

# MOVEMENT

JUNE 1969

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detroit wildcat  
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mental hospitals

CORRECTION FOR BERKELEY PAGE 20.  
The paragraph in column 4 starting with, "The crowd remained..." and the next 5 paragraphs (cont'd on pg.23), ending with "...to stop it.", should be inserted after the paragraph in column 2 which ends, "...for city hall." (page 20)

THE MOVEMENT PRESS

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# EDITORIAL

A white man has been murdered in Berkeley street battles. Pigs have fired into crowds of white students with shotguns. Attorney General Mitchell promises prosecutions (raids) against the revolutionaries responsible for campus turmoil. Conspiracy and other felony charges are becoming more and more common in all the actions we are involved in. The ante has definitely gone up. What does this escalation of repression mean?

Most importantly it means that we have forced the ruling class to begin to show its true nature here at home, even among privileged white sectors. The velvet glove is off, revealing the mailed fist.

When the ruling class feels compelled to fire guns upon relatively privileged sectors (white youth) and launch Palmer-type raids against the leadership it means that we have made some headway. We must constantly bear in mind that this repression has only begun AFTER we have launched our offensive. It is a REACTION on the part of the enemy. We are not only pushing harder than before, but also, there are a great many more of us pushing. Campus disturbances are no longer isolated incidents. It is hard to find a peaceful college campus, or even a high school, nowadays. Resistance within, and desertion from, the army is growing everyday. Wildcat strikes, although often lacking political direction, have been more frequent in the last two years than in the past 20. The Vietnamese gain in strength every day the war drags on. Higher taxes and higher cost of living are causing considerable unrest among working people. In short, the ruling class is uptight.

All of this is not to say that the ruling class is about to crumble. Nor is it to say that repression cannot seriously

hurt us. What it is to say is that we can use this repression to build our forces, both by getting ourselves more together and by reaching out to our potential friends. The ruling class is not able to meet the needs of the people and our job is to explain why. The questions of violence and repression must be turned against the enemy.

This is no time to retreat. We must continue to wage our battles against the enemy in the streets, but at the same time we must reach out to the people and explain what we are all about. We can no longer allow the mass media to tell people about us. As newsreel points out, "The media is the pig".

For example, on bloody Thursday in Berkeley, the radio stations gave their usual 30 second accounts of the situation. Lies and distortions were pumped out over the radios and TVs to our potential friends. Within hours we were able to distribute 10,000 leaflets to information-hungry people in the Bay Area. Similar work was done in New York when the Panther 21 were busted. Much more propaganda is being produced here in the Bay Area. We need to explain to non-movement people in simple language the political issues involved in our confrontations with the enemy. This is basic educational work that must be done. It is basic work that we have been lax about in the past.

People don't like violence and death. This is especially true when it occurs right here at home. The pigs are having an increasingly difficult time in legitimizing their brutality against us. If we do a good job of explaining what is happening and what we're about, the chances are good that repression can be used to our advantage.

People are pissed off about taxes, inflation and other aspects of the general decay of American capitalism. At the same time, most of these people are racists and do not identify monopoly capitalism as the root cause of their problems nor do they see the ruling class as their enemy. Thus, the struggle that is going on now is the struggle for the allegiance of the masses of the people in this country. Over the past year or so we have moved away from the contempt that we had previously shown these people. But these people are our potential friends. Without them we can never make the revolution.

How are we to determine who are our potential friends? In the past we have dismissed the toiling masses as bought off and reactionary. More recently we have begun to realize that the "working class" is the key to revolutionary change. Unfortunately all too often no explanation is given about what we mean by the working class. The movement has failed to do a class analysis of American society--an analysis that would help us develop the appropriate strategies needed to reach different sectors of the working people.

This analysis can only be developed through study and practice. We generally know that the traditional working class (blue collar production workers, as well as those engaged in distribution and communication) are key to making basic change in the society. They produce the wealth of the society at the point of production. This is not to say that many other sections of the working people are not vitally important. The service sector of the economy is large indeed and vital, especially in the urban areas.

Professional, people with valuable skills, small businessmen make up what we call the "petty bourgeoisie". Some parts of the petty bourgeoisie, those tied to the ruling class (corporation lawyers, state department intellectuals, etc.) are our enemies. Less privileged sectors of the petty bourgeoisie vacillate politically. They will move in the direction where they are pushed hardest. They can only be dangerous enemies if we fail to build a base with the working class. We should not abandon them. They have skills and they have interests which in the long run should put them on the side of the people. But organizing them in a vacuum can only lead to disaster. Our primary allies lie in the traditional working class. If they are in motion the petty bourgeois elements will most likely come along.

But this is still only theory. At present the movement has very little experience with the working class. It is absolutely necessary that more and more groups begin to do working class organizing at this time. Remember that our German comrades said that as long as they were solely a student movement, repression was not much of a problem. But once they began to make contact with young workers, the shit hit the fan. Partially this is what is happening to us now. It is only in the last year that we have begun to link up with workers' struggles at all. This linking up is a partial explanation of why the repression is increasing so rapidly. The enemy knows that he is vulnerable. He knows that if we begin to take a Marxist analysis to the working class and combine this with our previous strategy of struggle and confrontation, we can become an exceedingly dangerous force. This is what we must do and we must do so immediately.

The student movement must continue in the direction that it has been taking at least since the Columbia rebellion one year ago. All struggle must be directed against imperialism and capitalism--not at the parochial privileged needs of students. This struggle must continue to be carried to the working class colleges and high schools. But unless we have people working with the younger workers, explaining the struggles of the student movement, raising the questions of anti-racism and anti-imperialism among the working class, and taking a leading role in workers' struggles, repression will set us back.

The contradictions that are tearing this society apart will, of course, not be stopped if we are repressed. Nevertheless the forces of revolution can be greatly strengthened if we respond to the repression in a correct fashion. Most of us are going to jail; some of us are going to die--anyone who cannot accept that fact, and the risk, should probably not be in the movement. But if we are going to jail; if we are going to die the enemy must be made to pay. The only way we can be sure that he is going to pay is if we carry on our struggle at new levels all the time. If we continue to stay one step ahead of him.

For the present this means intensifying the struggle against the rotten educational system, via the student movement. It means explaining the student movement to working people--through leaflets, pamphlets, speaking engagements at churches, community meetings, union meetings, etc. This can be done by ALL of us. The other component is long-term working class organizing. The putting together of groups of people who will live in working class areas and indeed become working people. People who will attempt to raise political consciousness among working people, while engaging in day to day struggle.

Repression makes it urgent that we raise questions about internal movement business also. The movement is in the process of defining itself ideologically. We call this process, "sharp ideological struggle". Sharp ideological struggle is needed when "sharp" means clear thinking and investigation of ideas. But lately "sharp" struggle has turned into bitter struggle over formulas whose practical application is unclear. Many people, rather than thinking clearly and dealing honestly with the major strategic and ideological questions we face (and admitting that there are still many answers we don't have) have become dogmatic and sectarian in their attempt to formulate a direction for the movement.

Hardened camps form around questions for which no one has yet found the answers in practice. And practice is the test of ideas. People waste endless hours trying to re-enforce their positions and mapping out strategy to defeat the other side--hours that could be spent organizing and learning from the unorganized and educating people who are new to the movement.

This is not to say that we should table ideological discussions. Rather, we should have a sense of proportion. Remember against whom our bitterness and energies must be directed if we are ever to make a revolution. Ideology is built on the basis of clarifying and explaining opposition to the enemy.

Debate among the people is needed and should take place on principled grounds. Comradely debate has its limits--that is among people who support the Vietnamese, the Black Liberation Movement, etc.). Among these comrades we needed a close feeling of love and affection; we must treat each other sincerely as brothers and sisters. Without this we cannot survive against the enemy.

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THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO MALCOLM X, HO CHI MINH, MANUEL RAMOS AND ALL THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS BEATEN, SHOT AND ARRESTED FIGHTING THE PIGS IN BERKELEY.

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## letter

(Editor's note: This letter has been slightly edited for style. We have made no changes in the political content of the letter.)

South Vietnam, February 20th, 1969  
To the American Army men in custody

Dear friends,

We were very moved to learn how barbarously the authorities have repressed you. You have been courageously struggling against injustice. We are convinced that no violence can force you to do things in contradiction to your conscience, to human morals and to the constitution of the United States.

Undoubtedly you have been aware of the unjust character of the war. The American government is turning a deaf ear to public opinion at home and abroad. The American rulers have gone so far as to trample on freedom, throttle democratic rights and violate the constitution. They have mobilized police and national guard by the tens of thousands to repress the demonstrations held by the American people to demand that the war end, that their children return to the U.S., and that the South Vietnamese people be given the right of self-determination.

The American rulers are condemning you to prison, hard labor or even death, accusing you of being "mutineers" or "deserters". They are trying to make

you act according to their laws and designs by whatever means necessary.

Once they succeed in taking you to Vietnam they will use severe military discipline to send you to extremely dangerous places. They will waste your life by sending you, for example, to the bases of the Liberation Armed Forces. The probabilities are 8 out of 10 that you will not return from such a mission.

Or their aircraft will come and bomb your position "by accident", or, in hand-to-hand fighting with the Liberation Armed Forces, which they know you cannot win, they will use their planes and artillery to pound the battlefield, killing you and the liberation fighters alike.

If you disobey the order to go to your death they will treat you atrociously. Many mutineers have taken place on U.S. bases inside South Vietnam against the orders of the U.S. commanders. For example, on January 20th of this year, eight American enlisted men committed suicide in protest against the war and repression by their barbarous commanders at the Dong-du base, Cu-chi district, Gia-dinh province.

The American government has sustained heavy military defeats. They were forced to stop their bombings over the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to hold talks with the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and with the government of the DRV in Paris for a political solution of the Vietnam problem. However, the Nixon administration still cherishes a scheme of carrying out its neo-colon-

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# A PEOPLE'S WAR FOR A PEOPLE'S PARK

The whites student/street movement has suffered its first fatality. James Rector, 25 of San Jose died of wounds in a Berkeley Hospital May 20--his body ripped apart by 00 buckshot. He was murdered by Alameda County Pigs during the first day of fighting over Berkeley's People's Park.

For the sixth straight day Berkeley, California is occupied by over 2000 National Guardsmen and 500 police from various communities as the MOVEMENT goes to press. The Guard was called in late Thursday after police and demonstrators engaged in the heaviest street battle in Berkeley history. More than two hundred people and seventy police were injured on that day. For the first time, cops used shotguns and rifles against the people. Over 100 were hit with birdshot, rock salt, lead pellets from shotguns, 00 buck (including Rector) and even with large caliber rifle bullets. The people fought back with everything they had--bricks, bottles, rocks and pieces of metal from various construction projects. So far no cops have been shot.

On the surface the battle is another in a series of street/turf battles between the people of Berkeley and the police. The turf this time was "People's Park", a one-half block vacant lot located just south of the Berkeley campus. Just a park? No. People's Park is of much greater significance to both the People who built it and to the pigs who are trying to destroy it.

For the first time the movement in Berkeley has raised, in a clear and sharp way, the question of private property. Many people in the movement certainly understand this; some have clearly articulated it. The pigs definitely understand. According to Berkeley City Manager, James Hanley, "The basic question, therefore, was, and is whether public property is to be developed and controlled by duly constituted authority or by any ad hoc group that chooses to assert rights and powers over it." Then, calling attention to the fact that the movement also understands that this is what is at stake, he continued, "Or, as it was succinctly put in a 'people's' handout on May 16, 'control over that Park represented more than just a piece of land. It raised the basic question of who will control the institutions and property in this country and for what purposes?'"

So it is clear that both sides understand that the question of OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF PROPERTY is the basis of the current struggle.

But there are additional factors. The Park became more than simply a place to go on sunny afternoons. It became a concrete manifestation of non-alienated labor, a place where the collective ingenuity of youth and community was manifest for others to see. People felt it was their own...regardless of the shibboleths of "private property".

"For the first time in my life," said one participant, "I enjoyed working. I think lots of people had that experience. Ever since I was 18 I hated every job and either quit or was fired. But this was something different. With aching back and sweat on my brow, there was no boss. What we were creating was our own desires, so we worked like madmen and loved it."

People were therefore willing to fight to preserve what they had labored to build.

A third factor of some importance is the internal politics in the state of California, and especially in the educational system. The vacant lot is property owned by the Regents of University of California. It was purchased in 1968 although it was designated for University use as long ago as 1956. Plans originally called for the construction of dormitories on the site, but due to the budget cuts imposed by the legislature in response to the Cleaver controversy (see MOVEMENT, 11/69), the winter TWLF strike (see MOVEMENT, 4/69), and the general turmoil on California college campuses, these plans were abandoned.

The land remained vacant, and was used as a parking lot by those people willing to risk getting their cars stuck in the mud. Now the University claims that it wants to build recreational facilities (a soccer field) on the site, but

these plans only began to surface AFTER the first weekend of park building by the people. Roger Heyns, Chancellor of U.C. Berkeley has been under heavy pressure in the state for his failure to act in a determined fashion to put down campus unrest. This is despite the fact that he has brought pigs onto the campus numerous times over the last year. Still, in the public eye at least, he has been no Hayakawa. Persistent rumors indicate that the Regents plan to get rid of him. With the question of private property at stake he saw his chance to show just how tough he is when basic issues arise.

In addition, in California we are faced with two mad-dog fascist pigs--Governor Ronald Reagan and Alameda County Sheriff Frank I. Madigan. Both saw their opportunity to escalate the struggle against the movement, and perhaps crush it. Madigan, who was in charge of all police, ordered the firing on students and others, later giving the excuse that "our men were being assaulted" and "I have reason to believe that the radicals have developed an antidote for tear gas." He denied that police used anything but #8 birdshot, but Rector's death shows that to be a lie.

Reagan made clear his desire to crush the movement. When questioned about the Park he termed it a phony issue; an excuse for radicals to bring about a confrontation and a riot. But over this phony issue he has had white students gunned down for the first time and he has occupied the city of Berkeley with 2000 National Guardsmen.

As the struggle continues Reagan hysterically screams that revolutionists are responsible for the entire disorder and that they must be given appropriate justice.

## HISTORY

About a month ago a group of people took it upon themselves to organize a communal improvement of the land. On weekends, hundreds of people came to the land, planted flowers, learned to work with a pick and shovel, laid sod, built brick walkways, people who could weld built jungle gyms and other recreation for the kids, a stage was built, and within a few weeks more than half of the area took on the look of a creatively designed park. The university and the Regents became increasingly uptight, and, while making various co-optive moves towards persons who supported the Park, continued to stress that, above all, the land belonged to the University.

People's Park became a gathering place for many segments of the Berkeley community. Like mothers who brought their children to play; and black people from Berkeley and Oakland; and the Berkeley hip crowd and students. The place was pleasant. A certain degree of collective work and discipline developed. During the few days before the University reclaimed the land, via the pigs, people collectively kept the bongos level down after 11 p.m. on weekdays because people in the neighborhood asked them to. People who made a lot of noise were usually talked to and persuaded that consideration for the



community was important. People's Park became a well known place throughout the Bay Area.

On May 13, Chancellor Heynes issued a long statement on People's Park. The statement was issued to combat "rumors" that bulldozers would move suddenly on the Park and destroy what had been built. It did combat the rumor... the rumor became fact.

The Chancellor said that the final design for the land was not yet worked out...and maybe there would be room for some compromise within the framework of University control of the land...such as some of the structures not being torn down; the big redwood tree could remain; maybe some of the land could be used as a play area for children of married students. Three conditions: 1) The design would be controlled by the University; 2) In order to facilitate design plans, a fence would be built around the entire area; and 3) A warning--that the land was UNIVERSITY PROPERTY and people who went onto it would be arrested for trespassing. That was Tuesday.

Early Wednesday morning campus police posted NO TRESPASSING signs on the Park. People followed the pigs around tearing down the signs and burning most of them. Later in the day a group of women from AFSCME (Office Workers' Union) demanded that the park be preserved and expanded to include day care centers for U.C. employees.

## THE BATTLE BEGINS

At about five in the morning on Thursday, May 15, the pigs moved on the Park. About 75 people had stayed the night on guard against the move. Police arrested three people who refused to leave. After the Park was cleared and ringed by police, construction workers arrived and began to plough the perimeter of the Park, lay concrete and build an eight foot high steel mesh fence.

More than 6000 people gathered on the campus at a noon rally to protest this action. A leaflet read: BULLETIN POLICE POLLUTE PARK. The paranoid rumors have come true. Hundreds of police in full riot gear, police snipers on top of buildings, Helicopters. Vietnam? NO. The entire South campus area has been closed so Roger Heyns can build

us a soccer field...the land belongs to the people who have created the beauty that is the Park. By our love and sweat, we have built something of incalculable value for the entire community. We can't let absentee landlords control our existence. RALLY NOON.

The mood of the rally was angry. Everyone there felt People's Park in their guts. Finally the president-elect of the student body shouted out, "We should go to the Park". The crowd was ready, just waiting for a word. The people began marching down Telegraph Avenue to the Park.

Within a few blocks they were met by a line of California Highway Patrolmen. Rocks and bottles began to fly almost immediately (pigs threw them too) followed by the now all too familiar sound of tear gas grenades exploding. The fourth street battle in the last nine months in Berkeley had begun.

But this battle was different from all that had come before. For the first time the pigs moved against the people on an issue that could only arouse the sympathies of the uninvolved. People might side with the pigs to keep the Induction Center open or to stop "illegal" rallies or campus occupations. But everyone, mothers, children, workers on their lunch-hours, dug the Park.

Also for the first time we were prepared (psychologically at least) for a battle with the pigs. People were not going to wait to be told to disperse. We were going to attempt to reclaim our Park which the pigs had seized. At the time, of course, no one dreamed they would use guns against us.

Groups dispersed into many inter-sections following the first tear gas barrages; set bon-fires, continued to throw rocks and bottles and anything else they could get their hands on. The pigs for their part continued to lay down heavy doses of tear and pepper gas. Within a very short period of time Alameda County Sheriff's Deputies (Madigan's personal pigs) began firing their shotguns indiscriminately at people. They shot at people trying to get away from the disturbances who had no con-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

continue the fight for Manuel Ramos, brother of all revolutionaries.

On Tuesday, May 13, another march was held. This time the people marched from the corner of Armitage and Halsted to the 18th District police station on Chicago Avenue, where State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan was to speak at a police-community relations workshop. Again about 600 people began the march, moving south through the near north side ghetto, shouting, "All power to the people" and "Off the pigs". The march passed through the center of the huge Cabrini-Green housing projects, one of the high-rise slums that Daley boxes black people into in Chicago. Hundreds joined the marchers as they chanted, "Rise up, rise up", "Join us". The crowd had grown to about 2 thousand by the time it reached the Chicago Avenue pig pen.

Outside the pen the pigs lined up and the crowd filled the streets for hours, while a negotiating team disrupted the "community-relations workshop" and demanded that pig Lamb be charged with murder. Hanrahan's man hinted that the pig might be indicted some time in the remote future and said the "matter was under investigation".

After the negotiators came back outside, the crowd moved off shouting and chanting. There was some spontaneous looting and window smashing by project kids but only cookies, pop and potato chips were taken and these were given to the marchers. The cops, apparently fearing a mass uprising, made no attempt to intervene.

#### BUILDING SEIZED

On Thursday, May 15, the YLO supported by the Panthers, Patriots, SDS and McCormick Seminary students, seized the brand new \$2 million W. Clement Stone Academic-Administration building at the McCormick Theological Seminary, renaming it the Manuel Ramos Memorial building.

McCormick Seminary is a Presbyterian theological college in the Lincoln Park area which has a liberal facade, but is anything but a community institution. Iron fences 7 feet high keep the neighborhood people away from its beautifully manicured lawns, libraries and playground. During the Democratic Convention last August, its officials refused to open the gates and let demonstrators sleep there. They even requested that Chicago cops guard the gates.

W. Clement Stone is the millionaire insurance man who was Nixon's largest contributor, and who has loaned two of his executives to S.I. Hawaykawa because he was so pleased with his tactics in dealing with the S.F. State struggle. But now Stone's "temple" at McCormick is in the hands of the people.

For some time the seminary students have been rebellious and yearning for an action which would demonstrate their desire to ally themselves with the YLO and other neighborhood radical groups. Many of them were on the streets during the Democratic Convention and during the marches for Manuel. On May 5th, the day after Manuel was shot, they set up tents on the seminary grounds and invited the neighborhood people inside to join them in protesting the dedication of Stone's temple. They demanded that McCormick invest \$601,000 in low income housing in the Lincoln Park area. The results of their tent-in were inconclusive, but they have now added their support to the Young Lord's building seizure.

The YLO has issued 10 demands to the Seminary officials. They range from the low-cost housing demand to a cooperative day care center for the neighborhood. (See box this page for complete list of demands.)

What is particularly significant about this action is the fact that a university take-over has been effected by the neighborhood people. Seminary students are lending their support--using their status as a buffer--without cluttering up the action with student power bullshit. The cry is not "Student Power" but "Power to the People".

The Seminary officials have so far refused to call in the pigs.

Manuel Ramos is dead. But the death of a revolutionary is not in vain. His brothers and sisters have been brought closer by his death and their struggle for justice. A new movement is emerging in Chicago, an unprecedented coalition of revolutionary groups working together for the people.

Copies of a poster of Manuel Ramos and the last words he spoke before going to the door and being murdered are available. Send 35 cents to Concerned Citizens Survival Front, 2512 Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The money will go to his family.

The last words he said were, "MAN I BELIEVE EVERYONE SHOULD BE ABLE TO WALK FREE, WHETHER YOU'RE BLACK, WHITE OR BROWN."



Photo by Chicago Newsreel

# YOU CAN'T STOP US

by Janet Jones

*"One day I walked up to Manuel Ramos at the corner of Dickens and Halsted and I said to him, 'put your hands up or I will shoot you, I am a cop.' He said, 'Oh no, don't shoot me, because I have a job to do--you see, I work as a freedom fighter'."*

*Alfred Matias, Young Lords Organization*

*Manuel Ramos, 20, freedom fighter and member of the vanguard revolutionary group of Latin Americans, the Young Lords Organization, was shot dead by an off-duty cop on Sunday May 4 at 2 a.m.*

The murder took place outside the home of a member of the YLO, whose birthday was being celebrated. About 2 a.m. Chicago pig Robert Lamb, off duty, came across the street to the party with his pistol. People at the party opened the door and, with no warning, Lamb fired into the crowded doorway. One shot passed through Manuel Ramos' eye. Another bullet wounded Rafael Rivera, also a Young Lord.

Having shot his quota for the evening, Lamb strolled back across the street and entered the building he'd come from, without examining the wounded men or making any arrests.

Almost immediately after the shooting uniformed pigs from the 9th district arrived. It is not known who called them. Lamb then identified himself to the uniformed officers and pointed out four YLO members who were then arrested. Manuel and Rafael were taken to Mercy Hospital. Manuel died in the emergency room minutes after his arrival, leaving a wife and two children. Rafael remained in the hospital for six days, and is now back on the streets.

Manuel Ramos is dead, but as Cha Cha Jimenez, YLO's chairman has said, "You can arrest us, you can burn us, you can shoot us, you can kill us; but you can't stop us." Manuel is dead, but the Young Lords grow stronger, more determined. Manuel's murder has brought thousands of people marching in the streets demanding that killer Lamb be indicted for murder. Manuel's death has strengthened the "rainbow" coalition of the YLO, the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots Organization. It has led to the seizure of a neighborhood

institution by the people; an occupation that continues as the MOVEMENT goes to press.

After Manuel and Rafael were taken to the hospital events moved rapidly. One Young Lord has posed as a neighbor, watched what happened, and went back to the Lincoln Park neighborhood for help. YLO lawyer Skip Andrews went to the hospital and then the morgue. It was reported that police were attempting to put Manuel's fingerprints on a gun--any gun--to provide Lamb with a story. The lawyer arrived just in time to prevent this.

Other people went to the police station. At first the police claimed that no one had been arrested. Finally they admitted that they had four prisoners. They said they couldn't identify them because they didn't have "nice American names". Then they said the four would be charged with aggravated battery and that bail would be set at \$1000 each.

The people in the neighborhood raised the needed funds by putting up rent money, food money, any money they had. By court time next morning \$400 was raised.

But in court, more lies. Lamb's lawyer tried to switch the pig. He claimed that the arresting officer had been shot and was in the hospital, critically wounded. Another cop had been shot that night somewhere else in the city and the pigs lied about his identity.

Because of this perjury, bond was set as high as possible: \$3000 each. By mid-afternoon movement people in the city had collected enough money and the four Young Lords were ransomed out of the pig pen.

#### TO THE STREETS.

On the following night, May 5th, YLO, the Black Panther Party, the Young Patriots Organization (a group of white working class youths from the Uptown area), SDS, LADO (Latin American Defense Organization), and the Concerned Citizens Survival Front of Lincoln Park organized a march from the corner of Armitage and Halsted to the wake at 1400 W. Oakley.

About 600 people began the march at the corner of Armitage and Halsted, followed by a caravan of cars. They marched through Latin, white and black working class neighborhoods behind a banner which read, "Manuel Ramos lives in all Revolutionaries". Loudspeakers blared, "People, join us tonight in a march and memorial for our brother, Manuel Ramos, who was killed by the pig. Power to the People".

They marched for about three miles, picking up people all the way and encountering no hostilities. The pigs, who are becoming very uptight about the explosive potential of the Latin community, were not to be seen. By the time the march and motorcade reach the funeral home there were at least 1,500 people together. After the wake people piled into cars and drove to the 9th district pigpen, home of Lamb, located at 35th and Lowe. Mayor Daley's house is right down the street and thus the cops were out in force when the people arrived.

The crowd was angry--ready to fight--but the YLO was determined to prevent the potential slaughter. The YLO had vowed to remain peaceful until their brother was buried. The pigs refused to let people speak until Cha Cha asked the crowd to disperse so that cops couldn't bust heads. A super giant paddy wagon, a la the Democratic Convention, had just arrived on the scene, filled with cops. The crowd split.

The very next evening 500 people, many Puerto Rican and most from the Lincoln Park area, attended a memorial service for Manuel. Speakers from the YLO, the Black Panther Party, the Concerned Citizens' Survival Front, the Young Patriots Organization, the Latin American Defense Organization, and the St. Teresa Welfare Mothers praised Manuel and demanded the arrest and indictment of Lamb.

The funeral was held Wednesday morning. After the service hundreds of people left the church and drove to the cemetery with clenched fists raised. Many people wept at the funeral and Manuel's wife took it very hard, but all vowed to con-

# PEOPLE'S DEMANDS

1. That McCormick Seminary immediately turn over to the community \$601,000 for low cost housing development.
2. That McCormick provide a building and recreational facilities for a badly needed cooperative daycare center. That the Seminary provide a bus so that children can be picked up for the center.
3. That all the apartments owned by McCormick and rented to people in the community should be rented to poor and working class families.
4. That the fence around McCormick be torn down so that the Seminary can become a part of the community, not a fortress against the community.
5. We demand that the Stone Building be made available to the Puerto Rican community for the creation of a Puerto Rican cultural center to preserve and strengthen our cultural and historical heritage and to transmit these values to other peoples in our community and in Chicago. If it is found mutually advantageous to the McCormick Seminary and to the Young Lords Organization, we propose that the Seminary make available to the Young Lords Organization sufficient funds to purchase the property of Armitage-Dayton Methodies Church to be made the Puerto Rican cultural center.
6. That McCormick extend a grant in the amount of \$25,000 to the Young Lords Organization to be used in a community leadership development program and in the continuation and strengthening of the work of protecting and serving our poor community.
7. That McCormick actively support the efforts of the Latin American Defense Organization to end the arbitrariness of the Cook County Department of Public Aid in its dealings with Welfare Recipients Defense groups.

Specifically we demand that McCormick publicly support the three demands that LADO, along with the Wicker Park Coalition for Welfare Rights, have submitted to David Daniel, Director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid and to George Dunne, President of the Cook County Board of Commissioners,

1. Removal of Walter A. Cunningham, District Office Supervisor and James Patterson, Assistant office Supervisor, for their lack of sensitivity to the needs and the human dignity of welfare recipients at the Wicker Park Public Aid Office.

2. Voice of the community served by the Wicker Park Office in the selection of a new director of the office.

3. Voice in the interpretation and implementation of welfare laws and regulations at the Wicker Park Office level.

We demand that this support be expressed in letters to David Daniel, Director of Cook County Department of Public Aid and to George Dunne, President of the Cook County Board of Commissioners.

8. That McCormick extend a grant in the amount of \$25,000 to the Latin American Defense Organization to further the aims of creating a strong organization for welfare recipients in our community.

9. The McCormick publicly oppose and condemn the political persecution carried out by the city of Chicago against poor people's organizations such as the Black Panther Party, the Latin American Defense Organization, and the Young Lords Organization. McCormick must demand from the respective authorities that charges arising out of political arrests be dropped by the complaining institutions, namely, Department of Urban Renewal, Cook County Department of Public Aid, Chicago Police Department, the City of Chicago and the State's Attorney Office. The Young Lords Organization and he Wicker Park Welfare Office Defendants and, in particular, Jose "Cha-Cha" Jimenez and Obed Loped must not be jailed and punished for their beliefs in justice and for their concern with their community's rights.

10. That McCormick Seminary extend a "seed money" grant in the amount of \$25,000 to establish a legal bureau controlled by poor people's organizations (the attorneys to be chosen by the organizations to work full-time for them, and to be responsible only to them.)

The Time Limit, decided on by the community to receive a definite answer was seven days from May 3, 1969.

MANU ALL  
RAMA POWER  
LIVES IN AN to THE  
YOUNG L. PEOPLE!



Photo: Chicago Newsreel

# RAIDS

BY MIKE KLONSKY

Shortly before the last SDS National Interim Committee, we received information from people with contacts inside the Justice Department, that Attorney General Mitchell was planning a nationwide sweep against the movement within the next ten days.

The sweep which would consist of raids in more than 50 cities was to be coordinated out of Washington and would make use of local, state and federal law enforcement agencies. The word was that dope busts would be used as well as charges of "sedition" and Smith Act-type arrests (the Smith Act, overturned by the Supreme Court, made it a crime to "advocate or conspire to teach" certain ideas and outlawed all organizations that advocated such ideas, namely Marxism-Leninism.)

The NIC decided that I would use a scheduled appearance on "Face the Nation" to break the story of the attack. It was clear that the sweep would hit hardest at the black liberation struggle and that SDS would also be hit hard, especially around regional levels of organization. Our guess was that regional organizers rather than nationally known people would be picked off in the hopes that the people would not be able to muster a coordinated response.

## FALSE FIRE ALARM

The night following the TV show (May 12) about ten of us were working in the National Office. As usual, whenever SDS or some SDS member or action hits heavy in the media, bomb threats were coming in regularly from assorted Nazis and drunks. About one in morning, three or four carloads of pigs pulled up in front of the office and came to the door. When asked what they wanted, they replied that they had

received a report that someone had been shot in the building. We told them that no one had been shot and that they couldn't come in. Two minutes later they returned with a mass of fire engines and firemen. This time the story was that there was a fire reported in the office and they began breaking down the front door of the office. The firemen carried axes and long spears.

We opened the front door and said that two firemen could come in and inspect for a fire, but that the pigs would need a warrant to enter. The pigs took advantage of the open door and tried to force their way past us. With the help of axe-swinging firemen, they began swinging clubs and tried to bust some heads. Badly outnumbered and overpowered, we were arrested and the office was left to the few people who remained upstairs to defend. Tim McCarthy, Ed Jennings, and Les Coleman, all from Chicago, and David Slavin from New York (in town for the NIC) and I were charged with "aggravated battery", "interfering" with a pig and obstructing a fireman.

At the hearing the following morning, Ed Jennings was also charged with a warrant that had been held on him since last summer's Democratic Convention rebellion. Thousands of such warrants are signed and can be used whenever the pigs need to bust radicals in the city. This was one for "mob action" and raised the bail considerably. Bail was finally set for us at \$12,500.

We later found that after the pigs had busted us, they never even went through the motions of looking for a fire. They were obviously bent on busting up the office and once the arrests and publicity prevented them along with the remaining office staff locking all of the inner office doors, they settled for the bust. This should be seen in the context of similar raids on the Panther office just up the street during the week.

## GESTAPO SWEEPS

The following day Health Education and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch made a speech in which he said that the raid on the SDS office "may well have been the beginning of a nationwide crackdown on radicals". Madman Mitchell went out of his way to deny any such gestapo sweeps. The word we picked up from our sources indicated that a fight was going on among the various factions within the ruling class about the sweeps. Mitchell has the reputation among his fellow fascists as a lunatic and they were afraid that his clumsiness in dealing with the movement at this time would screw up the long range extermination plans. It is suspected that many, including Finch (no moderate himself) tried to head off the sweeps, but lost. Mitchell reportedly has the support of congress and will now proceed full speed ahead.

The day following the bust, hundreds of indictments were handed down across the country: 17 at Brooklyn College, 13 at Stonybrook, 109 at Memphis

State, 21 at Cornell (alldope busts). This all taking place in a week that saw the trial of the 21 Panthers in New York moved up to the middle of June in a city where felony cases never come to trial earlier than two years after the initial arrest. Earlier in the week in Chicago, Manuel Ramos from the Young Lords Organization was murdered and Rafael Rivera was shot in the neck as pigs attacked a YLO party, (see story on page four) Ahmed Evans was sentenced to death in Cleveland and white youths were shot down in the streets of Berkeley. (see story on page 3) There is every indication that this marks the beginning of a long-range attack. Grand juries are presently meeting on the east and west coasts. It is believed that they are aimed primarily at the Black Panther Party.

1969's version of the 1920 Palmer raids brings the movement within the mother country face to face with an emerging fascist threat of the type faced by the black colony for many years. Fascism develops when capitalism cannot meet the needs of the people and when the people organize to demand the things which are rightfully theirs. The crisis in imperialism is beginning to fall hard on the working class within the U.S. The Smith Act type attacks indicate that the ruling class is uptight about the possibility of an emerging vanguard organization capable of uniting all those under the burden of imperialism. As always, it is the black liberation struggle which is being hit the hardest. The youth movement begins to feel the boot when it attacks white supremacy and attempts to build class unity with the black colony. The indictments coming down now follow in the wake of over 200 rebellions (led primarily by blacks) on campuses against white supremacy and institutionalized racism.

One new development in my case has been a travel restriction placed on me which prohibits me from leaving the state as well as speaking on any campuses. There is also an attempt being made to nail me in the next week or so for 90 days for a probation violation stemming from the arrest.

We are attempting to keep on top of arrests and other attacks on the people throughout the country. All busts or even visits from the man which take place in the next few weeks should be seen as part of a nationwide attack and reports and news clippings should be sent to SDS, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612. 312 666-3874.

It is clear that we must respond to fascist attacks with solidarity and militancy. We can turn repressor into its opposite by pushing to the forefront the issues which built our movement in the first place. We must raise the demands first based on the needs of the most oppressed.

FREE HUEY!

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OCCUPATION FORCES FROM VIETNAM AND THE BLACK COLONY POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

# FOOD FOR THOUGHT



ALL PHOTOS ON THIS PAGE COURTESY OF BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER

"I am a revolutionary. I am a revolutionary."

"There's gonna be some barbecue if Huey's not set free."

"Power to the people."

If you came along with some 8000 others to see about Huey on May 1st in San Francisco, you would have heard more than a hundred small children chanting these slogans. The chants were energetic, determined and happy. They knew what they were about.

These were some of the children who the Panthers feed a free breakfast every morning before school. As Big Man, the Deputy Minister of Information of the BPP wrote:

The free breakfast for children program is a socialistic program designed to serve the people. All institutions in a society should be designed to serve the masses, not just a "chosen few". In America this program is revolutionary. In capi-

talist America any program that is absolutely free is considered bad business. The Black Panther Party is a vanguard organization and a vanguard organization educates by example. The Black Panther Party is educating the people to the fact that they have a right to the best that modern technology and human knowledge can produce. The World belongs to the people.

There are now 10 Breakfast Programs in the Bay Area and twice that many across the country. Panthers work overtime preparing the breakfast and getting food from various merchants in the community. In an effort to reach the community, the Panthers take the addresses and phone numbers of the children who participate in the Program. The Panthers hope that eventually the community itself will take responsibility for running the program. (This has already happened in East Oakland.)

At a lively meeting of children and some mothers, the Panthers explained to the children how the power of the people makes merchants donate food

to the Program. They suggested a boycott against Safeway, until that giant chainstore decided to give some free food. One little boy, about seven, shouted out: "I'll tell my mama, don't buy. Right on." He was clutching a Little Red Book in one hand. No doubt he did tell his mother. And so did a lot of other children. Two weeks later, the Panthers announced that Safeway began donating food to the Program.

The meeting itself was out of sight. Everything the Panthers said was punctuated by spontaneous outbursts of "Right on", "Free Huey", "Power to the People". One sister told the children, "We want you to grow up to be strong revolutionaries so you can finish off what we have started". With stomachs full of food and minds full of images of Huey, what do you think these children are thinking about as they pledge allegiance to the flag in school each morning?

A. E. B.



by Suzanne Crowell  
from the SOUTHERN PATRIOT

# STRIKE VS BLACK LUNG

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The strike of 42,000 West Virginia coal miners last month brought a renewed spirit of labor militancy to the mountains and shook an entire state.

The miners struck to force passage of a workmen's compensation law for black lung. The legislature passed a law at 11:51 P.M. March 8 - the last legal day of the session.

Only after Governor Arch Moore signed the bill, three days later, did all the men go back to work.

The struggle to clean up the mines began months ago, with a series of local meetings to rally support for the compensation bill. The bill was seen as a device to force mine owners to clean up their mines by making it too expensive not to.

The strike had such impact on the state political scene that many observers predicted the future test of every politician would be: "Where were you when the miners went out?"

One figure who has already been criticized is John D. ("Jay") Rockefeller IV. He is West Virginia's Secretary of State until the strike. He has said little or nothing about black lung. Charges that he and his family profit from mining conditions have not been answered to the satisfaction of the miners.

## SPONTANEOUS START

The strike started spontaneously when Local 6108, United Mine Workers, at East Gulf in Raleigh County, left their jobs. In five days, the strike was state-wide. It lasted 23 days.

Miners decided at a mass meeting February 23 to go to Charleston en masse

on February 26. Hundreds came to the Capitol the next day to begin their lobbying effort.

Legislators felt pressure immediately. One accused "a few doctors and a bologna-waving congressman" of stirring up the miners.

He was referring to Drs. I.E. Buff, Hawley Wells and Donald Rasmussen, and Congressman Ken Hechler (see February PATRIOT)

Others started using the side doors to avoid their constituents, who had set up a display of signs, obituaries, and a coffin in the rotunda of the Capitol.

The rally and march on February 26 drew 3,000 miners to Charleston. It was sponsored by the Black Lung Association (BLA), made up of miners. Spirit was high as each local arrived and marched on stage to shouts of "No law, no coal!"

Miners came into their own as speakers that day, too. Previously, only doctors, lawyers and lawmakers had addressed most meetings. This time, miners outnumbered them on stage and several spoke to the crowd.

They revealed tension between many union members and union headquarters. One miner called the BLA "your local union away from your local union."

Another said he was "33 years a United Mine Worker and 35 years a miner - and I'm ashamed of some things going on in our organization."

UMW President W.A. Boyle, Washing-

ton, had labelled the strike leaders as men who hadn't worked in a mine for 20 years, "agitated by outsiders".

## BLACK/WHITE UNITY

The strike was not "called" by anyone. The BLA is headed by Charles Brooks, a miner from Kanawha County. He also happens to be black, which is not surprising in West Virginia. The UMW has always stressed unity of black and white, as well as European immigrant and pioneer descendant. Without such solidarity, the union could not have won the famous battles of the thirties and forties.

The miners marched to the Capitol after the rally, and Gov. Moore came out to address them. There was only scattered applause, although Moore promised them support. When he said his "hands were tied" because the bill was still in legislature, a few muttered, "Your hands WILL be tied."

In the legislature that day, miners sat in the galleries and yelled down to their representatives, "I see you. Hope you're enjoying that plush seat, because you won't have it long."

Coincidentally, the first bill to get out of committee arrived in the House as the miners were having their rally. The BLA lost no time in denouncing it. Amendments were later adopted to make it acceptable.

Coal operators, meanwhile, asked for a federal court injunction, claiming they were losing \$1,122,000 a day. The injunction was denied.

West Virginia University students held meetings in support of the miners. Some

came to Charleston and held a mock funeral procession with miners in the Capitol rotunda.

## STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The Senate passed a bill which ignored the miners' demands. The bill went into conference, and an 11th hour version resulted. The miners are not satisfied with it, although it embodies some of their demands.

For example, the law does not require X-ray evidence of black lung, because many miners with breathing difficulties do not have positive X-rays.

The law also presumes that black lung is derived from coal mining if the claimant worked in the mines 10 of the last 15 years preceding his last exposure. The employer has the burden of proving otherwise.

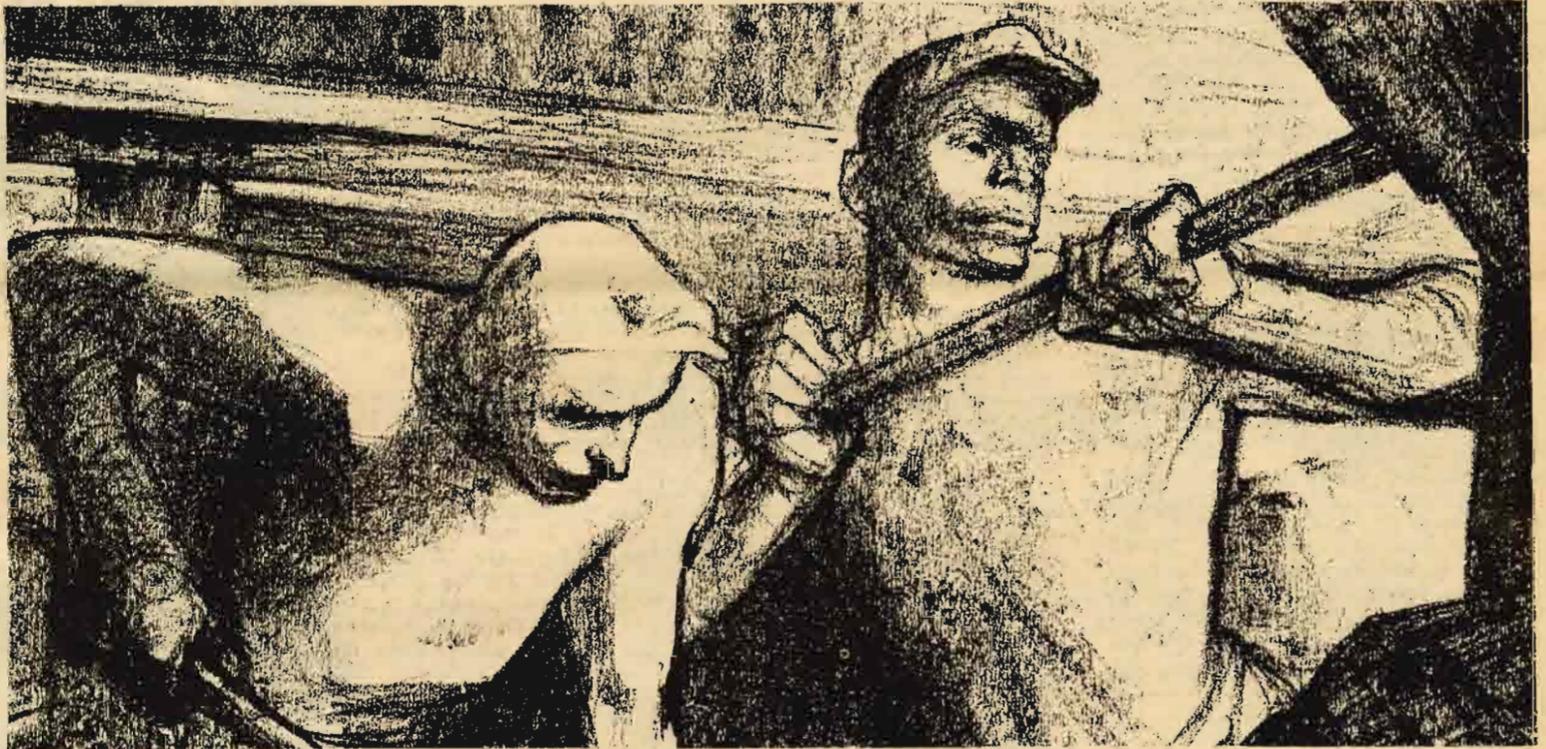
But the law lacks two important BLA demands. One was for a new medical board, with doctors from different parts of the state. The other was a free-treatment and research center in Charleston.

The day after the bill passed, 2,000 miners gathered to decide what to do next. None of the speakers over-rated the law. The miners shouted down a motion to return to work before the bill was signed.

They made it plain they didn't think the battle was over, either. A special session of the legislature is expected in July. "Let's replenish our coffers," said one. "We'll be back". They want improvement in the black lung bill and new safety legislation.

The strikers left the meeting with the spirit of rebellion still in the air.

a  
miner's  
life



by Joe Mulloy

from the SOUTHERN PATRIOT

DANTE, Va. — "It was an eyeopener. You see through one lie and you see through all the rest."

The speaker is John Tiller, a Southern white man, and the lie he refers to is the Vietnam War. He and his wife Katherine came to this conclusion about Vietnam after watching the first Senate hearing on the war in early 1966.

Since then, the Tillers have joined the growing movement for freedom and justice in Appalachia and the rest of the South.

There are many popular misconceptions about the South. One is that the people are hopelessly lost to the reactionary forces of the right. Another is that the "good" people who aren't on the right are somehow left over from the early organizing drives of the United Mine Workers and the C.I.O.

Both of these misconceptions are wrong. Southern whites are subject to the same fears and frustrations as anyone else in this society. And they are affected by the same conditions that affect students at San Francisco State College.

The vital question facing everyone is how to respond to these frustrations and conditions. The story of how John Tiller became part of the movement holds hope for the future.

Tiller was born in 1920 in Pike County, Kentucky, not far from the scene of the Matewan Massacre of the same year. The massacre resulted from a gun battle between detectives hired by the coal operators and a sheriff who was friendly to the miners. Tiller's father was a miner and John entered the mines at 17.

His first job was as a minuteman. He would time

the other miners according to company speed standards and fire them if they didn't keep up. Once the miners reached the required pace and maintained it, the company would raise the rate. This procedure is known as speedup, widely practiced in industry then and now.

The companies kept order in the mines by threatening to shut down if there was any labor-management trouble. Tiller soon moved up to foreman, and he followed the company line because "they didn't pay much money those days for crusaders. You know certain things are right and wrong, but you get caught up in making a living and it becomes all-important."

His only experience with the UMW was in the mid-40's when it tried to organize the foremen. "This effort failed," said Tiller, "when John L. Lewis traded us for increased welfare benefits. But I never belonged and looked down on those that did."

In 1958, in order to cut production costs, the coal companies closed down hundreds of small mines and automated the others. Thousands of men were thrown out of work overnight. Tiller was one of them.

This led to his first real consciousness of the oppression of black people. "They were cut off like the rest of us. But when the few jobs began to open up, none of them were hired back."

Tiller eventually found work in Southwestern Virginia at the huge Moss #3 mine, second largest in the United States, where he now works. He continued to lead an ordinary life, raising his children, pursuing his hobby of writing short stories, and "privately paying lip service to what I knew was right". "Over the years," he added, "little things began to build up."

In the mid-60's, when two of his eight children became draft age, the entire family, like so many other families, began to be concerned about the Vietnam War. They read, discussed, and watched the Senate hearings on TV. "What shocked me was that Fulbright was just as powerless as I was," Tiller recalled.

By the time the two sons decided to flee to Canada to avoid the draft, they had their father's strong backing. Once he saw through "the lies about Vietnam", other sacred cows closer to home began to topple. His entire life changed.

"Vietnam made me more politically conscious," Tiller declared. "I was then able to see that the courthouse has but two goals: to work for the coal companies' interest and to perpetuate themselves in office."

"The Appalachian man and woman have gotten nothing in return for their labor and sacrifice, except slag heaps, barren hillsides, and starving babies."

Since 1966 John Tiller has been very active. He helped to form a poor people's organization to challenge the established Byrd machine in Dickenson County. He strongly supported the Poor People's Campaign last spring because of his "hope that something permanent among the poor could be formed."

In January of this year he was badly pistol whipped in the face by a local deputy sheriff who told him to quit "messing with those niggers and draft dodgers."

John Tiller believes there is no hope for change under the present system--the control of the country by those who own the big farms, the big industries, and the big banks. He says that the working man and the welfare recipient, black and white, must see that they have a common interest.

He believes they must form independent political organizations that affect their lives. This is what he is working at now. As he says, "Our only hope is to ORGANIZE."

There is a big difference between being an indifferent minuteman in the mines and organizing independent politics. But the conditions that make the difference are around us all the time, the inadequacies and contradictions of the present political and economic system.

# SPRING OFFENSIVE

by Dione Donghi, Nick Freudenberg and Dave Gilbert

*A year of political action in New York City schools and colleges culminated in the Spring Offensive. In the last month more than 50 schools in the city have been hit by student insurrections. Thousands of new people have been involved in struggles ranging from peaceful sit-ins to rock-throwing, fire-bombing and street fighting.*

Almost everywhere actions were initiated and led by Black and Puerto Rican students. The vanguard struggles were in the high schools. There, Black, Latin and white students fought together around programs demanding, among other things: pigs out of the schools, black and latin studies programs, an end to tracking, and open admissions to college. This high school movement has also had excellent tactical flexibility. One day there would be a picket line, the next day an occupation of the cafeteria, then fires or battles with the pigs outside the school. In one week in late April fires broke out in 30 of the city's high schools.

For the first time there was heavy political action at New York's community colleges. At Queensboro Community college there was a three-week sit-in. (see page 17) Black students at Bronx Community College and Third World Students at Manhattan Community College seized buildings demanding black and latin studies and increased black and latin admissions. In both cases fledgling SDS chapters aided in support of black and Puerto Rican demands.

Three of the six senior colleges of the City University were shut down by action around black and third world students' demands. At City College, black and Puerto Rican students occupied and shut down the entire South campus. The two-week occupation ended with a court injunction, but black, latin and white radicals continue action around their demands.

A court injunction at Brooklyn College temporarily slowed down a month of steady action by black, Puerto Rican and white students in support of 18 demands put forth by the Black and Puerto Rican Alliance. They took over the President's office twice, as well as other offices and facilities. They disrupted classes regularly and held rallies daily.

At Queens College blacks and whites moved separately. Blacks moved around setbacks in the SEEK program for "culturally disadvantaged" youths. Whites moved around the suspension of several students and the firing of a professor.

Similar struggles against racism and imperialism were fought at Columbia, Pratt, NYU downtown and uptown, and Fordham.

## PROGRAM TO PRACTICE

Although the SDS Spring Program pointed chapters in a good direction, in practice the program failed to answer some very basic questions. We had two types of difficulties: those arising from the demands themselves, and those coming from our ignorance of the black movement in NYC.

The Demands. Initially the demand for open admissions was discussed almost as a program in itself. This approach raised the contradiction between our saying that the schools are for shit on the one hand, and our saying that more people should be into them, on the other hand. Also, the focus on open admissions led to a heavy stress on trying to make the exactly correct rhetorical formulation of a full class and colonial position in terms of that one demand.

We didn't understand that the actual lessons of privilege and class oppression grow out of struggle, rather than from the correct ideological formulation. Open admissions had to be put in the context of a total assault on all the class and colonial functions of the schools. We learned that an attack on racist admissions policies should not be separated from an attack on the racist content of the school, that is, from the demand for black studies programs.

There were several problems with the formulation of the open admissions demand itself. A strong tendency, particularly within the City Universities, wanted to make the demand a call for "free universal higher education". By not articulating clearly the class and colonial

basis of the program, this approach could very easily be sucked into the dominant liberal ideology--"education is the road to equal opportunity". This demand avoided the whole question of white supremacy and privilege.

To oppose this tendency, we tried to show that the resources of the university are used by a particular class to maintain itself. Our struggle was not to admit more people to the haven of the university, but rather to make the schools another front for class struggle--a front in which black and third world people will win some victories that will concretely aid their struggle for self determination.

Another problem: People had a tendency to approach the open admissions demand as a metaphysical attack on white skin privilege.

When people failed to relate racism to class oppression programatically, they were left with the idea that one fights white supremacy by giving the correct rap to whites, rather than by struggling together with blacks. This tendency encouraged the liberal attitude --"let's admit those poor underprivileged Blacks and Latins into the university".

At NYU downtown, the SDS chapter tried to relate to a spontaneous struggle for the abolition of grading by combining it with their demands for open admissions. But the attempt to combine a demand for more class privilege with an attack on class privilege was doomed to failure. Even though some organizers talked about an end to grading as a necessary consequence of open admissions, the basic motivation behind combining the two demands was to coopt a liberal struggle on its own terms.

Our own formulation of open admissions for black, third world and white working class youth tried to integrate emphasis on the colonial question and white skin privilege with a full class program. We now think this formulation was both too general and often wrong.

In the high schools the formulation was appropriate because in practice blacks and Puerto Ricans led the struggle and because white privilege was clearly confronted by the no tracking and discipline demands. (Tracking and expulsion affects black, Puerto Ricans and white working class youth in different ways.) Also white working class youth ARE systematically excluded from the colleges.

On certain campuses, however, the including of a white working class demand was used as an excuse for not talking about white supremacy. Even worse, a few students talked about adding on white working class demands to the demand for open admissions that blacks and latins put forth for blacks and latins. It is wrong to tack on "white demands"

to an on-going black struggle. It is a way to avoid accepting black leadership and avoid fighting white supremacy.

Two examples. Both at Brooklyn and Manhattan Community College the SDS chapters had begun to organize around a program including open admissions for black, latin and white working class. However, when black and third world students issued demands calling for open admissions for black and third world people only, the SDS chapter voted to fully support them. SDS saw the winning of those demands as a pre-requisite for further action on the SDS program. Both chapters felt that to move separately on their program would divert from the black struggle and would therefore not be the best attack on white supremacy, which, after all, is the objective.

An important area our program failed to deal with was the question of political firings of teachers and political repression in general. Both Queens College and Queensboro SDS got involved in broad coalitions against political suppression. At Queens, in fact, the issue of recruiting which led to the suspension of 3 students was dropped by the coalition.

The strategy put forth by PL at Queens

and Queensboro was to build broad coalitions to end political suppression. This results in organizing liberals as liberals --"defend the rights of a communist, allow political activity". The fallacy of this approach, as in the 1950s, is that liberals as liberals have no reason to struggle. Thus, both campuses had long peaceful sit-ins, but it was impossible to escalate. The mass of students didn't understand the need to challenge the power of the administration.

The alternative to liberalism is showing people the necessity to join our struggle. This requires connecting the immediate local issues with the major political issues so that people have something worth fighting for. We must confront the questions of power and violence head-on to initiate a level of tactics

sufficient to generate concern and recognition of our seriousness.

## RELATIONS WITH BLACK MOVEMENT

We hadn't anticipated the role and strength of the black student movement. Our program didn't give any clues as to how to relate strategically and tactically to black struggles. Though we did have a broad conception of our role in supporting the black struggle by building a white movement against white supremacy, as specific struggles unfolded, the strategic application of this concept was open. Black students related to white students differently on various campuses.

At Manhattan Community College, where almost half the students are black or third world and where student go home



# IN NEW YORK

every night to black and third world communities and where many of them have organizational ties off campus, there was little need for white support.

At City College, again, the black students had little need for white support. Here too, there is a high percentage of black and latin students and the school itself is located in Harlem. Both campuses had strong militant black struggles.

At Columbia, however, black students are few in number and much more isolated from their community. Also there is a large white radical movement at Columbia which overshadowed the black struggle last spring.

At most campuses, the POLITICAL leadership of the black students has been

clear. SDS chapters have organized primarily around support for black demands. The real problem has been with black TACTICAL leadership. Most white radicals at City, Manhattan, Brooklyn and Columbia have seen themselves as tactically separate from the black movement. The role of black students at City, Manhattan and Pratt has been to close down the school--to win the demands by any means necessary. Tactics varied from mass actions to so-called "terror" tactics. At City, where white students leave the campus every night, radical white students were split. Many wanted to engage in clandestine acts, while others correctly believed that they had to get to the rest of the white students with different tactics; picket lines, marches, rallies, classroom disruption,

fighting the pigs, etc. These methods have been successful in winning over more people.

Columbia, however, applied the notion of following black leadership somewhat mechanically, depending on black students for tactical leadership. Therefore, when black students did not lead a militant fight because of their feeling of isolation, the SDS chapter found it very difficult to move. A more flexible approach to black leadership might have been better. For example, if the blacks weren't moving because they feared a repeat of last year's SDS takeover, the Columbia chapter could have mobilized the campus to show militant support for the black struggles on other campuses and high schools around the city. Instead, when the white students finally did move, it was too late. Confusion and a court injunction made a good struggle impossible.

When we talk about black leadership what we should mean is that the black struggle AS A WHOLE is leading the revolutionary struggle--politically and tactically. It is wrong to isolate blacks on one campus and demand that they lead our struggle. At the same time, SDS obviously shouldn't move without consultation with black students, especially when blacks are in motion.

At other schools we faced a false kind of tactical contradiction. At each commuter school shut down by blacks, whites had tremendous difficulty in reaching the people they wanted to organize. On one hand, it was a victory to shut down the schools. On the other hand, we could not get together with our constituency. Often, a few people would get demoralized and say that the blacks should have waited until whites could organize. Bullshit. Maybe the NLF should have waited until we organized an anti-imperialist movement.

## THE LAW

Repression has been another problem. At Brooklyn, City and Queens, pigs occupied the campus making some forms of political activity difficult. Nevertheless in no case has the white movement failed to hold rallies, disrupt classes etc. But pigs have been a political problem. Last year at Columbia SDS had to fight the liberal sentiment that cops on campus was the issue. Now, radicals at CCNY and Brooklyn agree that pigs ARE the problem--as an occupying force representing the State's power. But an attempt by Brooklyn student government to call a liberal anti-cop strike failed because white radicals did not allow the pig issue to be separated from black and latin demands.

The injunction is the ruling class' new tool to bust student movements. In the last month more than 8 restraining orders and injunctions have been taken out against various campus activists. Responses to injunctions have varied. Queensboro radicals ignored the injunction. (Result: 30 busts) At other schools injunctions led to a slow down in mass and direct actions and an increase both in rallies and class disruptions, fires and bombs. As yet no one has been busted for violating injunctions against rallies and meetings.

Although Columbia SDS understood the importance of breaking the injunction, people thought they had to move clandestinely. This resulted in further confusion on campus and alienated many would-be supporters. Most chapters now see the injunction as a law, like any other law, and evaluate the political implications of violating it as such.

In general, it seems like mass busts have been replaced by selective conspiracy charges. Twenty people were arrested at Brooklyn for conspiring to commit arson and 22 other charges each! Total bail was \$60,000. They aimed the frame-up at black and Puerto Rican leadership. Everyone expects more conspiracy frame-ups in the next few weeks.

Injunctions haven't been used in the high schools yet. There the pigs have relied on beatings and selective arrests. Many top organizers have been busted on felonies and bail has been unusually high.

## SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

First, this spring has been the best ever. We've reached a new level of struggle and have won over large numbers of new people. Most of these

struggles have been led by black and third world students and that explains their militancy and high level of political consciousness. SDS has had to overcome tremendous difficulties. Despite heavy faction fights, brand new chapters with almost total lack of experience in struggle, there are now masses of students around the city fighting racism and imperialism. For the first time there is a militant city-wide high school movement of black and white students led by the High School Coalition, Afro-American Student Association, The Black Student Unions and the High School Student Union. The success of the HSSU, the only city-wide white group, was important in transforming a potential race war into a class struggle of blacks and whites against the Board of Education.

Several community colleges now have strong movements where none existed before. Most of the branches of the City University have had good fights and have replaced the elite schools as the scene of primary struggle. Finally, the elite schools have continued to develop, to train cadre and to use their strength to reach out to high schools and community groups.

The main failure during the Spring Offensive was our inability to build a clear consciousness of a citywide movement. Although the simultaneous actions across the country make it impossible NOT to see the connections, there is still a strong tendency towards isolationism. Few chapters worked together to help each other. City-wide demonstrations were consistently small. Attempts to link up schools in a particular area or particular kinds of schools also failed. This failure is important because unless radicals extend their political practice beyond a specific school we cannot become a revolutionary youth movement.

On the whole we failed to build organic links between SDS and the high school movement. Some chapters tried to use the high school students for their own struggles. They didn't recognize the legitimacy of the high school students' own struggles and also had a mechanical understanding of black leadership.

Partly because of our failure to see ourselves as a unified city movement, we found it difficult to act as a political force off campus. For example, when the black caucus of the Mahwah Ford plant asked us to support their wildcat, we vacillated between seeing ourselves as giving the right line to workers and as merely putting our bodies on the picket line. We failed to develop an understanding of our own movement and our relations to workers. Similar problems arose in our relationship with community control groups--the strike at Lincoln Hospital and with the Welfare Rights Organization.

Lack of citywide consciousness also prevented us from dealing with repression in a coherent way. As yet, no bail fund has been set up and we're just starting to talk with lawyers about ongoing relationships. We're just beginning to deal with the question of how to respond to repression in a non-defensive way. Our response to the Panther 21 bust is just a beginning. (see the MOVEMENT, May, 1969)

## WHERE FROM HERE?

Our failures indicate where we must place our priorities for work in the coming months. First, we have to build a city-wide consciousness. Our summer program (the Work Out or "Taking a Step Off the Subway") is aimed at building the disciplined cadre necessary to reach out into vocational schools, shops, factories, gangs and other sectors of youth. We also have to strengthen and intensify our work in community colleges, high schools and in the Army.

Our summer program will also include a serious study of the political economy of New York City. From this study we hope to strengthen our theory and develop approaches to off-campus work in supporting workers' struggles. We also plan to have people working in the social services--hospitals, welfare, transit, etc. We see those as key areas in which workers' and community struggles will be developing.

Our task then is to combine the theoretical and practical experience we'll get during the summer with the lessons of the Spring Offensive so that next fall we can tear this motherfucking city apart.



# STUDENTS



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# MENTAL OPPRESSION

"Our intention (the doctor explains) is to make this as much like your own democratic, free neighborhoods as possible--a little world inside that is a made-to-scale phototype of the big world outside that you will one day be taking your place in again...A good many of you are in here because you could not adjust to the rules of society in the Outside world because you refused to face up to them, because you tried to circumvent them...I tell you this hoping you will understand that it is entirely for YOUR OWN GOOD that we enforce discipline and order".

ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOOS NEST, Ken Kesey

by Don Monkerud

The movement is just beginning to move in the direction of organizing poor and working class whites. In organizing the poor and powerless we should also think about the nightmare world of the mental hospitals. Most patients are there not because conditions were worse for them individually, but because they revolted against these conditions. Work in the mental hospital sharpens the understanding of the contradictions working class and poor people face everyday as some of them "crack" under the real problems and pressures of unsatisfying work, arbitrary bosses and uncertain futures.

Last summer I took a course in the "Sociology of Mental Illness" which examined social causes and functions of what is called mental illness rather than the individual pathology which is normally studied. This meant spending 8 weeks in a mental hospital, in which 4 of us later took jobs. We organized to attempt to alleviate the oppression from arbitrary confinement and authoritarianism which people in the mental hospital had to live with. While all of us clearly saw the atrocities being committed, organizing was inhibited because of the limited political perspectives, lack of experience and limited commitment of the students who had been on the periphery of the movement. We have met several people who have been in mental hospitals and who have requested information beyond the textbooks and formal liberal educational myths about "mental illness". Though this experience was limited, some things can be learned about the way the institution functions, from the description of patient life, about the political issues and as guidelines for future organizing in mental hospitals.

## MENTAL HEALTH

Camarillo State Hospital is the largest of the 10 state hospitals in California for the mentally ill. It lies isolated by mountains on three sides just fifty miles north of Los Angeles on the edge of the fertile Ventura plain which supplies California's citrus needs. Built in the early '30s and surrounded by 8' high concrete walls and heavy wooden gates, 3300 patients are all that remain of the 6800 patients (1960) who once populated a self-sufficient institution complete with its own vegetable gardens, orchards, dairy, forced labor, crowded conditions and daily brutalities. Electric shock, straight jackets, hosing down and isolation rooms have since been replaced by the more subtle effective and widespread control by drugs (definitely not psychedelic - principally thorazine, mellaril, librium, valium, and stelazine). At the same time that more sophisticated methods of coercion and oppression were being developed, mental health was developing and becoming a big business.

More than all other diseases combined, are in mental hospitals. More people are not put away because on a national basis it costs about \$2000 a year for each patient. Yet the fact that \$5 a day is spent on mental patients while \$50 a day is spent on general hospital patients indicates the deplorable conditions of the state's mental hospitals. These conditions have been summarized by official psychiatric associations which found less than 25% of the hospitals meet approved standards.

The mental hospital is an institution half-way between prisons and public schools. It exists to re-socialize those who have "broken-down" under the stresses of their job, their family, or their community. These "break-downs" come as rebellions and manifest themselves as either flights into a fantasy world or simply withdrawal. Others go normally about their lives, and because this may be "bizarre" in the middle class standards of the police and courts, they are committed. The old notions of psychotherapy, of understanding the unconscious or dreams have been dropped.

Virtually the only kind of treatment we saw in the hospital was "reality therapy." If someone thinks he is Gengis Kahn or hears voices, it doesn't matter. What matters is that he doesn't tell anyone about it. If he "behaves" normally, people will think he is normal. Re-socialization works by taking the concept of "normal", by making a pattern, a mold, and by fitting everyone into it. If you fit the pattern you are released. The mental hospital is the only institution the society has to rebuild, in its own image, those who rebel against it without breaking laws.

Seventy per cent of the patients at Camarillo come from court commitments which originate from complaints filed by the police. It cannot be stressed too much that YOU DO NOT HAVE TO COMMIT A CRIME TO BE COMMITTED TO A MENTAL HOSPITAL. The court simply adjudges you a "menace to your self or to the community" with little or no proof. This is done on the basis of police reports and an interview by the court psychiatrist which averages 9.2 minutes in L.A. The menace is usually that you have not learned the rules and regulations well enough and must be re-tooled. The main feature of this re-tooling process is the work program which helps you learn "responsibility" and "discipline", to take orders

from your boss and to "get along". The authoritarian rules and demanding technicians are there to make patients passive conformists to the hospital's rules. One nurse told me, while waving a hypodermic needle, "If it doesn't sink into his thick skull by me telling it to him through his ear, maybe he can understand it in his ass."

## LIFE IN THE HOSPITAL

The first thing that impressed us when we arrived at Camarillo was the massive Spanish style buildings fill two city blocks with a maze of courtyards intermixed with long two story dormitories. We quickly found it was impossible to get around without a big ring of keys. I lost mine once and continually got locked in or out of some room with no one near to rescue me. The halls and passageways were dirty and drab institutional colors; grey, green creme and pink were everywhere. Outside there were a lot of weeds and mud, while the inside looked just as unkempt with ragged chairs and beat up furniture.

We had been working several months before we discovered the back wards in the medical hospital section. The part of the medical hospital the public sees is painted and clean but the inaccessible parts are dirty and deteriorated. Patients are crowded 5 or 6 to a small room with inadequate staffing. Surgical dressings are messy and dirty, beds are seldom changed and patients say they are frightened. The technicians related that the administration was trying to round up all the geriatrics to "keep them out of sight".

When committed, the patient is stripped of his identity and begins his career as one of the mentally ill -- known at the hospital as an "m.i.". This is done by a hospital routine programmed to convince the patient that he is insane and incompetent to make any decisions. The hospital takes responsibility for everything -- how much you smoke and eat, how you dress, how you wear your hair, who you write letters to or call on the phone and virtually all other details of your life. The patient learns that he is to be dependent on the technicians, passive and docile. Any attempts to get something you want is seen as "manipulation", hence a sign of your illness.

The doctors and technicians hold regular "team" meetings to compare notes, make collective decisions and to decide



photo by Richard Avedon in Nothing Personal

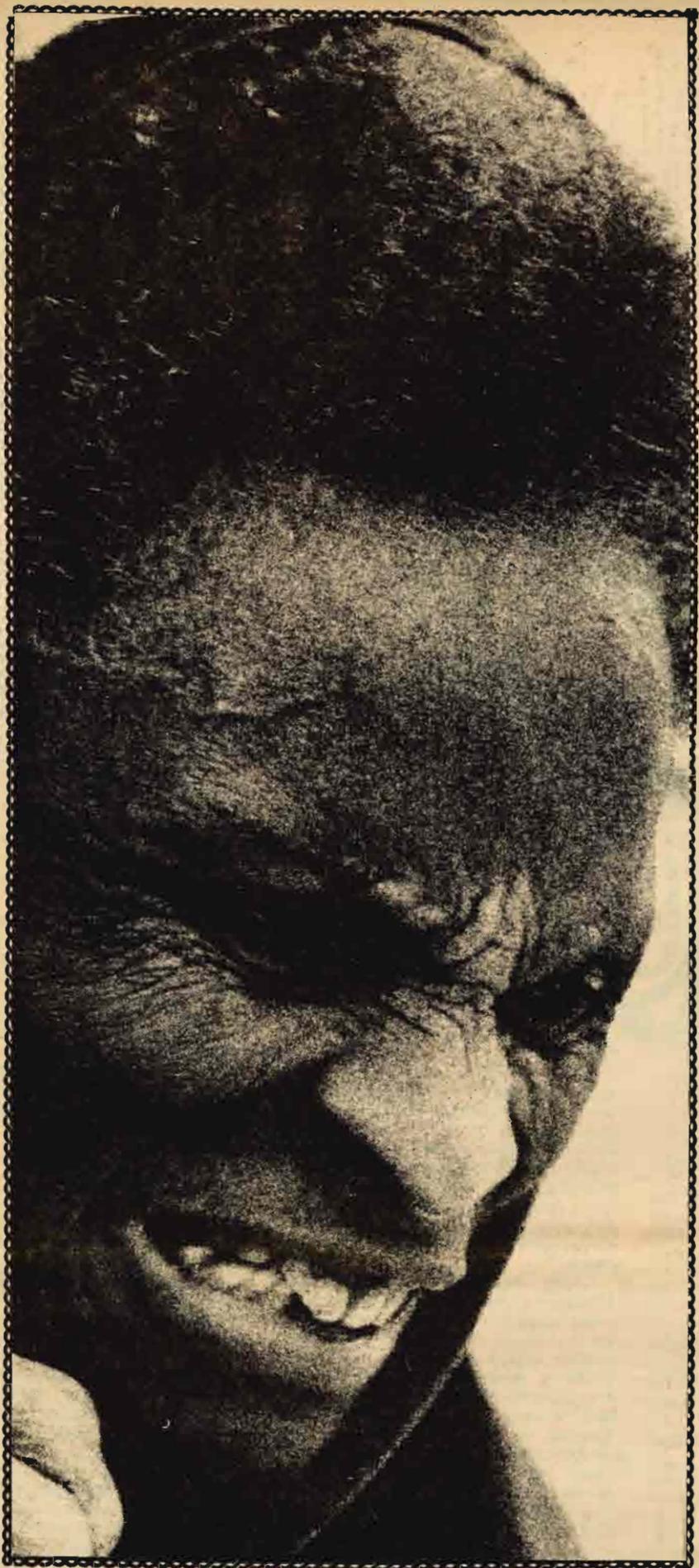


photo by Richard Avedon in Nothing Personal

how to work together to transform the "m.i." into a "well adjusted personality". The team accepts the label the doctor has chosen, with no scientific criteria used, and applies it to a patient as a stereotype. "John is a sociopath... don't believe anything he says...he will just try to charm you." All the technicians then treat John this way which reinforces their preception, demands that John follow certain behavior patterns they choose and view all of his behavior as coming from this diagnosis. John comes out looking like the stereotype they decided upon and winds up with more problems than he went in with.

Even more controlling than the team is the total use of drugs. The first two weeks in the hospital is spent heavily sedated. Patients say they feel like their "head is stuffed with cotton" which makes it impossible for them to think straight. Patients complain of not being able to do anything but sleep and feel depressed and dependent. Drug overdosage is a big problem. Every morning noon and night patients have to line up for a couple of pills and some sweet tasting kool-aid. Anytime you "misbehave", drugs are increased. Some patients getting as much as 150 mml. of Thorazine 3 times a day. This explains why we saw so many patients curled up sleeping on the lawns, in the corners of buildings and in hall ways.

Patients are housed on a ward with 70 to 85 other patients of varying age and diagnosis. Some have been there 2 weeks and some 30 years. Three large sleeping rooms contain long rows of beds with no place to keep any possessions and no place for privacy. A "day hall"

is always filled with the "sitters" who stare numbly at the continually blaring t.v. set. At 7:30 the doors are locked; bed time comes at 9:30 with the technicians walking up and down between the rows of beds to check on everyone.

For meals patients form long lines and wait for 1/2 hour before rushing in, eating in 15 minutes, and hurrying to make room for the next bunch. The hospital was rocked by controversy when t.v. cameras came and took pictures of flies, cracked and cigarette stained dishes and broken windows in the cafeteria. There is a patient canteen but the technicians keep all money and slowly dole it out for escorted buying trips. Patients have to ask for a dime to get a cup of coffee. The hospital gives patients no money which reduces everyone to beggars for cokes and cigarettes.

Wards have rules and regulations against holding hands, giving away cigarettes, talking "disrespectably" to technicians and being "overactive". Two girls we knew were restricted to their ward for two weeks when a technician saw them kissing their boy friends. Drinking and balling are strictly forbidden and some technicians spend their time patrolling the secluded areas. Sensitivity groups were severely curtailed because doctors thought patients touching each other would "lead to sexual acting out".

Life on the ward consists of boredom intermixed with "work therapy". Work therapy is a euphemism for forcing patients to make beds, scrub walls, floors and bathrooms (somehow they are still always dirty from over thirty

years accumulation of dirt, blood and piss), dressing old chronics and otherwise keeping the institution physically running. This work is without pay and serves restaurants and hotels with cheap labor by referrals when patients are released. If a patient refuses his work therapy in the kitchen or on the garbage truck it is a sign of his "illness" and he loses all his privileges until he is willing to cooperate. Technicians are often reluctant to lose good workers and try to keep them around.

A great deal of free time is spent trying to talk to the doctors and social workers who hold the key to the outside. These people decide when a patient is "well" and can be placed in a board and care home. These homes are indeed a mixed blessing. The state pays \$187.50 which provides \$15 spending money and room and board for a month. Businessmen run these board and care homes and cut all corners, including keeping the spending money, to keep their profits up. The state insures them a plentiful supply of boarders and maintains little control or supervision over the homes. If a patient doesn't cooperate he will be returned to the hospital and begin again his indeterminate sentence.

At the same time that the hospital functions to re-program people, it also presents us with a microcosm of society in which many of the contradictions are heightened and stand out in naked relief. We were not surprised to find the same problems at Camarillo as we find in the other institutions.

### RACISM

Reaction against racism is presenting the hospital with the first serious threats to its authority. Camarillo is not an isolated case. Hospitals across the country are being hit by the repercussions of the black movement. Several recent cases dramatize Eldridge Cleaver's demand that all black people held in mental hospitals be released. Earlier in the year, a militant black man was committed over a hassle after failing to pay his rent. The recent strike at the Lincoln Hospital, in the mostly Puerto Rican and black South Bronx in New York, revealed not only brutality and lack of treatment but also that black people, ethnic minorities and poor people always fall prey to the thought control factory.

The population of Camarillo is made up of black, Mexican-American and poor whites. The administration and professional workers are 99 1/2% white and middle class. The technicians, which make up the bulk of the employees, have only about 3% minorities. The main reason there are not more minorities among employees is the ruthless discrimination in the surrounding area. Realtors refuse anyone except wasps and many even refuse people with children.

But racism did not disrupt Camarillo until the recent increase in the number of young black men. They have been committed after being picked up by the L.A. pig department which is desperately rounding them up in an effort to control the ghettos. Small groups of blacks have been forming, walking around the grounds and hanging out together. They have not adjusted to the stress of overcrowding, regimentation, rigid sexual segregation, and have begun to rebel and defy the authority and domination which is the cornerstone of the hospital. The hospital has tightened its rules even harder and resorted to beating patients, locking them on their wards, increasing their drugs, and giving them drug injections to "quiet them down".

In an effort to keep firm bureaucratic control "incident reports" are filled out each time a black is involved in any friction and a copy is sent directly to the administration. Recent reports are blatant in their reflection of racism. In response to rumors that black men were propositioning white girls, the administration proposed that "some of our stronger male patients serve as a bodyguard". Another investigation of a black man putting his arm around a white girl and "proposing a sexual relationship" led to the conclusion that "male Negro patients are ganging up all over the hospital and becoming riot concious".

During the summer, racism is more overt when the hospital employs 50 black and brown high school students from the Economic Opportunities Program in L.A. Students continually told me of harrasment, being called "niggers", having the staff ignore them and being given the worst and dirtiest jobs. A similar program set up with Wilberforce, an all black college in Ohio, was cancelled by the administration after its racist practices and attitudes were criticized by the students.

Organizing around racism was difficult. We found we could show some anti-

draft organizing films to the students and talk to them about the war and racism. There was little we could do in terms of concrete organizing because of their short stay and most of them tried to get into L.A. on the week ends for some action.

Organizing black patients was never seriously attempted because we feared repercussion which would come down on them. We never could prove any of the beatings because the technicians always said the bruises and stiches we saw were accidents from drug reactions and they had the patients so frightened they would not talk.

In fact, the main reason we didn't attempt to organize patients was the complete control the technicians exercised through the arbitrary use of drugs and the lock up. Because we couldn't find a blatant case of mistreatment it was impossible to rally patients around an issue. We thought of using leaflets to reach the patients but this would have simply gotten us fired on the grounds of "stirring up already mentally disturbed patients". Consequently the only thing we could do was form small groups of patients and try to keep them out of the way of the technicians control. Any uprising will have to be spontaneous and the only thing we can do is have workers organized to link the struggles together.

Organizing workers around racism was difficult because all of the 12 black workers employed were in service jobs.

The white workers we talked to were overt racists and became hostile when pressed. Our project to expose racism at Camarillo was planned to coincide with the battles which were going on at San Francisco State. (We had been talking a lot about the S.F. State Struggle) The plan was to pull off a media trip by staging a sit-in or taking over a building and preparing a list of demands.

The mental hospital is extremely vulnerable to publicity and had just been hit by charges of poor conditions and lack of treatment by an independent labor union. Television cameras on the grounds and articles in the newspapers shook up the hospital and stopped work for 2 weeks while people talked about the issues.

We talked to several people and held a meeting with some black janitors. They were generally favorable but distrusted us because we had college educations and could easily get a job if fired. We planned another meeting to discuss further plans but before we could meet one of the people we had talked to finked to the administration. This effectively brought an end to our organizing. Both the whites and the blacks were scared off by threats of being fired and permanently black balled from state civil service jobs.

### CLASS STRUCTURE

The description of patient living conditions clearly reveals their slave like existence in the hospital. Patients serve as drone/workers to keep the hospital running and to do the work technicians don't want to do. At the other end of the systems sit the doctors. The "medical model" (mental illness is a disease like other diseases and only the doctor is able to diagnose, treat and cure it) with its psychiatric jargon allows the doctors and the superintendent, appointed by the governor, to rule the hospital based on "expert", "specialized" knowledge and "professional" training. The doctors word becomes law just as the witch doctors law of the past. This mystification allows retired doctors to keep working, receive high pay, have a private practice on the side, and do a minimum of unsupervised and unaccountable work. Doctors provide only minor medical care and you can never find them when they are wanted. The only function they provide is to give drug prescriptions. Patients leave the hospital contemptuous and disgusted with the whole doctor game.

Technicians' starting pay is \$410/month and they spend the first years in the back wards, mopping up urine, and changing beds. The technicians are supervised by workers with 10-15 years seniority. The supervisors have been at Camarillo since the days of lobotomy, straight-jackets and the total use of electric shock. Their relatively privileged position gives them status and authority which they guard jealously with close supervision, an informer system, and transfers.

The administration prevents unity among workers by playing them off against each other; supervisors against worker, one special service against another. "Professional" workers (i.e., social workers, psychologists and school teachers) are given special privileges of offices, cleaner jobs, and a limited authority to interfere in the ward business. This creates continuous tensions

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19



# WI

by Detroit NOC

*A wildcat strike is an act of defiance, a clearly illegal action directed at the union as well as management. It occurs when the everyday tensions of industrial conflict burst into collective struggle. The workers, in order to express their power, attempt to stop production.*

*Since wildcats are primarily spontaneous movements of workers, they are often confused struggles that are easily crushed. When they first walk out, workers are permeated with a feeling of power, "we actually shut it down." Later, as the wildcat continues, management threatens to fire them, and the international union bureaucracy moves to place the local under discipline. The struggle becomes grim. Workers are unsure how long they can hold out. They begin to feel economic pressure from loss of a weeks pay. Management moves to "negotiate the issues" providing the workers return. Many of the older men, who have experienced walkouts before, begin to predict its demise. Wildcats that do not develop leadership at this point are usually crushed through the collective resources of management and the unions.*

Back at work the immediate issue is "solved" through negotiations and everyday life returns to the shop. Workers feel little has been achieved, yet take no action. All is calm until the tensions build again--the sell-out contract, deteriorating working conditions, safety hazards, the arrogance of the foremen, the compulsory overtime, the years of frustration of hard work just to break even economically--this oppression surges into the minds of the workers and another wildcat begins over some ordinary worker-management confrontation.

The walkout at the Sterling Stamping plant was similar to the above sketch, except for one important difference. On the side of the workers was the active participation of organizers and students who placed the wildcat into the context of political struggle. Through their efforts, the wildcat became more than an industrial dispute. If nothing else was gained at Sterling, many workers learned to respect the students for turning out to support their strike. Hopefully, out of the wildcat will emerge a cadre of revolutionary workers who see their

role as organizers laying the ground work for a mass-based working class movement in Detroit.

This goal is the thrust of NOC's work in factories and it guided our actions during the Sterling struggle. As a cadre of organizers, the National Organizing Committee seeks to develop groups of politically conscious white workers in the shops. These groups will provide the outreach into the plant through literature, production and struggle. While our factory work is very limited (we only began four months ago), the wildcat at Sterling provided us with some experience and insights into organizing workers in basic industry.

#### THE PLANT

Opened in 1965, the Sterling Stamping Plant is a relatively recent addition to the Chrysler empire. Employing over 3,500 production and skilled workers, the 80 million dollar plant sprawls over 1/2 mile of land in the white working class suburb of Sterling Heights. At Sterling, hoods, frames and fenders are made for

almost all Chrysler models. Engineers are proud of the plant's flexibility: stamping dies can be moved in and out of the 167 major presses, changing the whole line in less than six hours. The Sterling plant is critical to the auto parts supply of the four major Chrysler assembly plants in Detroit: Lynch Road, Hamtramck, Warren Truck and Jefferson.

Of all the Chrysler plants, Sterling Stamping is one of the few containing a clear majority of white workers. At least 70% of the workers are white, mostly Polish and Italian, with some Southern white. Ethnic loyalties are strong in the plant: there are "Dago" and "Pollack" production lines. Since Sterling is such a new plant, a good majority of the production workers are young guys between 18 and 30, most of whom are married.

Although Sterling Stamping is a new plant, the working conditions are very poor. The presses leak oil, making the floors slippery; hi-los often break down; aisles are cluttered with razor sharp scrap metal and machine parts; and the conveyor belt, used to take metal scrap from the presses to the balling room often breaks down. In the past five years many workers have been injured. A few of them have lost their fingers or hands under the huge presses.

The local leadership of UAW local 1264 has always been a militant thorn in the hides of management and the International UAW. During the 1967 contract ratification process, workers remained out over a week refusing to settle on plant working conditions issues. It wasn't until UAW International Board member Douglas Fraser threatened to put the local under receivership that the men returned to work. Last summer, two wildcats occurred over the lack of ventilation in the plant. In all instances the local leadership, which is supposed to maintain its side of the contract and discipline the ranks, supported the wildcats. Given this militant leadership it would be in the interests of management to crush the local.

The need of Chrysler to keep its workers in line is particularly pressing in the spring of 1969 as the auto industry suffers the first effects of what might be a long-term economic stagnation. Sales are down substantially, increasing inventories to the highest in automobile history (at the time of the wildcat there were 1.7 million cars unsold). Production is being cut back. During February production was slowed down as many assembly plants were shut down for a week. Overtime became

scarce and there were plans for an early model change this year.

Of the big three, Chrysler is in the worst economic position to sustain any possible recession. In 1961, the company almost went out of business. Through a re-organization of dealerships, a new five-year warranty plan (revoked on 1969 models), and industrial diversification (Chrysler is now moving into the plastic industry, and is also purchasing over 2 million dollars worth of real estate a week) Chrysler has maintained 17% of the domestic auto market. At the time of the Sterling Wildcat however, Chrysler held almost 400,000 unsold cars, an 83 day supply according to recent sales rates and the highest in the industry. If inventories remained that high, it would be necessary for the auto company to cut back production in June. During these lay-offs, the corporation would have had to pay 95% of the base pay to all workers with one year seniority. The wildcat at Sterling, which idled 35,000 workers for eight days, served to keep production down, while management could blame the workers for the disruption and save money by not paying any SUB benefits to those laid off.

In addition, the wildcat was a golden opportunity to harass the union leadership. As profits grow less in a period of slow expansion, capitalists make up for losses in sales by forcing more labor out of workers. After experiencing the power of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers at Dodge Main and Eldon Gear and Axle, Chrysler was very anxious to keep industrial discipline tight. Workers should not be able to cut into production, nor a local union leadership be permitted to encourage the challenge to discipline. The workers of Local 1264 needed to be taught a lesson--a wildcat strike would enable management to fire some of the plant militants as well as force the local leadership into dealing with the power of the International. Thus, it is very likely that Chrysler, because of its high inventories and its need to assert industrial discipline, provoked the incident which initiated the wildcat strike.

#### WILDCAT

The wildcat began over safety conditions. On Wednesday, April 2nd, workers were ordered to clear out 12 feet of scrap metal which had piled up because the conveyor belt had broken down. The metal was razor sharp, and with the floor slippery from spilled oil, the job was clearly a dangerous one. When local union officials advised workers that they did not have to clear out the basement, Chrysler fired all the stewards, committeemen and union officials on the spot. The walkout began as workers learned they had no union representation against management. Picket lines were established and until Thursday, April 10th, no production was turned out at Sterling Stamping.

During the first night of the walkout, scabs driving through the picket lines were attacked and cars smashed. Thirty-four workers were arrested. After that, except for a few isolated incidents, the lines remained firm. Solidarity between the plant workers and the Chrysler truckers, who take the auto parts to the assembly plants, was strong. None of the big blue trucks crossed the picket lines.

NOC organizers arrived on Thursday morning and found solidarity in the ranks

# WILDCAT!

could not be accomplished unless white workers accepted the legitimacy of black demands.

We raised questions concerning the relationship of guys to their wives. Were they telling their wives about the strike? How come very few of their wives were on the line? Through these raps, particularly on white supremacy, many workers disagreed violently with our analysis. Yet, almost everyone recognized and accepted us as "agitators", "organizers", or "anti-establishment people" who had been active in the student movement, black liberation struggle, or worked organizing poor people.

Our leafletting efforts were modest, as we placed heavier emphasis on personal contact with workers on the picket lines. There were several difficulties with this approach. At night great quantities of beer and dope were consumed as many workers transformed the picket lines into a party-like atmosphere. While remaining solid in preventing any scabs from crossing the lines, guys were certainly not interested in political raps. Another problem with personal contact was, except for a small group of guys who were there most of the time, the same workers did not show up. During the eight days of picketing very few of the workers came regularly. In fact, as the wildcat continued, the personnel changed rapidly. Many guys we talked to at the beginning of the wildcat simply didn't show up as picketing became pretty much a routine affair. Finally, since the plant was in the suburbs, there were very few cafes or bars nearby, making it difficult to bring a few workers together for some long political raps.

At one point when it appeared that management was going to break through the lines to get at some of the auto parts remaining in the plant, we prepared a leaflet that was to be distributed in the community by high school groups working with NOC. The leaflet listed the demands, gave an analysis of why the wildcat (Chrysler's desire to crush the leadership as well as save money while inventories are high) and called for community solidarity with the strikers. The leaflet was not distributed however, as Chrysler backed away from confrontation with the workers. In retrospect, our decision not to turn out more leaflets for the community and the workers may have been a tactical error. Leaflets might have overcome some of

the problems inherent in the personal contact approach. Yet, in all cases contacts with workers on a face to face level were extremely important.

## TACTICAL ERROR

Perhaps the most important tactical error we made was not engaging students in the struggle from the outset. At first we felt that students would turn off the workers. Their life-style is so different and their knowledge of the issues so limited that we anticipated workers would be hostile to their participation. Yet, on Sunday, independently of our actions, SDS chapters began to appear on the line. Our analysis of student participation was incorrect. In fact the presence of students was critical to the continuance of the wildcat.

By Sunday, the wildcat had reached the fifth day. After the first two evenings, very few scabs attempted to cross the picket lines, and marching around the plant exit gates became an uneventful chore. Fewer and fewer workers began showing up on the line. Those that did appear grew increasingly uncertain of whether the wildcat would last.

The diminishing worker support for the wildcat would be critical at the first shift change on Monday. Since the wildcat began right before the Easter holiday, many workers took advantage of the strike to have an extended weekend vacation. They were ready to return to work on Monday. Without a strong show of pickets the wildcat would be broken.

On Monday morning only a handful of pickets appeared, but bolstered by about 75 SDS people from the University of Michigan, cars were turned away. The wildcat continued and the spirits of the workers rose. Guys began showing up on the line again, partly because they were interested in meeting the students. The older workers were disturbed by the presence of the students on the line; one brought up a razor and shears to cut some of their hair. However, the younger workers were open to the students and interested in talking with them.

Through their discussions, workers learned about the movement. They clearly understood what students were about for as one worker put it: "the students are always on the side of the underdog". Many workers stated flatly that the students made the difference when the fate of the wildcat was in doubt

very high. Most workers were militantly anti-Chrysler and anti-UAW International. They were pissed off at the arrogance of management for poor working conditions and continual mistreatment. They were angry at the UAW International for not supporting their actions. Workers supported their local officers and most sought to build a strong local union. The men on the picket lines were primarily young guys, and most of the stewards and committeemen, generally a bit older, were also present. The wildcat was headed by the union president and vice-president, both politically sophisticated and able men.

sel for the local union officers in their attempts to head off a threatened Chrysler injunction on picketing. Finally, we began to place the wildcat into the larger context, laying out Chrysler's reasons for provoking the strike. Much of our analysis was confirmed when on Sunday, management fired 69 guys for strike activity. Many of the firings were arbitrary; some, however, were against the most militant workers who had been identified from photographs taken by foremen escorted out to the line by plant pigs to identify picketers.

## ROLE OF NOC

We came on hard about our politics, telling guys that NOC was interested in workers taking power, the right of workers to control the production process and the state. We passed out fist buttons which were gobbled up immediately. We were very hard on white supremacy, making it clear to guys that they should support the demands of black workers for if they really wanted to beat Chrysler, they would need to unite with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and this

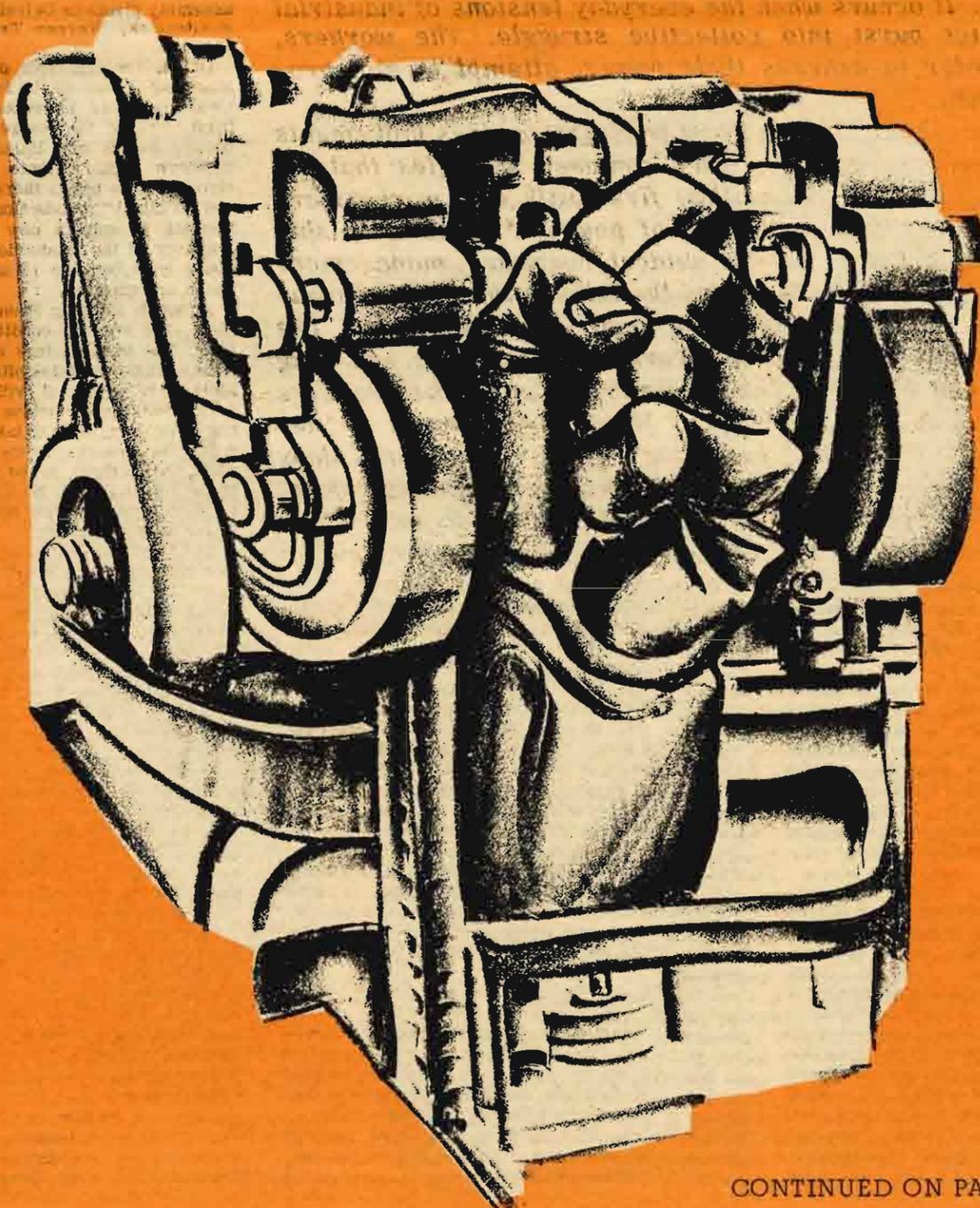
## UNION CONSCIOUSNESS

Not surprisingly the workers militance stayed at the level of trade union consciousness. While the men disliked Chrysler, few supported the concept that they should control the company. Many looked toward an "honorable settlement" of their grievances. The issues of safety conditions and firings were treated as demands unrelated to other struggles in the auto plants. Many workers said that Sterling, in comparison to plants in the Detroit areas, was basically a good plant to work in, except for some problems with working conditions and a few foremen who were bastards. Yet in discussions they revealed the common problems affecting all auto workers. Although most guys saw a broader struggle of management everywhere trying to crush militant workers they were uncertain how to relate to it. For the workers at Sterling, the wildcat was primarily an action to achieve better conditions in this particular plant.

As militant unionists, workers had little understanding of the role of the state. Even after the police arrested 34 workers, most guys did not perceive the partisan role the cops played in class conflict. For them there were good and bad cops. Although many guys served in Vietnam and were profoundly influenced into an anti-war position, they did not relate it to their struggle with Chrysler. Finally, the wildcat leadership (local president and v.p.) is involved in the activities of the local Democratic party making them unwilling to see struggle except through existing institutions. As the wildcat continued the politics of the leadership presented a problem to our efforts in organizing.

Finally, most workers were unable to deal with white supremacy. When we asked why weren't any blacks on the picket lines, the standard reply was, "those guys don't care, they are just over at the union hall." Many guys felt that whites were given the more difficult jobs in the plant because management would know it would get done properly. Yet, when pressed on their feelings, workers admitted that there was no equality in the shop. Although 30% of the plant is black, there are no black stewards or committeemen. Even the most racist southern workers admitted that there is a problem when they said the skilled trades department is all white. Some even saw the need to relate to groups like DRUM and ELRUM in their fight against Chrysler.

We spent the first days on the picket lines trying to put the issues of the wildcat into political perspective. We ran down stuff on the UAW--how it does not fight for better working conditions in the national contract, how the contract screws local union power, how grievances are settled far away from the shop floor, etc. We provided legal coun-



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# NOWHERE TO RUN NOWHERE TO HIDE

by Rick Ayers and Melody Kilian

American draft-dodgers and deserters living in Canada (recent estimates put the number between ten and fifty thousand) have begun to organize to remain, or to become politically effective against a youth channeling system integrated with American Selective Service, and against American imperialism more generally.

The Canadian immigration regulations are paired almost perfectly to the Selective Service Act in its channeling effect. The poor, the non-white, the unskilled and "inarticulate" are denied entry to Canada and left to face the draft in the U.S., while skilled and educated middle-class (and therefore mostly white) young men are welcomed because they are potentially useful to the Canadian branch-plant economy. In general, immigration rules exclude those who could not have received deferments in the U.S.

Escaping into Canada means getting away from the draft but not from capitalism. The new arrival has the same choices open to him as Canadian youth, and these are even more rigidly predetermined by class background and by the needs of the system than in the U.S. The alternatives are unemployment, colonial jobs in the extractive industries (mining, logging), colonial student labor, or, for the privileged who complete university, technical or managerial work in the branch-plant corporations.

Canadian working-class youth are channeled into extractive industries by the underfinancing of working-class high schools and regional colleges. Young share with old workers the lower standards of living and suffer under the repressive labor legislation that are the lot of colonial workers throughout the empire.

The professional and managerial positions are being reserved for the children of the middle and upper class of Canada. 52% of all male family heads in Canada are blue collar workers, yet only 17% of college students come from blue-collar families. Tracking in the high schools and the cost of college education effectively exclude the rest.

While in the U.S. a failing grade may mean death in Vietnam, in Canada it means a life in the mills and mines. And, as always, the low grades fall disproportionately to the lower classes. (Protests against the class and colonial nature of the university have taken place in both the English-Canadian and in the Quebecois movements. The demand for open admission and financing led to a mass arrest of 114 people at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia in November, 1968. There have been two general strikes led by the UGEQ (Quebec General Union of Students) in technical schools and junior colleges around demands for general accessibility in Quebec.)

Since August 1967, immigration requirements into Canada have been based on a "point system". The applicant gets points for education, for knowing French, for having skills in demand, for being personally pleasing to the middle-class immigration officer, etc. However, until recently, immigration authorities did not even ask the applicant for his military history.

Under heavy State Department pressure, however, a few months ago Trudeau's "Liberal" government in Ottawa laid down a series of unofficial changes. No announcement was made of a shift in policy, but immigration officers began to question applicants about military status to find out if they were deserters. Then a memo came down requiring deserters to apply for landed-immigrant status from within Canada only (after entering on a temporary visa), and not directly at the border. This automatically cuts 10 points off the applicants score, because a catch-22 in the regulations provides that you can present yourself with job-offer in hand only

at the border, not inside; on the other hand, you can rarely get landed at the border without a job offer.

This new rule automatically cuts off the great majority of deserters, who usually barely scraped by the point-system. The Canadian government knows this. Another recent move has been to place already-landed deserters with a narrow points-margin suddenly "on probation" for having concealed their deserter status on their application. In these and other ways the government is moving deserters into more insecure status.

Despite these regulations, more deserters arrive in Canada than the "legitimate" channels make allowance for. Getting these people "landed" through or around the immigration office is a primary problem for all the groups that work with deserters.

In addition, those deserters who could not have gotten deferments in the U.S., and therefore could not pass the Canadian point-system, encounter problems with the aid-and-counseling groups. Most of these groups are run by counsellors skilled in landing and finding jobs for middle-class draft dodgers through their contacts among Canadian liberals. A lower-class, especially black deserter therefore meets the white middle class wherever he turns, even within the aid committees. Counselors complain that these people are "inarticulate" or engage in behavior that could endanger the group, such as stealing. The Montreal group seems to have done most to overcome these problems.

Deserters' groups in Canada differ in the degree to which they relate to the American or to the Canadian movements, or to politics at all. The Montreal Group relates most closely to the American scene, the Vancouver group is oriented more toward the Canadian movement, and the Toronto group is not political, but merely a service committee.

## MONTREAL

The exile group in Montreal is the American Deserters' Committee (ADC). Their main political work is to agitate against the U.S. military and to encourage desertion. They also do aggressive work to pressure Canadian immigration.

ADC supports desertion not as a direct manpower threat to the army (although the AWOL rate is now beginning to approach these proportions), but as the best way to do anti-imperialist work with the military. The argument is that the few guys in a platoon who desert and aren't caught sap the enthusiasm (if any) of the rest for the war effort. ADC believes that desertion in the U.S. military is reaching the importance it had in the French military near the end of the Algerian war, when it was more effective than inside organizing and going to prison. A deserter who stays in touch with GPs and encourages them to follow him overcomes some of the inactivity and powerlessness of his position.

The ADC does the most radical political work with deserters and has the most open and democratic internal political structure. When a deserter arrives in Montreal he is, de facto, a member of the ADC and becomes part of the decision-making community. This differs from the doctor-patient type relationship that most new arrivals encounter with their counsellor.

In ADC, deserters counsel each other and help each other along in adjusting

to life in Canada. The ADC also tries to maintain internal discipline among the group, building communal awareness and responsibility as a guard against demoralization or dangerous activities.

ADC also has exposed immigration policy in the press and by speaking throughout Quebec, and aggressively appeals or sues negative Immigration Office decisions. There has been heated debate in Parliament on the question of asylum for deserters, with growing support among liberal and religious groups. ADC itself receives support from local trade union people, from the UGEQ, from professional people and some politicians.

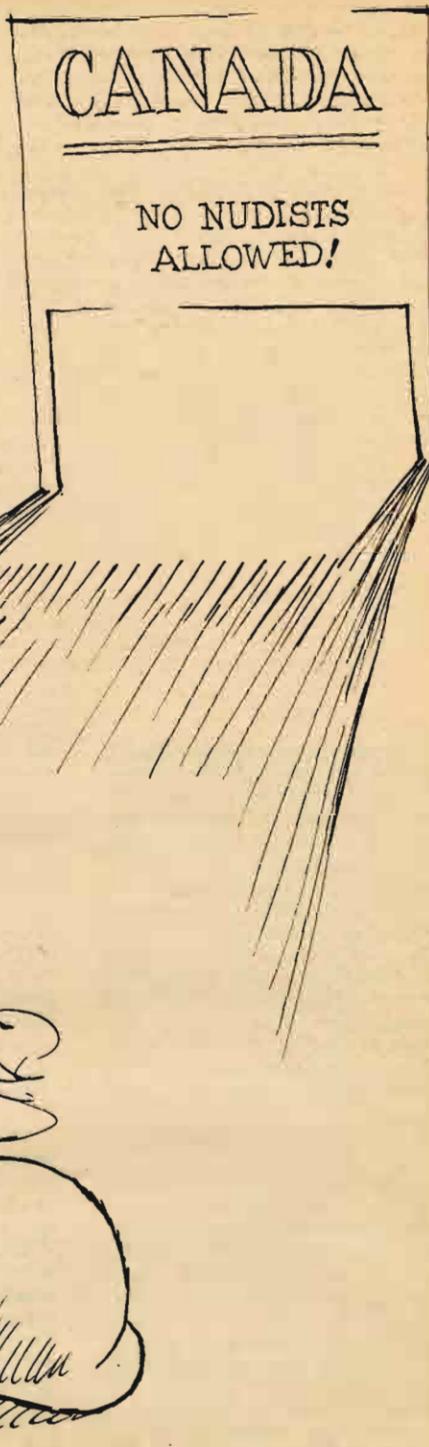
In its "Manifesto", the ADC states: "We deserters and associates view ourselves as an integral part of the worldwide movement for fundamental social change. We express support and solidarity with the NLF of South Vietnam and with the black liberation struggle at home . . . Forced to live our lives as 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."

The development of the American-oriented program of the ADC is partly a result of language and culture barriers which isolate American radicals somewhat from the national struggle of the Quebecois. This problem also exists for the English-speaking left at McGill university in Montreal, where students often operate within a vacuum and lack a political base.

However, reciprocal support between the ADC and the Quebec left is growing. ADC recognized the need for its members to become involved in the local movement, and the Quebecois give support because to weaken the main imperialist army is useful to all revolutionary movements.

## VANCOUVER

The Vancouver exile group, composed of deserters as well as draft-dodgers, began out of initial meetings in which



the contradictions of the exiles' position were discussed and the determination was formed to get together on the basis of the common political experience of leaving the U.S., even though the levels on which that experience became consciously political differed widely.

It became clear that the only work in which American political exiles could involve themselves in order to develop their political understanding was the local struggles of the left. Weekly dinner-meetings with political raps for all Americans, and other ways were developed to help new arrivals understand the local movement, overcome Yankee chauvinism, and learn to do effective work.

One of the reasons this kind of focus developed in Vancouver was the growing intensity of the local movement not only among students but among many other groups with political grievances, such as women, trade unionists, the unemployed (Vancouver has the highest unemployment rate in North America), Indians, and "street people". All of these groups have been in motion in Vancouver, with varying degrees of coordination, at different times recently.

The problem that exiles are coming to understand was stated in the group's mimeographed newsletter, YANKEEREFUGEE, from a woman's viewpoint: "We understand that our being in Canada does not affect the size of the U.S. military machine, but that our men's places are simply filled by others who cannot enter Canada. We know also that our being here is NOT anti-war work. Only work that aims at destroying the economic system that causes the war--capitalism--is anti-war work."

The group around YANKEEREFUGEE had become involved in a majority of movement activities in Vancouver, without, however, taking on an institutional identity or demanding that Americans channel their movement activities through it. The group has seen itself primarily as catalyst for Americans within the local movement.

Because of the number of deserters who are arriving, the Vancouver exiles have recently begun to get into work

similar to that of the ADC in Montreal: to expose Canadian immigration policy, to raise community support for the great number of deserters coming in, and to do anti-military agitation by means of deserters contacting military bases in the U.S.

For example, YR publicized the case of a Navy deserter busted at Simon Fraser University and threatened with deportation, and was instrumental in organizing large student rallies over the issue.

The most effective anti-military work done so far was organizing among the crew of the destroyer USS Hollister when she docked in Vancouver for three days and held an "open house". Leaflets with information on desertion opportunities and copies of the American Serviceman's Union's paper, THE BOND, were distributed by members of the Vancouver Women's Caucus, about half Americans, half Canadians, and by deserters. Good discussions and contacts were made.

Out of this successful work came the conviction among a number of deserters that more actively political organizing was possible, aimed both locally and at the U.S. At this point the exile community in Vancouver, like the Montreal ADC, is beginning to combine work in local struggles with desertion agitation.

## TORONTO

The Union of American Exiles (UAE) in Toronto is the largest, busiest and politically least effective exile group in Canada. It specifically defines itself not as a political group, but as a service organization committed to ameliorating problems such as loneliness, disorientation, the lack of housing and jobs. In addition to articles on Toronto cuisine, its newsletter THE AMERICAN EXILE IN CANADA, featured a charter flight to Europe for exiles only, not to escape, but merely to do the tourist thing.

The UAE has in the past addressed itself to questions such as whether the group, which has a formal membership and a constitution, should "Become Political". But, apart from the desire to have a "political column" in the newsletter, to stage an occasional mock election and to do "political investigation", the UAE has defined itself so far away from political self-consciousness that radical exiles living in Toronto usually cannot work with it.

The surprising ability of people who have been directly affected by imperialism to continue life as before it was "interrupted" is partly a reflection of

the political climate, or rather, apolitical climate, of Toronto, and underlines the need for a consciously political group.

With its charter flights for those "cooped up in Canada" and its work on Toronto cuisine, the UAE appeals to the more affluent elements in the exile community, for who transfer to Canada is merely a question of geography. Such an organization inevitably leads to Yankee chauvinism such as in the phrase "cooped up in Canada" and can only alienate Canadians along national lines. Americans, as Americans, are hardly an oppressed minority in Canada. Their need to organize themselves can be rooted only in opposition to U.S. imperialism, with the aim of liberating not only themselves, but Canadians also, from its grip.

As the exodus North increases and as the average class background of immigrants (legal or extra-legal) move downward, the UAE and all exile groups will have to respond. The newer arrivals may not be able to find jobs in the Canadian system. They are, on the whole, more class-conscious than their predecessors. They are more ready to take the risk of deportation for political activity rather than to remain frozen for five years until they become naturalized Canadians. They are more committed to spreading effective propaganda aimed at the American military.

There are no other active groups of exiles in Canada. There is a large number of unorganized exiles in other, smaller cities, such as Regina, most working in universities and doing sporadic work with local movements. Individual exiles exist in nearly every locality, including the most unlikely out-of-the-way spots, but have no collective voice.

In the major centers, however, the rising number and growing political consciousness will necessarily make American exiles an increasingly important part of the movement in Canada and the U.S.

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112 St. Paul St. West  
Room 5-22  
Montreal, Quebec Phone 843-8144

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Box 3822  
Station D  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Union of American Exiles  
44 St. George St.  
Toronto, Ontario



Photo by Nacio Jan Brown

# how to control riot control

The following is an editorial from the FATIGUE PRESS, a paper for, of, and by Fort Hood GIs. For further information contact: FATIGUE PRESS, c/o Atty. Jim Simons, P.O. Box 922, Austin, Texas.

In recent weeks many of us have been getting training on how to deal with our brothers and sisters who are rebelling against some of our oppression. By ours, I mean oppression that is put over ALL of us.

The present political and economic systems finds numerous ways, including the Army, of "keeping us in our place". More and more people are realizing the many ways that we are getting screwed and are doing something about the situations instead of letting them slide and allowing matters to get worse. Our brothers and sisters ARE breaking out of this oppression and when they attack the property and people who screw them and us, that is known as a riot.

Our government tries to bullshit us by telling blacks that rioting is only making matters worse for "their road to freedom" and by trying to scare the whites by making them think that ALL blacks are out to destroy ALL whites indiscriminately, and ruin their houses, cars and jobs. Well, that is bullshit because our brothers and sisters, regardless of color, are smashing stores that have exploited them and are ruining businesses that have ruined them.

The men in power say "many good, decent, and innocent people are victims because they are innocent bystanders. Cops, shooting "looters" kill more bystanders in number and more often. When

these riots can no longer be contained by the local cops, we get called in to end it.

The Army and the U.S. government uses us to stop people and us from overthrowing our oppressors. They use many tactics in trying to do this. First of all we are a show of their strength, and they hope that our ominous presence will terrify the people. We march in formations specifically designed to make people disperse. If this tactic fails there is CS gas which is currently being used against the Vietnamese in their civil war. The symptoms of this gas are 1) nausea 2) skin irritation (itching) 3) watery eyes 4) bronchial congestion 5) severe vomiting. Nasty shit! We are also taught how to walk with drawn bayonets at the throats of our "enemies".

The actual training is really propogandizing by the Army. We see movies of acted riots where our job looks simple and easy. Very one sided questions are asked by the instructor. One example from a recent class is: "What would you do if a dirty hippie threw shit in your face?" The required or desired answer, is "Kill the bastard". Possible better answers could be: 1) Hippies don't riot. 2) I would explain to the person that I was actually on his side. 3) The people wouldn't throw anything at me because I am an E.M., but they might throw it at you because you are a lifer or an officer.

It is a good idea to ask sound political questions at the riot control classes, because it shows other GIs how we are being used and helps bring out political awareness in the other men. It is also good because it shows the "Green Machine" up to everyone for exactly what it is - a machine (lifers

and brainwashed officers) that doesn't know how to react to questions that are direct and truthful insights into what all this riot control is all about. It throws the lifers off balance, and shows the other EMs the stupidity and blind ignorance of "our leaders".

Some good questions might be:

- 1) Why should we as Americans have to fight and kill our fellow Americans?
  - 2) Why does our government put more value on a TV set than on a human life? The orders given to shoot to kill looters obviously makes property more important than people. This is so wrong. No amount of any kind of property is worth more than a person's life.
  - 3) Why do rebellions begin? What situations and conditions cause them to start? Maybe read some history of the Army vs. the People from the Special Riot Control Section to start a discussion.
  - 4) Why should we be punished for not participating in something we morally and politically object to?
  - 5) In whose interest do we put down rebellions? Are we fighting for the people or for the rich who rule, oppress and exploit us?
  - 6) Are the laws that are supposedly being broken which we are being called out to defend, there to protect us or to keep us down?
- Hopefully this article will help you to control riot control training. If you have anything that you could add to this article or questions concerning ANYTHING dealing with riot control (the refusing to go) please write a letter to the Editors, and we will print it with an answer in our next issue. Dig it. "Tricks are for kids", and they can't fool us.



# AIDING OUR ENEMY

by Morgan Spector

*The MOVEMENT has recently carried a series of articles that dealt with strikes featuring sharp confrontation and struggle; the potentially revolutionary unity of students and workers has been given a dramatic opportunity to assert itself.*

But what happens when struggle is not the order of the day, when predictable, day-to-day class collaboration is carried over into a strike situation? We have said that you can't win a fight if you are afraid to fight; the Herald-Examiner strike currently in progress has been the positive proof of that activists' credo. Seventeen months of strike has brought the union to the impasse of knowing that it can't bring Hearst to the table and that the unions will be wiped out on December 15, 1969.

No union has ever been strong in Los Angeles, where the anti-labor forces are powerful politically and economically. Particularly, no union has ever been strong at the Herald Examiner, as they face an implacable and disgustingly wealthy opponent. Knowing that contracts were open to renegotiation through the fall and winter of 1967, George Hearst began early on his program of attrition of the jurisdiction of every union in his plant.

As long as eighteen months before the strike deadline, there were reported instances of company men appearing on the scene of complaints of on-the-job conditions, and telling workers "when the next contract is up for negotiation, so-and-so is out". This happened with such regularity and with such complacent response on the part of union officials, that when contracts did come up, Hearst was in command.

The list of legitimate grievances against management was long, but the union had frittered its strength away to the point that Hearst felt free to walk arrogantly over arbitrators, federal awards, and grievance committees. As the union's ability to influence the work process deteriorated, the union did nothing. Any temporary gains have been wiped out as Hearst has outlined the "conditions" under which he will agree to settle the strike.

Take one vivid example: a foreman named Frank Aiello, in charge of the paper-handlers. Aiello is the closest thing to an animal that any management could have working. His history as foreman is one of assaults, vicious racism,

and almost psychopathic sadism. He would terrorize his underlings. A federal arbitrator determined that he had ordered his handlers to literally run down any pressmen who happened to get in their way, and ordered Aiello removed from any responsible positions. Now, Hearst insists that the strike cannot be settled until Aiello is returned to a supervisory position. Given that Hearst won't even talk to the unions, this position can hardly be taken as the last major obstacle to settlement. Nevertheless, it is the most striking example of the latitude that Hearst feels he had in the conflict.

## UNION BUSTING

It is a little difficult to figure Hearst in this situation, since the Hearst syndicate has been struck several times in several cities in the last two years, and all of the strikes have been settled more or less to the satisfaction of the unions. However, you must understand that Los Angeles is the scene of a concentrated effort at union busting, and that Hearst in many ways is trying to prove that tenacious capitalists can destroy the emaciated labor movement here.

When it came time for the negotiations, the Hearst representatives did not even bother to make a show of meeting the union demands halfway. The local Guild was (and still is) 34th in the nation on the pay level, and anti-deluvian in fringe benefits. The Guild demanded \$33.50 more per week over two years, a better health and welfare plan, and a number of other benefits in pensions and conditions. Hearst responded with \$7 per week over two years, and did not even respond to the other demands.

Faced with an intolerable situation, the Guild struck on December 15, 1967. Other unions in the plant refused to handle non-union material. They were locked or thrown out within thirty-six hours, and as of December 16, the plant was shut down and 2,000 workers were on strike.

For the first month of the strike,

an early settlement seemed likely. Professional strikebreakers had been brought in, but the city government condemned their use, subscriptions were cancelled in huge numbers, and advertisers refused to advertise. Three meetings occurred within two weeks, and the strikers had the public ear.

But the unknown quantity was Hearst's determination to crush the unions. He began the strike with close to \$500 million in liquid capital, and after the first month had passed there was no question but that he intended to spend as much as he had to in order to keep the presses running.

Hearst's determination became absolutely clear in February of 1968, when two things happened. One was the construction of a ten-foot high barbed wire fence all around his plant, and the institution of a 24 hour armed guard. The other was a study made by a New York newspaper expert, who estimated that Hearst was losing at least \$1 million per month. (That rate has continued. To date, Hearst has lost about \$17,000,000. He is not sweating yet.)

## NON-MILITANT STRUGGLE

In March, the trend of the future was clearly established. The union leadership was going to pursue a legalistic and essentially non-militant struggle if they could. All the efforts were put behind an ordinance directed against professional strike-breakers. The ordinance passed the city council, but Yorty sat on it, killing it with the pocket veto. He was not going to make an overt move against the union until he knew that Hearst was definitely the power between the two.

Yorty declared himself in April. The city agreed to act as an arbitrator in the strike. Several sessions proved fruitless, and at the end of the month the city arbitrators resigned as a body, saying that management was not cooperating. The union appealed to Yorty to bring Hearst to the table. Yorty replied: "These guys called the strike, now they want me to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them".

SDS and PLP moved in support of the strike during the summer, and held three demonstrations, one of which culminated in the smashing of every window in the Hearst building. The rank-and-file was clearly frustrated by this time, and was ready to move in a militant manner. If the only way to win was to bleed Hearst's pockets, then many of the rank-and filers were ready to make him bleed.

The labor committee of SDS was ready to move with the rank-and-file. Contact with the strike was fairly steady during the summer, when the demonstrations were held. The attitude of the union leaders was made clear at the final demonstration, when strikers were told to march across the street from SDS, and workers marching with SDS were threatened with suspension.

Left support dissipated with the opening of the campuses, but it is doubtful that continued involvement would have made much difference. The leadership had its strategy worked out, and if the left had gotten in the way its participation probably would have been preemptorily halted anyway. The union approach was simple and safe. It took a double tack of sending "truth squads" around the country to drum up support for the strike, and organizing consumer pressure against the stores advertising in the Examiner, and urged cancellation of subscriptions.

The leadership was clearly afraid of involving itself in militant struggle. In one sense, this was understandable, since the courts were cooperating with Hearst in making arrests, handing down conspiracy indictments, and allowing frame-ups of top union officials.

## INTERNATIONAL TAKES OVER

The net result of the union strategy up until February of this year was the following: subscriptions were cut by two-thirds, advertising was cut by close to ten million lines, none of the strikers thought Hearst was a decent human being, and the strike was being lost. So, the unions came to the left.

February 1969 saw the development of what turned out to be a bag of hot air. Paul Ruppert, the international representative in Los Angeles, decided that the time had come for militant action. Maybe. He was in a position to do so, since responsibility for the strike had pretty much devolved to him. At this time, a collection of all the left organizations in Los Angeles as to out as to whether or not we would be willing to mobilize masses of people for a militant confrontation at the Hearst plant. There were two conditions though, and they provided the basis for the ultimate failure of Ruppert's "plans". One was, that we had to be completely under the discipline of the union. The other was, that nothing would happen if organized labor would not move in support.

The second condition is easier to deal with, since the labor situation in Los Angeles pretty much provided Ruppert with his answer even before he asked the question. The union leadership across the board is conservative and saturated with trade-union consciousness. Every union in town will be dealing with a strike situation within the next two years. Every union had rank-and-file ready to do whatever was necessary to fuck up Hearst. Every union had leadership that was unwilling to do anything with the young left involved. So, practically every union failed to commit itself to mobilizing support for

mass action.

The problem with the left was somewhat different and more subtle. First of all, it should be clear that there was never any question about being "under union discipline". On the one hand, we agreed to accept the discipline on the line, but on the other we insisted from the start on independence of agitation. We felt that it was not our task simply to support the union action, but to elevate what was primarily an economic battle to a political level. At the first meeting with Ruppert, it was made abundantly clear that we had no intention of participating apolitically.

The initial strategy that was held by the support committee was to formulate a Marxist perspective on the strike, the relationship of Hearst to the community, the relationship of Hearst to the students, and the correct role of a newspaper (ideally, of course). Having done so, we were then going to use the broad range of issues to coalesce rank-and-filers, community people, and students based upon the common interest in labor victory in the strike.

### SPLITS IN THE LEFT

There was not any real argument over that part of our strategy. The arguments that finally split our group asunder developed over what may have been an artificial difference over the role that the support group should play. The original committee with the exception of one or two members was firmly of the conviction that we should develop as broad a support group as possible. The role of the nucleus group (the original members) would be a vanguard, insuring the political development of the group as a whole, and guarding against the dangers of apolitical support of the leadership of the union.

A group around SDS entered the committee after two meetings. They took the position that the support committee should not do anything until all of the differences between members of the committee had been resolved, and all members of the committee bound to the decisions by democratic centralism. This group at times seemed determined

to prove that no basic agreement could exist between themselves and the other Marxists in the group who did not follow this group's line. Thus, despite the fact that broad agreement existed in the committee over a critique of collaborationist leadership, commitment to socialism, and recognition of the political issues involved, this group operated as a faction at all times. When tactical differences came up they were elevated to differences on points of principle, which then had to be discussed at length, which froze the work of the committee for a few more days.

In the long run the problems within the left probably did not matter for this particular strike since the union seems to have foresworn any idea of mounting a massive mobilization. But for us the experience was significant since it pointed out a number of problems that arise when dealing with what must be essentially a popular front action.

First of all, there can be no abandonment of principle by any Marxist working in a popular front. The aim is to set forth a political statement broad enough to allow participation by a broad range of groups, but which presents a transitional analysis of the situation. From there, the Marxists must play a vanguard role, and never pass up an opportunity to advance the political content of the demands, or of the struggle.

### IDEOLOGY

Secondly, the use of ideology should be flexible, allowing maximum amount of room for development, and adaptation to a changing situation. We must always remember that ideology is a tool, a guide to action. It is not fixed and rigid; in fact, it feeds best on those situations which contravene or challenge any or all previous assumptions. Consequently, without sacrificing principles, Marxists in popular front situations should be as flexible and responsive as the conditions of the struggle demand.

As a final point, it also seems clear from our experience that while Marxists often have to operate as cadre, our goal is not to maintain ourselves as cadre. We operate as cadre at this time because we do not have mass support, and the

purpose of cadre operation is to garner the greatest number of converts from every political struggle. We operate as cadre now because we must, our goal is to move into mass work as soon as possible.

In order to develop mass support our ideology must represent the people. At this time, most of our ideology comes from other struggles in other times in other countries. The communist ideology for our American struggle remains, in large part, to be hammered out through participation in the struggles of the people. Again, this means that although we have principles and goals which are predetermined, we must not operate in any manner which will interfere with the constant recruitment of new members.

Within our committee, there was a tendency that wanted to keep our membership at the small level of thirty or so that we had at the time. The community group (to which I belong) which began the work opposed this on the grounds I outlined above. The position of the SDS opposition, in favor of a disciplined, Marxist collective, virtually meant operating in a rigidly dogmatic, and not a cadre, fashion. We recognized this as a mistake, and opposed it.

Many more disagreements arose over tactical points. For example, given the total absence of left involvement in the strike since the summer of 1968, should we at this time move right in with a full-scale indictment of the leadership, out front? The SDS faction said yes. Our position was that we should have an indictment ready at hand, to use when the mood was best to receive it, but that it would be a mistake to enter with such an indictment should the leadership now be calling for, and in fact leading, a militant confrontation.

Also, should we raise demands to the workers? We felt that it would be wiser to interpret the course of the struggle politically, to synthesize and analyze the fifteen months of defeat and collaboration, and let the strikers pick up and run with it. The SDS people wanted to raise demands on top and attempt to guide the struggle from the point of having the demand refused. We felt that some demands might be legitimate at certain times, but that there was no

need to confuse and complicate further an already confused and complicated situation.

### FACTIONALISM

Basically, the brief history of the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner Strike Support Committee was one of factional fighting, marked by a complete inability on the part of anyone to get down to the real questions of how we could be of material assistance to the strikers. It was six weeks after the first meeting before people went regularly to the strike line. At no time did we deal with who we intended to mobilize and how. At no time did we get beyond "theoretical" discussions and arguments which in fact had no relevance to the strike, but which arise from a history of factionalism and sectarianism which may well plague our activities for many months to come.

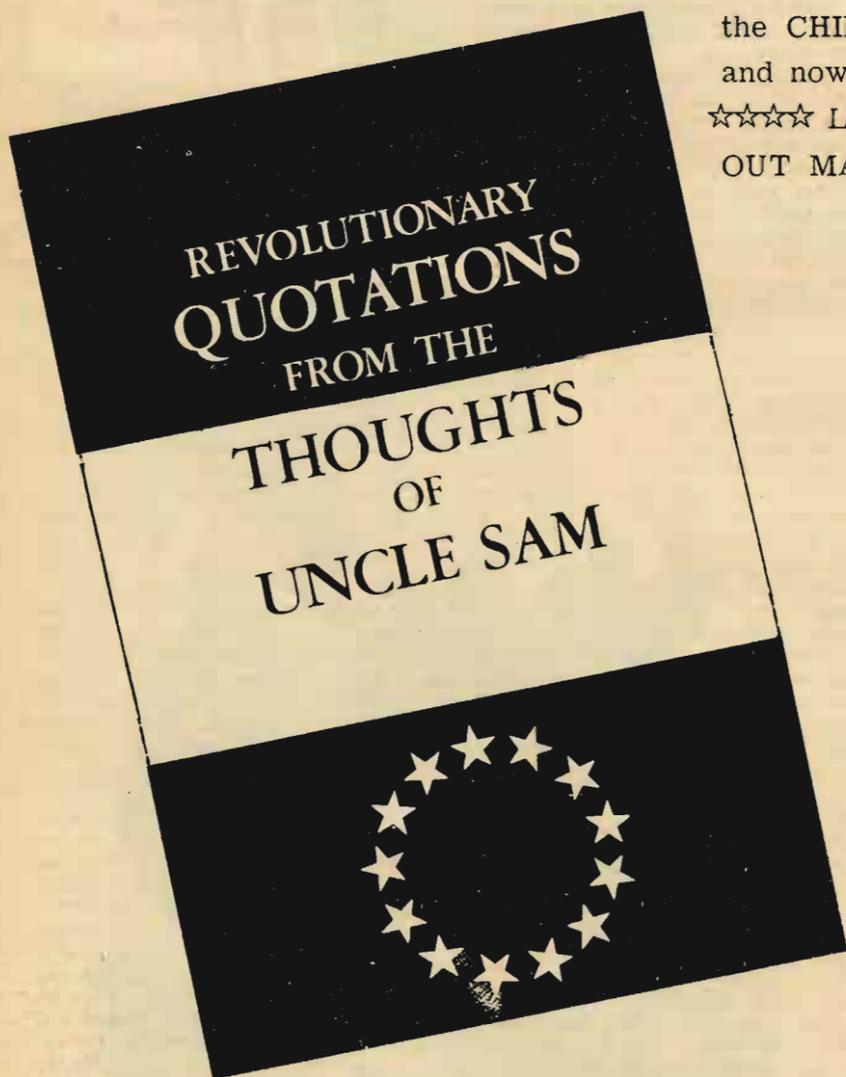
I said at the beginning that the probability is that the strike will finally be broken on December 15, 1969. On that date, the union will have been out for two years, and no striker will be eligible to vote in a NLRB election. At that time, scabs will be called upon to vote on having the Guild represent them, and the outcome is predictable. The chances of the union being able to do anything drastic enough to win at this point are nil, even if they wanted to. Unfortunately, the union leadership is far from convincing on that score.

The most valuable lesson for us is that our real allies will always be in the rank-and-file, and among the unorganized workers. Integration, entering into their struggles, and elevating economic consciousness to political consciousness, this is broadly what must be done in this period. Committed to a Marxist position, we should give ourselves all the room possible to make our developing ideology responsive to the needs of the people. Our ideology, indeed ourselves, must represent the people. Then, and only then, will our strength be greater than the organized strength of the man, be he a union bureaucrat or a liberal pol, or your local fuzzi.

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# THE BEGINNING

THE  
DAYS  
WE  
SEIZED  
THE  
STREETS  
IN  
OAKLAND

INSIDE: THE FULL STORY OF STOP THE DRAFT WEEK

THE MOVEMENT

by Ernest O'Shea

"The case against Clevinger was open and shut. The only thing missing was something to charge him with.

"One day Clevinger stumbled on the way to class; the next day he was formally charged with braking ranks while in formation, felonious assault, indiscriminate behavior, moper, high treason, provoking, being a smart guy, listening to classical music and so on'...As a member of the action board, Lieutenant Scheisskopf was one of the judges who would weigh the merits of the case against Clevinger as presented by the prosecutor Lieutenant Scheisskopf was also the prosecutor. Clevinger had an officer defending him. The officer defending him was Lieutenant Scheisskopf."

Joseph Heller, CATCH-22

American law is a class institution. Its purpose is to mediate, obscure and control class conflicts. While it pretends that all men are equal under the law, it carefully makes sure that the rich will come out on top, and that those who must change the status quo are punished. It is the false front of existing property and social relationships, the layer of phony brick giving the appearance of eternal truth to the system of exploitation it covers.

But just as there are contradictions within the ruling class, there are contradictions in their legal system. Under certain circumstances, the Movement can take advantage of these contradictions and, occasionally, win. Historically, the law has rationalized the activities of the ruling class. As Ken Cloke points out;

"The law accepts as given existing economic relationships and reinforces them. There was no law of rent before the relationship of landlord and tenant arose through the expropriation of peasants from their land, compelling the tenant to pay for the use of land he once used freely."

The ruling class declares their own robbery "the right to property and its protection." Their law turns massacres into campaigns and injustice into order.

The myth of the law is that it is neutral, fair, blind to temptation. Originally the rising bourgeoisie demanded that the law be impartial in their struggle against the privileged aristocracy. But today, the form of impartiality has a different meaning. The bourgeoisie has the power to make impartial mean indifferent--indifferent to the needs of the people. Poor and rich alike are barred from sleeping under the bridge. So what. Only the poor need to sleep there.

As the DA said, summing up his case against the Oakland Seven, "There has been a lot of talk here about motivations. I will say only this: no matter how lofty his motives may have been, Robin Hood was just a thief." With that he disposed of the need that moved 10,000 people to try to shut down the Oakland Induction Center. (But sometimes the formal impartiality of the

law boomerangs.)

The legal system maintains several more useful illusions. It pretends that anything the court doesn't take judicial notice of, doesn't exist. Like the race of the defendant or his political views. At the beginning of the Oakland Seven trial, the judge actually said, "I don't see what the Vietnam War has to do with this case." He was right. Nowhere in the indictment was the Vietnam War mentioned; it was only noted that the defendants had conspired to trespass and interfere with police officers. It did not say why; legal theory tries hard not to ask why.

The judge who ordered Eldridge Cleaver freedom on bail was considered brave, simply because he noticed that Cleaver was well-known politically and inferred thereby that the Adult Authority might just be trying to railroad him back into prison.

In the state of California (and, I assume, in other states), Municipal, State, and Supreme Court judges are elected; those on the Supreme Court for a term of 12 years, those on the lesser courts for 6 years. This looks democratic on paper; in practice it is exactly the opposite.

A Superior Court judge dies in office, the Governor appoints a "temporary" successor, usually from the lower Municipal Court. The Governor then appoints someone to fill the empty Municipal slot. Come the next election, they run unopposed, are elected and set up for life. By law, the Governor nominates the candidate for State Supreme Court; no opposing candidate is allowed to run.

In short, judges get their jobs straight from the Governor, and they know it. The false front of being elected is held over the heads of judges by state authorities. During the Oakland Seven trial, Assembly man Don Mulford, longtime enemy of student movements, called a meeting of Superior Court judges and told them flat out that any judge caught giving light sentences to student demonstrators would be opposed in the next election by a "well-financed" campaign. Even the San Francisco Examiner thought this was a little too out front.

Federal Court judges are appointed by the President on the recommendation

of individual Senators. Renegades and neutrals need not apply.

Just as important is the role of District Attorneys and Grand Juries. The intricate, corrupt system of "deals" that determines the fate of most people in court is heavily biased against the poor. DA's and Grand Juries themselves choose what crimes will be brought to the courts. Jury trials are the exception, not the rule. DA's and judges make it clear to the defendant that it will go harder on him if he insists on trial by jury. It is not uncommon for felons to sit in jail for a year or more, unable to make bail, before their case comes up--jail time that does not count toward service of their sentence!

## THE JURY

The Constitution of the United States as adopted by our forefathers makes no mention of trial by jury; like the other rights given to the people, it was not added until the left-wing Jeffersonians forced in the first ten amendments. Like most of our "rights" it entered our legal system only after a people's struggle that took advantage of the contradiction between sections of the ruling class. (When the guards quarrel, the prisoner escapes.)

The process of picking the jury is called "voir dire" (to speak truthfully). A slip here, as in any delicate operation, can kill a defense case. It requires wisdom, insight, sensitivity and a little investigating on the side. The prospective juror is an iceberg, his psychology, politics and personality submerged, who must be maneuvered into revealing himself. A stone hard-core racist who claims he loves Negroes may blow his cover when asked if he'd send his daughter to Berkeley or let her date someone with long hair.

The questions asked in voir dire set the pattern for the political nature of the rest of the Oakland Seven trial. The prospective jurors were told that the seven opposed the Vietnam War, were allied with the Panthers, believed in self-defense against police, had militant backgrounds, and one of them was serving time in the pen. Would that, the jury was asked, prejudice you? Or on the other hand, would the fact that these young men are trying to save the lives of your sons, whom they consider to be their brothers, prejudice you against the Prosecution?

One writer for an underground newspaper covering the trial was scornful of the jurors who claimed they could be impartial. They were either lying or empty headed, she said. False. Every prospective juror knew, by the time

his turn came, what the case was about, and how to get out of serving; make a political statement. Those who remained had selected themselves. They said later they felt challenged. They honestly wanted to give a fair judgement, fair in the broadest sense, the sense that goes beyond the law to include justice.

It was not lack of ideas, but curiosity about political ideas and action, that brought them to the jury. Their curiosity whetted by the questions asked during voir dire.

They were: a housewife, a post office clerk, an inventory production controller, a tool and die machinist, another post office clerk, a bookkeeper for an electronics firm, and inspector at a GM assembly line, a construction supervisor, a switchboard operator, the owner of a drugstore, and a retired Marine colonel.

Eleven whites, one black. Mostly lower white collar, some working class. People who could afford to miss work for three months, but not rich enough to feel above jury duty. Their children go to state, city and community colleges. They live in Hayward, San Leandro, Castro Valley--white highway cities in the flatlands that spill southward from Oakland.

The black man, Mr. Peters, is a Post Office clerk. During Stop The Draft Week his son wrote home from Vietnam asking for clippings about the demonstration. His son's only comment about STDW was "it doesn't help the morale of the troops". After the acquittal the defendants and the courtroom crowd were celebrating in the courthouse lobby, laughing, crying, calling friends on the phone. Mr. Peters came out of the elevator alone, hesitated a second, grinned quickly and gave us the clenched fist.

## HOW COME ACQUITTAL?

There are many reasons the trial came out the way it did. Most important to remember--the District Attorney did not make a case. Working on the assumption that the jury, being good servile Americans, would believe what their rulers tell them, he dug a pit for the Oakland Seven and fell in it.

With meticulous care, he laid down a trail of logical landmines and stepped on the last one: the Seven planned to shut down the Oakland Induction Center. To do this they would have to obstruct police and trespass, which meant inciting others to join them in their illegal intent. Therefore they are guilty of conspiracy.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

# THE END



# first fight

by David Gilbert, Alvin Hornstein--NY SDS Region

On May 8, police surrounded a private house where activists from Queensborough Community College were holding a strategy meeting. There were warrants for 6 people, but the head of QCC security came along to finger militants. 20 people were carted off to jail. Earlier in the day 10 others were arrested in their homes, and on the street, two pulled from a car by pigs with pistols drawn. As security sorts through photos more arrests can be expected. The movement at QCC is very new, but people have responded beautifully--no question of breaking, just an intensification of action.

The struggle was initiated around the clearly political firing of English prof Don Silberman, a P.L. member who was blacklisted for his role in an antiwar sit-in at another New York college. Students moved to a non-disruptive sit-in in the administration building which at its height had 750 participants out of a day session of 3,000.

The administration response was the firing of two more teachers, twelve student suspensions, lock-outs of faculty from two legally constituted faculty meetings, the threat to remove funds from any College Discovery student (black, Puerto Rican, poor white) who participated, and court injunctions (leaders face a maximum of 30 days and \$250 for EACH day, 16 in all).

Early on May 7, after 2 and 1/2 weeks of the nondisruptive sit-in, in a well timed guerilla action students seized and barricaded the building, expelling administrative personnel. According to plan, when the pigs came people split into the rally being held outside. The pigs stayed on campus for several hours anyway, standing in battle formation. The rally became a mass picket, people went into the cafeteria and classes to build a strike. The next day, the building was reoccupied, the cops returned and this time a small right wing group started to fight. But QCC students, even on the left, have been hitters all their lives--there are ex-GIs in the group. Women fought hand to hand with the pigs and attempted to sabotage their squad cars. The police round up followed that night.

## COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The QCC struggle is particularly significant for two reasons: it is the first major community college struggle in our region; it is a test case for a strategy of total repression.

There are many practical difficulties in building a movement at a community college. The two year program doesn't provide much time for development. Also most students work and live with parents. Typical problem: one girl in the sit-in was threatened by her father with a two-by-four; many were kicked out of their homes.

The community colleges function to produce middle level service technical workers, secretarial and clerical workers, health technicians, data processors, lab workers, "parprofessionals". The education is shoddy and fragmented, designed to leave the future workers vulnerable to further automation and competition with newer graduates. The median income of a graduate is \$7,000 in a city where \$10,000 is needed to support a family of four. The students come from the more skilled section of the working class. And despite the glamour of "higher education" these students are being trained to fill the same relative position of their fathers in a more technologically advanced economy. In addition to the straight "career" students, there are the "transfer" students with a 60% chance of making it to a senior college. At QCC the majority of day students are in the transfer program so that there might be more of an identification with the "middle class" student movement. Still the class background and destination of the students shows the growth of the movement in a lower strata, which is an important step forward.

Throughout the year at QCC, the SDS chapter was new and small. There had been some organizing on student power issues with little success, but chapter people did a good job at talking to stu-

dents about the educational budget cuts in terms of the class functions of education and the demand for open admissions. The chapter's biggest action had been a day long program where black high school students moved on the campus to discuss open admissions. They attempted to pull down the American flag and a confrontation over patriotism developed which brought to the surface the racism of many white students and led to QCC's first real political discussions.

## LIBERALISM / STAGNATION

Meanwhile, Silberman had been laying the groundwork for his assault. He had build solid support of the faculty on academic freedom lines; this support probably made it easier to involve large numbers of students in the earlier low level sit-in. Given the crucial importance of anti-communism in America, the significance of 750 people at a working class school sitting-in to defend an avowed communist should not be ignored. Nevertheless, the "academic freedom", "defend the first ammendment" line led to difficulty.

SDS was absorbed into a Coalition to End Political Suppression even though it provided all the leadership. Open identification with the rest of the movement and the larger political struggle was restrained. Since the politics focused on free speech rather than the nature of power, the protestors had no rationale for moving into disruptive action. In fact, faculty participants often pointed with pride to the way QCC compared to the more violent movement outside.

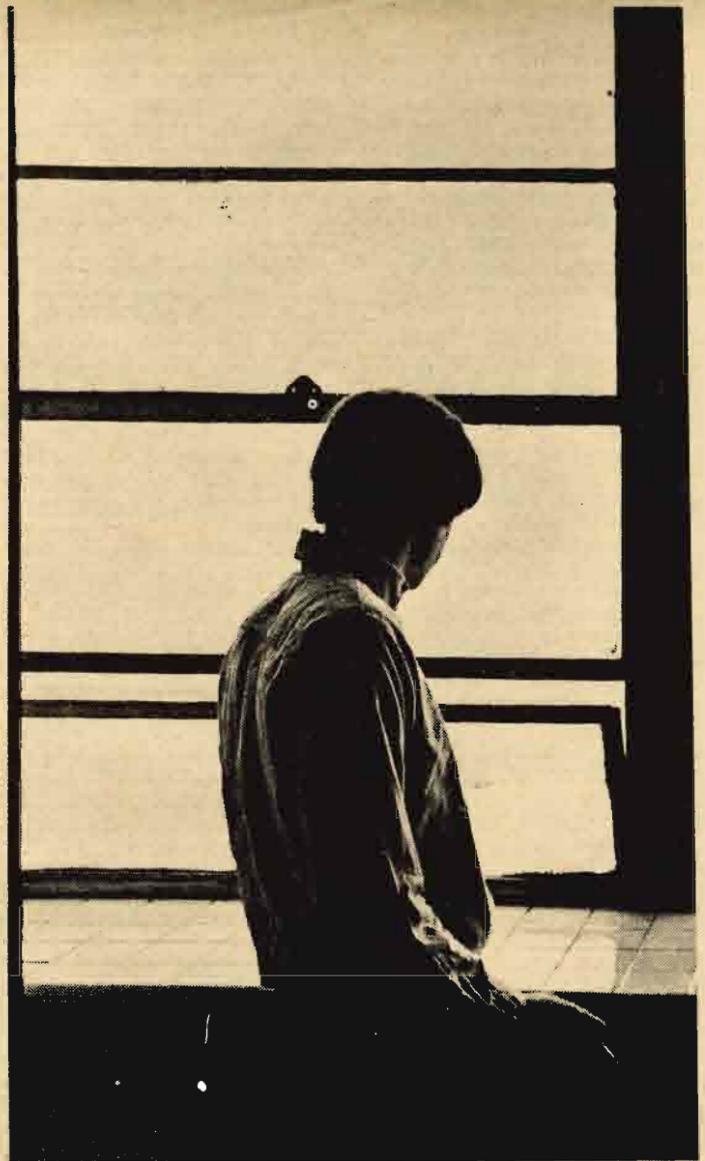
Needless to say, 2 and 1/2 weeks of simply sitting on the floor led to stagnation and demoralization. Most students just went about their business with the sit-in removed from view. Numbers dwindled, tension increased, little political work was being done. Several times a militant caucus pushed for a seizure, but Silberman, hoping to build a trade union struggle in the faculty opposed and effectively squelched the possibility. When the split finally reached a head on May 7, both tactics were tried simultaneously. The faculty picket line never materialized, but the seizure revitalized interest and led to a partial shutdown of school with police and mass convocations.

The P.L. strategy at QCC and evidently at other schools in the city is to build broad based coalitions to end political suppression. This results in organizing liberals as liberals--"defend the rights of a communist". The fallacy to this approach, as in the '50s is that liberals as liberals have no reason to struggle. Thus the faculty was magnificent in secret ballots but none dared to show on the picket line for a strike. The mass of students also did not understand the need to challenge the power of the administration.

## MILITANT CAUCUS

The alternative to liberal support is showing people the necessity to join our struggle. This requires connecting the immediate local issues with the major political issues so that people have something worth fighting for. The questions of power, violence, "outside agitators", etc. must be confronted head on. The movement must initiate a level of tactics sufficient to generate concern and recognition of our seriousness.

The present strength of the movement grew with the emergence of the militant caucus who understood the need to escalate and realized the need for more forthright politics to build support for



the escalation. The importance of the shift can be judged from the following comparison. After the seizure, the black students made their move, demanding the firing of the racist head of the College Discover Program, a black studies program, increased enrollment of blacks, and more black teachers. At the announcement many whites newly involved in the movement stood cheering with clenched fists raised. By contrast, at nearby Queens College, where the

white movement stuck to a "political suppression" line when black students rioted the whites nearly condemned their action.

There are still problems--the limited context of the original fight still makes it difficult for people to understand the need for strategic planning. But the development of a cadre of perhaps 50 solid people where several months ago there were only a handful is extremely promising. The movement continues.

## MENTAL OPPRESSION from p.11

and antagonisms among the workers which the administration then mediates. This has kept the administration protected and can only be broken with issues which unify all workers for common goals.

We had one difficult problem in organizing the technicians, which was never adequately overcome. A natural selection of workers functions to retain those who rely on brute strength when dealing with patients; accept the autocratic authority of both doctors and senile supervisors; accept run down conditions; and are able to passively witness the grinding down and dehumanization of patients. The natural selection is made through the training program which kicks out dissidents, although most people select themselves out due to the stress of being unable to help the patients. Another problem is the callousness which results from the fact that they consider the hospital work just another job.

Poor working conditions, lack of treatment, low pay and petrified authority are key grievances. These can build to a radical critique of class society by pointing out the contradictions between low pay and doctors pay and special glamour projects, between distinctions in labor, between patients needs and institutional needs, between mental and physical labor, between status and competence and between the goals of the hospital and its actual functioning. Having no part in the decision making and being shifted from ward to ward with no notice were particularly irritating to workers.

We were able to discuss some of these issues by turning a three day confer-

ence on supervision into heated discussion an arguments between workers and supervisors. This was the first time people were really turned on to fighting against their bosses. It was only a limited beginning but it successfully undermined the authority of the administration and showed people they could combine and force the administration into a corner.

## ABOLISH MENTAL HOSPITALS

Our efforts were a long way from building the kind of militant effective organizations we need but it did show that the issues and problems in the institutions of this country are essentially the same. It shows the way, even in a mental hospital/dictatorship to bring the authority of the administration crashing down and to show the workers a way out of their complacent and frightened positions. It is an excellent example of the impossibility of reform and the necessity for complete and total abolition.

The mental hospital is hardly a priority for people to organize in but it can provide a basis for both political exposures and for increasing the pressure and widening the cracks in a government already unable to keep control of ghettos, colleges, and Vietnam. The mental hospital is always in a precarious position because of the news media. It only takes several well organized people to throw the institution and government into a crisis and undermine its authority. Its reactions always make our job easier by stripping away the mask of service to reveal its true nature of oppression, coercion and control by a small clique at the top.

nection with them; they shot at a group of people yelling to someone not to throw anything; they shot at reporters from the San Francisco Chronicle and the L.A. Times; and they shot at us. As a result, at least one man is dead; one blinded; two others in serious condition and two newsmen wounded. Heavy calibre rifle and revolver bullets were also fired; weapons most definitely designed to maim and kill, not to disperse a crowd. The pigs were out to kill.

The people got in some good blows too. Many cops were pelted with rocks. A crowd of more than one hundred people backed two policemen against a wall, showered them with bricks and eventually chased them away. People then moved to their car, smashing the windows, turning it over and setting it on fire. Demonstrators liberated the officers' radio, uniforms and other equipment from the burning vehicle.

The usual ebb and flow of street battles was missing--the fighting remained intense for almost four hours. Even in adjacent residential areas the fighting was heavy, as police shot tear gas canisters into houses and shot people on rooftops. Many residents, both young and old, aided people, offering first aid and the relative shelter of their homes.

More than 50 people were arrested, many on very heavy charges, including felonious assault with a deadly weapon (throwing rocks).

At six p.m. Governor Reagan, at the request of the city of Berkeley, called out the National Guard, and imposed a curfew from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. In addition the Governor's proclamation forbade public gatherings in Berkeley. Facism arrived at Berkeley, but the people, although disorganized have been nurtured in the politically conscious community. They reacted by defying the ban on gatherings and tried to win over the National Guard.

DEFYING THE BAN

By Friday there were at least 1000 National Guardsmen and 500 police in Berkeley. A rally was called for noon

on campus, but police using clubs cleared the area. The crowd moved closer to the center of campus and held a brief rally lasting twenty minutes. Speakers talked about the police use of guns, the need to defy the ban, the need to relate to the National Guardsmen. Police started to move in so the 6000 people attending the rally split for City Hall.

Guardsmen and police soon cleared the area and the people marched north--toward the bourgeois Berkeley hills. Repeated skirmishes occurred at People's Park Annex throughout the day and the radio announced that the pigs were busy pulling up flowers whenever demonstrators managed to plant a few. The march to the hills ended after several hours, but only after the decision was made to hold another rally and demonstration on Monday.

Late Sunday night, the final clash at People's Park Annex occurred--People sitting around a bonfire were moved out by police with clubs; the area was hosed and at least five persons were arrested after a BART spokesman said it was private property.

ESCALATION ON BOTH SIDES

Monday's plan called for a minor escalation on the part of the demonstrators. The same plan of marching off the campus and away from the South of campus area was adopted. This was to avoid our being bottled up in our own "ghetto" where gassing, clubbing, and perhaps more shooting could take place. Instead the plan called for a march to the downtown area to once again increase the economic pressure on the local merchants. The difference was that this time we planned to stay in the downtown area and if dispersed, to return. The plan was partially successful. The downtown area was tied up for several hours and additional small business areas were invaded, intersections seized, traffic blocked until the pigs arrived and dispersed us once again. The action continued from noon to about 5 p.m. Several persons were arrested at each of the places and the clubbings continued. The heaviest action took place on the campus where Guardsmen with fixed bayonets and pigs throwing large quantities

of gas broke up groups of students all afternoon.

Late Monday night word came from the hospital that Rector had died of his wounds. The police response was the essence of piggishness. First, a warrant was immediately issued for Dan Siegel, president-elect of the ASUC for inciting a riot, for his speech on Thursday. He turned himself in and was released on \$1000.

Second, the pigs refused to allow a peaceful memorial march around the city the next day. Assurances were given that no disruptions would take place and that people merely wanted to show their respect, but the pigs said no. Further they said that no rallies could be held on or off campus. This was something new. Despite the fact that Reagan's ban had been in effect for several days no attempt had been made to stop marches before Tuesday. But when about 3000 students, lead by a faculty vigil group, reached the edge of campus on the start of their march, they were turned back.

During the rest of the afternoon the pigs worked on a two-stage plan. First, to contain all demonstrators to the campus or immediately adjacent area, and second, to arrest as many people as possible. The containment plan was followed up with massive gas attack--including the use of CS Tear-Powder--dropped from a helicopter. This is the first time the State of California has used this gas. It has not been used before because it has two dangerous effects. 1) It will in heavy concentration produce mental confusion where the affected persons cannot find their way out of the gas, and 2) It causes skin cancer in mice and cats and lung cancer in dogs and monkeys. In addition its effects are increased when water, the usual remedy for gas, is applied. The pigs later denied that they had used anything like that.

During the day more than 50 people were arrested in what police called Operation Snatch. By early evening the streets were cleared. Very few demonstrators had reached the business area and the police sustained no injuries for the day.

On the positive side was the fact that

the liberals began to move, slowly. Almost 300 professors passed several motions including: a call for the resignation of Heyns, Reagan, et al; demand for withdrawal of troops; and refusal to teach until normal conditions return to the campus. The Teaching Assistant's Union passed similar motions. At the Berkeley City Council, black councilman Ron Dellums pushed for the removal of the troops, but was badly outvoted. The liberal audience was horrified by the complete insensitivity of the Council. The school board liberals were somewhat more successful pushing through a resolution demanding to know when the troops were to be removed so that the school children's safety could be assured. Other groups have also begun to speak up.

Meanwhile the demonstrators vowed to return to the streets again and again and never to submit to living under armed occupation and facism.

The crowd remained mobile, marching all over downtown Berkeley, trying up traffic. Guardsmen with fixed bayonets stayed at the perimeter of the crowd and the marching continued for several hours. No major violence occurred. The policy of the pigs was confinement and they were eventually able to funnel the crowd back onto the campus. People gathered there and held a rally where it was decided to demonstrate on Saturday at the main business section of town in order to prevent normal commerce from taking place. The demonstration broke up with about one half of the crowd returning to the downtown section for some more harassing action, which eventually petered out.

The next morning a crowd, which grew to several thousand, gathered on Shattuck Avenue in the central business district. People hung around the streets. Almost all stores were closed for at least two hours. People clapped their hands shouted "we want the Park", and many imitated the high whistling noise made by demonstration Algerians in the film "Battle of Algiers". After a march began, National Guardsmen moved down the street from both directions with bayonets, while California Highway Patrolmen beat people. Their object: to get

OAKLAND SEVEN continued from page 18

For "People's Exhibits" he presented taped speeches, leaflets with phrases emphasized like "We're going to shut the mother down", "It may be possible to break people away from the police", and "The police are illegitimate; they are the enemy."

His major witnesses were two incompetent police spies, who were supposed to prove that these phrases were actual blueprints for action. After removing the lapses of memory and false quotes from the testimony, nothing remained to link any of the Seven with the crimes they were supposed to have conspired to commit.

Finally a military history of STDW, complete with 8 x 10 glossy color photographs with circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back, presented by the Deputy Police Chief, the "Commander of Ground Forces" and the Tac Squad leader.

After the courtroom case was over and the jury had walked upstairs to the jury room, they began their deliberations by agreeing that the DA had presented no evidence.

TO RUN A POLITICAL TRIAL

There were three defense attorneys: Charles Garry, Dick Hodge, and Mal Bernstein. Garry was the ring master--political, rhetorical, tough and emotional, hammering away on the issues of the war, the draft, selective prosecution, the "senile and demented" District Attorney, the traditions of freedom and revolt in America...getting up to cross examine a cop...turning to the courtroom and winking a friendly spectator, then turning to face the cop with a stern look.

The 47 defense witnesses came from all classes and moral and political persuasions. They had participated in Stop the Draft Week and they told the jury why they went and what happened to them.

Dick Hodge concentrated on the facts. What actually happened at the demonstration? Was the DA's version accurate? He contradicted prosecution testimony with defense testimony and other parts of the prosecution's case.

Mal Bernstein laid the legal basis for acquittal. The jury instructions he submitted to the judge were one of the most important reasons for the acquittal. The judge was forced to include such instructions as, "Even advocacy of crime is protected by the First Amendment, in the absence of immediate incitement" and "Blocking inductee busses or pushing cars into the streets does not constitute obstructing police officers."

The intersection of political and legal arguments--putting politics in command without neglecting the legal questions made the defense case doubly effective.

A political trial asks the question: Why are the defendants on trial?

It is answered by projecting the necessity and the politics of the political acts for which the defendants were arrested. The Defense makes the assumption that the jurors can identify their needs with the political struggle of the defendants. But it does not expect the jury to acquit out front on the grounds that the war is wrong, Induction Centers should be shut down, or a Black Studies Department be established at the local college.

The Defense assumes that its enemy--the ruling class--is the enemy of the jurors:

The jury was impressed by the argument that the Seven were unjustly selected for prosecution. The Defense did not place the Seven on the witness stand. Their silence, combined with the willingness of the 47 witnesses to talk about the demonstration, said in effect: "The Seven were not STDW, the 10,000 were. The focus should not be on us individuals, but on the political event that caused our indictment and that threatened the power structure conducting the war."

The pacifists who openly conspired to trespass and who told the cops weeks before of their intentions, were not indicted for conspiracy. Given this, the jury could only interpret the indictment of the Seven as selective.

The evidence of police brutality was most important in discrediting prosecution witnesses, who to the man denied that officers had ever struck demonstrators.

According to one juror, the retired Colonel, the brutality issue would have become more important had the prosecution presented a decent case. Then the issues of the war and police brutality would have hung the jury. He personally was very moved by the testimony of the police beatings.

The jurors came from increasingly alienated classes. They pay taxes, produce wealth that is squandered on wars and moon shots, vote for remote politicians who lie to them, and send their sons to a losing war.

They still accept the court as neutral territory, but their very impartiality was in contradiction with the court system, which is in no way impartial. By agreeing to listen to both sides, they agreed that both sides had something to say. In the end, their very "impartiality" pushed some of them politically to the side of the defense. Boomerang!

THE FIRST AMENDMENT

Still, a legal tool was needed to acquit. That tool was the First Amendment. In a period of rising struggle the First Amendment may be a cutting edge for the revolution. It can give legal protection to the views of the vanguard.

The First Amendment is a perfect example of bourgeois formalism. It pretends that everyone has a right to speak, ignoring the fact that communications are monopolized, that "equal time" means equal time for the two monopoly parties, that the upper classes tend to do most of the talking.

The First Amendment combined with the blunders of the DA allowed the jurors to express their political sympathy in legal terms. We should not scoff at the First Amendment: like a gun, its value depends on who is holding it and how well-shielded the opponent is.

TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS

Political trials provide for us an opportunity to expose and humiliate the ruling class. Nowhere is this more

clear than with the case of the Presidio 27. By acting vindictively and stupidly, the Army brass transformed mild support for GI organizing into massive support.

It is argued that political trials should be used as platforms. Yes, but keep in mind that they are muted, and the amplifier is not under your control. Legal repression has been transformed into victories. Castro did. The Irish revolutionaries of 1916 did, though they paid with their lives. Eugene Debs received almost a million votes for president while in jail. Huey's trial gave his political ideas national publicity.

The American class biased judicial system is rent with contradictions. A political defense should take advantage of this. The forces of repression don't like us to use the First Amendment, or the search and seizure laws. bad. They can be forced to obey these laws--until the day they rescind the Bill of Rights (which they never wanted in the first place). Contrary to some sectarians, the successful use of the First Amendment is a measure of our strength. It makes revolution easier, not harder.

If trial must come, take your place in the arena of legal illusions proudly, state your name and politics clearly, fully expecting the jury to identify your problems with theirs. Bring the People to your defense inside the courtroom and out and pull as strong a legal case as you can out of the tangle of bourgeois contradictions.

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After the Oakland Seven trial was over, one of the jurors said, "I used to be a sinner, a neutral. Now I know that to be neutral is to play into the hands of the power structure." She was reading SOUL ON ICE. She is a middle-aged registered Republican.

May it happen again. . .

# WILDCAT continued from p. 13

on Monday. In general they were very open to political discussions with students.

On the other hand, most students simply don't know enough about workers and the issues affecting them to lay out some concrete analysis. Their rhetoric had little relationship to the lives of these young workers. Even though many of the guys at Sterling were the same age as the students they were in a world altogether different than college students. Most were married, faced with consumer problems, raising children and attempting to find ways to exist for a lifetime in a factory. They were not pissed off at the pigs. The war and the draft had little direct impact on them. Most of their problems were centered around dealing with industrial discipline. They were working hard (some had been working seven days a week since Christmas) and finding the money they earned was just enough to make ends meet. For them the students were visions of people which only their children might become. Regardless of the effect of the students on the attitudes of the workers, the mere visible signs of students manning the picket lines with workers forced the UAW into action.

## INTERNATIONAL SEDUCTION

The International union played a subtle role in forcing the wildcat to end. In the beginning of the strike the International's pressure was absent. However, as the wildcat continued and students joined the workers the UAW pushed quickly for a settlement. On Monday, the UAW summoned the local union leaders to Solidarity House, the UAW headquarters. During this meeting the UAW bureaucrats told Local 1264's union representative that if they did not order their men back to work the local would be taken into receivership by the International. That afternoon the local was put into receivership and Douglas Fraser, executive board member and head of all of the UAW's Chrysler division, ordered all of the workers at Sterling Stamping back to work.

The next morning, to the surprise of many, they refused. Many men were confused and started to go to work, but when they saw the picket line they turned around and went home. Fraser's response was to call a mass meeting for the local 1264 members.

At the meeting the UAW used all the traditional ploys. The vast majority of the rank and file came to the meeting feeling angry and militant. Fraser and others, who spoke about ending the strike were booed and heckled. When Fraser first called for a strike vote, only a handful voted in favor of returning to work. Fraser started to put down the presence of students on the picket lines and guys shouted back: "The students did more for us than the International!" Still, Fraser monopolized the microphone and dragged the meeting out for two and a half hours. Many workers left disgusted. In essence, Fraser said that the only way to get the 69 fired workers' jobs back was to go back to work and let Fraser, as the UAW representative, bargain with the corporation. He said the only alternative was more firings, more people laid off at other plants. He then introduced a fired worker who got up and told the rest of the workers to go back. The meeting was controlled by the careful selection of speakers and by the refusal of the chairman to let militant workers effectively question Fraser. Finally, on the third ballot Fraser pushed through a return to work vote, primarily by promising to allow a regular strike vote in the plant on the next Monday. Many workers, however, were confused and did not vote at all.

Workers went back, only to overwhelmingly sanction an official walkout for May 8th. Yet, the last minute negotiations produced an agreement in which Chrysler agreed to keep oil off the floors, repair the conveyor belt, and fix some of the machines. Sixty-five of the men were re-hired, most punished through loss of back pay, and the jobs of five men remain contested in binding arbitration. Although the local leadership fought for the settlement, it was a sell-out as the union did not even win amnesty for all the men. In a ratification vote, the local membership approved the settlement 1,380 to 794.

Since the wildcat we have been meeting with guys who expressed an interest

in working with us. We aided one worker in putting out a leaflet that named the scabs. During the wildcat guys promised to get the scabs after the strike was over. A good number of car windows have been broken and tool boxes crushed in the presses since the leaflet. One problem we have been facing is the inability to get all our contacts together to plan collective action. Sterling works on three shifts and since the wildcat many guys have been working seven days a week as Chrysler planned for a local strike that would shut down operations until the summer. There has not been a single day when everyone was off. In addition, workers are spread all over the suburbs and eastern half of Detroit, making it difficult to select a central meeting place. We hope, however, to have a group of workers attending educational and planning activities on a regular basis in the near future.

The struggle the wildcat initiated will continue in the shops. The critical need for us is to evaluate our efforts in dealing with some problems in organizing in a wildcat situation. It is to these questions we now turn.

Essentially the problems we encountered focused around four areas: a) the ability of young workers to organize; b) white-black worker relationships; c) the woman question; and d) relationship with local union officials.

## YOUNG WORKERS

The emphasis in NOC's work has been on young workers for the following reasons: 1) since they are just being integrated into the shop young workers are the most likely to rebel against industrial discipline; 2) young workers are less ensconced in a life style and family pattern which will impede their development as organizers; 3) young workers are the most oppressed by the seniority rules, wage levels, unemployment compensation and lay-offs; and 4) young workers grew up after the Depression making them take a different view of solely wage and fringe benefit increases than their fathers. At Sterling we found that young guys were interested in our politics.

Yet, so pervasive is the bourgeois notion of individualism that most of the workers have not experienced collective work. During the wildcat we found continually that guys did not know how to organize. There was no leaflet distributed to all workers explaining the reasons for the wildcat. The picketing was unorganized; it was assumed workers would show up to fill each shift. Although most workers were interested in getting publicity for their actions, the idea of passing out leaflets in their communities never occurred to them. All through the 8 day walkout, there was no communications center as most business was conducted in a haphazard fashion. Had some of the militant workers organized themselves for the Wednesday meeting with Fraser, the outcome might have been considerably different.

In part, the failure of the workers to organize themselves was due to the local president and vice-president. The rank and file were denied information during the wildcat by these union officials who kept negotiations with the UAW International or Chrysler a deep secret. The local would not even give names and telephone numbers to workers to get guys out on the picket lines. Both these union officials were very capable men and could have easily organized groups of militant workers to carry-out the business of the wildcat, yet because of their politics, they refused to see this as a desirable end.

## ELITISM

One of the very important orientations of the American union is to keep workers systematically deprived of the skills by which they can organize themselves. In the UAW, it is the International structure that is responsible for organizing drives. Working through the local leadership, the International passes on its elitist politics: keep the rank and file in the dark as much as possible, then there will be no disruptions. They do not understand the nature of contemporary capitalism. At Sterling the local president and vice-president, no matter how much they thought of themselves as anti-establishment, conformed to that rule. As the UAW applied pressure, both through

threat and reward (the local leaders were told that if they did not urge the men back to work their careers with the Democratic Party would be over, at the same time, jobs on the International staff were dangled before them for their help in stopping the walkout), the local leadership began to urge the end of the strike. The stewards and the committeemen however, remained loyal to the wildcat, reflecting the division between the vice-president and president who stayed outside the plant, and those officials of the union on the shop floor.

We tried hard to counter the lack of organizing ability by first getting guys to see how important it was to be together. Continually we would ask: what are you going to do when the wildcat is over? How are you going to take-on Chrysler with all its resources? How can you even take control of your own local, let alone the International? As best as possible, when guys expressed interest in organizing, we attempted to pass on techniques.

For example, if a leaflet is to be passed out in the shop we stressed the need for a distribution system where workers pass along material from department to department. This prevents management from singling out one individual for handing it out, and also engages many workers in an action, establishing new contacts for a plant caucus. Any leafleting of plants should recognize the importance of an internal distribution system. It is much more efficient to give a worker 50 leaflets, if he will hand them out inside, then dispose of 500 during a shift change.

## WHITE SUPREMACY AND MALE CHAUVINISM

We faced another key problem at Sterling with the lack of black participation on the picket lines. While many blacks hung around the union hall, very few went out on the lines. For most of the white workers the lack of black participation was proof, "they didn't care about the strike".

At the wildcat we were unable to deal with this problem in concrete terms. We did talk to a few black guys about the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, and the League is now in contact with them, but there was little racial interaction during the wildcat. Our experience at Sterling indicates how important it is to raise black demands that will involve black workers in the struggle. Otherwise it is likely that most black workers tend to view the struggle as a white man's affair. In other plants, however, black and white have worked together on wildcats, so the Sterling situation is not universally applicable.

If our handling of the problem of black workers was insufficient, the way we dealt with male supremacy was a disaster. Although we talked about these issues to workers, as in the case with the black workers, little concrete organizing was accomplished. NOC women should have visited the homes of workers to talk to their wives about the strike. We failed to reach the significant minority of women workers in the plant. Although there were very few women workers on the picket lines, at the union meeting with Fraser many did show up and some contacts should have been attempted.

Our failure to deal with the question of male chauvinism in concrete terms reflects a blind spot particularly present in working class organizing. There is a masculine illusion always associated with working class organizing: you go to the bar and talk to the guys. Of course the women are supposed to fall in line behind the men. In part, our attempts at Sterling suffered from that perspective. To counter this dangerous tendency NOC's women's sub-collective has been established to deal with organizing working class women both in the factories and the communities.

## LEADERS VS. RANK AND FILE

Finally, during the walkout we had many problems with the local union officials. While they accepted our aid (when faced with the threat of attack from both management and union, they would have accepted anyone's aid), they became suspicious of our intentions, particularly as the UAW pressured them into urging the rank and file back, as al-

ready stated, there were political reasons why the leadership would support the UAW International.

Adding to different political perspectives was the complication that in order to help the wildcat during its initial stages we provided independent legal counsel for the local. A very important area of any working class organizing in factories is knowledge of labor laws. Unlike the university, the internal behavior of unions is subjected to a variety of federal and state laws that can lead to court action by management or the union. We also gave advice on strategy and tactics. This placed us in close contact with the leadership, while at the same time we had little hopes for them remaining anything but reformist during the struggle. Throughout the wildcat we remained in uneasy contact with the leadership not sure how much to work with them nor how much to be independent. This problem has still not been resolved as the present union leadership has asked we help them in the next union election.

Our experience suggests keeping away from specific dealing with the local leadership. On the other hand, the in-plant leadership, union stewards and committeemen, seem very open and willing to move. The goal should always be to remain with the rank and file. We went up to the picket lines at Sterling with the idea that the wildcat would be crushed, and it was important that the struggle, initiated by the action would be carried on in the plant through a Solidarity caucus. Our time aiding the local leadership was important in terms of contact and access to information about conditions within the union, yet involvement with the leadership was always risky, for even the most militant do not have the same interests as radical organizers and they could crush whatever actions we had begun.

One observation that ties together our experiences at Sterling is that most workers are without a political perspective. Deprived knowledge of an anti-capitalist analysis, workers are often unable to deal with the forces oppressing them. Many guys at Sterling were extremely pissed off about how the bosses screwed them, but became frustrated because they didn't know how to move. These workers were some of the first to walk out of the meeting with Fraser. Workers cannot be expected to be able to cope with the contradictions they face every day on the job without the placing of these contradictions in a general political framework. The UAW International plans its political actions carefully. Workers can only respond with a gut action--a wildcat--but cannot sustain a struggle. It is our job to begin that process of political struggle. The working class is in motion; it always has been. The task is to develop the political program and ideology that will mobilize workers into a struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

cont'd. fr. p. 2

ialism in South Vietnam either by political dealing or by military pressure.

In Paris, it has made noisy propaganda about its "good will for peace". But in Saigon, it has been intensifying its military activities, and it has spurred the Saigon puppet administration, their lackeys, to fiercely repress the South Vietnamese urban population's movement for the restoration of peace, to pressgang young people, even students and professors, in order to increase the effectiveness of its armed forces. The American administration's deeds are in utter contradiction with its words.

We must resolutely and persistently continue to struggle by all possible means against its maneuver of dragging on the war, and against its war policy.

Dear friends, you are setting an example of indomitability for the conscientious American youth in defending justice and opposing injustice. You will surely be the victors.

The South Vietnamese people highly value your valiant action and express our admiration and sincere gratitude to you, and ask you to convey our best greetings to your families.

We wish you good health and successes in your struggle.

Faithfully yours,  
South Vietnam People's Committee for Solidarity With the American People.



# STANFORD : THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST...

by Molly Maguire

*The April 3rd Movement at Stanford has survived two sit-ins, the surge and decline of mass support and a university-obtained court order enjoining the entire movement from disruptive activity. After the Board of Trustees failed to act on all the students' demands on May 13, the A3M voted to take over the industrial park. This vote came the same day as the battle in Berkeley over People's Park. (see page ). Disruption at the industrial PARK IN Palo Alto was planned to serve a dual function: press for A3M's demand and serve as a diversionary tactic to take the heat off the Berkeley people.*

The April 3rd Movement was formed when a meeting of about a thousand people last April 3rd demanded that all classified research, chemical and biological warfare research, counterinsurgency research, and research related to the wars being fought by the U.S. against the people of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia be stopped immediately at both Stanford and SRI. They also demanded an open decision-making meeting of the Board of Trustees to decide the university's future relationship with SRI.

The demands struck directly at the interests of the Stanford trustees. Represented on the Stanford board are Hewlett-Packard, a defense electronics firm; Food Machinery Corporation, known for nerve gas and fragmentation bombs; Lockheed, General Dynamics, Utah Mining and Construction, which builds airbases in Southeast Asia, Northrup Aviation, Shell Oil, and Tenneco, among others. The university is the center of a research and industrial complex designed to serve the interests of the trustees and their friends. Basic research done in university labs is linked through the intermediate-stage applied research done at SRI to the needs of the Department of Defense and the trustees corporations. (The Stanford Industrial Park, built on university land, houses new "spin-off" firms from the university's chemistry, engineering, and physics departments, plus some of the corporate giants represented by some of the trustees, in close proximity

to the brains and labs that do basic and applied research.)

SRI, in addition to researching chemical-biological warfare, ABM deployment, and other weaponry projects, also does lots of counter-insurgent social science. Eugene Staley, often credited with having masterminded the infamous strategic hamlet plan used in Vietnam, is an SRI economist. SRI maintains an office in Bangkok, Thailand, where it works in Project Agile, the Pentagon's world-wide counterinsurgency research program. (i.e. "communications problems in a jungle environment.")

## LIMITED EXPERIENCE

All this has been going on at Stanford for a long time, and radicals have been researching it and educating about imperialism for a long time too. Two years ago, when radicals covered the campus with posters picturing the Stanford trustees and accusing them of war crimes, most of the Stanford community expressed its shock and disapproval.

Last spring, after seven students were suspended for participating in a small anti-CIA demonstration, Stanford saw its first sit-in. The issue was one of student power; a faculty tribunal had suspended the students after a student court had acquitted them. The sit-in successfully demanded a revocation of the suspensions and a revamped judicial process.

Last spring's focus on student power

reflected the limited experience of Stanford's undergraduates who comprised the majority of the demonstrators. Their class backgrounds, Stanford's physical isolation, and a liberal faculty all work to direct students' concern to their own personal development or towards issues of the individual's moral relationship to the system. (Stanford is the prestige school for undergraduates west of the Mississippi. Located in suburban Palo Alto, it is insulated even from that posh environment by a mile of eucalyptus groves and palm trees. A liberal faculty has encouraged seminars for freshmen with full professors, a few students on all sorts of committees, and an amenability to all sorts of academic reform. Some professors really care about providing a liberal education—perhaps because the country's future managers must be generalists — and succeed in providing one. As a result, Stanford has one of the nation's highest percentages of Peace Corps and Vista volunteers. A huge number of Stanford students worked last year for McCarthy. The students care about issues, but the eucalyptus trees around the university are like a cocoon insulating them from experiential contact with overdeveloped capitalism's many contradictions. The contradictions which do seep in through the educational process do nothing to place a premium on the collective development of a fighting spirit.

But last spring's sit-in provided some experience with community and the first task of struggle. As a result of the sit-in and McCarthy's defeat, Stanford had a large, loosely structured SDS composed of people of diffuse views and without much political experience this fall.)

Demanding that Stanford get out of Southeast Asia, SDS launched a massive educational campaign and research program to expose the imperialist role of the university, SRI, and the industrial park.

The education and research campaign was spiced with demonstrations at the President's office and the university lab (the AEL) housing military electronic research. None of last fall's demonstrations drew much more than a hundred people; but after Christmas, through a combination of exemplary action, organizing, and taking advantage of the enemy's mistakes, radicals were able to build the movement that made

its demands on April 3rd.

## EXEMPLARY ACTION

The exemplary action occurred in January when about 50 SDS members broke up an on-campus trustee meeting. This was not too popular on campus. Twenty-nine people were suspended, but the subsequent university judicial hearings unified SDS and educated the campus about imperialism. In the wake of this struggle, a small fraction of SDS began organizing liberal support for a statement that SRI should be brought closer to the university and that all chemical biological warfare and counter-insurgency research at SRI should be ended. Then, the enemy made a mistake. Five trustees came to an open forum on March 11. Trustee William Hewlett (Hewlett-Packard, FMC) tried to lie about his manufacture of nerve gas, and said that performing services for the U.S. government was a non-political act. The entire audience demanded an open meeting to discuss SRI.

The long research and education campaign, the break-up of the trustee's meeting, and the trustee's mistakes had created the potential, and the April 3rd meeting formed the movement. When the trustees responded to the movement's demands with a moratorium on new CBW contracts and almost nothing else, more than 700 people met on April 9 and decided to occupy the Applied Electronics Laboratory.

## THE PAY OFF

More than seven hundred people decided to sit-in at AEL. The sit-in was a direct attack on the war machine that would actually stop research. Radicals were delighted to see so many people willing to do that. The hours of research and education had paid off. The previous spring's sit-in was the first disruption that had ever happened at Stanford, and that had been a protest against the abuse of judicial procedure. Radicals had never been able to guess how many people would support a more radical demand.

SDS had spent hours discussing its isolation from the rest of the campus. In fact, isolation had been seen as one of the principal problems to overcome. Suddenly the movement was there — and no one knew exactly what to do with it. Everyone's efforts had been

# ... COUNTER-INSURGENCY RESEARCH

directed toward building a movement--no one had thought very much about what that movement would have to do to win. The creation of a movement had been seen as winning. Many radicals thought that if a thousand people sat-in and stopped war research, they were bound to win. No one realized how difficult it was going to be to win on SRI.

When the April 3rd Movement decided to occupy the AEL, they also set up non-violent guidelines for the sit-in: the building would be open to everyone, no damage would be done to persons or property, and people would not tamper with classified files. These guidelines were passed with little opposition or discussion. People with militant instincts (but little idea of strategy), did not object. Later, they found the guidelines severely limited the possibilities for escalating the struggle.

The AEL sit-in was festive; it turned into the first real community Stanford ever had, and attracted hundreds of people. More than 1600 people signed the sit-in's solidarity statement. Women's Liberation set up a nursery. Palo Altans brought home-baked bread every morning for breakfast. The high point came when a couple was married by the community.

The movement also launched a large education campaign for engineers in the industrial park, researchers at SRI, and employees--both blue and white collar--at Stanford. The leafletting and extensive rapping gained some support for the April 3rd Movement from all of these groups. More importantly it drew together already sympathetic but previously inactive or isolated people. The AEL sit-in provided a focus around which such people could concretely talk about organizing in their own constituencies around the anti-imperialist issues raised by the student movement. It's much too early to tell how these organizing efforts will develop.

But the sit-in couldn't prepare the student movement itself for the power struggle that was necessary to win the demands. By the end of the first week many people began to see that AEL wasn't enough, but no strategy emerged. None of the radicals on campus were able to organize themselves and provide strategic leadership.

## NO STRATEGY

SDS, before the sit-in, had been a loose organization that attracted everyone who considered himself a radical and felt like going to meetings. During the sit-in meeting-goers could find other things to do and didn't need SDS. There were so many diverse viewpoints among the group

## BERKELEY CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

people off the main street and up side streets and eventually back on the campus.

The group of people was divided in half and after some marching both groups ended up on campus where a rally was held. Speakers said that the crowd should disperse, having stopped the shopping, and return on Sunday for a peaceful vigil of thousands in front of Herrick Hospital, in honor of those wounded during Thursday's savage.

On Sunday people were urged to go to churches and convince people there to support demands for withdrawal of the pigs, condemnation of the brutality (which included plenty of clubbing and gassing, besides the shooting). A ring of Guardsmen around the hospital area made the vigil impossible.

Instead two thousand people marched to another vacant lot, this one owned by the Bay Area Rapid Transit District, or BART. BART, supposed to be an efficient subway system has already swindled the people out of millions and is still nothing but a lot of holes in the ground. There, People's Park Annex was created.

The decision to plant the new park was part of a deliberate strategy to try to suggest to the community at large that lands be put to positive public uses--low cost housing, parks, daycare centers, etc. One leaflet read:

The city and the university are afraid the message of People's Park will spread. They are afraid that people in the community will take over BART land and build low cost housing or take over condemned empty buildings and use them for day care centers.

of people who had formed the backbone of SDS that it would have been difficult for them to get together and talk about strategy. Besides, most SDS members didn't want to put forward an SDS position because they thought it would be perceived as manipulative and split the movement. SDS had created the movement and now many SDS members said that they couldn't make decisions for it; "the movement" had to decide what to do.

There were two functioning cadre groups at the sit-in, the Red Guard and the United Student Movement. (The Guard is a Marxist-Leninist collective, USM is a high school group.) They put out one leaflet each and that was it. Both of these leaflets were defensive, urging the sit-in not to give in to predictable faculty pleas to leave the building. The USM leaflet did point out that "we must be prepared to fight to the finish" but it said nothing about how this fight to the finish might be carried out.

Individual radicals did think about strategy. But because people were thinking in isolation a lot of energy was wasted. Two or three people would stay up all night talking about what the movement should do, only to find themselves the next morning arguing small points against other people who had done the same thing and come up with a slightly different answer.

Underlying the lack of leadership and strategy at AEL was a preoccupation with violence. The occupiers of AEL saw themselves as split on this question. The failures of leadership at AEL were failures to prepare for militant tactics; that doesn't mean that there weren't leaders. There were. Paul Rupert of the Resistance, a pacifist, was the central figure. The groups that didn't lead--SDS, the cadres--didn't believe that non-violent tactics could win; but they didn't want to talk about militant tactics because they thought it would split the movement. They would have had to win an abstract argument about the use of force in order to legitimize a scratched door. Pacifism had been popular at Stanford for years. David Harris, of the Resistance, had been elected student body president in 1967. Students were concerned with principles and talked in abstractions.

Non-pacifists tended to talk about "militancy" and "threatening the trustees" without giving these phrases any content. Everyone wanted to win the demands, everyone felt that there was strength in numbers, and everyone, radicals and liberals alike, wanted to postpone the argument about tactics because they were afraid it would split the move-

That is exactly what should be done with the vacant land and abandoned buildings in this city. These properties should be used to meet the needs of the people of the community--needs for free recreation, free day care and inexpensive housing for the people. The Park was the first step. The troops, the police, the guns, the shootings are an attempt to stop it."

## WHERE WE ARE AT NOW

It is difficult to assess the situation at this point with any certainty, but several tentative observations can be made.

First, it seems clear that the movement has entered a new stage. The fact that pigs will actually shoot us, like they have been shooting our black and brown brothers for so long, is something whose meaning will only become clear to us as the shock wears off and the reality settles in. But it is the beginning of the loss of at least one part of our white skin privileges.

Second, and this is directly related to the first, is the fact that more and more white radicals and revolutionaries are beginning to understand, not only intellectually, but concretely that we must begin to pick up the gun. Some early reactions suggested that we get everyone with a gun to appear at the next demonstration armed and ready, but of course this is unrealistic. The black struggle has shown us that much more must be done before that will be even remotely possible. Nevertheless people are now confronting the question of self-defense for the first time as a necessity, rather than as an intellectual exercise and that is healthy.

ment.

In the end this left it up to the university to define the sit-in. After nine days President Pitzer offered to keep the lab closed for a week and students voted to suspend the sit-in.

## REPEAT PERFORMANCE

The week after the AEL sit-in ended, the faculty voted to end classified research on campus. The movement's major focus became the demand for closer control over SRI. A3M had originally demanded an open decision-making meeting on the question of SRI; the trustees' response had been to schedule a closed hearing for Wednesday, April 30 at which students could testify and five trustees would listen. This became the next target date. The movement fell back on the same tactic it had successfully used before--waiting for the trustees to do something that would outrage the campus, create support, and legitimize A3M's next move.

This tactic, designed to create broad support, was ineffective the second time. Nobody expected the trustees to come through. Nobody was outraged. But everyone expected the movement to do something Wednesday night, and most people expected a sit-in. But what kind of sit-in? Broad support couldn't be won for a militant sit-in. But in the ten days between the withdrawal from AEL and the Wednesday hearing, the emphasis on gaining broad support prevented discussions of strategy within the movement itself.

Wednesday the movement met and decided to send representatives to testify at the hearing, because, as one person said, "then nobody can accuse us of acting too quickly." Later that afternoon the movement's representatives walked out and A3M met again to decide what to do. The movement had followed the same script that got it into AEL, but the situation was different. The violent/nonviolent divisions remained, and they hadn't been talked about.

The all-night meeting ended, with a decision to occupy Encina Hall, the administrative center of the university. The question of guidelines was brought up at the very end of the meeting. Again, we side-stepped the issue of tactics when a motion to "achieve our objectives (i.e. get into the building) in the most humanitarian manner possible" was made and accepted. It was understood that people would meet again and talk about guidelines once the building was occupied. About a thousand people walked over to Encina, and the movement finally split in front of Encina's

broken glass door. At 2 a.m. about three hundred people were inside the building.

The lack of strategy that had characterized the April 3rd Movement was present in Encina too. The administration was moving to bust people as fast as it could--the cops arrived at 7 a.m. when there were very few people awake to witness any action. The people inside Encina didn't expect such quick action. They made no plans for self defense. When university lackeys woke everybody up at six thirty to announce that the cops were coming, people held a meeting and decided to leave, because most of them didn't see any value in getting busted, especially because no one else but the pigs was around.

On the day after the Encina sit-in, the trustees obtained a court order enjoining 36 people by name and 500 John Does from further disruptive activity. A3M held another meeting that night, discussed proposals for another sit-in and calling for a student strike, and was unable to come to any agreement.

## NEW STRUCTURES

A3M has now restructured itself permanently into small groups. At least three hundred people are participating in discussions of tactics. Most of the groups contain both of the movement's viewpoints. A3M has put out a leaflet on the Encina sit-in pointing out that "the trustees will respond only to rising costs." The question of militancy is finally being openly discussed, both within the Movement's small groups and on campus.

For a while the discussion remained abstract. But the Trustee's formal decision forced people to take further action. As of this writing, we do not know the outcome of the plans to take over the Industrial park. One thing is sure--the students are not ready to give up.

Stanford Students were intellectually convinced by SDS analysis of the university's role in imperialism before they began to act. This created a contradiction. The same people who were moved to act by abstract systematic analysis had to work through questions of tactics abstractly and systematically before they came up with a strategy. They were faced with the need to come up with a strategy that could challenge imperialism itself on the basis of little or no experience in struggle; but they are quickly gaining that experience.

Third, we have tried to put the pigs on the defensive by exerting economic pressure on downtown merchants. This of course is also safer militarily than staying in our own "ghetto". We have moved a LITTLE beyond purely spontaneous riots to trying to pick physical targets which will afford us maximum protection from pig violence and at the same time cause the most economic pressure to be exerted against those who control the city government.

The pigs have now reacted with a containment policy and we will have to work out a counter-tactic of small groups that still gives some protection when the pigs arrive.

Fourth, the movement has responded correctly to the repression and institution of fascist laws. The city has been under curfew and military occupation for the last six days. Assemblies and rallies have been banned. And yet we have been in the streets in mass numbers every single day and with the latest developments that seems likely to continue for quite some time.

Fifth, some good mass propaganda has been done by various groups. Much of the talk about the need to relate to the masses, to reach the working class is beginning to be concretized. Excellent leaflets have been passed out to the National Guard. But, since much of our energy has been devoted to the need to be on the streets every day--with leaflets for our own people, raising bail and responding to crisis--this has not been done enough. Hopefully much more of this will occur in the future. The resources are still too limited to do everything that must be done and

most of the leadership is devoting its time and energy to defying the fascist police state, which is the correct strategy at this point. Help from people around the country in the form of demonstrations and rallies is vital at this time. The situation at Berkeley is a question of National Importance and brothers and sisters everywhere must respond. Students at UC Santa Cruz and UCLA have already gone to the streets and hopefully that will begin to happen in many other places.

Also encouraging is the beginning of some discipline and some unity among people with a great diversity of ideology. While certainly this has not been completely satisfactory there does seem to be considerably less friction and sectarianism among the people. There are of course some exceptions. More than ever before we are united; willing to debate out the various actions and alternatives open to us and take what action we can. Spontaneity has not been stifled, but we are much more together this time than we were before. There is a good chance that we can unite even further in the next few days.

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