capitalism he relates to it. But the Black Panther Party is smarter than that because we ask the question what about Jewish capitalism? What about Irish capitalism? What about Anglo-Saxon capitalism? The only thing they've ever done for us, if you look back in history, especially Anglo-Saxon and Irish capitalism, was to perpetuate the exploitation. The Anglo-Saxon capitalist kept black people in slavery, stole the land away from the Indians, oppressed Mexican-Americans, oppressed Chinese-Americans. So capitalism can't be any good for us and this is what these cultural nationalists don't understand. They don't know how to deal with that. So they come up and

tell us things like, "I'm tricking the man out of some of this money". Well the man is the biggest trickster in the damn world. He has tricked people out of whole countries, out of whole continents and here is this fool, this ignorant ass coming down telling us he's tricking the man out of something. So we say that once we understand what class is all about we are going to have to show these fools that they're going to have to get some broader ideology.

POINT OF STRAIN

MOVEMENT: If we could delve into this a little further. As long as 6 or 9 months ago Eldridge predicted that there would be these kinds of assassinations by cultural nationalist groups working with the Man. We have always felt that one of the key points of strain between cultural nationalists and the revolutionary nationalists, led by the Black Panther Party, was over some of the ideological questions you have just raised. Specifically the Panther ideology, mainly expressed by Huey as the need for revolutionary nationalism coupled with the need for revolution in the white mother country. (See Huey Newton talks to the MOVEMENT, August, 1968. Also available as a pamphlet from the MOVEMENT PRESS, 330 Grove St., S.F. California 94102 or SDS, 1608 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 60612 - 15¢) Would you like to comment on this aspect.

BOBBY: The cultural nationalists have accused the Black Panther Party of being, I have to laugh at this, a "front for white radicals" and of course we are not a front for white radicals. We are an organization that represent black people and many white radicals relate to this and understand that the Black Panther Party is a righteous revolutionary front against this racist, decadent, capitalistic system. Our organization doesn't have any white people as members. If a white man in a radical group wants to give me some guns, I'll take them. I'm not going to refuse them because he's white.

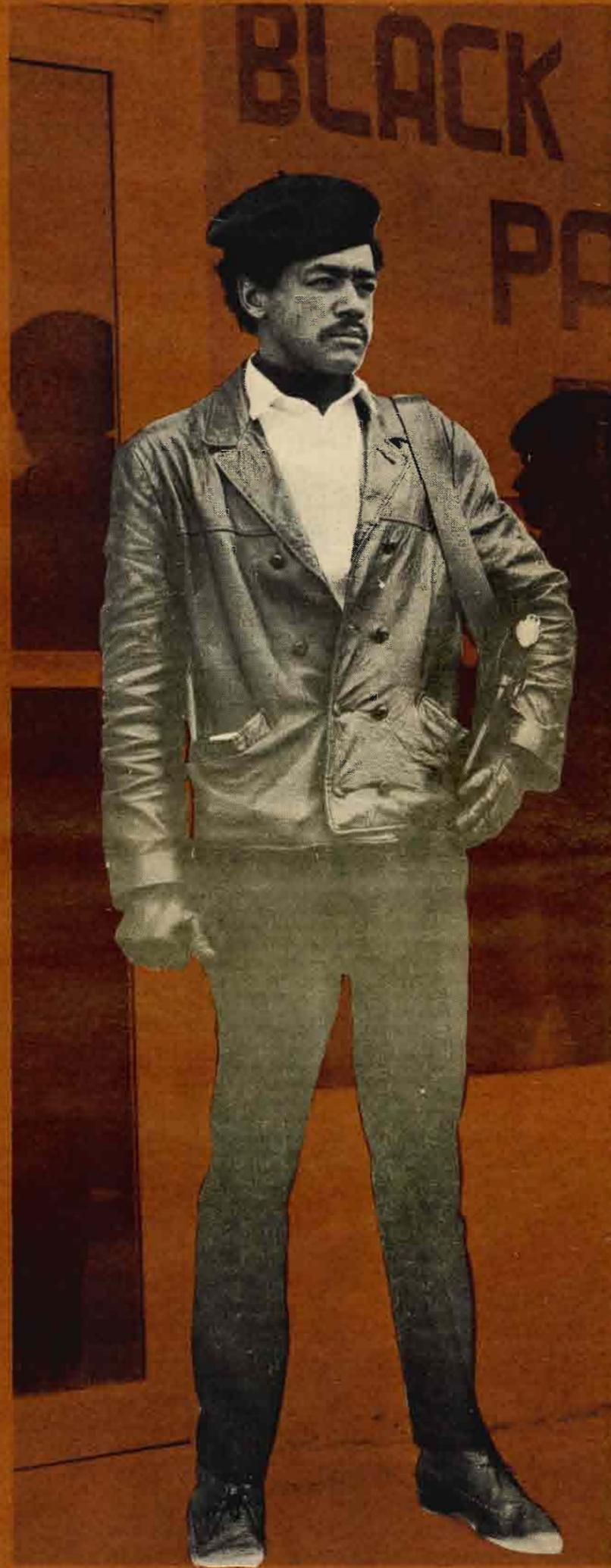
Eldridge talked about the necessity for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country. I'd like to explain it more on a practical level. What's happening here is that it's impossible, as Huey says, for us to have control of the institutions in our community when a capitalistic system exists on the outside of it. When in fact the capitalistic system was the very system that enslaved us and is responsible for our continued oppression. So if we want to develop a socialistic system within the black community we're saying its also going to have to exist in the white community. We're saying that the white community, the mother country, is the father of racist, exploitative capitalism and it exploits black people in the black community. When Nixon begins to spread the idea of black capitalism all he's doing is strengthening the capitalistic system which is the very system that put us in slavery.

BLACK CAPITALISM

The cultural nationalists have a large tendency to relate to black capitalism. We say that's wrong. We're talking about socialism as a whole and not just black socialism. It would be absurd to go to Cuba and start talking about black socialism. The cultural nationalists talk about the third world. We talk about the colored peoples of the world but at the same time there are still going to be many many white people who are going to want to change the system because they are part and parcel of the development of mankind. If the third world and the majority of the poor oppressed people happen to be colored and they make a profound impact upon large numbers of white people about a new and better system where mankind doesn't exploit mankind then in fact this is positive, not negative.

The cultural nationalists don't understand that when the Black Panther Party has alliances or coalitions with white people it is with those white people who are basically opposed to the racist, capitalistic system. The cultural nationalists don't have enough sense to see this. These same cultural nationalists want to work downtown with the capitalists. They want jobs there in the poverty programs. They claim they are tricking the Man. They are working with the REAL AVARICIOUS PIGS who have been oppressing them for 400 years. We are trying to make a profound impact on a lot of white people in this country and especially those liberals, leftists and radicals in the white community to understand what we're really saying.

The whites will have to go back and shoot their mothers and fathers who are across this country and around the world. That's exactly what's going to have



This photo now available as poster. See Black Panther Ad on page 23.



PHOTO: THE BLACK PANTHER

to happen and we don't pull any bones on our end. If we see a black cop riding down the street murdering a black man or brutalizing him, it's not the color of his skin its the actions and the things he's doing that we're opposed to, so we're going to have to kill him too. It doesn't make any difference what color the person's skin is, it's what the person is doing to the people.

Basically cultural nationalists turn into Papa Docs. Papa Doc rules Haiti and oppresses the people. We can't have no cultural nationalists in this country who are going to run around and murder and brutalize and intimidate people just for some chickenshit chump change. And if they think they're bad, well they ain't seen nothing yet.

MOVEMENT: Have you had a problem with cultural nationalists coming into the Black Panther Party?

BOBBY: If any black man comes into the party and he's a black racist we say he's got a right to be a black racist, but he has no right to hinder the revolutionary program. And the revolutionary program does not at all cater to a philosophy of black racism. It caters to a philosophy of revolutionary change.

PURGES

MOVEMENT: We raised this question because recent issues of the Black Panther Newspaper have talked about internal purges in the party. Would you like to comment on this?

BOBBY: The internal purges in the Party are primarily to get rid of people who are trying to practice schism--a form of factionalism. The basis of this factionalism is opportunism. These people have been engaging in subjective analysis. This subjective analysis does not allow for proven scientific thought about revolutionary struggle, about class struggle. They are basically opportunists. An opportunist is one who will try to cause factions in the party. This may work on many levels; overt spontaneity is an example. We have an organization, a revolutionary organization and this organization has rules, it has revolutionary principles and it adopts revolutionary tactics. The organization makes analysis objectively and NOT SUBJECTIVELY. We make analysis from political theory as to how things are going and as to how things are moving and what we should do to destroy the capitalistic system. To maintain this we have a form of criticism and self-criticism within internal party operations. This is very important for each individual in this Party. Some of those haven't accepted self-criticism are basically opportunist and they will do things that are negative to the Party. CULTURAL NATIONALISTS AS A WHOLE CANNOT STAND SELF-CRITICISM, but it is vital for our party in order to keep us honest. To really be dedicated to revolutionary changes for poor black and oppressed peoples in this country.

MOVEMENT: Have there been other aspects of the purges, such as an intensification of political education?

BOBBY: We have had an intensification of political education at this time. Many of the brothers who come off the block are not hip to reading sometimes, but we found that brothers begin to relate a lot more when they read the Red Book, or when they begin to read the Essays of the Minister of Defense. Then they begin to relate to what the Party really is. They get an understanding of the Party functioning for the people.

This intensive political education is very necessary for them to learn, for them to know the theories, the revolutionary theory. They must have the theory down and the theory tells them how to place it into practice and by placing it into practice they learn many, many things. This is very necessary for us to do.

Presently the Party isn't taking in any more new members. For the next three to six months we will be concentrating on raising the political understanding within the Party to a very high level. At the same time we will be going forth with our community programs.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

MOVEMENT: Which community programs are you concentrating on now?

BOBBY: The four key programs we are trying to implement are: the breakfast for children which is going on now; the petition campaign for the community control of the police; free health clinics in the black community; and black liberation schools in the black community. Some people are going to call these programs reformist but we're revolutionaries and what they call a reformist program is one thing when the capitalists put it up and it's another thing when the revolutionary camp puts it up.

Revolutionaries must always go forth to answer the momentary desires and needs of the people, the poor and oppressed people, while waging the revolu-

tionary struggle. It's very important because it strengthens the people's revolutionary camp while it weakens the camp of the capitalist power structure. The struggle is long and hard and we have found that the pigs will attack up and try to shoot us and try to kill us. They will use cultural nationalists to help them do it. They will try to stop these programs because the pig power structure has more sense than the cultural nationalists. It knows that the revolutionary programs we are putting forth are weakening his camp. So he tries to strengthen his camp by using "Negroes", by using niggers.

MOVEMENT: Will you talk concretely about how a breakfast for children program weakens the pig power structure?

BOBBY: Yes. First let me explain what the program is. We have Black Panther Party members who get up at 6:30 in the morning to be down at the churches in the black community by 7 o'clock to prepare food to serve to the school kids by 7:30.

This weakens the power structure because the business men in the black community are the ones who have to donate to this program. We hope to get this going around the country--that of every dollar that a racist capitalist (or any kind of businessman, be he black or white) a penny of it is going to have to come back to the community. The very businessman who exploits the community must begin to give at least a penny back. And it's organized in such a way that those pennies accumulate a hell of a lot of food for every dollar and that food goes into the stomachs of the children in the black community.

SOCIALISM

This is a socialistic program. We take it away from the big businessman. The politicians, if they were really honest, would have instituted this a long time ago as a means of strengthening his camp and he might still try to co-opt this program and he will probably use some cultural nationalists to help him. But we're going to leave it in the camp of the people.

We are making use of the churches in the black community that are not used in the early mornings. This program also helps more people in the community to relate to the party. They see that the party is not a bunch of avaricious fools. We have kicked out the people who robbed those banks and robbed taverns and liquor stores for 200 and 300 and 80 dollars. We are concerned with the desires of the people and naturally the people are going to relate to what the Party is trying to put together for them. They will relate to the fact that the Party is really trying to serve them. We go down there to work, to put this program together. They become involved because they are community people, and there's not even a preacher in any church (preachers have always brainwashed the black people) who can deny a breakfast for children program. There's not a businessman nor a demagogic politician around who can deny a breakfast for children program and get away with it.

The first businessman who says he ain't gonna donate, we're gonna tell the people in the black community "Don't buy from him". Why? Because he won't donate one penny of every dollar for some breakfast from some children before they go to school in the morning. It's a socialistic program. We're educating the people through a practical functioning operation of a socialistic program. Once the people see a socialistic program is valuable to them, they won't throw it away. By practicing socialism they learn it better.

SERVE THE PEOPLE

A revolutionary organization has to maintain and righteously serve the people and not just give them. And when the people see that we're not giving they're going to relate to that. Because it's their program. We're giving every penny we get to them, it's theirs--we say it's the people's money.

as Huey has said, "We are only like oxen to be ridden by the people. A strong detachment that the people can always use to serve them or when crisis comes forth. The Party tries to help solve their problems, to aid and assist the people and see that their basic political desires are answered."

These are the programs that we are working on. Free health clinics in the black community when we get those going. We are going to institute free health clinics. FREE health clinics. The word "free". They talk about freedom in very abstract, superficial rhetoric. FREE breakfast for children. Now we got some freedom working. Free health clinic, see what I mean--that's freedom. There's something materially valuable there, something for the survival of our people. Free to live. Like Huey P. Newton says, "every man on the face

of this earth has a right to live, therefore he has a right to work". That's basic.

That's why free health clinics, community control of the police, free breakfast for the children. This is what freedom really is--and much, much more in the future. It's got to be materially valuable; it's got to be constructed and organized and its got to relate to the political needs and desires of the people.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS

MOVEMENT: Tell us some of your thinking about the liberation schools and how they are going to operate.

BOBBY: We plan to start teaching school children from high school all the way down to grammar school. We're trying to get some of the college brothers to work on this and some have responded. We felt that the first thing to be implemented had to be the breakfast for children program. But at the same time we know that the kids in the schools have got to be taught about themselves, their black history, the class system and who cheats who--not the same bullshit they get now. So the black liberation classes will begin soon using the same churches in the afternoon after the kids get out of school.

We plan to have different programs for the different levels. At the high school level we will probably teach more about revolutionary principles. On the grammar school level we will probably teach more about black history, about the avaricious pigs. We are going to teach little black kids how to identify not only a white pig, but also a black pig. We want to get rid of the Uncle Toms and the pork chop nationalists. That's very important. We're going to be talking about downing the class system, cultural nationalists and capitalists, both black and white, who are the same: exploitative.

The pigs used the black bourgeoisie class and a lot of jive white liberals to perpetuate and strengthen their racist, capitalist camp. They say that the government is "all right", that they have "a war on poverty" and "We're not really robbers and thieves. Now the new president is coming in and he's hollaring "black capitalism". He's thinking the more niggers I can get to be black capitalists the more I can trick the rest of them niggers in the field out there. But there is a Black Panther Party out there and we're strengthening the revolutionary camp of the people. Every capitalist that's in the black community, and we don't give a damn what color he is, is going to donate something to the black people. Mexican-Americans can do the same thing. The poor whites too, if they'd just open their minds, can do the same thing. So it's not limited to black people only, these kinds of programs.

Everybody's wondering about how come we don't get federal funds. No. We're not going for that. That businessman, that capitalist in the community that's been robbing us, we can get more from him. And that's where it's gonna come from.

MOVEMENT: How do you intend to force the capitalists in the black community to pay for these programs?

BOBBY: Through the use of the power of the people. The power of the black community manifested in the Party. The businessman in our community is subjected to the black community and we can run him out of business overnight if he don't want to go for it.

EXHAUSTING

ALL POLITICAL MEANS

MOVEMENT: You have a petition campaign for a program of community control of the police. Tell us how this campaign fits into the strategy of exhausting all political means in the course of the struggle.

BOBBY: We go forth into the black community and people's consciousness is raised by the attacks that the pig power structure has made upon the Black Panther Party and upon the black community at large even before the Black Panther Party got started. It has been raised to the level where they say "down with the pigs". How? That's very important.

How do we continue to raise their consciousness to another level? Exhaust all political means. We will use the apparatus of voting in this country. The community control of police is nothing but an operation by which we put on the ballot for the people at large, the masses, to vote. To say that the present police department should be abolished and a new one established that comes directly from, is run by, and set up by the community.

If the voting operation does not win or if they gerrymander the votes then the pig power structure will be exposed. It will be saying, "We're not going to be removed. We don't give a damn about the people's right to vote". The

people will have their consciousness raised. They will say, "We voted you out and now you're saying we don't have a right to vote you out". The people will say, "You're not a policeman anymore, if you shoot anyone in this community you're committing murder as far as we're concerned.

If we don't win, if we get less than 50% of the vote then we have a working force. That's a revolutionary force. That's a strengthening of the revolutionary camp. If we get only a quarter of the votes that's the foundation that the revolutionary camp is relying on in terms of moving around. We can still go forth and get more signatures and go for another ballot and continue to try and educate the people more.

Meanwhile what's going to be happening? The pig power structure is going to be making attacks on those who are trying to initiate the struggle. That's very important. Once they make an attack the people are going to get more pissed off and they are going to clearly see how just because we went through what they call a "legal process", that's supposed to be for the people, we get attacked and shot and murdered. That raises the consciousness of the people.

By using all means to exhaustion the people become very clear as to what they have to do. The people themselves, at large, will run and off the pig power structure and change the system; change the system for a better one.

ORGANIZATION'S GROWTH

MOVEMENT: Would you comment on the growth of the organization nationally and some of the problems this has caused.

BOBBY: The attacks that have come down against us have had some positive results, so to speak. We gave the whole year of 1968 to the pigs and thank them for organizing our organization. Of course these attacks have also caused losses and considerable problems. In Seattle, three brothers have been killed, but there have been two pigs killed and nine wounded. In Denver they raided our office and in Newark they bombed the office. In New York there has been a lot of trouble, with the pigs jumping on the brothers.

They have tried to intimidate us. Each chapter has had the same problems that the central headquarters has had. But we've stood up against them and the organization is still growing. One of the key problems has been keeping the chapters supplied with our organ, THE BLACK PANTHER, the Black Community News Service. This is key because we know from studying revolutionary principles that the organ is a real organizing tool in terms of directly contacting the masses and relating to building their consciousness.

To some extent also we have had problems with a few new members who are very opportunistic, at first. Every time we are attacked we get hundreds of new members just flushing in. The people don't like us being attacked. Once in a while we get cultural nationalists as new members. We try to teach them that the only culture is a revolutionary culture. To get them to understand this in a very broad sense. We want brothers who are black nationalists and at the same time internationalists. They have to understand that they must be internationalists because this is a people's struggle as a whole. And black people just happen to be a moving vanguard force within the confines of racist America, putting forth this revolutionary struggle and aiding and contributing to the world wide struggle.

Since the attacks by the pigs all through 1968 did so much to build our organization the power structure is using another technique and that is to try to use cultural nationalists to try to destroy our organization so they can make it look like they aren't the ones. But the Party knows and we understand that it's really the puppeteer, the pig power structure itself, from the FBI and Nixon all the way down to the local major and the local pigs who are using the cultural nationalists. So we're going to get rid of the cultural nationalists and that's all part and parcel of changing the system as a whole. ●



HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND

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mama strike

Now into its fourth month, the strike at S.F. State grows on. It has incredibly survived a bust of historic proportions to finish the semester with a thousand-strong picket line. It has become the Mother of at least three other strikes in the educational system, and the Brother of an ongoing labor strike. (see the story on page 3.) It has resurrected parts of the mouldering body of Bay Area radical-liberal politics, given birth to a promising student-teacher-labor-black-brown-yellow coalition, and made itself the focus of state politics. The off-campus power of the strike is several times and several kinds greater than a month ago, yet the powers upstairs, hoping for a slim inside straight in the face of diminishing odds, appear to have hardened their position.

On the campus itself, the major event has been a mass arrest January 23. For more than two weeks after the campus reopened (Jan. 6), student strikers led by the TWLF in the main accepted tactical ground rules laid down by the AFT. Deriving from years of AFL-CIO labor nonleadership, these rules are designed to be futile: picketing on the perimeter of the plant only, five foot spacing between pickets, no obstruction of scabs, no disruptive noises.

Despite grumbling within the ranks, TWLF accepted these tactics because they were working. Campus attendance stayed down near fifteen per cent, public attitudes were swinging toward the strike, the anarchist-terrorist image was fading. There was, initially, no need to escalate, and TWLF's tactical hand has been prudent throughout.

By the third week, however, numbers on the picket line were beginning to dwindle perceptibly. The white supporters, who supplied about two-thirds or more of picket manpower, were beginning to skip days and stay home or else join in struggles that were developing elsewhere. It was also partly due to plain old raw feet, partly heavy rains, partly boredom and political dry-rot. Absence of politics in the white strike support committee meetings contributed to lack of bodies on the line.

Sitting in his office window counting pickets, Hayakawa trumpeted to the media that the strike had collapsed. This, and approach of final exams, brought a small--but headline-grabbing--rise in attendance on campus, particularly visible in the library. At the same time the AFT headed into private exploratory talks with a subcommittee of the Board of Trustees, refloating latent suspicions of an imminent AFT "sellout". Conditions were looking rosier for the AFT part of the strike, gloomier for the student part.

The time had come for TWLF to make a tactical break. They called an on-campus rally--a repeat of pre-Christmas tactics--for Thursday, January 23. Phone squads went into action and a thousand people manned the pickets that day.

THE BIG BUST

At noon, all but 200 (mostly AFT, though a few AFT went with the main body) left the perimeter and stepped onto the long-dead campus turf to assemble at the speaker's stand. The dispersal act came from loudspeakers atop the Administration Building--as a dozen times in the past--and hundreds of helmets appeared on the horizon--also routine. But this time, instead of sweeping the crowd off campus, the Tac Squad swooped in a wedge, divided the crowd in half and formed a ring surrounding the core.

Despite heroic diversionary attacks by those who escaped, (they stormed the library and drove a squad of police into retreat with picket sticks) the encirclement held. People outside the ring had to stand by impotently while police took their sweet time booking 450* people on the spot, one by weary one. It was the biggest mass arrest in San Francisco history.

Arrestees, especially women, received extra-lousy treatment in jail, but responded in kind. Jailers refused phone calls and delayed notifying people that they had been bailed out. Women had firehoses turned on them. But both raised so much bedlam that near the end a jailer was pleading with a cop not to bring that bunch back again.

The judge who will preside at the trial or trials will have cause to echo

the sentiment. Having denied a defense motion requesting a mass trial, fearing that the Hall of Justice would be taken apart brick by brick, the court's docket will be tied up for months with individual and small-group jury trials. The bust is an expensive headache for the courts.

And for the movement. The existing bail resources were never designed for this scale of arrests. Bail for this one bust came to over \$180,000. There will have to be dozens of benefit performances in front of audiences with money to get floating. The necessity of relating to these, primarily peace-nik constituencies, may mean that the question of "violence" (breaking windows, fighting back at cops) and its role in the strike (small in terms of incidents, large in terms of insight) will get soft-pedaled, leading to possible dampers on TWLF tactics in the future.

For many of the busted and their parents, this confrontation with courts and jails has meant a step forward in consciousness, revealing something of the class nature of the judicial system to them. But this step forward still leaves them a step behind the TWLF, and exposes the strike supporters to the often-noted conservative pressures of the legal-defense process.

Nevertheless strike supporters caught a second wind, and the "semester" ended with a picket line so massive that no amount of semantics could reduce it to insignificance.

DRAGON-SLAYING AFT

Meanwhile the AFT has been winning battles of its own. Having ignored an earlier restraining order, it has gone on to ignore a subsequent injunction also. And by continuing the strike in defiance of a state law that automatically resigns a teacher who misses five days in a row, the AFT has slain the dragon that has intimidated so many other faculty initiatives.

Calling the law's bluff has paid off. Unable to get replacements for the strikers, and probably not strong enough to fire all 270 of them, the Trustees via Hayakawa have "offered to reinstate" the teachers if they go back to class for the spring semester. No concessions have been made, however, on the due-process/hours/wage/autonomy demands of the AFT, and the body seems solid for a lot more mileage. Nobody is starving or missing mortgage payments, partly thanks to financial support in modest amounts from other unions.

At a press conference to reaffirm their strike stand, AFT members back-grounded their spokesman's statement by humming, in eloquent unison, the melody of "Solidarity Forever", and that's how it went out over the radio. Many members who were timid liberals up against a wall a month ago are showing they have a backbone.

NEGOTIATIONS FAIL

The AFT's stand has come despite persistent efforts by top city labor officials to engineer a unilateral deal. George Johns, head of the city's AFL-CIO Labor Council, maneuvered for weeks to produce a formula which would get the AFT out of the strike. Johns' proposal called for the union to be "recognized" as one of several campus groups authorized to present its views to the Trustees, for a federal "recommendation" on the hours demand, sidestepping or revision of the five-day law, and for "independent" (probably benevolent business) financing and staffing of the TWLF's Ethnic Studies School.



photo: S. F. Newsteel

This toothless paper was not prepared in consultation with AFT membership, and indications are that Johns had no intention of letting it come to the rank and file for discussion in any case.

The deal fell through when Trustees balked at a provision which would allow faculty to appeal grievances over the head of the college president. Unable to salvage even this hollow show-point of achievement, Johns grew bitter and withdrew from the talks, blaming the trustees and Reagan for what he sees as the destruction of the college.

LABOR LENDS A HAND

Underneath Johns, a smallish band of more militant trade union local leaders (Painters, Longshoremen and Hospital Workers, now joined by the Teamsters whose motto seems to be "opportunity forever") are finding the S.F. State strike an occasion to come together on a common project and build community alliances. On Sunday, February 2, a rally at the Labor Temple in SF's Mission District (an international ghetto) pulled in 600 people of all generations to hear the area-wide united front organization to support the strike. Speakers from these union locals, from the black, Latino and Japanese communities, from the now reviving Peace and Freedom Party, from the AFT and the TWLF delivered a long chain of brief messages pounding home the theme of unity between all and sundry, especially AFT and TWLF.

The finale to the rally anchored the rhetoric in substance. Jake Jacobs, head of local 1561 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers at the vast Standard Oil refinery in Richmond (a half-hour freeway drive north of San Francisco in the East Bay) reported that the membership had voted unanimously to support the AFT strike, and asked for student help in shutting Standard down.

STUDENTS & WORKERS

Although merely a tactical alliance at this stage with both sides not very clear about the others' goals, the brief worker-student encounters which have taken place in the early dawn (lines went up at 5:30 a.m.) in Richmond the past two Mondays may turn out to be as fertile in producing new history as were the lunch-counter sit-ins fifteen years ago, if not more so.

Trucks were kept out, production halted, and Standard got antsy about what these long-haired freaks with a reputation for throwing bombs and burning buildings might do to its hundred megaton oilmill. The effect on attitudes among students has been invigorating.

CAL LIVES

Among the hundreds of students who made the line at Standard were a busload from the UC at Berkeley, who piled back aboard at 10 a.m. to start up their own picket line outside Sather Gate. Pulled together directly and indirectly by the success of TWLF at

State, the long-divided minority student groups at this upper-channel university set up a TWLF of their own three weeks ago and called a strike to demand ethnic studies.

Although it has made use of the tactical experience gained at State, the Cal strike has been slower in getting off the ground and remains a minority action, encountering massive student apathy and veiled racism. Farther removed economically and socially as well as geographically from their base, black, brown and yellow leaders at Cal have greater difficulty than TWLF at the lower-channel State college in representing their demands as the needs of their PEOPLE, their communities. Despite personal efforts to relate their behavior and their thinking to the world where the great majority of black, brown and yellow people survive, the minority students at Cal, precisely because they are at an elite institution cannot easily dispel the impression that their demands objectively aim primarily at the furtherance of the tiny topmost element of their people, not at the larger number. The accent so far has been more on cultural and aesthetic uniqueness than on widespread material urgencies.

The problematic nature of the movement's relations with nearby, and heavily black, Oakland, pose difficulties for the UC strike for which the tactics practiced at State do not provide a sufficient solution. Either because trouble at Cal threatens a greater investment, or out of bloodthirstiness, Reagan's reaction to the Berkeley strike has been extremely harsh. Overriding the chancellor's control of campus repression, the governor declared a state of extraordinary emergency and proclaimed a set of punitive measures reminiscent of the Nazi "exceptional legislation" in 1933. As the MOVEMENT goes to press more than 30 persons have been arrested in bloody clashes with police.

The existence of the Berkeley strike has at the very least given the Sacramento power structure a twin-engined headache, with State do to "re-open" beginning next Monday, February 17.

Meanwhile the San Jose State College AFT strike by less than a hundred faculty, kept alive more by willpower than by tides of support has ended after more than a month.

Triggered by the State strike also, a strike has been flashing on and off at Mission High School in San Francisco. (See story on page 20.)

At stake on Monday when State is supposed to reopen will be far more than the question whether x number of students will get fitting degrees. The issue broached, now, is whether or not the class of people which includes Standard Oil, Reagan, the Trustees, Alioto, Wayakawa, the School Board and the Tac Squad shall remain the masters of this patch of earth, or whether this land shall pass to the people.

No More Teachers Dirty

Few issues in recent years have been as thoroughly confusing for the left to deal with as last fall's New York City teachers' strikes, and the struggle for community control of education that precipitated the strikes. For the most part radicals knew enough to oppose the strike; confusion centered around two questions: 1) Is the struggle for community control potentially radical or necessarily reformist?; and 2) How should radical teachers in the public schools attempt to organize?--around what issues, in what organizational forms, etc.

At this point, radicals in the schools are no closer to THE answers to these questions than we were in September, during the strikes, or right after. Some points have become clarified over the past few months however, and in the interests of developing a working STRATEGIC political analysis of public education in New York (and elsewhere), it is useful to discuss them, even without sure answers to the larger questions.

We'll start with the easiest part--a description of the political nature of the U.F.T.'s strikes.

THE STRIKES

The first thing for radicals (and everyone) to realize about the school strikes in New York City is that the United Federation of Teachers' purpose was not to protect legitimate job security of teachers. Rather, the strikes were the union's attempt to destroy from the outset the efforts of the Black community to take power away from the Board of Education, and to undercut the (false) privileged relationship the U.F.T. has to the Black community. The U.F.T.'s basic strategy was to say that community control "couldn't work", and then to prove it by fucking up even the illusion of control that had been given to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Governing Board (the majority of whose members had not even been chosen by the community).

When I say "legitimate" job security was not the issue, I don't mean that U.F.T. teachers weren't afraid for their jobs--obviously they were. The question is why. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville teachers whose jobs the U.F.T. was protecting were not fired, as (U.F.T. President) Shanker kept saying. They were transferred out of the district by the Local Governing Board because in the opinion of the Board they did not deal with the Black and Puerto Rican children of the district as human beings. (On the second day the disputed teachers were let back into Ocean Hill schools after the end of the final strike. Fred Naumann, U.F.T. chapter chairman in Junior High School 271, was accused of punching one of the kids in his class. At first Naumann said he did it because the kid, who was Black, threw a chair at him. Later Naumann admitted that he hit the kid first, and then when he went after the kid again, THEN the chair was thrown.

"JOB SECURITY"

It's been argued that the fact the teachers were transferred and not fired doesn't make much difference; that teachers should have the right to job security at their school as well as within the school system as a whole. As radicals attempt to grapple with this problem, a crucial distinction becomes clear: teachers are not proletarians in the traditional sense. Teachers are working with people's heads; in New York City, mostly Black, Puerto Rican, and White working class heads. Teachers who are fucking up those heads should not have the right to teach--in that school or any other--no matter how much "job security" traditional trade union politics would grant him.

Mr. Shanker, Mr. Naumann, and the overwhelming majority of the U.F.T. spokesmen and supporters do not use the term "community control". They use "mob rule". No matter how well a teacher knows arithmetic or reading, he is not going to be able to teach it to Black or Puerto Rican kids if he is a racist, if he doesn't think the kids are human beings, if he thinks the struggles of the kids' parents to improve education for their children are the actions of a "mob". At a U.F.T. membership meeting I asked a group of teachers why they supported the strike. Practically in unison they replied, "Think of what will happen if THEY take over". Donning my

most naive, ex-college student mask, I asked who "they" were. I expected to get some camouflaged racist response like, "militants stirring up trouble" or "extremists playing on the fears of the people". Instead, the answer was simply, "the niggers".

Transfer of teachers to another district is a routine procedure when done by the central Board of Education or a regular District Administrator. Whether it should or shouldn't be is not the issue here--the point is simply that the U.F.T. has never considered transfer of a teacher a violation of his or her rights. Once it was done by a Black and Puerto Rican local governing board because the teachers were racists, the U.F.T. screamed the teachers were fired and due process was in mortal danger. And it wasn't simply the fact that they were being transferred on the basis of POLITICAL criteria that upset Shanker--last spring HUNDREDS of anti-war teachers were fired (not transferred) for participating in the April 26 one day strike against the war, and the union didn't lift a finger to help them.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

Understanding the racist nature of the strikes does not NECESSARILY mean radicals have to support community control. With a few exceptions, radicals who support the struggle for community control as a political strategy have failed to adequately explain the context in which that struggle can become radical. Unless we understand that context, of course, it will be impossible for us to accurately plan and carry out our organizing tasks.

The basis for radical support of community controls lies in three related areas: 1) the special (colonized or caste) position of Blacks and other Third World peoples in the United States; 2) the belief that the fight for community control CAN UNITE teachers with parents and students in the struggle for better education, and that significant victories can

be won from such a struggle (though of course the seizure of state power by a revolutionary communist movement is the prerequisite to any truly and permanently revolutionary changes in education or any aspect of society); and 3) a new-left definition and analysis of the nature and function of education in America that points to changing the content and form of education as part of the radical struggle, as well as fighting the state for more money and smaller classrooms.

The first point provides a theoretical justification for community control. Blacks are--and equally important, are increasingly CONSIDERING THEMSELVES to be--a part of the Third World, as well as the most oppressed section of the American working class. (This formulation has been most articulately put forth by the Black Panther Party. (See for example, Huey Newton's interview with the MOVEMENT, also available as an SDS-MOVEMENT pamphlet.) This means that PART of the Black struggle should and does take the form of a National Liberation Movement demanding an end to "mother country" control over Black people. There are obvious dangers in this approach--bourgeois nationalism, "Black capitalism", separatism, etc. But only to point out the dangers within the nationalist aspect of the Black Liberation Movement, or to condemn as PL does that entire approach, is to dodge the issue, because in fact Blacks ARE oppressed as a people, as well as a part of the working class. The way for whites to deal with the danger of one or another form of reactionary nationalism becoming dominant within the Black movement is not to deny the objective reality that is the basis for nationalism, but to build a white working class movement (including teachers) that can ally with Blacks, so that the ULTIMATE battle for power does take place on class lines.

The struggle for community control can be a basis of unity between students, parents and teachers. In an article called "Community Control and the Black movement," David Friedman distinguishes between administrative-oriented community control and movement-oriented community control. It is administrative community control that has been the goal of the spokesmen of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle. One of the key aspects of this form is that teachers are viewed as employees of the community in much the same sense as the Central Board now sees teachers as employees of it. There is no notion of teachers being the community's allies in a POLITICAL sense--only in the sense that they have agreed to be employed by the community. ADMINISTRATIVE-oriented community control ultimately would NOT be able to unite teachers with students and parents, because from this perspective teachers are viewed as subordinates to a (bourgeois nationalist) local board. The administra-

tive approach relies on legal battles to try to win formal "control" for a few bureaucrats--and those legal battles will probably be lost anyway.

A MOVEMENT APPROACH

A different perspective on community control produces a very different kind of struggle and a very different kind of result. A MOVEMENT approach depends on the mobilization of masses of people who demand changes in education, to try to win increasing control for themselves TO IMPLEMENT THOSE CHANGES. The focus of the movement approach is winning power to implement changes, not maintaining 17 bureaucrats in office, or holding administrative power over a portion of the same decaying educational system.

Teachers can be a part of the movement because teachers are among those people whose interests lie in making changes, because they should and will have a large part in carrying out the changes a community control movement is able to bring about. There is no reason why a movement for community control that does not make the mistake of considering all teachers the parents' class enemy and that explains and defends the specific educational changes it would implement as it goes along, cannot unite teachers with parents and students.

It was precisely because the Ocean Hill Governing Board didn't have an organized movement behind it that the central board and the U.F.T. could work out an agreement to end the strike without even consulting Ocean Hill. And it was precisely because the local governing Board didn't WANT a movement behind it, because it was interested in winning legal battles, in proving that the "experimental" district was "no different from anywhere else", in walking a non-struggle tightrope that would not alienate it from its alleged base in the community, its Ford Foundation benefactors, or its central Board superiors; in short, because the Ocean Hill Board consciously wanted to have nothing to do with a movement, that it couldn't even preserve its own existence in the end (much less fight for a community it did not represent, much less follow that community in struggle).

There is no doubt that even with a movement approach there are dangers in the struggle for community control. One of these dangers is co-optation; that some "decentralization" plan will be put through, or some local board with Black members set up, and that will be the end of the struggle. But the reason the Black community is in motion around education in the first place is that Black schools suck. If nothing really changed with a Black-faceted local board, it is certainly RACIST to assume that the Black community would stop there, would not realize what's happening, would accept sell-outs as leaders, representatives, or administrators.

A more serious danger than simple co-optation is that the struggle for community control could lead people away from seeing the state as their enemy--that one community would fight another for ever-decreasing state appropriations for education; and that even as the education drops, the state will appear as a neutral arbiter. This certainly appears to be PL's strongest argument, and radicals who support community control must understand it thoroughly.

The argument really has two parts: 1) that the struggle for community control will necessarily turn one community against another, and the struggle against the state will cease. There seems to be little reason to accept this; I find no reason why all communities could not be fighting the state for a higher education budget at the same time as they struggle for control over and qualitatively different use of those funds. It is certainly the responsibility of radicals to make this dual thrust explicit. 2) The second part of the argument indicates why PL thinks #1 is so dangerous. They (and others) say that in the process of radicalizing people around the issue of public education, the MOST IMPORTANT FIGHT by far IS the fight with the state for more money, smaller classrooms, higher salaries, etc. The reason PL feels that this struggle should be pursued to the practical exclusion of all others is simply that the working class must be shown that the enemy is not only the individual capitalist, but the capitalists' state as well.

The reply to this argument in many ways contains the essence of the new left's disagreements with PL and with opportunism and economism in general.



Looks

One of the central issues connected with the crisis in public education is racism. It might be quite easy to build an opportunistic alliance between parents and teachers in New York, the only aim of which would be a higher education appropriation. But such a struggle -- even if won -- would do NOTHING to fight racism, because the teachers would still be teaching the same racist content (more effectively with smaller classes) from (even greater quantities of) the same racist books in the same dehumanizing schools with the same obedience-inculcating rules, in the same oppressive atmosphere, with the same totally authoritarian teacher-student relationship.

TOTAL ASSAULT ON EDUCATION

A real radical movement in the public schools must attack every aspect of what passes as education in the United States: the decaying, unheated buildings, the rotten lunches, the oversized classes; but also the lies that make up curriculum, the teachers' racism as well as the Board's, the socialization for lives of obedience, passivity and non-struggle embodied in the inhuman law-and-order school regulations, and finally the way in which teachers are taught to teach (by schools of Education, union leaders, department chairmen and school administrators).

The notion of developing new human classroom methods -- reformist in isolation (though no more reformist than a fight for only a higher education budget and smaller classes) -- becomes radical when integrated into an attack upon the school system as a whole. In the context of a struggle to change the curriculum, modernize the school, hire community people as aides and eliminate servility-fostering rules, the introduction of ideas about how to open up a classroom, how to make 40 minutes belong to the KIDS and not just the teacher or the administration, how to help the kids discover their interests, teach each other, relate as human beings, express their emotions, etc. takes on immense political significance. The schools can become arenas for freeing human beings as much as they can be freed under capitalism and for providing the skills that will help people survive when they leave school. Too often radicals take the class-prejudiced view that raising reading scores is worthless since it doesn't automatically make socialists. But we know how to read. Most importantly, the struggle in the schools could help give people the understanding of who the enemy is and help give them the strength and the tools to smash that system entirely.

These kinds of changes in education cannot come simply from struggles for more money from the state. The only way in which they can be implemented is if they are part of a movement of parents, students and teachers to take control of the schools. What sounds like a romantic vision could approach reality under community control. Yes the bourgeoisie would still have state power; yes they could still send the troops in; yes their power will have to be totally smashed for any gains to be permanently secured (in education or anything else). But if the movement for community control takes itself seriously AS A MOVEMENT; if it relies on the political activity of the people it can mobilize -- and not on legal victories -- to support itself, then we can win better material conditions AND changes in education, in a fight for concrete reforms integrated with a struggle for power. Such a struggle could greatly contribute to the revolutionary movement in this country.

Understanding that the strikes were racist and understanding theoretically how community control can be a good demand still doesn't solve the central problem for a radical teacher in New York City. We can't support Shanker -- but whom can we support? Not the Board of Education. Not the Ford Foundation. Not Mayor Lindsay. Once again we are forced into a situation in which the ruling class has defined the existing alternatives (from blatant racism to "decentralization"), and we have the "freedom" to choose among them.

The answer to this dilemma for radicals must be to form an independent base of power, that organizes people around their real interests. In terms of the New York City school system, this must be an organization that works to unite parents, teachers and students in struggle. It was in the hope of becoming such an organization that Teachers for a Democratic Society (a chapter of Movement for a Democratic Society, "adult SDS") was set up.



photo: THE PARTISAN

TDS

TDS evolved out of this summer's Columbia Liberation School class on public education and teacher organizing. The core of 30 from the 70 member Liberation School class who started TDS has now grown to about 100 New York City teachers who associate themselves with the organization (there is no formal membership). Many of the original 30 TDS organizers were SDS "graduates"; the overwhelming majority of the teachers we've organized since then are not.

TDS planned to spend most of its first year concentrating on theory building and cadre building. Along these lines, at the beginning of the school year we set up eight "education workshops" composed of teachers, parents and (not enough) students on the school and district level. The workshops were to discuss the basic problems that have been mentioned in this article, and others: what is radical education?; how can we exploit the benefits and avoid the dangers of community control?; how should a radical teacher relate to a community that wants only to improve its children's reading scores?; how can we combat the class-training implicit in such devices as the "tracking system"?; should radicals aim for an eventual parliamentary takeover of the U.F.T., wait until we are stronger and then split to form a community-oriented union, or attempt to define altogether new organizational forms for teachers?; and so on.

In addition, workshops would serve to recruit new teachers, once they admit that the salary raises the U.F.T. has won them have done very little to alleviate their oppression. Once we cut through the professionalism that both the Board of Education and the U.F.T. leadership encourage to prevent teacher-parent and teacher-student alliances, we expected to find it relatively easy to show teachers how even their simplest classroom problems (in most cases, "discipline") are really POLITICAL questions, related to the educational system and the social system as a whole.

As soon as school started, the strikes began. The crisis situation never gave us a chance to implement our original base-building conception of the workshops. At every school and district where TDS organizers were active -- Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Two Bridges, Districts 1 and 3 (Lower Eastside), Districts 4, 5 and 6 (Harlem and East Harlem), District 8 (South Bronx), and District 13 (Bedford Stuyvesant -- the prime focus of the workshops became (and had to become) how to deal with the strike.

At some schools, TDS workshops, along with other teachers and parents, became the committees that were running the school while the principal walked outside on the picket lines or hid in his office. At most schools where TDS organizers taught during the strike, education became radically different (perhaps somewhat similar to the Sorbonne in May). Kids were there because they wanted to

be. Teachers taught without administrators dogging their footsteps demanding lesson plans. Authoritarian rules were abandoned. Perhaps most importantly, in many cases the student-teacher relationship changed entirely.

During the strike, many teachers stopped being the dispensers of universal truth, the rabbis opening the ark to let students kiss the Torah, the deepest penetrating socializer for America in the ghettos. We became LEADERS of the students -- helping them to discover their interest, to teach themselves, to teach each other. Teachers also became FOLLOWERS of students -- we followed their rejection of authority and authorities, their eagerness to experiment, their willingness to change. Classrooms became almost free.

There were problems too, but even these were exciting and helped build the struggle. We had to open the schools ourselves, even break in, keep the schools heated, sleep overnight, design courses, choose books. For the first time ever, we saw how the schools could be OURS.

The end of the strike was a giant down. The public schools of New York have always been a down, but in comparison to the potential we had glimpsed during the strike, the crash was monumental.

Worse still, TDS' workshops fell apart. After over two months of strikes, people had forgotten the original conception of the workshops and assumed that their raison d'etre was to keep schools open, relate to community people during the strike, implement our ideas in a crisis situation, etc. When the third strike ended (mid-November), people couldn't think of any reason to keep meeting.

From November to the beginning of January, TDS' active membership shrank to about 20 people (who still comprise a core-group of sorts). We feel, however, that the criticism and self-criticism we went through during this period was very important in developing and concretizing our ideas, and in helping us realize what a long term process building a radical base among teachers is going to be.

If the struggle to improve education in New York had to rely solely on teachers, things would be in a sorry condition indeed. Fortunately -- necessarily -- the central dynamic at the moment lies with the Black and Puerto Rican communities and students. It will be a long time before organizations like TDS represent even the minimum percentage of teachers necessary to be an effective force within the union. It is doubtful we will ever organize a majority of the 35-50 year old women and men who make up a large part of the U.F.T. On the other hand, the Black and Puerto Rican communities and students are not sitting around waiting for us to succeed -- and the fact that they're in motion makes our success more likely.

Whether large numbers of teachers become part of the student-community struggle through the recognition that

the social forces that are oppressing the kids and making them miserable do the same to the teachers, and whether groups like TDS can succeed in organizing teachers around their common oppression with students and the community, they will go a long way towards determining whether a real Black-white radical movement develops in the United States in the next few years. The problem is not that teachers don't know they're oppressed. Rather it is that they misperceive the source of their oppression. Their daily experience tells them that, except in terms of things like salary, their oppression comes from the KIDS. After all, isn't it the kids who disrupt the class, make noise, refuse to listen? "I'm trying to help them and look what they do!" Radicals must be able to show teachers that what's making the kids be "disruptive" in class is in fact the same thing that's oppressing the teachers -- racism, the dead-end nature of their education, and ultimately, capitalism.

TDS RECONSTITUTED

At the beginning of January, TDS reconstituted the workshops on a new basis -- by school level (elementary school, junior high, high school). We're rather uneasy about this form, because there's nothing really that radical junior high school teachers have to say to each other that shouldn't be said to elementary and high school teachers as well. The reason they were set up this way was simply to bring people together, and soon we hope to break them up into more organic units that can better relate to the (temporarily lulled) community struggle, and can more effectively initiate struggles on their own. Nevertheless, since January the workshops have been growing rapidly, and we have brought back many people we were working with during the strike, as well as bringing in new contacts.

TDS now has a chapter at the New York University School of Education. NYU TDS is working with community groups and high school students in the area, as well as doing organizing at their School of Ed. We're also working with a number of different high school groups around the city, helping to develop programs for organizing at Seward, Stuyvesant, Washington Irving, and other schools. Our biggest success so far in this area has been to help the kids from Stuyvesant (a nearly all white, academic-honors boys high school) and Washington Irving (a nearly all Black and Puerto Rican lower-track girls high school) plan joint actions and programs around support for a pro-community teacher being transferred out of Irving. The aim is for both Stuyvesant and Irving to fight for an end to the tracking system that's screwing both of them (in different ways) by demanding the jumbling of the two schools and eliminating differential

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READY — AIM

by John Bancroft

AIM, the American Independent Movement, was formed in 1966 to run a peace candidate, Bob Cook, for congress in New Haven. The organization combined Yale peace group people with SDS community organizers who had been working in a black neighborhood. They ran a fairly typical campaign: most of the talk was about Vietnam, and money (\$40,000) and time were lavishly spent in fairly standard ways. Cook got about 5% of the vote.

After the election a retreat was held for all the people who had worked on the campaign. The usual statements were made about the need to carry on the work, but in this case people really seemed to mean it. A wide-ranging discussion about what the future of the organization should be was held. Some wanted a group oriented toward local electoral activity. Others wanted to set up a Bobby Kennedy for '68 committee. Still other, perhaps most, wanted AIM to become a project oriented organization. The last approach won out. The issues and activities were defined (urban renewal, education, a newsletter, a printing press, and electoral politics) and the work began.

The transition to a multi-issue group that actually did organizing work was a slow one. At first the organization was all talk, plans, coordination, and little substance. But as time went on various projects did evolve.

URBAN RENEWAL

Perhaps most notable was AIM's urban renewal project. This issue is a key one in New Haven for several reasons. The city, with its "liberal and advanced" administration, is supposed to be a model of the great things that can be done with urban renewal. In fact, it is a model of how urban renewal can be used to tear down troublesome neighborhoods, make money for corporations, separate the ghetto from the university and turn the city into a work and play place for the suburbanites, while making it an inhuman place to live for any people who have survived the bulldozers.

It was important to debunk the "model city" myth, not only because it was a national model, but because people in New Haven had fallen for it. With the exception of black people (who knew exactly what was happening to them) New Haveners thought the program must be good, and that any personal inconvenience it caused was an unfortunate byproduct.

AIM's actions on urban renewal came at just about the right time to get a quick and visible reaction. The renewal program was in the process of destroying white Italian neighborhoods as well as black areas. At the same time it was becoming more and more obvious that Mayor Lee, supposedly a man of the people, was actually a puppet for Yale. For this and other reasons he was beginning to fall out with the Italians in the Democratic Party. AIM came along just in time to take advantage of this split. Finally, at about the time AIM began its urban renewal activities, the city's program had been booming along so easily that it was starting to get belligerent, that is, it was taking on really absurd and outrageous projects (e.g., a half-mile long parking garage). It was ripe for attack.

EXPOSURE AND EDUCATION

Two urban renewal actions best illustrate the way in which AIM was successful on this issue. In one campaign, simple exposure was enough to cause a serious setback to the city's program and to provide a good deal of education on the issue itself. AIM simply printed the city's secret plan to build a ringroad around downtown. This road was to tunnel under sacred Yale, then surface to build barriers around two black neighborhoods and end in the half-mile long garage and six-lane highway which would destroy an Italian shopping district and cut an Italian neighborhood off from downtown. The map AIM printed was re-

printed on the front page of the New Haven newspapers the next day and created such an uproar that the city had to deny the whole plan ever existed.

When the specific issue of the monstrous garage came up later AIM did more detailed work. Petitions were circulated, much educational work was done, public hearings were attended. Liberal Yale-type people who lived in the area were brought into this phase of the operation. AIM people also went door to door and discussed the whole issue of destroying neighborhoods for outside interests. For the first time, substantial contact was made with white working class people around a community issue. Also for the first time, AIM people began to make contact with aldermen, who they found not only incredibly receptive to their visits, but also quite willing to change their positions when shown how unreasonable urban renewal plans were. It was hard to estimate the significance of this kind of dealing, but in any case it did happen on occasion that AIM people wrote position papers that the aldermen would in turn adopt and propose.

When the vote on the garage came up, AIM had done such effective work that the aldermen, for the first time in a long while, actually came close to voting down one of Lee's plans. The vote was 14-13 in favor of the project, heart-breaking in the short run, but an incredible result when considered in its context.

Later, AIM people were even more successful on urban renewal. When a New Haven neighborhood was designated as a model city area AIM people (who had been working there for three years) managed to set up a black-white coalition which took over the model cities

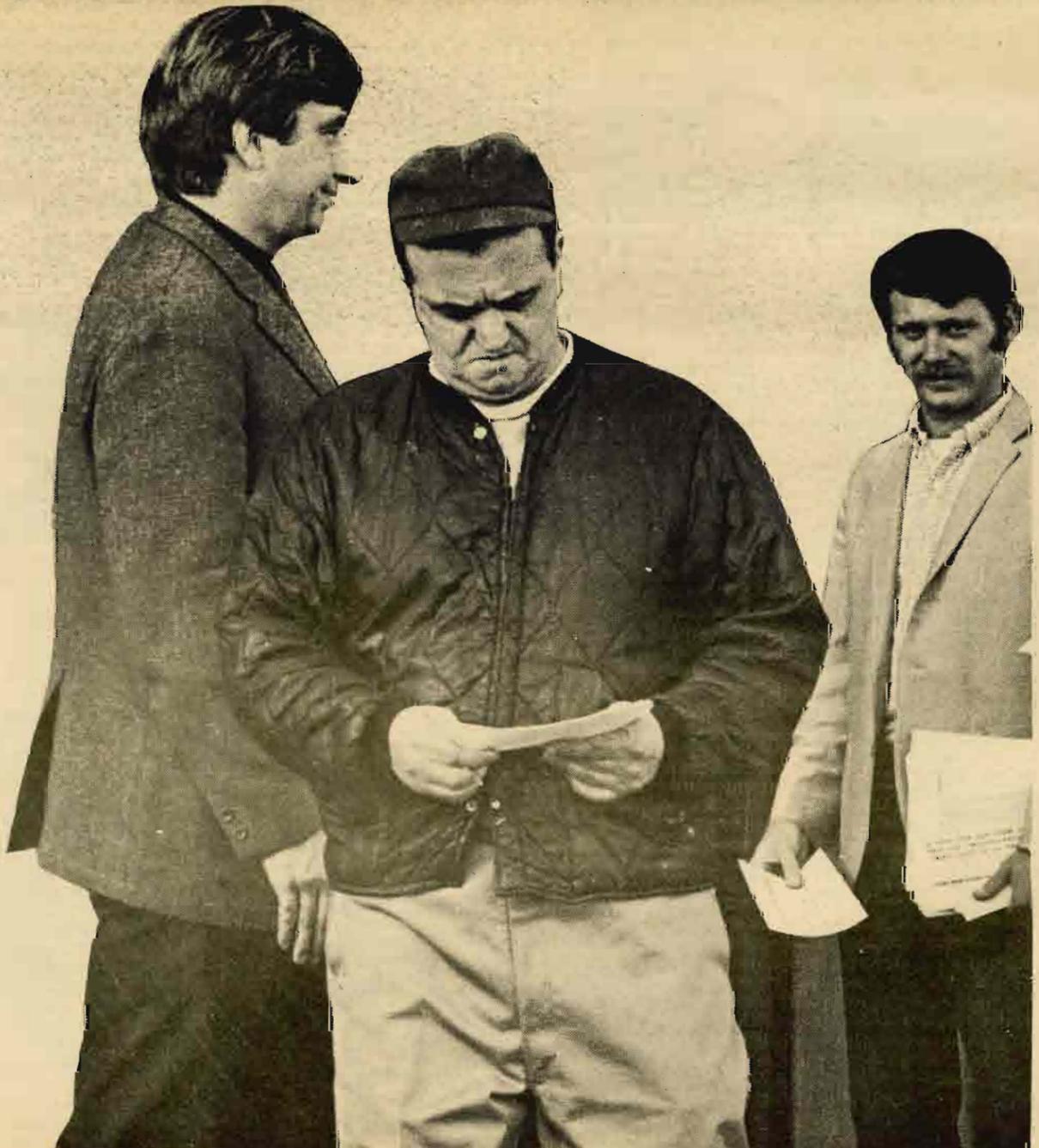
program from the city. What result this will have is yet to be seen.

ACTIVITIES AND PROJECTS

It would be impossible here to cover each of the AIM projects in such detail. Over the last two years the organization has developed active projects with the following results: a biweekly newspaper, an elementary school, a day-care center, a self-supporting press, an enormous draft counseling service, a free university, a women's liberation group, a labor committee and a pollution control group. There are in addition to the activities of AIM people in five different communities in the city, two white and three black. One of the most notable things about all these activities, aside from how relatively long they have been going on, is how domestically oriented they have become. AIM still talks about the Vietnam war from time to time--when one of our people goes to North Vietnam, for example--but it is certainly not our major issue.

As the projects have grown AIM has grown in numbers at all levels of involvement. On the widest level AIM has earned a name for itself in the city of New Haven. Some people think of us as the organization which saved the Mohawk grocery store from urban renewal. Others know us as Bob Cook's political machine. Others as a bunch of commies. But we are known and get good coverage in the papers.

Those actively involved in the organization, from the periphery on in number perhaps two hundred. This may involve having children in our school, coming to general meetings, taking water samples for the pollution committee,



photos: AIM

or folding our newsletter. (About 700 people get the newsletter, but this includes a lot of people like redevelopment officials who want to know where we'll strike next.)

FULL-TIME STAFF

Perhaps the biggest change in the last two years has been the increase of full-time staff in the organization. There exists now a group--call it a cadre if you want--of people who spend either all of their time, or all but the fraction they have to devote to supporting themselves, working on the various AIM projects. There are now about 25 of these people. They constitute the staff of the organization, and while they are spread evenly over the various projects, they coordinate their work closely, help each other out when necessary, and see each other a great deal socially.

Most of these people have come from two sources. Probably the greater number came to New Haven because of Yale, but have since left it. The other group is made up of people who have been "recruited" specifically to come to New Haven to work for AIM, and have started to do political work as soon as they got off the bus. Disturbingly the latter source is increasingly more productive than the former which means the organization is having trouble incorporating new people who did not previously consider themselves political organizers.

Many of these full-time people could be classified as radical professionals, although that concept is not used much in AIM. We have an architect who works for the model cities organization we helped set up; a city planner on our urban renewal committee; a full time political lawyer (draft cases, sit-ins, grass); a teacher in our school; a dancer who does political dance; and several people who have made political vocations of art work, journalism, research and printing.

Most of the 25 people have four main groups of activities that they each participate in. First, there are the specific AIM projects they work on. Next, are the general AIM organizational activities like meetings and office work. Then each usually does some kind of work in his community. Finally, most have some kind of job to earn a living. For some this involves doing something as brief but lucrative as teaching at Yale. But to a greater and greater extent, AIM people have been able to combine their political and money-making activities: our press supports four people; the model cities organization two (and two more indirectly); the school one person; and the law practice two people. We hope to develop more of these combinations in the future, such as supporting someone by setting up an AIM coffeehouse.

THE 1968 CAMPAIGN

The decision to run a campaign again in 1968 was indicative of the growth that has occurred in the organization since 1966. There was an on-going organization which could decide in a general political context the value of running a campaign, and could make some decisions about what the campaign should look like.

After much talk, it was decided that a campaign should be run for the educational value it would have. The campaign would be run to reflect this goal and would in no way take over the rest of the organization. This seemed like a difficult goal to some when the campaign began, but it worked out in practice.

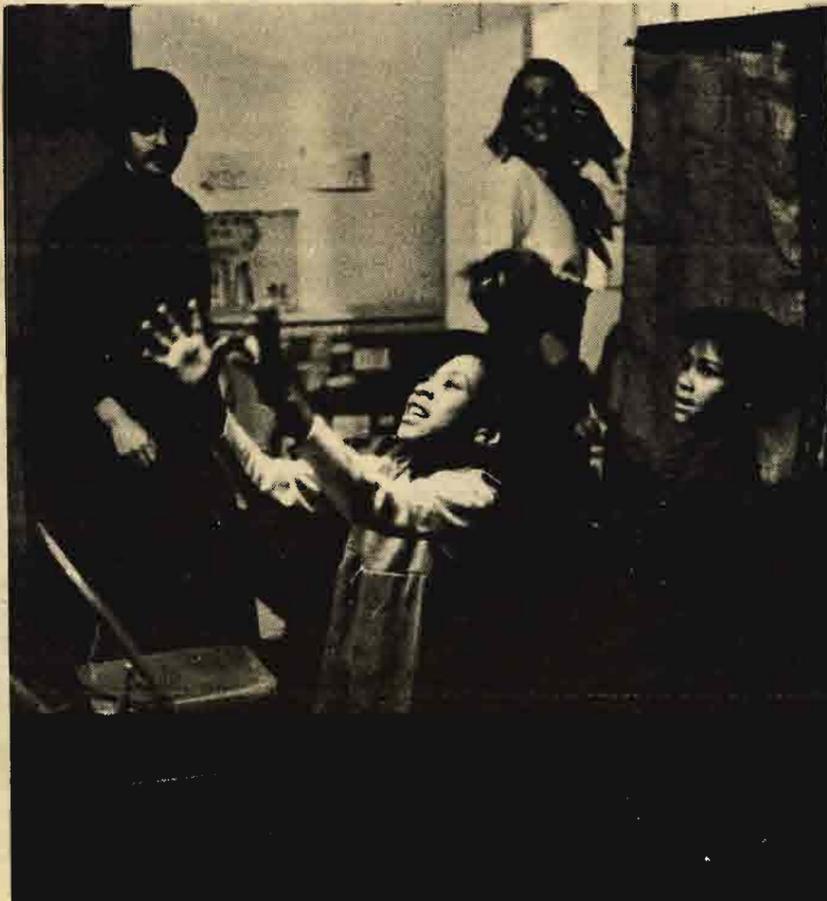
Only four of the 25 full-time staff worked on the campaign. The others simply had work they considered more important in the long run. Instead of spending \$40,000, \$4,000 was spent, about half of it at our own printing press. There was no meaningless door-to-door work in which we sold our program down the river to get signatures, since we already had a place on the ballot. Perhaps most important, there was little or no election fever: no one spoke much of percentages or possible victories.

Instead, the campaign drew on the existing organization to further our educational work. Each project wrote up the press release position papers for their area, which were used in speeches and printed prominently in the daily paper. Furthermore, the campaign was sued to make new contacts, notably it gave Bob Cook the chance to speak to the State Labor Convention. When new people came to work on the campaign they were put to work, but they were also funneled into ongoing AIM projects as quickly as this could be done. Thus, even if the campaign had had a tendency to suck up AIM's resources--which it didn't--it would not have been able to because the ongoing projects were simply too strong, and their people too committed, to be distracted by a short-run campaign.

PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY

Lest this picture sound too rosy AIM does have some serious problems. As this description reflects AIM is short at the moment on strategy. There is a feeling among many staff people that our actions are too short-sighted. While it sometimes looks as if we are making small gains in the short run, our actions, if they go no further than that, are at best accomplishing little or nothing and at worst are greasing the wheels of the system.

This came up most clearly at a gathering a while ago between some AIM people and friends of theirs who they knew from SDS ERAP days. Most of these non-AIM people were either organizing professionals, doing support work for student-organizing, or were between activities. When the AIM model was discussed the group was rather mystified because it was so different from what anyone else was doing. To some it sounded as if we were into the beginnings of achieving power on the community level, and therefore succeeding at local radical work where others had failed. To others it seemed as if we were beating a horse, community organizing, that had been dead for two years. By this view, AIM strategy amounted to organizing among several different community and group constituencies, all of which would, in some mysterious way, achieve power on the local level. The criticism was made that there was no indication that this could work, and in fact many indications that it had been proven not to elsewhere. If this was the case, the argument went, the only responsible thing for lefties to be doing these days is to work in areas where there is some potential for change: among students and other young people.



While such broad evaluations seldom take place in AIM there is a feeling that the work we are doing is too reflexive in nature. When the redevelopment authority plans a highway we fight it--even though it is usually too late by that time--and when Washington declares New Haven a model city, we organize to take over the program. Also, many of the issues we choose are one that can be coopted no matter how much of a fuss we make, such as pollution.

NO ANSWERS

The lack of a sufficient strategy not only weakens our ability to plan actions, it also detracts from the appeal of the organization to the people we are trying to recruit. During the campaign, for example, Bob Cook was giving a "wealth and power interests are screwing your lives" speech to a group of factory workers. Instead of being scoffed at or baited, he found his audience saying, "Yea, we know that, but what can we do about it?" Similarly, when we presented our urban renewal analysis to a

group in West Haven, they told us very quickly that they were aware of the situation, and wanted to know how they could change it. In both cases we were hard pressed to give answers.

This situation helps cause another AIM problem: we have yet to reach non-middle class people in any large numbers. As was mentioned earlier, some of our urban renewal actions have reached working class people, but the contact here usually has been brief and rather superficial. It has hardly ever resulted in bringing such people into the organization for on-going political work. This problem, of course, is nothing new to the movement. Perhaps the only noteworthy thing to say here is that AIM is constantly trying to think of ways to broaden the base of the organization. We are trying, first of all, to improve our strategy enough to make working class people feel that we are offering a viable alternative. Our organizers also try, most of the time, to relate their community work to the larger issues with which AIM is concerned. Attempts to reach working class young people through community college will be tried. We also plan to experiment with wallposters and radio stations as a means of communicating on a non-academic basis. At the moment the furthest we have gotten with working people is a mutual but detached admiration, not a real organizational involvement.

The place AIM's strategy is strongest, on the other hand, is in the use we make of setting up our own institutions. When we set up an elementary school, for example, it was part of a developing long-term strategy for organizing around education issues in New Haven. It will go a long way to solving the problem of answering the "Yea, but what can we do about it?" question. Thus, we have selected a long-term issue, chosen a tactic of establishing our own institution, and are beginning to develop a strategy of radicalizing people's views about education so that they can change the education system. But to have this kind of comprehensive program and strategy for something like urban renewal is a lot harder. In the future, AIM will have to put more time into setting up such long-range strategies for all of the issues it is dealing with.

This in turn leads to one of the most serious problems AIM faces: it desperately needs to have the kind of give and take and broad strategy-making that only a national movement can provide. At the moment, AIM people identify with the national movement--everyone on the staff reads the GUARDIAN, for example and most read the MOVEMENT--but when it comes to deciding strategy, or interpreting events an organization like AIM is really quite isolated. It may know that CIPA is organizing around neighborhood issues in Chicago, and that MDS is involving post-student radicals in New York, but the contacts are so tenuous that little substantive interaction or even communication takes place.

AIM as it exists today in New Haven is strong and impressive in many ways. It has a large and committed full-time staff, and it has made some progress in developing radical issues and using them to organize among several different constituencies. But unless it can get together with similar groups in other cities, its work will be in vain. An issue like urban renewal, for example, not to mention socialism is a national issue and little progress will be made on it until many strong local groups like AIM get together and build a coordinated strategy and analysis. It may be dangerously premature to speak of a national radical organization of local groups and their cadre, but it is also true that we will not bring about any fundamental change until such a group has been formed.





photo: Karen Ross, S.F. Newsreel

MISSION REBELLION

by Jeff Jones and Doug Norberg

The strike at Mission High School in San Francisco is an important outgrowth of the strike at San Francisco State College. The class basis of the demands, the protracted nature of the struggle, have all led to an increasing polarization of the San Francisco community, and as a result, groups like the Mission High TWLF and BSU have had a chance to develop and mature in their strategic and political understanding of what is to be done.

Not long after the strike at State began, organizers in the Mission District sought to develop support for the strike in the Mission district, especially from students at Mission High School. Several rallies were held after school hours in Mission Dolores Park, across from the school. While the attendance at the rallies was not large, those students who did attend were inspired by the strike at State, especially by the Third World Liberation Front. Realizing that students at Mission were more concerned with their own survival than with the strike at State, they began to look into the scene at Mission High.

THE STUDENTS

Mission High School has about 2050 students: 450 blacks, 680 whites, 750 latinos, and 75 Chinese. Its students came from families with the lowest incomes in the city, averaging \$5300 per family. The latinos are the poorest of the ethnic groups, averaging some \$3500 per family. The unemployment rate for male spanish-speaking residents of the Mission district is as high as 18%; half of those lucky enough to find jobs are found in three minimal employment categories: operatives, service workers and laborers.

Thirty-nine percent of the students at Mission are bi-lingual; that is, they have learned, or are now learning, English as a second language. There are no programs at Mission of help these students, outside of standard remedial language instruction. The channeling system in the schools, based as it is upon the results of intelligence tests, biased for those of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois white training, leaves little hope to the average student at Mission. The teaching

staff, poorly trained and poorly paid in comparison with the whiter schools in the district, offers little encouragement to the student. Those teachers who have sought to develop bilingual programs and programs of ethnic studies have been met with cynicism by other faculty members and indifference from the administration.

BIG BIZ & COPS

Increasingly, the schools of San Francisco, particularly the working class high schools, are balanced by the control of the police on one hand, and the influence of major corporations on the other. The corporate control comes by way of the San Francisco Industrial Education Council, a branch of the National Alliance for Businessmen, locally coordinating the educational interests of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Pacific Gas & Electric, Southern Pacific, and Lockheed, among others. Functionally it works like this: PT&T helps develop the vocational program at Mission; it "loans" engineers to do demonstrations in electronics classes; it gives presentations on the world of work and how ethnic groups can advance (showing examples: a black lineman, a black long distance supervisor, etc.)

PT&T helps the administration of the school directly, as well. On occasion, they loan their public relations staff to the school during times of crisis; when the school administration needs new desks and filing cabinets, they have found PT&T much more effective in filling the order than the Board of Education downtown. In return for all this, the school administration sets up a job placement center to deliver the goods -- cheap manpower -- to PT&T.

The police work in and around the school to keep the colony tame. There is a counselor at every high school in the city, who acts in liaison with the Police Narcotics Bureau. The Police Community Relations Bureau develops programs for the recruitment of cops, thereby maintaining a presence on campus for the supervision of "dissident elements". The old hall monitor system, civil service jobs, has been found inadequate to the needs of security in the school, so the Board of Education has allocated and is now training "security guards" to police the schools in a more effective manner. All of which does little to inspire educational zeal among the students. The number of students at Mission has declined by 200 every year for the past three years, as the drop-out rate has exceeded 1/3 of all the students enrolled. Out of the 2050 students, between 450 and 600 are absent daily. The average student at Mission is absent 82 days out of the school year.

THE STRIKE

The tension and the frustration of the students has often expressed itself in fighting among students -- black against brown, black and brown against white. The current strike at Mission grew out of a fight between the black and latino students January 22-24.

When the police Tactical Squad was called in, the students rallied under the leadership of the BSU in fighting the cops, demanding that they be pulled off campus. The BSU called a strike for Monday, January 27. The latinos circulated a leaflet, saying: "We got ourselves together last week fighting the blacks. Now it's time to fight the REAL ENEMY."

The administration reacted to this show of unity among the students in two ways. First, they called separate convocations for white, black, and brown students, to supervise the drawing up of demands and requests. The immediate result of this was that the black and latino students showed, in their demands, their unity around a set of political demands. They obviously had their shit together. The white students, on the other hand, reflected their fragmentation and intimidation by coming up with nothing.

Secondly, the administration sought to isolate the radical leadership from the student body by bringing in the police and launching a series of suspensions. While this did take the leadership out of action -- its harder than hell to get out of the Youth Guidance Center if your parents not behind you -- the administration had misgauged the new militancy of even the most apolitical students when faced with a line of cops. The police action politicized a whole lot of students and involved many white students who had been only peripherally involved. Rallies and demonstrations were held the next two days, involving greater numbers of students every day. The four-day weekend between semesters gave the latino and black leadership the opportunity to pull their demands together into a more cohesive whole.

THE DEMANDS

The new semester began with the arrest of three latino community organizers for leafletting. The following day, 200 students, a few parents and a group of community people presented 17 demands to the Board of Education, giving the Board a 10 day period to deal with them. The demands included black and ethnic studies courses, abolition of laminated ID cards, election of hallway monitors, more Third World teachers and counselors, expulsion of undercover and uniformed cops and im-

provements to the cafeteria and other facilities and services. Of special significance is a demand for abolition of IQ tests which contain cultural and class bias and are used to disqualify and discourage minority group students.

The Board responded with an incredibly complex committee structure for discussion of the demands, leaving the students pissed and calling for another strike beginning 4th period Wednesday, the next day.

Wednesday morning the police busted 24 students on truancy and a variety of other charges. Following a noon rally in Dolores Park, the strikers decided to reenter the building for maneuvers; the police retruned and busted seven non-students (community organizers, newsmen, people just passing by) and three students. The students were charged with truancy; the non-students, with trespassing and participating in a riot.

The remainder of the week was occupied with low-keyed discussion of the demands among students -- constantly interrupted by arrests and suspensions (75 students were arrested during this week alone) -- and with the building of parents' and teachers' groups around support of the demands. While community people decided to demonstrate in the Mission High Administrative offices on Monday in protest to the use of the police on and around the school, the initiative was seized by various Tio Tacos (Uncle Toms), leaders of the Mission Coalition (a mix of left and liberal latino community organizations).

These leaders led the group to the Board of Education building, instead, where they were given promises that 1) the Administration would print and distribute copies of the 17 demands to students on Tuesday; and 2) that students would be "given" their home room hours Thursday for discussion of the demands. It appears at this writing that the Administration will try to show that these discussions prove the lack of student interest in the demands, and wash their hands. They'll be washing their hands in glue.

PROBLEMS

A sustained fight in the high schools is a difficult task. Materialist hang-ups (cars, clothes, etc.) are all ways that students are co-opted away from uniting and fighting against their oppressors. Pig repression is swift and effective. Last Wednesday (Feb. 5) 27 students were busted for truancy as part of an effort by the pigs to scare off any confrontation as a part of the strike. Most kids assume that if you are truant and caught, then you are guilty. There is no concept of self-defense.

We must challenge this acceptance of the system, and offer an alternative. Through a program of juvenile self-defense, we hope to launch an attack on the courts and police, as well as expand political consciousness. Many of the white kids, who are hostile to the TWLF because they don't want to be forced to study black and brown history, etc., are sympathetic to the demands that have to do with cops on or near the campus.

Some say that organizing H.S. students is not the most important work to be done. We say the fight against racism is the major fight at this stage, and the presence of 20 to 30% of the white students at Mission High on a picket line supporting the TWLF will contribute greatly to the expanding awareness of the existence of racism in the society, and the forcing of people to choose between supporting it and fighting it, as has been caused by the strike at State. Even more than college students, high school students bring it closer to home. ●

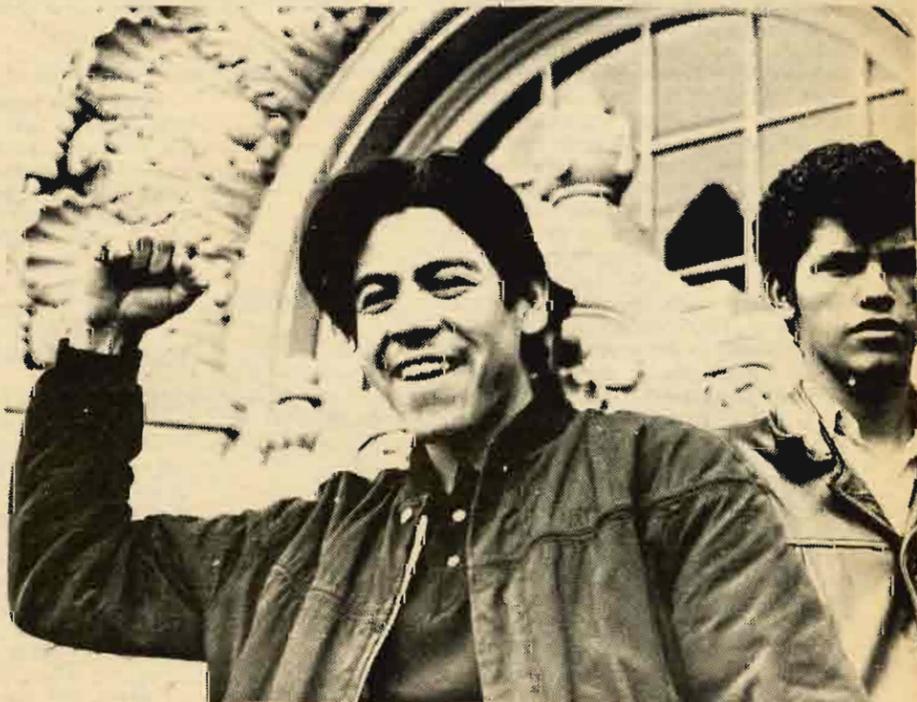


photo: Karen Ross, S.F. Newsreel

OVER

by R. Giuseppe Slater
Liberation News Service

San Francisco (LNS)--The strategy of overkill has come to hold an irresistible attraction for the U.S. Army. And when the military becomes frustrated over some task, the allure of these tactics is overwhelming. So it was with Vietnam, and so it is now in the Presidio mutiny trial.

The trial stemmed from an incident last October 14 in which 27 prisoners in the stockade of the San Francisco Presidio (a major Bay Area Army Base) protested non-violently over the cold-blooded shooting of a fellow prisoner and general conditions in the stockade. (See the MOVEMENT, January, 1968)
Most of the 27 were jailed originally for being AWOL and then received further punishment while in the stockade. Conditions in the stockade were miserable and the Army itself had placed it in "emergency" classification--meaning it was overcrowded--for several days before the shooting of Bunch.

Rebel Report

Mutiny charges were proffered on October 23, and Captain Richard Millard was ordered to stage the required preliminary investigation for an initial group of six of the prisoners. Perhaps his superiors later regretted their choice, because Millard turned in an impartial and incisive report.

After studying the evidence and interviewing the witnesses, Millard stated in his report:

"The charge of mutiny under Article 94 does not apply to the facts of 14 October, 1968...in my opinion, this case has been built up out of all fair proportion to charge...Mutiny, an offense which has its roots in the harsh admiralty laws of previous centuries, for demonstrating against the conditions which existed in the stockade is, in my opinion, an overreaction by the Army and a misapplication of a statute which could lead to a further miscarriage of justice."

"There is ample testimony in this case to show that the conditions in the stockade prior to 14 October were not up to the standards we should expect."

Lt. Gen. Stanley Larsen, Commanding General of the Sixth Army, most likely did NOT attain his lofty position by basing all his decisions on the weight of impartial reports. At the least, he was not unduly stirred by Millard's considered effort: one month after the Millard report, the Army announced that General Courts-Martial for Mutiny would open for the group of men he had investigated. Military brass also ignored the fact that Army psychiatrists recommended psychological discharges for five of the six men.

The Trial Begins

Only Pvts. Lawrence Reidel, 20 and Louis Oszczepinski, 21, have faced trial so far since lawyers for the other four received continuances. During their hearing the prosecution emphasized the men's failure to obey orders and also presented an Army psychiatrist, who testified that while both were legally sane, he considered them to be "dangerous psychopaths".

The prosecution case seemed firmly set until the defense dramatically presented the unexpected last witness, Dr. Salmon, from Stanford Research Institute, a man with a long history of impressive work in the field of acoustics, ran briskly through an intricate series of calculations which, when translated from scientific argot into plain English, demonstrated that the singing protestors could have barely heard the message and almost certainly could not have understood it.

His assertion raised some difficult questions for the prosecution argument, such as, how does one wilfully disobey an order which was never heard?

Recess

Unfortunately, the Review Board was unable to ponder this difficult point. At this juncture Law Officer Robinson took advantage of his position and moved for an indefinite recess with a full medical board to investigate the mental qualities of the defendants in the interim. Said Robinson: "I feel that there is reasonable basis for further inquiries into the sanity of the accused".

When Robinson asked if any Board Members objected to his ruling, the Lieutenant and the Major sitting on the flanks glanced at the Lt. Colonels seated next to them and they in turn swiveled head and eyes around to the Colonel who held the center seat. His head shook its "No" and all the other heads took up the motion.

The defense counsel felt somewhat differently. Capt. Brendon Sullivan, defending Pvt. Reidel, sprang to his feet and declared that he was "astounded" at the motion.



KILL

"This ruling, I submit, deprives these men of their right to a fair trial". He asserted that continuation of the case would signify "a great indignity to what they have suffered".

Capt. Joseph Choate, representing Pvt. Oszczepinski, was more explicit about the significance of Robinson's action. It would "rob the defense of the force and effect of its case", he claimed.

The top brass will relentlessly forge ahead with the case. And regardless of how the matter is resolved, the Army will in one way or another screw the 27 prisoners.

It is becoming increasingly difficult, however, for the Army blithely to commit such atrocities. While nothing like massive public resistance has occurred, there is much awareness of the case and repeated protests have been staged. The local media have followed developments, even if coverage has left much to be desired. And the Army now has been brought into civil court over charges of cruel treatment in the stockade.

But on February 13 another one of the Presidio 27 completed his court martial--this time without any delays--and without any justice. Nesray Dean Sood, 26, was found guilty of mutiny after a deliberation of only 35 minutes and sentenced to 15 years hard labor. His civilian attorney, Paul Halvanek is planning to appeal. The trial took five full court days.
Terry Hallinan, attorney for 16 of the 27 who will face the court-martial soon, expressed sadness, but not too much surprise at the decision. He, along with Halvanek, reasserted the innocence and just cause of the GIs, and said he still felt that he could win his case, in spite of the precedent set by Sood's conviction.
Mass rallies and demonstrations are being planned in the Bay Area to show support for the Presidio 27, and to protest the inhumane conditions and oppression of the Army and the Presidio Stockade.



DESERTER'S MANIFESTO

Montreal, Quebec
December 15, 1968

We, American Deserters living in Montreal, in opposition to the U.S. Imperialist aggression in Vietnam, have banded together to form the American Deserters Committee.

We Deserters and associates view ourselves as an integral part of the world-wide movement for fundamental social change. We express support and solidarity with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the black liberation struggle at home. We are prepared to fight side by side with anyone who wants to bring fundamental social change to the U.S.

Our aim is to help U.S. Deserters and draft resisters gain a more political outlook toward their own actions--to show them that desertion and draft resistance are in fact political moves. Forced to live our lives as political exiles, we view ourselves as victims of the same oppression as the Vietnamese and the American people, not only the minority groups, but also the broad masses of American people who are becoming more aware of the need for change.

We will work to develop the political consciousness of American Deserters and to form a well-educated and determined group which will have a clear understanding of U.S. internal and international policies, especially those which affect Canada and Quebec.

We express solidarity with our fellow servicemen who are still in the military, and as yet are unable to resist actively. We will do all in our power to help all those who resist in the same way--DESERT.

We recognize U.S. imperialism as the greatest threat to the progress of freedom and self-determination for all people, and view desertion as the most effective way to resist.

American Deserters Committee
c/o P.O.B. 611
Station H
Montreal 25, Quebec
Canada

OIL STRIKE continued from page 3

for black liberation. We point out to the white workers that white racism is one of the main weapons that the bosses turn on us. Many of the guys who are out on strike now can see this.

At the last union meeting, U.A. Porter, a black Vice President of the local read a letter the Executive Board had received from a scab who said he was not honoring the picket lines because the union had a "nigger" in a position of leadership. Porter then talked about the racism he had encountered in the ranks of the union itself and how it was very harmful. He explained that racism in the union had made many black scabs for the company. (About 15% of Standard's work force, and the same percentage of the OCAW local, is black--most of them hired in the last five years.)

Based on our contact with the workers and our discussion with them about our first leaflet, we put out a second leaflet titled, "THIS IS WAR", which outlined the latest brutality by the Richmond pigs and went into more detail about the reasons for the bosses' hard line. We ran down Standard's assets and profits again and pointed out that they could easily meet the oil workers' demands. Then the leaflet went into the nitty-gritty: "Standard is willing to spend millions in order to beat the strike. It's not just that Standard's billionaire owners (headed by the Rockefeller family) are stingy. THEY ARE OUT TO BUST THE UNION. That's exactly what Standard did in the last big strike in 1948, when they called out the cops to club and tear gas pickets...In 1948, like today, the owners of capital had made a mess of the economy. Like always they tried to make working people pay for it. So they were faced with a wave of strikes, and they tried to save themselves by "running away" to foreign countries where labor was cheaper and by smashing down militant leaders and unions in the labor movement here. But these crooks couldn't even manage their own economy and now they have created so much inflation that they are plotting to push taxes up, hold down wages, and lay more people off in order to save their skins. They know they can't get away with this if the labor movement is strong and working people are united. So they are out to bust us. To turn us from a fighting people, proud of our

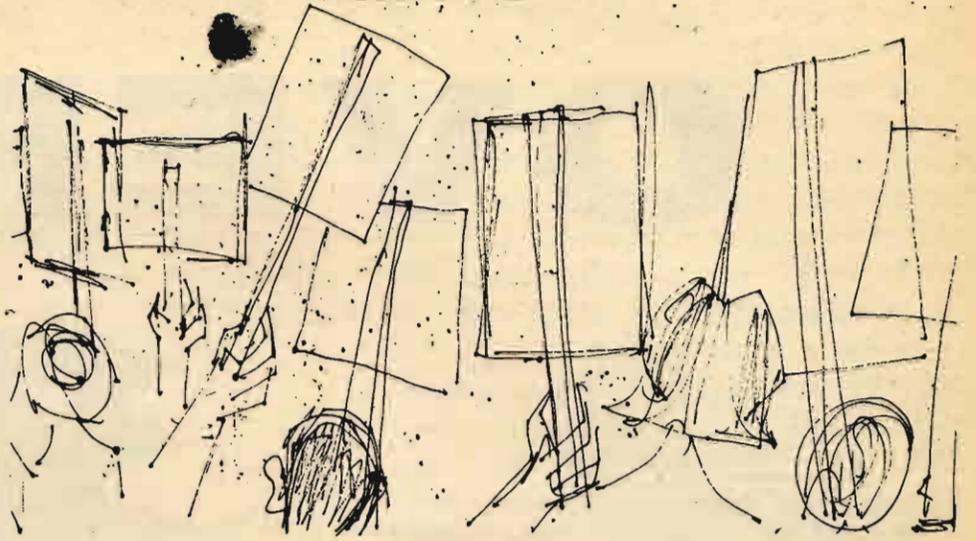
militant tradition, into shadows who jump at every command from the bosses and are willing to turn over to them more of the wealth we produce."

UP THE ANTE

This leaflet went over very well: the workers recognized it as an expression of their own thoughts, in more systematic form. The union leadership picked up on several parts of our leaflet in speeches they made to the rank and file. At the end of the leaflet we called for three tactical steps to up the ante on Standard: a boycott of Standard products; a mass picket line outside the plant and added pressure on the Labor Council to really pull off the general strike. Again, all three of these were ideas that came from the men on the picket lines themselves, and we simply tied them together and placed them in a context with the larger political and tactical questions surrounding the strike.

As a result of the militancy of the younger workers and the hang-tough attitude of most of the older guys, along with the mass support they have received and welcomed from the students, the odds are good that the union, rather than the company will be strengthened by the strike.

A crucial issue is being fought out at the Chevron Chemical component of the Standard Plant. In that shop, as opposed to the oil refinery proper, the workers have a union shop and the company is trying to force them to give it up. Unless the Chevron workers, who are younger and generally more militant can hang on to the union shop, there is very little hope that the Standard workers will be able to win a union shop themselves. In order to force the bosses to give up their union-busting designs at the Chevron plant, our Solidarity Committee, together with the union itself, has launched a boycott of all Standard and Chevron products, including garden fertilizer and other shit under the "Ortho" label. Please don't put out any money for any of these products until you read differently in the MOVEMENT.



NEED TO UNITE POLITICALLY

While doing our best to help the workers win the strike, we have pointed out that unless we begin to unite politically to attack the whole system that the bosses run for their benefit, we will have to go through the same bitter fight two years from now, just to keep up with the cost of living. We have argued that we should take the offensive ourselves, and that to do this we will have to look for new allies --the students and most importantly the black people.

Several workers have told us that they used to support the pigs in the black community, but that now they understand what it's really like. One younger worker told me "Last time there was a riot in North Richmond I was afraid to come to work; next time I'll be right there in the riot." And a wife of one of the pickets added: "Yeah, we could really get something going if we got together with them black people!"

The important task for us is to develop this idea further and to build working-class organization that can carry on political struggle between strikes, so that the lessons of this mini-revolution are

not lost. We are working with a group of the most advanced and militant guys in the union and with guys on the same level in other unions, to broaden and solidify our Solidarity Committee. Already several of the guys are taking leadership, and they have shown us the truth of Mao's statement that "The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy."

In other words, they are in the best position to know what is crucial and what is bullshit; and once they make up their minds, they do not vacillate or lose interest. In working with these guys, and with the oil workers as a whole, we have tried to keep in mind Mao's basic instructions on how to become one with the people without getting lost among them:

"We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness." ◆



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NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOLS

cont'd from page 17



diplomas. Because Stuyvesant is all boys and Irving all girls, this also hits at sexual segregation. TDS high school teachers are also writing for kids' underground papers.

Though the last month has made us very hopeful of continued success, we still have a long way to go. Anyone interested in setting up a TDS chapter (among teachers or at a School of Ed.), working with us, or receiving our various papers (\$1 for all five) can write me at 419 W. 115th Street, New York, N.Y. 10025.

WHERE THINGS ARE AT NOW

The public school system in New York is falling apart. In many ways, New

York City is falling apart. No words can describe the extent of the frustration, rage and hatred felt by the Black and Puerto Rican communities over the genocide being committed against their children and themselves. This spring, there will likely be riots at many schools, strikes over the extension of the 45 minutes per day extra-pay time for the Shanker teachers, and increased "vandalism" throughout the Black and Puerto Rican schools.

These things will happen without any "help" from TDS or any other largely white radical group. It would be a severe mistake to romanticize the violence that will probably happen--very little of it is likely to be explicitly political, very little organization will probably be built

around it in the short run, and the repression it brings down upon the black communities will likely be very severe. But these rebellions will happen, and that's a good thing.

The way the organized left (like TDS) should relate to them is certainly not to condemn them, but not just to clap our hands in glee either. Though we will have little to say about their occurrence, we may have much to say about their eventual direction--not by imposing our leadership upon them (which would be impossible anyway), but by building a radical political base among teachers that the Black and Puerto Rican communities and students can relate to. That is the task of radicals in the public schools now and for some time to come. ◆

German SDS Repressed

Following a series of militant mass demonstrations during the past two year in West Germany the legal system has stepped up its repressive campaign in recent months against that country's extra-parliamentary

opposition. The militant actions have variously been directed against the West German government's support for the United States aggression in Vietnam, the drafting and passing of the emergency legislation, the violently anti-student campaign of the powerful Springer Press, the elaborate state visit of the Shah of Iran and the authoritarian chaos of the West German universities.

Thousands of trials against the participants in those demonstrations are now under way or being prepared by district attorneys all over the Federal Republic of Germany. Hardest hit is the German SDS. According to a recent communication from Danny Cohn-Bendit, who is now studying in Frankfurt and working with the SDS, more than two thousand trials are being held against members of the SDS and some of the prosecutors are demanding sentences of up to ten years in prison. Since the entire membership of this organization is probably less than three thousand it is clear that the campaign is directed primarily against the SDS.

The SDS has the highest membership dues of all West German political student organizations, but since it receives little money from elsewhere it is also, at present, one of the poorest. (Most of the other university based political organizations receive indirect subsidies from government programs.) So the SDS is not only threatened with the removal of most of its leading members, but also with being forced into hopeless financial debt for high legal defense costs. The prospects are even more dismal since West Germany has no liberal or left organizations of lawyers comparable to the ACLU and the Lawyer's Guild in this country.

A law is now being debated in the West German Bundestag which would enable police to exercise preventative arrest against persons "strongly suspected" of being about to break the law. The rightist proponents of the law and the left-liberal and radical opposition are in agreement that the law would be applied in the case of political demonstrations. Preventative arrest against demonstrators has already been practiced in Hamburg and Berlin without legal sanction.

One of the more publicized examples of how the political justice of the West German courts works was the case of Fritz Teufel, which arose out of the demonstration against the Shah of Iran on June 2, 1967. Teufel, one of the more colorful members of West Berlin's notorious Commune No. 1, was arrested on June 2, and held in jail for five months on suspicion of throwing a rock during the demon-

stration. He was held, without being formally charged, on the basis of the accounts of two policemen, whose testimony at the trial six months later proved to be mutually contradictory. At the trial he was acquitted since the evidence was overwhelmingly against the charges of the prosecution and there was a great deal of public attention focused on the case.

At the same time, the police officer, Karl-Heinz Kurras, who shot a student in the back of the head and killed him in that same demonstration, was never taken into custody and questioned before his trial. This gave him plenty of time to make sure that his story concurred with various police witnesses and he was also acquitted.

Other cases have been less publicized and one of the political tasks of the student left is to draw attention to similar, less dramatic instances through their presence at the trials. This is made difficult by the use of tiny courtrooms and the selective admittance of members of the press.

One hopeful sign has been the political mobilization of some law students and occasional fair legal verdicts. But it is clear that the entire political and economic establishment is resolved to use the legal branch of the government to crush the movement.

HELP

The movement in Louisville is in need of at least four organizers. Most importantly we need a woman organizer who is interested in working with young girls and possibly young married women in a working class community. She would be part of work that is now going on. Second, we need a high school organizer who can help give radical content to an emergent group of middle class high school students at five area high schools. Finally, we need a middle class organizer and someone who would like to do work in a shop either unorganized or in a big place like GE which has had a lot of wildcats. Experience preferred and radical politics required. No salaries but lots of high paying factory work in the area. If interested please call or write: Steve Goldsmith, Fred James
532 N. 20th Street
Louisville, Ky. 40203
(502) 772-7917

P.S. We need a radical lawyer also who is interested in, among other things, military law in connection with army organizing.

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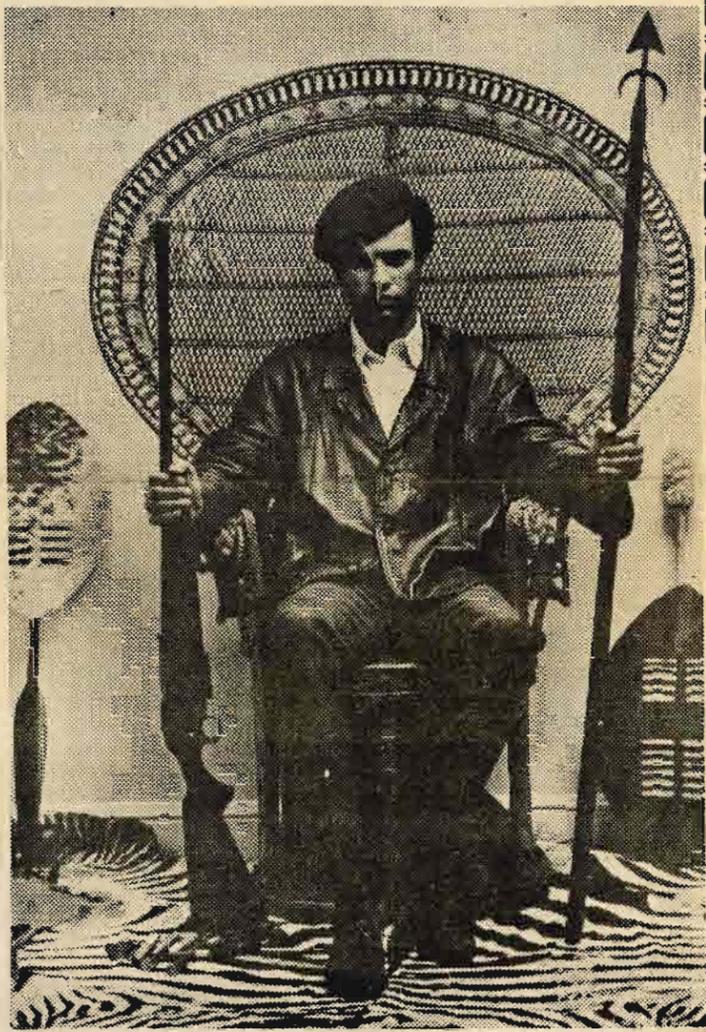
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That gives the word 優 (*quality*).
Take away the *bamboo* top 竹 from the sign 籠 for *prison*,
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HO CHI MINH PRISON DIARY

