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* rudd on columbia
* richmond oil strike
* interview: bobby seale
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, 15.5¢ 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.

ATTENTION: In case of any outrageously large contribution issues will be FREE.

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

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MURDERED IN L.A.

(see page 11)

JOHN HUGGINS
ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER

THIS IS THE HUEY P. NEWTON BIRTHDAY EDITION
The PEOPLE vs. STANDARD OIL

by Robert Avalian

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 as the order of the day. The daily grind--the 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 new whole set of values and assumptions grows up. Former *friends* turn into bitter enemies as the new realities are sought out among the ranks of those who are pitted against each other and often fought against.

The way in which we have been hearing about and with the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers (UCWA) 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 regular-routine squabble that would be marked by nothing more than formal picketing lines and a few weeks of union demands--a 7½ 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: their sites 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 offensive support and most held their ground when the cops moved in to begin the police strikebreaking.

In reaction to the police strikebreaking a meeting of the County Central Labor Council was called by the delegates voted to confront the County Board of Supervisors and local police. There was a threat a general strike if the police strikebreaking did not stop immediately, when police, first at the Shell plant in Richmond, beat, MACED and arrested oil workers and their 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 offensive support and most held their ground when the cops moved in to begin the police strikebreaking.

In reaction to the police strikebreaking a meeting of the County Central Labor Council was called by the delegates voted to confront the County Board of Supervisors and local police...
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 be judged into freedom or to jail. Here their lives you came from; the worst is still Hell.

Who are they?

A woman, 51, her husband an assistant city engineer at Oakland City Hall. What are her feelings about her son's work? "I don't want to be biased against the prosecution? A: I'm an independent thinker; I don't believe in clamor."

Another woman, 49, wife of a druggist, confused by the draft. Q: Her husband's name is in the draft? A: Yes.

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

A middle aged woman, secretary for electronics firm, "I thought the demonstrators were very enthusiastic, they were full of fervor, and I didn't understand it. I was captivated by their enthusiasm."

A man 49, experimental machinist for the Defense Technology Lab in San Jose. For his job making models of secret weapons he has security clearance. Asked about the Selective Service System he said: my father left Europe because of the war. As a child I was proud to be American.

A Post Office worker, 44, On the war: I think it is possible for a country to make a mistake. Coke too. He wants a great deal and served in the Pacific in World War II. A young man, inspector for GM. Asked about the war. She says she is not a lawn mower, she is a talking machine, and serves in the Navy.

A man, 49, experimental machinist for Lawrence Radiation Lab, security clearance. The only reason I don't grow a beard is every time I do it turns grey. "I have a beard too."

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COMMENCE TO LOOK ABOUT

of Fremont, Hayward, Castro Valley—
and the proud force that wishes to
our message of a nation disintegrating,
Phillips, who may order them to bend­
They kept setting the bastards free.
The ruling class abandoned the
members of the middle and new
Dow, who refused to convict.
In the search for an acquittal, somethinr
political attitudes of the jury. "I don't
see what the Vietnam War has to do
judge was convinced by the jurors who
be fair to longhaired hippie maybe corn,
Phillips protested.
'stated that this was a criminal trial. The
that it only applied to
no balistics tests, the
people are damned if they can't

THE TRIAL BEGINS
The Prosecution's opening statement was
Jensen is trotting
The audience breaks into rage and
good job. This ac­
In an oppressor's court.
and passion suspect.
possible and passion suspect.

Mal; We're not just talking about any­
Mal: I'm preaching that the youth is
in an oppressor's court.

Muniba"

Mal: We're not just talking about any­
if
Sa"

The next day Barry continued

VOR DIRE
Attorneys Charles Garry, Dick Hodgé and Mal Bernstein used the jury selec­
process to achieve the politicaliza­

"That's right, Your Honor, these peol­

"Your Honor, put a stop

NAMBERG
The judge refused to allow Nuremberg

Frank Oakley, the man who did it,

"Your Honor, put a stop to that"

He learned quick. By the third week of
the trial, only District Attorney
Lowell Jensen remained under the illu­

"If

"And then Morgan

Nuremberg declared certain en­

"And then Morgan

"And then Morgan

Since Garry opened, he has been using the
the place before microphones and on TV. The
prosecution case has already taken place before the Grand Jury. Jensen is trying out
the same witnesses, no more as

The next day Garry continued the

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 not true.
It is a political trial in the best

Mal: I'm preaching that the youth is
in an oppressor's court.

Essential, what the war is about. They will
be twelve peol(le subjected to the most
possible and passion suspect.
"This particular demonstration had as its
purpose the commission of crime," he
opened.
So it is the purpose of Stop the Draft
Week, but were damned if they could
be fair to longhaired hippie maybe corn,
Phillips protested.

The judge excused him. "Feeling certain­
ly runs high in this case," the judge said,
"If the war, then that law is wrong."

"If
"There will be dramatic eyewitness ac­
counts as in the hairy trial. All the crim­
inal 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 microseconds and on TV. The
prosecution case has already taken place
before the Grand Jury. Jensen is trying out
the same witnesses, no more as

GARRY; More than 5000?
JENSEN: I object.
FINK: That's correct.
GARRY; If it is a question of fact, I think
JENSEN: Your Honor...
GARRY; Yes.
JENSEN; (after a well-timed pause): And
he was RIGHT, wasn't he?
JENSEN: Your Honor...

PROSECUTOR LOWELL JENSEN

DIRTY LIGHTLY POLICE SF
James Bruce Coleman, OFFICER
James Bruce Coleman, known to the
Seven as James Bruce Johnson—told
The next day in the Oakland Tribune,
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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, has been called many things. It's a coffeehouse where men from several neighborhoods hang out, away from the harassment and hassles of the base. There they can rap with people of any age, gender, or interest, and read or discuss literature, be entertained, relax, talk about anything and everything. They might go to watch the most recent film, to argue outside the Panthers and some to sign a petition against the military trial of stockade prisoners at the San Francisco Freethought, to read some of the little underground fiction available in Tacoma, or just because they like hanging out.

The Shelter Half also provides a place for members of the community to get together—there being virtually no place else for them to do so.

One half of the shelter is carried by the four people who run the coffeehouse, the rest has been 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 heading of Support Our Soldiers. Initial funds were raised by a one-day sale of lumber, and honestly the proceeds are enough to keep the shelter open.

A place was found and flyers were distributed in the first few months just to insure the shelter's existence. The day after the coffeehouse opened, someone was thrown out of the building, but now there is a lot of plumbing and repair work ahead to be done.

The four people who are working at the Shelter Half are: Nam, a young GI who wandered from Kentucky and the gap was bridged. They provide as much literature and pamphlets as possible of GI struggles and anti-war events. Their work is recognized as important, and one uniformed pig busted two staff members inside the building. Sometimes they are attacked by outside agencies. A lot of guys would rather hit the beer than talk about the harassment, but that sentiment is changing. There is a natural tendency to attract a lot of guys who happened to be young men who happened to be from the same organization. There is some support from the community, from friends in the town and from several churches.

One half is the shelter 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 heading of Support Our Soldiers. Initial funds were raised by a one-day sale of lumber, and honestly the proceeds are enough to keep the shelter open.

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The staff of the coffeehouse have many stories to tell of individual GIs who they've got 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 resist having him stay. He was a little too thick, but one staff member found out there was more to his story. They tell about living on Okinawa, and sometimes a few guys go to see them. Sometimes going to a coffeehouse to read, a reading of an article in the paper, many of the GIs who come to the coffeehouse are in political groups, sometimes a few guys go to see them. They tell about living on Okinawa, and sometimes a few guys go to see them. Sometimes going to a coffeehouse to read, a reading of an article in the paper, many of the GIs who come to the coffeehouse are in political groups, sometimes a few guys go to see them. Sometimes going to a coffeehouse to read, a reading of an article in the paper, many of the GIs who come to the coffeehouse are in political groups.
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 campus where the movement is at various stages, and especially would not communicate any information to anyone (since the action had "no political content").

The Columbia rebellion began on a Tuesday night in early April, with a demonstration against the CIA entrance. The main issue was the war, and the action was called "political draft counseling" -- a tactic that was later adopted by other SDS chapters.

Though possessing a "Marxist" analysis, they believed that the way support is gained is by going out to people and talking to them about car analysis. Various pieties about the need to build the base were incessantly pronounced in the name of the "Marxist analysis." The word "organize" was used as a synecdoche with which to neatly upstate into place and to retain control over the chapter. One example will illustrate this point.

On a Tuesday night, a meeting of the SDS Draft Committee had been scheduled. The meeting was held at a site on the Columbia campus where the students were known to be active. In the middle of such a meeting, the Columbia chapter argued that an attack on the Columbia campus would be entirely useless, since it would be spent in "organizing" and "building the movement," whatever you like. A banner or flag-waving is less radical activity than seizing a building. In fact, both are necessary.

At Columbia we had four years history of agitation and education involving forms of conflict from assimilation and open forums on IDA to confrontations over MKOT and military recruiting. All went into developing the mass consciousness that was responsible for the rebellion. The point is that we had to develop the willingness to take action, regardless of the potential for being isolated from the base. It could be released, however, that the action was both possible and desirable. For a fuller discussion on the complex and significant history of the Columbia rebellion, see COLUMBIA LIBERATION REVOLUTION.

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, to produce the militant black students at Columbia.

Before April 23, the black students of the American Society and Columbia SDS had never gotten together in a joint action or even held much cross-group communication. SDS had been mostly a cultural or social organization, in part reflecting the class background of its members (SDS position on campus like its members). SDS had been mostly a cultural movement, and especially would not communicate any information about the students' movement to anyone (since the action had "no political content"). It was decided that the draft draft committee would be present at the speech to mark the event and resolve questions.

Several SDS members and non-members then organized clandestinely to attack the College. In the middle of such a meeting, a demonstration appeared in the back of the room, with a flag, and Bruce, machine gun, and others. The attack was directed at the College 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 21-0 against the old leadership of the chapter and as an action which would be "terroristic, political, and stupid," and especially would not communicate any information to anyone (since the action had "no political content"). It was decided that if the draft committee would be present at the site. This one act opened the flood gate of anger and strength and resolve against the racism and pro-war policies of the university. This prominence of militancy and the aggressive approach should not be interpreted as a victory for the action side of the base-building dichotomy. In fact, action and education (verbal and otherwise) are complementary, and the same thing (call it "base-building," "organizing," "building the movement," whatever you like) is not in itself or anything similar to a less radical activity than seizing a building. In fact, both are necessary.

The Columbia rebellion was the best education for honorable men...
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 the School. 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 their own—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 ''male'' 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 saw a way to fight for freedom. Especially important in this realization was the power of Harlem, both manifest and dormant. Now the liberal universe—the laid-back and -was shattered, and the mass occupation started by a handful of whites, the 23 who showed in Low, gave rise to the natural responses of 9,000 or 10,000 people who wanted to fight back against the oppression of blacks, Vietnaminizing 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 widened on the ideas of the blacks, and the overwhelming presence of the black students and militants 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 situation. 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 being visionaries who other whites must also be stressed. When neutral or liberal or even right-wing students are 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, and also the rationale for action. At some time is it ''organized'' or "political" more important as before, during and after militant action.

One of the reasons people joined on sit-ins was the fact that white students with the same malaise, alienation, unhappiness about this society and their lack of options in getting out of it saw a way to strike back at the enemy in the actions begun by a few. This was the same essence, the rolling class and their represents. 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 deprecate 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 action was given by the black students, the Third World Liberation Front, is the best example of the most oppressed taking the vanguard.

At school after school, the high school students' strike in New York City, and numerous other cases, similarly show the importance of black vanguard. This was a reality that the students of SDS and in the January, too, blacks have been taking the lead and whites following—e.g., the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement which grew out of a white protest caucus in the UAW (see the MOVEMENT, December, 1968), and the Fort Hood 43.

The building of the vanguard is by no means 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 our own movement should be.

At Columbia, our understanding of the dynamics at work was at best intuitive: we knew that the blacks 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 black students' strike in New York City, and numerous other cases, similarly show the importance of black vanguard. This was a reality that the students of SDS and in the January, too, blacks have been taking the lead and whites following—e.g., the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement which grew out of a white protest caucus in the UAW (see the MOVEMENT, December, 1968), and the Fort Hood 43.

The implication of this high point on the part of PLF is that blacks are too stupid to organize in the way we organized. This control turned into co-optation, and therefore, they should follow the dogmatic and unreal line of PLF; black parents and white teachers unite to stop the black students, or else 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 origins of this feeling is both to the desire to see blacks take leadership positions, a good thing, and also the attitude that racism is a "black problem" and cannot be radicalized 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 the interests of the working class as a whole. 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 did take 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 the 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 recyclers, or the anti-racism demonstrations, were instigated 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 combated, they are in error in not taking the initiative, giving both black students and the mass of whites the impetus to carry the struggle for the full support of all students. They must also, however, know when to follow the lead of blacks, and when to work parallel. At Columbia, I inadvertently sometimes, did we all three.

Student Power

One of the things we learned at Columbia to 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 demilitarizing 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 thrust over archaic administrative procedures, lack of democracy in decision-making, etc., above all, an immense failure of communication and administration. It is unnecessary to document this beyond,...
In general, the Left itself has understood the primacy of revolutionary anti-imperialist politics present in the core of the rebellion, but few have access to our arguments. We were engaged in a struggle that had institutions far beyond the boundaries of the campus on Morris-Ridglehigh. In fact, our interest was there, outside the university. We did not want to stop the university. We wanted to change it. We claimed their radical and imperialist policies, but what about? This was our main goal in our exposure of IDA and expansion, the question of "saving" the university in the context of the (radical) critique of the university. What are these radical structural formations in our exposure of IDA and expansion, the question of "saving" the university should be used as a place from which to launch radical struggles—anything new can only convey 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 radicals who proclaimed the creation of a "new, just, democratic Columbia University" as their goal. Protesting revolution as another of their goals, they saw reform of the university as one of the "many steps" toward revolution. Behind this conception, there was no radical movement different from ours at Columbia and also that of the most advanced radicals in 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 were on campus was not to participate in restructuring to our six demands (after the Trustees had already called them, therefore, the SDU did not oppose the new administration for a structured university. Neither is the case. Whatever "good" function the university serves is what the radical students can cull from its bones—especially the creation and extension of a revolutionary movement. The university should be used as a place from which to launch radical struggles—anything new can only convey a passive capitulation to social-democracy and reformism, whatever the intention of the radicals involved.

...
The people in the buildings fought. Many were naive to the radical movement, many were just learning—this was a time of openness, of new experiences and life- situations. If ever the phrase “practise outside theory” was true, this was such a time. People who had been living in squatting 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 its all fitting into a 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 idea of a factory called “Strike Coordinating Committee Meetings.” This was totally wasted time since the Strike Committee, instead of being a source of strength from the strike, was really the weakest element. The need of the radical communes for the political consciousness, 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 political parties 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? 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 idea of a factory called “Strike Coordinating Committee Meetings.” This was totally wasted time since the Strike Committee, instead of being a source of strength from the strike, was really the weakest element. The need of the radical communes for the political consciousness, 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.

These problems are still unanswered, though the experiences of Columbia and San Francisco State do help provide some ideas.

### Significance of the Columbia Uprising

It is these issues 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 accounted for our inability to anticipate the political needs of the time. If, in the late 1960s, the experience of San Francisco State and other schools, Martin Nicolaus writing in the *Movement* has also pointed out that the TWU/RSU movement at State has not only the need to revitalize its rank and file, but also to integrate its function as a militant organization into the movement.

The conflict over the radical position on the university, and the function of a student movement in its relation to the broader society, has been a question of power. Both politically and personally this has been a bad error in the Columbia struggle, though it has had some advantages (ability to use my name to draw large audiences, make political connections, etc.).

This conflict is in a sense a picture of the situation. The campus, the cordon wall, is an area of change, of tension, where the real issues are not exposed 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 its all fitting into a world-wide struggle.

As a result of the liberation of the buildings, a new coalition organization activity in the mostly white Morningside Heights neighborhood revolved to its 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-a-strike of tenements in Columbia’s tenements. On May 14, the CAC liberated an apartment in a tenement in 114th St. in an effort to dramatize the decimation of the community by Columbia’s racist and 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 developped over the fact that the organizers were mostly middle-class, or that people who had struggled from both white working class residents who were threatened, and the middle-class black and Puerto Rican residents who were not.

As a direct result of the strike, Columbia workers, mostly Spanish-speaking, ended their struggle by winning with Columbia a new contract, including a doubling of wages, a $100 bonus, and the formation of a joint Local of 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers’ Union, etc. This success was a triumph not only in the movement but in its ability to organize the black students.

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

At a time when the radical movement was the most dis-heartened and dis-spirited due to the grisly McCarthyism, 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 collapsed after we broke this first line, but never able to revive after the rebellion of the spring. Liberal politics were exposed as just so much shallow verbiage and wasted 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.

The failure of the campus and coalition strike committee to anticipate the political needs of the time has at least in part accounted for our inability to anticipate the political needs of the time. If, in the late 1960s, the experience of San Francisco State and other schools, Martin Nicolaus writing in the *Movement* has also pointed out that the TWU/RSU movement at State has not only the need to revitalize its rank and file, but also to integrate its function as a militant organization into the movement.

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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 it the same 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 Habeas 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 (the 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 soliciting, 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 first 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 remind people the fact that Huey P. Newton must receive a material—that the battle is really not over just because some slick politicians did come 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 black people 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 and that power structure puts up. We want people to be educated on a mass 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, capitalist system.

We want these Newton/Cleaver defense committees to be ongoing. Their first objective should be to raise education 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 free Huey P. Newton set free. Ongoing until we get amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver (unless) we free all political prisoners and begins to change this racist, decadent, exploitative, capitalist 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 atrocity, murderous system. As Brother Malaka, one of the new leaders of the chapter in L. A. says, "There's a lot of (demagogic politicians), racist (police forces), and there's a boar (avaricious businessmen) who committed the assassinations in Los Angeles are pork chops and all of these pork chops are in fact the same as the pig. Now we know for a fact that these pork chops, the cultural nationalists in this country, are vastly swayed and used by pig power structure. In Los Angeles it was the pork chops of the organization, but by Ron Karenga, who is 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 drove home and as he was going into his house they started shooting at him. He 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 black 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 on the police, defending themselves, when the pigs drove up. The righteous force drove off and brought out and in the house, finally they charged the house and arrested two of the three people inside. And the two US started fighting.

It just shows that the pigs will not out direct, actual protection from the racist pig department we've been murdering black people in the streets.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12
It's a known fact that the US government uses coercion against other black people, specifically against members of the Black Congress in Los Angeles, and members of the HU in Los Angeles. While I don't have any definitive information I'll be willing to bet 1 to 1 they killed some of them down there and that's just absurd. The pig power structure is out to try to crush the Black Panther Party because the Black Panther Party is significantly challenging the racist political structure and needs of black people in a revolutionary political fashion. The pork chop nationalists being part of the pig have been siding in this attempt.

**CULTURAL NATIONALISM**

**MOVEMENT:** What do you think there is about cultural nationalism, aside from black agents within their group, 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 Fanon, who wrote the book *SKELETAL STRUGGLES OF THE EARTH*, states that many times our black brothers who are in these colleges and who relate to the bourgeoisie class have their insurmountable questions still in play in the mass system as much that they believe to have a white person simply because of the color of their skin. That's really practicing the same racism that's in the system that we are trying to destroy. This is a form of 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 have to go get some fire to put it out, they get some water to put the fire out as everybody knows 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 all 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 that there's the one we've been host, that have been most diseased with the culture of Africa or what have you or whatever they think they might make themselves. They are more easily used by the pig power structure of the masses—this fieldigger. A fieldigger, a black individual 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. If we're going to get to articulate it himself.

The cultural nationalist is supposed to be able to articulate and to do something or to do something to project this same racist capitalist system. That's very important because the capitalist system is a class system. The Black Panther Party is dealing with people with killing and getting rid of the class system. We're talking about nationhood. The cultural nationalism says that socialism won't do anything for us. It's going to use a cultural nationalism that is going to exist in the black community. We think the Black Panther Party gets this analysis and this understanding from having a broader perspective of what the class system is all 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 that there's the one we've been host, that have been most diseased with the culture of Africa or what have you or whatever they think they might make themselves. They are more easily used by the pig power structure of the masses—this fieldigger. A fieldigger, a black individual 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. If we're going to get to articulate it himself.

**BLACK CAPITALISM**

The cultural nationalists of the third world have a tendency to relate to black capitalism. We say that's a 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 oppressed people want to be colored and they make a profound impact upon the economy of the world, it creates a system which enslaves us. The Black Panther Party has alliances or coalitions with white people who are basically opposed to the racist, exploitative capitalist system. The cultural nationalists don't have enough sense to see this. These same cultural nationalists want to work down with the capitalists. They want jobs there in the poverty programs. They claim they are tricking the Man. They are working with theirling of the people who have been oppressing them for 600 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 white will have to go back and shout their mothers and fathers who are across this country and around the world. That's exactly what's going to have
to happen and we don't pull any bones on our end. If we see a black cop riding down the street menacing a black man or brat-tling him, it's not the color of his skin it's the actions and the things he's doing that's upset us to, so we're going to have him kill 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, culturally nationalists turn into Papa Doc, Papa Doc rules Haiti and oppresses the people. We can't have any culturally nationalists in this country who are going to run around and murder and brutalize and intimidate people just for some chickenashian change. And if they think they're bad, well, they'll kin' see 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 is not at all color.

PURGE: The internal purge in the party is primarily to get rid of people who are trying to practice sadism—a form of factionalism. The basis of this factionalism is important. 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 purged. This is the internal purge. An opportunity is one who will try to cause faction in the party. This may work on many levels: overtly spontaneously in 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. It makes analysis from political theory as to how things are going and as to how things are moving and what we should do destroy the capitalist system. To maintain this we have a form of criticism and self-criticism within internal party organization. This is very important for each individual in this Party. Some of these haven't accepted self-criticism, and they will do things that are negative to the Party. CULTURAL NATIONALISTS AS A WHOLE CANNOT STAND SELF-CRITICISM, but it is vital to the party 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 lose it in the camp of the people.

We are making use of the church in the black community that are trying to implement are: the breakfast and the church. These are the programs that we are going to have to kill him too. It. They will try to stop these programs because the pig power structure has more reasons than the cultural nationalists, it knows that the revolutionary programs we are putting forth are weakening the camp. So he tries to strengthen his camp by using "Negroes", his little friends.

MOVEMENT: Will you talk concretely about how a breakfast for children program weakens the pigpower 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 and he's going 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 that this going around the country—that every dollar that a racist capitalist (or any kind of a business, he be black or white) a penny of it is going to have to come back to the community. The very business men who exploit the community must begin to give at least a penny back. And if it's organized in such a way that more pennies accumulate up, it won't be 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 socialist program, We take it away from the big business. The business, if they don't like it, they won't have it. They won't have the Black Panther Party, they won't have the Black Panther movement. We have Black Panther Party members who go to the community and he's going to prepare food to serve to the school kids by 7:30.

The first program that says he's gonna do it, to serve food to the school kids, the Black Panthers who do this program and he will probably use some cultural nationalists to help him, but we're going to lose its impact on the community.

We are making use of the church in the black community that are trying to implement are: the breakfast and the church. These are the programs that we are going to have to kill him too. It. They will try to stop these programs because the pig power structure has more reasons than the cultural nationalists, it knows that the revolutionary programs we are putting forth are weakening the camp. So he tries to strengthen his camp by using "Negroes", his little friends.

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. These programs are trying to call these programs reformist but we're revolutionaries and we 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. Revolutionary must always go forth answer the momentary desires and needs of the people, the poor and oppressed people, who want this revolutionary struggle. It's very important because it strengthens the people's revolutionary camp while it weakens the gang of the capitalist power structure. The struggle is long and hard and we have found that the pigs will attack us and try to shoot us and kill us. They will have cultural nationalists to help them. They will try to stop these programs because the pig power structure has more reasons than the cultural nationalists, it knows that the revolutionary programs we are putting forth are weakening the campaign. So he tries to strengthen his camp by using "Negroes", his little friends.

MOVEMENT: We raised this question recently about the breakfast for children program weakens the pigpower 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, and he's going to prepare food to serve to the school kids by 7:30.

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

That's why free health clinics, com m unity control of the police, free-break-
fasts for the children. This is what freedom really is—and much, much more in the future. It's got to be mat-
terially valuable; it's got to be con-
tructed and organized and tied to get to the political needs and desires of the people.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS

MOVEMENT: Tell us some of your thoughts 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 kindergartners. We're trying to get some of the college brothers to work on this and some have responsi-
bilities. We feel that the first thing to be implemented had to be the breakfast program for children on the school level. 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 the cheaters who—not the same bull-
shit they get now. So the black liberation classes will begin soon using the same curriculums 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 his-
tory, about the atrocities 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 down-
ing the class system, cultur al nationalist and capitalists, both black and white, who are the same exploitative.

The pigs used the black bourgeoisie closely and a lot of jive white liberals to perpetuate and strengthen their rac-
establishment. 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 is thinking the more nigger I can get I can trick this black capitalism. The more I can trick the rest of them niggers in the dark of the night, the less there is a black Panther Party out there and we're strug-
gling to keep 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 do some thing to the black people. Mexi-

can-Americans can do the same thing. The white people can, too, if they 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 we come to get our people to rise and stand up.

We're going to go for that. That backfrie-

rn, that capitalist in the community that's been hollaring we, we will get more from those. And that's where we're going to come from.

BOBBY: How do you intend to force the capitalists in the black commu-

ity to pay for these programs?

MARCH, 1969

ORGANIZATION'S GROWTH

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

BOBBY: The attacks that have come down against us have had some positive re-
er, 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 our organization is still growing. One of the key problems has been keeping the chapters staffed up 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 orga-

nizing tool in terms of directly contact-

ing the masses and relating to building their consciousness.

TEA WELCOME: Also we have had problems with a few new members who we've been very passionate, al atr. Every time we are attacked we get more of them. Several of our brother's are in jail.

The people don't like us being attacked. Once in a while we get duped, national-

ized as new members. But we try to teach them that the only culture is a revolu-

tionary culture. To get them to under-

stand 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 black nationalists because this is a people's struggle as a whole. And black people just happen to be a moving van-

guard force in the continual racist Ameri-

ca, 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 this 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 superego, the pig power structure itself, from the Fill in Nixon all the way down to the local major and the local pigs who are using the cultural nationalist.

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.

Exhausting all political means

MOVEMENT: You have a petition cam-
paign for a program of community con-
trol of the police. Tell us how this campaign fits into the strategy of exhaus-
ting 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." Now 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 complete control of police is voting but as an operation by which we vote on the ballot the people at large, the masses, to vote. To say that the present police department should be abolished and a new one established that coming directly from, to run by, and set up by the commu-

nity.

If the voting operation does not win or if they gerrymander the votes then we have a working force. That's a revolutionary force.

That's a strengthening of the revolu-
tionary 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 hap-
pending? 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 why 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 off the pig power structure and change the system, change the system for a better one.

HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND

P. O. BOX 318

BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701
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 third-kick-out picnic. It has taken about six months of off campus 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 moldering body of Bay Area radical-liberal politics, given birth to a promising student-teacher-labor-black-brown-yellow coalition of diverse political interests. 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, the major event has been a mass arrest January 23, for about two weeks after the campus reopened (Jan. 6), student strikers led by the TWU, learned that a short time after the AFL-CIO labor-management. These rules are designed to be futile: picketing on the perimeter of the physical campus will not work between pickets, no obstruction of scales, no entry into the buildings.

Despite grappling within the ranks, the TWU received its most major blow. Under the new system, pickets are not allowed to change shifts. If he was working, Campus attendance status now becomes a minus. All student political activities were swinging toward the formation of a special strike committee image was fading. There was, initially, talk of going to illegal, and TWU's tactical hand has been severely damaged.

By the third week, however, numbers began to swell. The, black strike reception was more and more of a joke: a wave of strike regulations. Many white students were thrown off, partly because the black students were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlooked and often a black picket at a job that was developing were being overlook
Few issues in recent years have been as thoroughly confused for the left to deal with as last fall's New York City teachers' strikes, and the struggle for community control of public education that precipitated the strikes. For the most part radicals knew enough to oppose the strike, but some confused and ambiguous questions:

1) Is the struggle for community control politically radical or reformist?
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 not yet sure of the answers to these questions: how many of the teachers' spokesmen were right, or wrong, in their analysis of the political nature of the U.F.T.'s strikes, the THE STRIKES

The first thing for radicals (and everyone!) to realize is that the strike in New York City is that the United Federation of Teachers' purposes was not to professional job security for teachers. Rather, the strikes were the ultimate expression of a broader effort to defeat the U.F.T. to the black community. The U.F.T. is not even to say that community control "costs money," and then to prove it by backing up even the illusion that the black community is free to work with teachers. The U.F.T. had not even been chosen by the community.

When I say "legitimate" job security was not at stake, I mean that the U.F.T. teachers weren't afraid for their jobs, but rather for their futures. And this is why. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville teachers were afraid of the radical, at least, of the Community Control strategy's attempt to adequately explain the context in which "radical" has become "radicals." It is less we understand context, of course, it will be impossible for us to accurately and carry on our organizing tasks.

The basis for radical support of community control lies in three related issues: (1) the special (colonized or caste) status of teachers being the community's allies; (2) the fact that the U.F.T. was protecting the interests of the black community; and (3) the fact that the teachers had not even been chosen by the community.

Community Control

Understanding the rationale 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 are not necessarily the same groups who support the struggle for community control. For example, the community control strategy as it has been adopted is an effort to create an organized community control that has been precisely because the 10cal government has not even been chosen by the community. The American Federation of Teachers is the community control movement that has been organized to form the Community Control Movement.

The argument really has two parts: (1) the struggle for community control is a struggle for community control against the local board, it is certainly racist to afraid of what might happen, would accept sell-outs as the end of the struggle. One of these dangers' is co-optation; that is, the local board and the U.F.T. could get the black community to support the U.F.T.'s goals.

The reply to this argument in many cases, the contains the essence of the new left's disagreements with PL and with.
One of the central issues connected with the crisis in public education is precisely what to do about the New York City school system, with its squat buildings, its run-down lunchrooms, the overall apathy of the administration. It is not a question of every issue. We can't support Shanker because building a racist conception of the work - teachers, things would be in a sorry
im opportunistic alliance between parents and the administration. Shanker's willingness to use the community to back his program, his desire to have the same racist books in the same oppressive atmosphere, with the same relationships, the same racist teachers, the same racist community and administration - it's too much.

The notion of developing new human relationships must be revolutionary, transformational. That means a total transformation of the society (though no more reformist than a fight for better education budget and smaller classes) - a total change in the structures and the control systems. In the context of a struggle to change the schools, the revolutionary teacher must hire community people as aids and allies, and that means a total change in the way the community is related to the school. That does not mean the teachers of the New York City school system, become the committees that were run-down and the Puerto Rican communities and students.

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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 3% 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 interest of the organization should be led to the creation of a group oriented toward local electoral activity. Others felt that they should put 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 as urban renewal, education, a newsletter, an organizing press, and electoral politics and the work began.

The transition to a multi-issue group that actually did organizing work was a slow one. From the beginning there 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 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 define 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 in order to get a quick and visible reaction. The renewal program was in the process of destroying white 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 demonstrators 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 looking bad, so badly that it was starting to get attention, that is, it was being written up on lists of admired 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 backlash in the city's program and to provide a good deal of education on the issue itself. AIM simply ran the city's new plan to build a ringroad around downtown. This overcoming, under sacred Yale, then surface to build barriers around two black neighborhoods and end in the half-mile-long garage. 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 did have 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, breaking in the short run, but an indelible result when considered in its context.

Later, AIM people were even more successful. When a new neighborhood was designated as a renewal area (AIM people had been working there for three years) management of the black-white relation which took over the model cities program from the city. What resulted this will have 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 weekly 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. Of the most notable things about all these activities, aside from how relatively long they have been going on, is how domestically they have become. AIM still talks about the Vietnam war from time to time—what use 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 Richards 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 half a hundred. This may involve having children in our school, coming to the last two years the organization has developed active projects with the following results: a weekly 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 they have become. AIM still talks about the Vietnam war from time to time—what use of our people goes to North Vietnam, for example—but it is certainly not our major issue.

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Those actively involved in the organization, from the periphery on in number perhaps half a hundred. This may involve having children in our school, coming to the last two years the organization has developed active projects with the following results: a weekly 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 they have become. AIM still talks about the Vietnam war from time to time—what use of our people goes to North Vietnam, for example—but it is certainly not our major issue.
PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY

Least this picture seems to 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 seems inevitable as we are making small gains in the short-run, our actions, if not furthered, 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 white age among some AIM people and friends of theirs who they knew from the 1968 ERAP days. Most of these AIM non-personnel were either organizing professionally, doing support work for students-organizing, or were between activities. When the AIM national leadership suggested the group was really off when 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 political level, therefore succeeding at local radical work where others had failed. To others it seemed as if we were being 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, activate 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 failed. Moreover, if this was the case, the argument went, the only reason for believing we were being a horse was to do being these days is to work in areas where there is a need for change, among students and other young people.

While such broad evasions seldom take place in AIM there is a feeling that the time we are spending is too remote in nature. When the redevelopment authority plans a highway we fight it—even though it is understandable at that time—and when Washington declares New Haven a model city, we organize to haven a model city, we organize to

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or by folding our newsletter. (About 700 people get the newsletter, but this includes a lot of people who redevelope most officials who want to know where we are going.)

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 cadre if you want—of people who spend almost all of their time in the work they do. They have to devote to supporting themselves, working on the various AIM projects. There are now about 25 of these people. They are the full-time staff of the organization, and while they are spread pretty over various projects, they coordinate their work closely, help each other out on projects, and see each other a great deal socially.

Most of these people come from two sources. Probably the greater number came to New Haven because of Yale, but have also been linked. The other group is made up of people who have been recruited. Initially they came to New Haven to work for AIM, and have started to do political work as soon as they got off the bus. Distinctly the latter source is increasing in relative size as the former which means the organization is beginning to become more heterogeneous, incorporating new people who did not previously consider themselves political organizers.

Many of these full-time people could be classified as radical professionals, although this is not too accurate in AIM. We have an architect who works for the city who helped set up a city planner on our urban renewal committee, a full time political lawyer (draft cases, sit-ins, legal defense of AIM), a full time staff person to the school; a dancer, who does political dance; and several people who feel the political options of art work, journalism, research and practice.

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 such as meetings and office work. Then himself 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 broad but inevitable as teaching at Yale. But to a greater and greater extent, AIM people have been able to combine their political and non-profit activities: our press supports four people; the model cities organize (and allow 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 bookshop.

THE 1968 CAMPAIGN

We first ran a campaign again in 1968 was indicative of the growth that has occurred in the organization since 1966. In an organization which could decide in a general political context the end 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 run for the education value it would have. The campaign would 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 the full-time staff worked on the campaign. The others still had their regular jobs but considered more important in the long run, instead of spending $40,000, $40,000 was spent, about half of our total on our full-time press. There was no meaningless door-to-door work in which we could get our program down the river to signatures, since we already had a place in the ballot. Perhaps most important, there was little or no electioneering: no debate of much of percentages or possible victories.

Instead, we turned to a philosophy of existing on the organization to further our educational activities. Each staff wrote up the press release position papers for their area, which were used in speeches and printed most prominently in the daily paper. Furthermore, the campaign was used to make new contacts, notably it gave Bob Cook the chance to speak to the State Senate Committee. 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 they could do one. Thus even if the campaign had had a tendency to suck up AIM's resources—which it didn't—it did not have to be because the ongoing projects were simply too strong, and many people too committed, to be distracted by a short-run campaign.

group in West Haven, they told us very quickly that they were no aware of the affilia­ tion, 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. A long time earlier mentioned, 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 stable alternative. Our organizers also try, most of the time, to relate their community programs to the larger issues with which AIM is concerned. Attempts to take over large numbers of the people through community college will be tried, We also plan to experiment with puppeteers and radio stations as means of communicating on a non-academic basis. At the moment we are getting off the books with working people to a mutual but detached education, 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 a part of developing long-term strategies for organizing. We have to do rather than just discuss the problems of organizing. We have to do something like AIM get together and build a co-ordinated strategy and analysis. It may be that this kind of comprehensive program and strategy for something like urban renewal is a real hard task. But unless AIM can get to putting 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 de­ perately needs to have the kind of give and take among ourselves, only a national movement can provide. At the moment, AIM people talk to the national movement—everyone on the staff from the Toronto example and most read the MOVEMENT —but when we get together to plan or interpreting events or an organization like AIM is really quite isolated. It may have to use that isolation to do things that AIM can do.
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 at Mission High, especially from students at Mission High School. Several rallies were held before school in Mission Dolores Park. Across the street. While the attendance at the rallies was not large, there was interest in the strike. Those who attended were inspired by the strike at State, especially by the Third World Liberation Front. Realizing that students at Mission were bi-lingual; that is, they found in three minimal employment categories. The latinos are the poorest of families. 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 these three minimal employment categories.}

THE STUDENTS

Mission High School has about 2000 students: 450 blacks, 680 whites, 750 latinos, and 70 Chinese. Its students came from families with the lowest incomes in the city, averaging $500 per family. The latinos are the poorest of the ethnic groups, averaging some $350 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 for help these students, outside of standard remedial language instruction. The channeling system in the school, based on it as it upon the results of intelligence tests, biased for those of bourgeois and poly-bourgeois white training, leaves little hope to the average student at Mission. The teaching staff, poorly trained and poorly paid in comparison with the white 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 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 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 national program at Mission; it's "team" 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 other -- the Board of Education down town. 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 are in league 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 bail monitor system, civil service jobs, has been inadequate to the needs of security in the school. For the Board of Education has allocated and is now training "security guards," to police the school in a more effective manner. All of which do little to help students seek among the students. The number of students at Mission who were expelled by 200 every year for the past three years, as the drop-out rate has dropped (7% of all the students enrolled). Out of the 2000 students, between 450 and 600 are absent daily. The average absentee rate is 45%. These are the students who were not large, those students who did show up, who were at Mission are bi-lingual; that is, they found in three minimal employment categories. The latinos are the poorest of families. 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.

THE DEMANDS

The new semester began with the students of Mission rallying support from the community leaders, particularly from the BSU and the TWLF because they don't want to be isolated from the strike. The demands included 17 demands to the Board of Education, including expulsion of teachers and counselors, loss of summer employment, and inadequate pay for bus drivers. The demands were met with indifference from the administration. The number of students at Mission who were expelled by 200 every year for the past three years, as the drop-out rate has dropped (7% of all the students enrolled). Out of the 2000 students, between 450 and 600 are absent daily. The average absentee rate is 45%. These are the students who were not large, those students who did show up, who were at Mission are bi-lingual; that is, they found in three minimal employment categories. The latinos are the poorest of families. 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.
Recess was called to investigate the mental qualities of the defendants. The trial officer, Law Officer Robinson, took advantage of his position and asked the Colonel who held the center seat. His head shook to indicate that there was no motion. All the other heads took up the motion. The prosecution emphasized the men's failure to obey orders. The defense dramatically presented the unexpected last series of calculations which, when translated from the message and almost certainly could not have under-applied to the facts of 14 October, 1968. The defense felt somewhat differently. Capt. Richard Millard was ordered to stage the investigation. The trial began on the 23rd of October. The trial took five full court days. The trial of the Presidio 27 congregated the court martial—this time without any delay— and without any delay. The President, Mr. Sood, was found guilty of mutiny after a deliberation of 22 minutes and sentenced to 15 years hard labor. His civilian attorney, Paul Halvanec is planning to appeal. The trial took five full court days. The defense was more explicit about the significance of Robinson's action. It would, "rob the defense of the force and affect of its case," be claimed.

"This ruling, I submit, deprives them 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 Chause, representing Pvt. Oczepinski, was more explicit about the significance of Robinson's action. It would, "rob the defense of the force and effect of its case," be claimed. The top brass will relentlessly forge ahead with the case. And regardless of how the matter is resolved, the Army will win in one way or another to have the 27 prisoners.

But on February 13 another case of the Presidio 27 congregation had court martial—this time without any delay—and without any delay. Mr. Sood, 26, was found guilty of mutiny after a deliberation of 22 minutes and sentenced to 15 years hard labor. His civilian attorney, Paul Halvanec is planning to appeal. The trial took five full court days. The defense was more explicit about the significance of Robinson's action. It would, "rob the defense of the force and effect of its case," be claimed. The top brass will relentlessly forge ahead with the case. And regardless of how the matter is resolved, the Army will win in one way or another to have the 27 prisoners.

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Deserters' 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 deserters who are still in the military, but as yet are unable to resist actively. We will do all in our power to help all those who resist in the same way—DESERTERS.

We will support 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
Box P.O. 611
Montreal 25, Quebec Canada

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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 worker who said he was not proud of 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 emphasized that racism in the union had made black workers feel that they were on the outside of things. At the end of the letter the Executive Board had received from a fighting people, proud of our

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 worker told us: "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 thick of it!" And a young worker added: "Yeah, we could really get something going if we got together with the black people!"

The important task for us to do is to unify this idea further and to build working class organization that can carry on political struggles and that to do this 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 in 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 solvable; 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 go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into before, articulate 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."

NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOLS

cont'd from page 17

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diplomas. Because Stuyvesant is all boys and because all city high schools are the de facto segregated, TDS high school teaches the de facto writing for left underground papers.

This past month has made us very hopeful of continued success, we still have to work on this. The main problem is that we have to take into account the students' lack of experience. They are interested in setting up a TDS chapter (among teachers or at a school, S.U., etc.), working with us, or receiving our various papers ($1 for all five) can write us at 15565 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 years. We have hit the offensive ourselves, and increased "vandalsm" 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 repercussions it brings down upon the black community will be very serious. But these rebellions will happen, and that's a good thing.

The way the organized left (TDS) should relate to these 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 years 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 these 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 Cohen-Dannhi, who is now studying in Frankfort and working with the SDS, more than two thousand trials are being held against members of the SDS and some of the proseachers 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.

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. It would be part of work that is now going on. Second, we need a high school organizer and someone who would like to do work in a shop either unorganized or in a weak 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 these places. Write: Steve Goldsmith, Fred James 571 N, 20th street Louisville, Ky. 40203

The SDS has the highest membership dues of all West German political student organizations, but since it receives little money from elsewhere it is, 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 expensive 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. Preventive 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 a demonstration against the Shah of Iran on June 2, 1967. Teufel, one of the more colorful members of West Berlin's notorious Communist No. 1, was arrested on June 2, and held in jail for five months on suspicion of throwing a rock during the demonstration. 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-Johann 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.

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THE MOVEMENT PAGE 23
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People who come out of prison can build up the country. Misfortune is a test of people’s fidelity. Those who protest at injustice are people of true merit. When the prison-doors are opened, the real dragon will fly out.

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