

OAKLAND SEVEN INDICTED!



FIVE of the indicted Oakland Seven, left to right: Mike Smith, Steve Hamilton, Frank Bardacke, Reese Erlich and Terry Cannon. Not pictured are Bob Mandel and Jeff Segal.

THE MOVEMENT

Affiliated with SNCC and SDS

FEBRUARY 1968 VOL. 4 NO. 2

STOP THE DRAFT CONSPIRACY CHARGES

Talk of repression is anything but talk these days.

Taking their cue from the Boston indictments against Dr. Spock, Reverend Coffin and the others of the Boston Five, Alameda County D.A. J. Frank Coakley has secured indictments from the Grand Jury against seven of the organizers of the October Stop The Draft Week in Oakland, on charges of "conspiracy." The Grand Jury, meeting in Oakland, issued the indictments on January 24, after an "investigation" of the demonstration which included the subpoenaing of radical Bay Area printers, sympathetic UC faculty members who refused to testify, and the testimony of UC Dean Jan Blais and a UC political cop.

The Oakland Seven are: Frank Bardacke, a graduate student in political science at UC, Berkeley; Reese Erlich, recently suspended from UC for anti-draft activities on campus and subsequently elected to the student government; Steve Hamilton and Mike Smith, both former UC students dismissed for campus anti-war activities; Bob Mandel, who withdrew from UC to spend full time on anti-war work; Jeff Segal, national officer and traveller for SDS; and Terry Cannon, formerly of SNCC and an editor of the MOVEMENT. All but Bardacke were on the STDW Steering Committee.

The indictments were instigated by J. Frank Coakley, Oakland's D.A., a well-known racist and reactionary, who commented that he had been trying to "get these guys" for a long time. For a look at Coakley's previous criminal record, see p. 3.

How "Conspiracy" Works

All seven are charged under the law which makes it a felony to conspire to commit a misdemeanor; in this case, conspiracy to commit the various misdemeanors which occurred in Oakland during October Stop The Draft Week--obstructing sidewalks, public nuisance, trespass, and obstructing police officers. The indictments also charge "ten overt acts", alleging that the seven "did conspire, confederate and agree together", in meetings held between Sept. 27 and Oct. 17, to commit the following acts:

--Reese Erlich, on Oct. 5, did arrange a meeting at Wesley Foundation, Bancroft and Dana Streets;

--Jeff Segal, on Oct. 7, distributed and printed leaflets and maps of Oakland to organize demonstrations at the Oakland Induction Center on Oct. 16, 17 and the remainder of the week (during which attempts were made to shut down the center);

--On Oct. 8, Mike Smith met with other

parties in Lafayette Square, Oakland, and demonstrated the use of a wooden stick as a club;

--On Oct. 9, Bob Mandel and Mike Smith opened a checking account in the name of Stop The Draft Week at the Wells Fargo Bank in Berkeley;

--On Oct. 14, Steve Hamilton met with others in Lafayette Square and walked to the Induction Center with them;

--On the same day Terry Cannon demonstrated use of wooden clubs to others in Lafayette Square;

--On Oct. 15 Frank Bardacke directed a walk of others from 23rd & Grove Sts., Oakland, to the Induction Center;

--On Oct. 16 Bob Mandel hired and paid buses to assemble at Bancroft and Telegraph Aves., Berkeley to carry persons to Oakland;

--On Oct. 17 Mike Smith directed persons at Sproul Plaza on the UC campus to move to the induction center.

Still unaware of the exact charges, the five defendants who were in the Bay Area on Jan. 25 held a brief press conference and surrendered to the DA's office. Jeff Segal, who is currently battling the Chicago courts concerning his draft refusal, and Terry Cannon, who is on a cross-country speaking and organizing tour for The Movement, were unavailable for im-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

NASHVILLE COPS ATTACK BLACKS

The following is an urgent release from the National Headquarters of SNCC in Atlanta Georgia, January 25, 1968. SNCC indicates that there has been a complete news blackout on the story that follows.

On Wednesday, January 16th, two policemen were shot in Nashville, Tenn., one killed, the other wounded, following an incident which is still not very clear. The Nashville press has reported that 5 black men were involved in the shooting incident and that "black power" literature was found in the car. The 5 men were reported to be from Cincinnati, Ohio.

Starting the next day, the press in that city immediately began to carry headlines and stories blaming SNCC and Stokely Carmichael for the shooting. One headline said: "SNCC Starts Murder Campaign;" on the front of one Nashville daily it was falsely announced that "Stokely Carmichael is in Nashville." Stories and headlines such as these have continued all week.

The infamous Nashville Police Chief Sorace has used the white press attack to convince the Nashville community that it is necessary for white folks to arm themselves against the "murderous" black militants, and that the police force must get more and better "riot" equipment to deal with US.

Police, armed with "riot" weapons, have flooded the North Nashville black community and completely taken control of the area. They have picked up over 70 black people, including 30-40 students from the Fisk and Tennessee State A.&I. campus. They are also picking up anyone who "looks" militant, who wears their hair natural, or anyone they just take a notion to pick up.

These brothers and sisters have been taken to the police headquarters or jails, and "questioned," without benefit of legal counsel, and without being able to communicate with anyone. The interrogation lasts anywhere from a few hours to a day, with the cops getting a complete run-down on the personal life and political views of those questioned and their friends.

It is known that one such victim to be "questioned" was horribly beaten during his "visit" with the police. Another, a former SNCC Chairman in Nashville, was taken from the jail to the prison farm, where his "Afro" hair style was cut, and then he was released.

Using these tactics, Police Chief Sorace has succeeded in frightening the Nashville black community and is adding names to his "list" of black folks that he labels "subversive."

We remind black folks in this country that it was Sorace who went to Washington to "testify" with his stories and "reports" on SNCC, Stokely Carmichael, "black power advocates," and the liberation school in Nashville. The government is using this "testimony" to build their case against SNCC and against all of US. We remind you that certain "law-makers" from Tennessee have asked that Stokely Carmichael be deported from the United States or tried for "treason."

We would also remind you that Nashville is only one example of what the man is doing to us from New York City to Oakland, California, from North to South, and all around.

THE MOVEMENT PRESS
449 14TH STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CA. 94103

EDITORIAL

WHERE WE'RE AT

Last month the Movement celebrated its third birthday. The growth and change in the paper over those years reflects the growth and change in the radical movement it serves. We began as the monthly newsletter of California Friends of SNCC. For a long time the paper was edited by one man, who built up contracts, wrote and solicited articles, and did layout and mailing with the help of a few part time workers. Politically, the Movement and the movement were concerned almost exclusively with civil rights. We wrote partly for the white liberal who supplied the funds and partly for the black people and their white allies who worked in the south.

Today the Movement is published by an independent editorial group, based in San Francisco and made up of people who have been involved in struggles in various parts of the country during the last several years. Following the black people's declaration of independence, the beginning of the Black Power movement, the paper redefined its role. For a time it attempted to act as a buffer between the black movement and the white community. Now, as both militancy and patient efforts at organizing have grown in the white community, the Movement has "gone white." We continue to cover and analyze the movement for black liberation, but because the fate of white radicals and the fate of America is so closely tied to what happens in the black movement, recent issues of the paper have emphasized articles written by white people engaged in struggles day to day, on the campuses and in the communities.

Our role is to link committed organizers and potential organizers, and to bring them news and analysis which will help them continue their work. We are not professional journalists, but people in a movement trying to communicate our common struggles and problems.

Around the country the movement is under increasing attack as the establishment not only fails to solve but daily increases the basic problems confronting the American people. With the present attacks we badly need organs of communication. We need to relate our everyday political experiences. We must learn from each others' successes and failures.

If we are to continue to provide the means through which this communication can go on, the Movement needs your support. We need more than just a check. In May of last year we made a plea for funds. The response was encouraging and allowed us to publish for the last several months. Today once again we are in financial distress. We are in that distress partly because our last plea was answered only with short-run help. We paid our debts, but we failed to get the kind of long-range support that only the movement can give us.

WHAT WE NEED

In the past year, the paper has considerably broadened its coverage. We would like to expand that coverage and begin to publish twice a month. We would like to increase the circulation of the paper as we increase the number of times we print. But in order to reach more people more often we need a stronger financial base. Most of our money comes from individual subscriptions. But most of our circulation comes from bulk subscriptions. People who take bulk subscriptions sell or give away the paper where they work. We need more people to take bulk subscriptions to help the paper reach their friends. We also need people who read the paper regularly through a bulk subscription to buy an individual subscription.

We need people to become friends of the MOVEMENT and contribute money regularly, each month. If many respond, each pledge need not be large.

We must cover the increases in printing cost and postage that have just taken effect. We need money if we are to expand, and we need money to pay one or two staff members. As of now nobody on the Movement staff is paid, although a few work full time.

Finally we need the people who are working across the country, trying to move this country, to write about their experiences.

This month our editor, Joe Blum, has left for a trip around the country to talk to people about the movement and the paper's role in that movement. Traveling with him is Terry Cannon, the founder of the paper, and Mike James, a community organizer for JOIN and Chicago Movement staff. Their job is to meet with people and find out what they think of the MOVEMENT. They are attempting to build contacts and get commitments to write and to distribute the paper. They want to know why people read the paper, what they like, what they think should be stressed, where we have made mistakes, how we can improve. They want to meet with small groups of people and to attend meetings of organizations. We will take seriously what people say to them and attempt to make the MOVEMENT indispensable to those engaged in struggle. It will only be indispensable if you make it so. That's the kind of support we are asking for now.



Cop shoving demonstrator during anti-Dow action at University of Iowa.

A PROPOSAL FOR SELF-DEFENSE

By Arlene Eisen Bergman

The last three issues of the Movement have carried front page stories about the increasing repression and persecution of radicals. The conspiracy indictment of the Oakland Seven is the latest in a string of attempts to crush radical activity which all point to the urgent need for self-defense. The proposal that follows is a modest one which is not meant to substitute for long-term organizing of the JOIN type. This proposal is addressed to students who plan to stay in school yet continue part-time militant political activity.

Militant students insist that they won't be intimidated by the latest crackdown. But we don't want to amass a list of martyrs. It is becoming increasingly obvious that even peaceful demonstrators will be clubbed and maced. And anyone in leadership position stands a good chance of facing felony charges. These are serious threats that can only be met by careful planning and organization — militant declarations, vaseline and motorcycle helmets are not enough.

Need Allies

We need allies. We must translate the widespread diffuse disenchantment of large numbers of non-movement-type people into active articulate support for our attempts to disrupt and resist the war machine.

In planning and organizing for the next anti-draft week or any other mass action a campaign against our own isolation must have first priority. This means that the masses of people who will demonstrate should take part in organizing the campaign from the very beginning. They don't just come to the last meeting for instructions. They become precinct workers, let's say, two months in advance. They go door to door explaining our position personally to people.

Press Distorts

We cannot depend on the press, as we have in the past, to communicate for us. Of course, they distort our ideas and actions. But even the relatively favorable coverage that we occasionally get cannot gain us much support. People have been trained to have a certain set response to anything they read or hear in the mass media. What comes through to them is remote, uncontrollable, unrelated to anything that has personal meaning to them. The reaction is usually "Oh, they're at it again" (pass the ketchup) — whether the news is of bombing, police brutality, demonstrating or presidential speech-making.

This is why the most important part of a campaign to gain support would be door-to-door canvassing. Once inside someone's home, the purpose would be to explain as openly and sincerely as possible our views of the war and why we think the demonstration in the offing deserves support. There can be no rigid line — a lot depends on initial reactions. But we should always keep in mind that our primary goal is to explain ourselves, without being apologetic or compromising. (We are not out to get the most votes possible, but to be understood). While the campaign would

be defined by a specific event, whatever rapport that we established would spill-over into related activities in Chicago, for instance.

Of course, if we are received enthusiastically, we can escalate our requests from "please try to understand" to "would you sign a petition of support, come to one of our meetings, take part in this campaigning, demonstrate?" We might ask people to contribute money, but this is not our central goal. Super-markets, laundermats, restaurants and other public places should be saturated with clear informational leaflets. With a little imagination many other techniques to gain support could be used. All political campaigns do not have to be electoral campaigns.

Such a campaign would serve a double purpose. It would communicate more effectively "what we're at again" and why. This is only the first step toward gaining active support — It would only mean perhaps that next time Mayor Alioto of San Francisco would not have the nerve to call us "neo-fascists" to justify his own brutality. But there's a chance (we don't know cause we haven't tried) that the next time our numbers will be a greater after a campaign like this or that district attorneys and police chiefs would restrain themselves in anticipation of a loud outcry from the community in our support.

Good Practice

The organization of this kind of campaign would have another purpose. Campaigners would meet regularly to exchange experiences and new techniques developed in practice. In trying to communicate our own position to "outsiders" we can clarify our own ideas and learn new organizational techniques. Each precinct worker becomes part of the demonstrating organization the start and has a personal stake in participating (each new supporter the campaigner enlists helps to protect the campaigner). Our own rank and file would have a meaningful part to play in radical activity on a long term basis. Such participation might help to democratize our own internal organization.

It is partly our fault that potential supporters tell us "I agree with your goals, but not with your means" or, "Sure, the system is brutal, but you must be peaceful." We must give more than lip service to overcoming these attitudes. As long as we remain so isolated, we cannot effectively resist repression of ourselves, let alone fight our larger struggle. ♦

MUSLIM PRISONERS
GET MINISTER

ATLANTA (Liberation News Service) — Muslim prisoners at the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta will finally obtain their own Muslim minister at government expense, according to a ruling filed in Federal District Court January 12. The ruling is the successful result of a hard fight by black groups for full rights for black prisoners.

CONSPIRACY AT IOWA

A grand jury "investigation" following a December 5 protest against Dow Chemical recruiting on the University of Iowa campus has resulted in a number of serious indictments and arrests. Seven of the anti-war activists, mostly U of Iowa students, have been arrested on charges of conspiracy and three more were at the same time charged with resisting arrest. These are in addition to a number of arrests on the day of the demonstration, but include the conspiracy arrests that day of two people who, having been in the possession of walkie-talkies, were easy targets for the cops. The seven are charged with having "conspired and confederated with a wrongful and malicious intent to do an injurious act to the police."

The police have not yet been charged

with conspiracy and confederating to do an injurious act to the demonstrators, despite the careful planning and intent obviously involved in their coming from throughout Iowa, armed with clubs and mace, and the subsequent violence perpetrated upon many of the non-resisting demonstrators by them.

The beatings, mactings and arrests typical police handling of recent anti-war demonstrations throughout the country resulted in much more support for the demonstrators than had been seen on a demonstration there November 1, when 108 protestors were arrested. This new support is thought to have brought about the new wave of repression in an attempt to stamp out what must appear, to most Iowans, like the onset of the Revolution. ♦



THE UNAMERICANS by Francine Tyler — Lino cut

STOP THE DRAFT WEEK CONSPIRACY CHARGES Con't from page 1

mediate surrender, but indicated through their lawyers they would do so in the near future.

Make It Bigger & Better

Speaking for the entire Seven, Bardacke said they viewed the charges as one more step in the attempted repression of anti-war forces. Their only "crime", he declared, was to advocate militant action against the war. Our only response, he stated, should be that we continue to do our anti-war work, and step it up and make the next STDW bigger and better."

Bail, originally set at \$6250 apiece, was lowered Friday morning to \$1250, and a waiting bail bondsman expected to have the defendants out of jail in time for them to join a 2 o'clock rally supporting Huey Newton, Black Panther Minister of Defense indicted by the same Grand Jury on charges of murdering a policeman. But in typical, brazen harrasing tactics, the Sheriff's office had the five transferred from the holding jail in the Oakland Courthouse to the jail compound at Santa Rita, some distance outside of Oakland. There, despite the availability of the bondsman, they were re-booked, strip-searched, sprayed with insecticide, and put in the compound. The guards during this time, according to attorney Alex Hoffman, "giggled and made it clear

they were harassing the defendants." The five were finally released sometime after 4 P.M.

Defense Committee

Protest, anger, determination to resist the dual tactics of intimidation and repression, and a strong defense committee, have marked the reaction to the indictments. Top Bay area lawyers have begun working on the defense. (Attorney Garry, defending Huey Newton, is first of all attacking the legitimacy of the Grand Jury, charging it is biased and, for black and poor people, certainly not a "jury of their peers".) The UC campus responded with two days of rallies, at which bail and defense money was raised.

At the rally Thursday, when the indictments were announced, philosophy professor Richard Lichtman spoke of the importance of continuing to do battle against the system, "a system", he commented, "we have to bring down." He spoke of the force and violence used by the system against those who break its rules & whom it terms criminal. But questioning the concept of criminality, Lichtman noted, "This system does not think it criminal to burn villages with napalm, but does think it criminal to stand in certain places and protest that act." He warned of the seri-

ousness of the coming struggle, the possible need to be more secretive. "This isn't a game" he emphasized. "This system will strike back when attacked where it is vulnerable."

The following day an even larger rally heard several speakers call for continued protest and resistance as a means of showing support for Huey Newton and for the Oakland Seven.

Karen Koonan, an active member of the STDW steering committee, smilingly charged the DA and Grand Jury with male chauvinism, and challenged them to arrest her also. She emphasized the need to relate to the rest of society to build strength for the movement.

Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers called DA Coakley a "racist dog," but he also called for militant blacks and anti-war whites to join forces, commenting: "I'm not going to argue black and white; I stopped being a racist a long time ago." He tied the tripling of police forces and the increase of troops in Vietnam to the

effort to repress political speech and action in the US.

Bettina Aptheker charged that if there is a conspiracy, it is by the US government, and not by youthful draft protesters." Referring to the conspiracy charges, she said "They didn't conspire to break laws, but to stop the war. If that is illegal, damn it to hell. If there is a conspiracy," she went on, it is a conspiracy to crush the anti-war movement, and it is taking place in Oakland, in Washington, in the CIA and in the Pentagon."

Militant anti-war activists throughout the Bay Area are responding to these new attempts at intimidation and suppression by increasing the pace of their anti-war activities and by organizing an intensive political defense campaign for the Oakland Seven. Funds for the defense are needed, and contributions should be sent to:

Stop The Draft Week Defense Fund
233 Lake Drive
Berkeley, California 94708 ◆

KJK MEMORIAL ISSUE

THE MOVEMENT is published monthly by The Movement Press, 449 14th Street, San Francisco, California 94103, 626-4577.

EDITORIAL GROUP

Joe Blum	Buddy Stein
Terence Cannon	Karen Wald
Bobbi Cieciorka	Lincoln Bergman
Karen Jo Koonan	Jeff Segal
Brooks Penney	Gayle Markow
Julie Miller	Jerry Densch

Arlene E. Bergman

LOS ANGELES

Bob Neimann
1657 Federal Ave. #5
Los Angeles, Calif. 90025
478-9509

CHICAGO EDITORIAL GROUP

Earl Durham	Sue Munaker
Tony Henry	Linda Murry
Joe Horton	Ann O'Brian
Noel Ignatin	Paul Rupert
Mike James	Mike Sharon
Obed Lopez	Patric Sturgis
Staughton Lynd	Ron Watkins

Photography:

Chicago Film Co-op
Nanci Hollander
Tom Mear
Dolores Varela

4533 N. Sheridan Rd.
Chicago, Ill. 60640
334-8040

SUBSCRIPTIONS

\$2 per year, individual copies; \$7 per hundred per month, bulk subscriptions.

CLEVELAND DRAFT UNION RAIDED

CLEVELAND — The office of the Cleveland Draft Resistance Union was broken into over the weekend of January 21. Cash and checks totaling about \$100 were taken, along with a set of files including legal information, clippings, correspondence and inquiries on individual draft cases. The personal contact file was not in the office at the time.

Also taken were some papers on the desk which included the names and phone numbers of a few of the people involved in direct action in Cleveland.

The raid was apparently a direct attempt to cripple the Draft Union's work and perhaps also to get information for future prosecution. It was a professional — possibly an inside — job. Five locks were opened in the process of getting into the office building and the suite of offices.

It was the second time since this summer that Draft Union offices had been raided. Blacks against the Draft, a CDRU local, was broken into in September and its office-apartment left a shambles.

The Draft Resistance Union believe that this raid will be followed by trumped-up indictments or McCarthy-like investigation.

The offices of the Local Peace Mobilization and the Student Mobilization were also broken into. ◆

THE CRIMINAL RECORD OF J. FRANK COAKLEY

No picture of the recent conspiracy indictments in Oakland would be complete without some mention of the past record of Oakland's D.A., J. Frank Coakley.

Coakley made his prosecution debut in 1944. At the time he was a legal officer in the Navy. A munitions ship blew up in Port Chicago and over 300 people were killed. Most of the dead were black men, brought from the South to work. There was a work stoppage after the explosion; over unsafe working conditions. Fifty black men were prosecuted by the Navy for mutiny, and J. Frank handled the case.

Coakley attempted to prove an organized conspiracy. The men received up to 15 years in prison. Said J. Frank, "Any man so depraved as to be afraid to load ammunition deserves no leniency." Thurgood Marshall was an observer at the trial and wrote a report describing it as an instance of the Navy's discrimination.

As District Attorney of Oakland, Coakley continued true to form. Perhaps his most notable past case was the trial of an 18 year old black man, Jerry Newsom, for murder. Newsom, who worked as a shoeshiner, was accused of killing a white Oakland pharmacist and his black assistant.

In the Newsom case, Coakley and his cohorts failed to get a conviction, even after three trials. Two ended with hung juries, and one conviction was reversed by the California Supreme Court.

Coakley did succeed, however, in send-

ing Newsom to prison on an unrelated robbery charge, and he constantly prodded the Adult Authorities never to release Newsom. It later became known that the prosecution had suppressed evidence.

So . . . the names of the victims have been changed, but J. Frank Coakley remains. These are only the highlights of a distinguished law enforcement career. His activities during the Free Speech Movement and the Vietnam Day Committee actions at Berkeley are well documented. Coakley's past record also indicates a fondness for conspiracy charges.

At present his office is handling the Huey Newton case, as well as the conspiracy indictments of the Oakland Seven for Stop the Draft Week. ◆

MOVEMENT CARS GET
TENDER LOVING CARE
AT

Earl's

VOLKSWAGEN

1830 SAN PABLO AVE.
BERKELEY

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

A CHALLENGE TO ORGANIZERS

Rennie Davis, one of the founders of SDS, was in the Bay Area last month. The Movement took that opportunity to talk to him about the new mood in the country and the direction of the movement in the coming year. Davis was once the director of ERAP and an organizer for JOIN until late in 1966. Since then he has been the director for the Center for Radical Research. He recently returned from a trip to North Vietnam.

THE MOVEMENT: What do you think the major concerns of the movement are? Where do you see the movement going? There seems to be a "new mood" in the white movement. How do you see that?

DAVIS: A "new mood" in the country and the movement is evident, extending in my opinion, significantly beyond Oakland, Madison and White hall, beyond the mobile, half-organized, half-spontaneous white demonstrators who in the last four months have made it plain to anyone who reads a paper that some at least are getting damn serious. Behind the people who may be comprising a kind of front line, a more general mood exists, fed by the deep public insecurity about the war and the cities. It's mostly young, mostly immature politically, mostly representing, in my view, a mass surfacing of radical instincts. I've met recently some of its representatives--in Iowa, Champaign, Illinois; Williamsburg, Virginia--and have several impressions. Johnson, not us, is the organizer and to a considerable extent the political educator of these people. And the relationship of the organized movement to the human beings who shape the "new mood" is both tenuous and limited. We plug in with them at national peace rumbles like the October mobilization, then we unplug.

Now you ask about the major concerns and direction of the movement. My concern is how does the conscious, organized part of our movement, the people who for the past four years have become comfortable in a language alien to most Americans, the people who have consolidated radical organizations, developed their "lines", and engaged themselves seriously in debate about the relative radicalness of organizing around the draft versus organizing around welfare or confronting centers of imperialism versus centers of induction, how do these radicals now open themselves to the potential of the "new mood".

I believe this question should help guide our direction as a movement.

THE MOVEMENT: Could you be more specific about the direction you see?

DAVIS: Among radicals, there have been two major emphases of activity--that which supports and works for massive demonstrations and confrontations of the Establishment; and that which supports and works for the creation of permanent, radical organization, organization built on a day-to-day basis, generally around people's self-interest issues, generally from the bottom-up. The argument about which emphasis one should make is of great importance and must and will be considered again and again. But this polarity of tendencies has tended to limit close cooperation between organizations and people acting out the two emphases and thereby limit the possibility of a cooperative strategy, which I believe we must have if the movement is to provide direction to those hundreds of thousands who are getting their liberal philosophies rubbed raw by Johnson's open application of that philosophy's darker principals.

I believe it would be helpful to define specific national objectives and a national strategy of work for the movement for given periods of time--a perspective that represents the composite programs of the significant left organizations and includes national calls for both local organizing and national confrontations, a national program that could be more widely communicated than any single communications network could now manage. It would require a new willingness to push each other's thing and a new openness among people with different emphases of work.

Until the Inauguration

The dozen months from now until the Presidential inauguration is one such period that could be filled in with a national program. The shape or outline

of such a program is already beginning to form, I think. There will be several evaluative conferences and planning meetings in the anti-war movement at the beginning of the year. These gatherings might begin by compromise on a specific period of days for the "international days of resistance, 10 days to shake the Empire", etc. The spring resistance will be followed by several calls for local organizing drives in the early Summer. The summer organizing activity, for many people, will be capped by the Chicago Democratic Convention demonstration--the most massive confrontation of the war-makers yet. The fall will see a new wave of local organizing--in anti-Johnson, anti-Nixon campaigns, around local war crimes tribunals, in working class black and white communities, on the campus for the resistance etc. If the two candidates get through the campaign and the election is actually held, I feel certain that the movement will greet the new President in Washington with a special inaugural message of our own.

As I say, these five or six events or programs represent only a shadowy outline of what can be seen coming. What I consider to be our task is the sharpening of such an outline, making it as specific as possible, making it absolutely clear how one participates, and finding new means of communicating its content to the young people of this country. It requires that we define ways that the organizers of mass confrontations can assist in the recruitment of people who will join local organizing projects. It demands that we develop a political relationship among people active at the two levels of work, so as to make possible a new interpretation to Americans of the road we are following in the new period, a strategy specific enough that "uninvolved radicals" might see ways to get on that road and stay on that road.

Organizing More Relevant

Now between the two emphases of the movement, I have always seen local organizing as the more relevant. The most difficult work, though in my view the most important, is the organization of specific constituencies that can offer a community radical political education, power to combat effectively certain self-interest issues, a forum for people seeking new definitions for their lives and their work, and a method for relating the specific constituency to other parts of the movement. I have tended to regard national demonstrations as relatively insignificant in comparison to the task of creating permanent local organization. I see us moving from strong local projects to regional structures to some kind of functional equivalent to a radical national party. That scenario is a whole interview in itself.

Those of us who have held this view and made this emphasis in our work, however, should recognize that demonstrations, especially in the past four to five months, have exhibited in several instances a new power for radicalizing those involved and terrorizing those against whom the power is directed. Both

the militancy and the new tactics make the acts tremendously important to Vietnam and other people's movements around the world, useful in changing the image of blacks toward white students, important for the education and consciousness of the participants, and appealing to certain--not all--segments of the American population. This last by-product--who we appeal to and whom we alienate--is important and, as I suggested before, should give direction to our strategy. It should guide our thinking, for example, at the Democratic Convention this August.

Democratic Convention

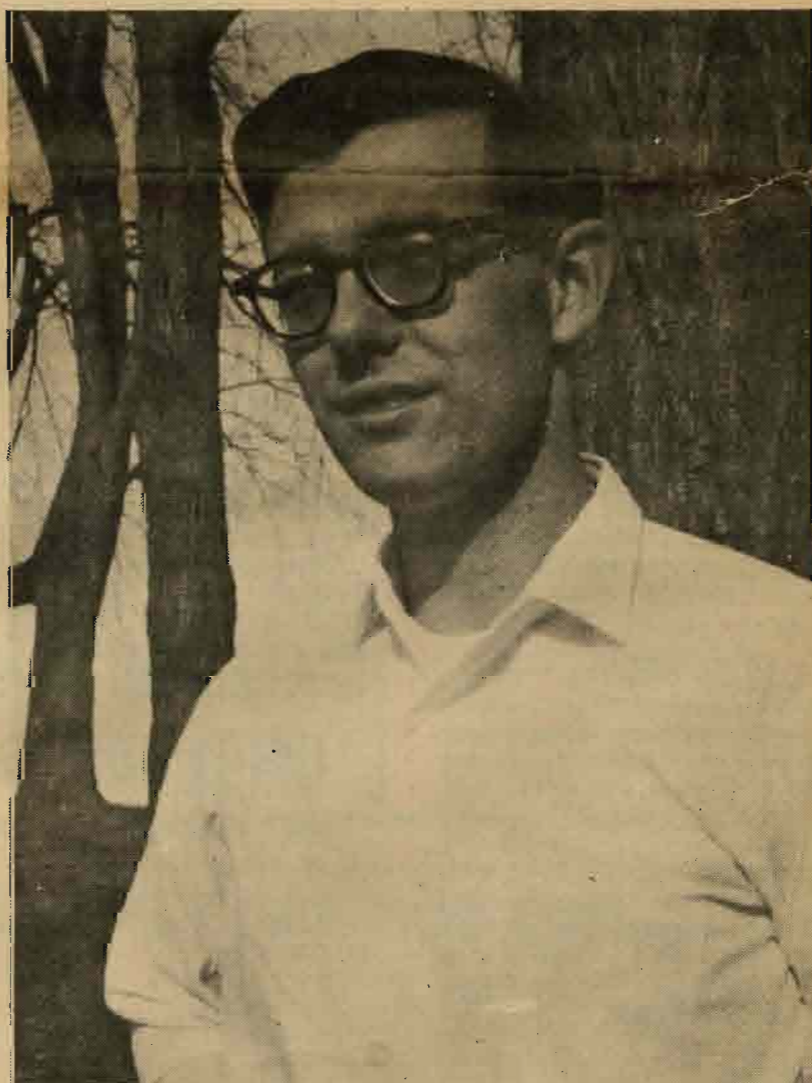
THE MOVEMENT: What do you see happening at the Democratic Convention?

DAVIS: For this particular action, I believe we will be guided in part by Establishment events and political factors not yet known. There is every indication today that Nixon, the Republican frontrunner, will

be allowed to come to Chicago, so long as they give their support to a policy of ending racism and the war. I favor letting the delegates meet in the International Amphitheater and making our demands and the actions behind those demands escalate in militancy as the Convention proceeds and as the TV's drum into everyone's home that we're moving towards a Johnson-Nixon "choice". I would like to see us be able to carry our incredible, imaginative actions even against Chicago's blanket injunction that will prohibit all demonstrations. Even against the two US Army regiments that will be "protecting" the convention, I would like to see the delegates confronted by masses of people each day, organized perhaps by that constituency which leads a particular struggle--one day for education, one for welfare, one for women, one for black people, and so on.

Sophisticated Movement

There should be elbow room in Chicago



keep his lead and sail through the Republican Convention. McCarthy's candidacy has little chance of catching fire. And Kennedy seemingly has no primary strategy at all. We shall see. If the Republicans give Americans no "choice" on the issue of the war, and the Democrats, whose convention follows the Republican's, go to Chicago with Johnson fully in control, millions of people are going to feel doors closing on their high school conception of American democracy, millions are going to be asking, what now? The question of what the movement says to such people at this time should guide our planning for the confrontation, in my view.

I think we can do better than attempting to prevent the convention from taking place, as some have suggested by closing down the city on the first day of pre-convention activity. The delegates should

for a national youth festival, a women's army marching on the US troops, several thousand people who call "their" delegates promptly at 7:00 am and midnight to ask to meet him to discuss the issues of war and race, doctors who march on the troops demanding to speak to the delegates about the children of Vietnam, etc., etc. I would like, in other words, for us to create a more sophisticated movement machinery for this late August meeting than we have previously had and which we need as we enter this new period. I would hope that this machinery would be used by the widest possible political forces opposed to the war, that it would be used to appeal broadly to the American people, not just to ourselves, but that it be used in the end to release the real power of our many forces in a new

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

RUSK AT THE FAIRMONT

PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS NOT ALLOWED

By Karen Wald

The bursting of a blood-filled balloon was the signal and the excuse for San Francisco police to brutally break up a peaceful anti-war picket on January 11. The picket was held at the Fairmont Hotel, where Dean Rusk addressed a meeting of the Commonwealth Club, a conservative businessman's organization.

After allowing the picketing to continue for some time, the police moved in, helmeted for riot-duty. The police line moved — slowly at first — then breaking into a run, beating and arresting anyone who fell or ran too slowly. The police knocked down and arrested people as many as 4-6 blocks from the Fairmont. People were kicked, clubbed, and maced.

The church (Grace Cathedral) offered no sanctuary. Demonstrators who sought refuge there were at first afforded protection by a priest backed up by TV cameras. But later, when the cameras were gone, the police ignored the priest and entered the Cathedral, arresting those seeking shelter.

The initial response of the demonstrators to the brutal police assault was shock, amazement, fear, then anger. Once the shock was overcome, people began to scream. Finally, finding stones, sticks, and bottles in the street, people began to throw things. These actions, coming AFTER the police attacks which provoked them, were later cited as the cause of the police assault. Actually, the only action that preceded the attack was the symbolic bursting of the blood-filled balloons.

Choice of Victims

The selection of victims was a combination of political pin-pointing of activists and arbitrary chance. Berkeley activists pointed out by the Berkeley "red squad"

A very straight corporation lawyer, was arrested 4 blocks away, beaten, maced and thrown into the paddy wagon. There, his continued screams about his "rights" and that he "didn't DO anything!" prompted the response from another arrested demonstrator, "Of course you did something." "No, I didn't do ANYTHING!" "You were arrested, weren't you?" "Yes, but . . ." "Then you must have done something." "No, I didn't do ANYTHING!" insisted the lawyer, still not understanding. "You stupid motherfucker" disgustedly spat out the demonstrator, "NONE of us did anything!"

—were arrested. But others, new people, people who happened by to join a peaceful picket for a while were also arrested. And some people were just waiting for a bus, or walking outside their home.

San Francisco's Mayor, Alioto, a "liberal" Democrat elected last November with strong labor support, called the demonstrators "neo-fascist student" types and praised the police for their efficiency. He cited the blood on the Fairmont door as the triggering incident for the attack. Alioto was quoted in the January 13 Oakland Tribune as saying, "Any charges of police brutality in the light of this situation is totally false . . . if charges of police brutality are brought up by any of those arrested . . . they would not have enough evidence to support such allegations."

It was the Mayor who, several hours before the demonstration, gave instructions to the police to clear away the demonstrators no matter how peaceful they were.

Compare New York

The unpreparedness and naivete with which even experienced demonstrators went into this demonstration requires analysis. It may be important to note the parallels —and the differences between the Rusk demonstration at the Hilton Hotel in any and the one at the Fairmont in San Francisco.

In both cases, there was a high-level emotional response to Rusk — an easily identifiable enemy. This response brought out more numbers than just "hard-core" demonstrators. In both cases Rusk was speaking at an exclusive hotel, symbolic of the corporate elite which feeds on the imperialism of which the war in Vietnam is a part. In both cases blood was used as a symbol, and real blood was the response of the cops. In New York, people had longer to prepare and were somewhat better organized. But in both, real direction and leadership in utilizing safe and effective tactics was missing.

True, in San Francisco there was an extremely short time in which to prepare. But those of us who have been active — especially in Oakland STDW — cannot afford to hide behind this excuse. In the day or day-and-a-half in which we knew of Rusk's appearance, no attempt was made to get together and discuss the demonstration fully. The reasons for and implications of a demonstration; the rationale behind it; the best strategy and tactics; communication with the crowd and the public through news media; self-defense, and the other important questions were never hashed out.

Someone put out a leaflet, encouraging people to come and be prepared, and the rest of us decided on no more than to attend the demonstration. Most went ill-prepared personally, even those who knew better. A few more helmets. None carried shields or wore protective clothing. None wore or carried vaseline or wet cloths as protection against mace.

Need Organization

But far more important than bodily preparation, there was no organization. For example, there were no monitors. At a time when the term "monitor" no longer means the person who tells you to walk in single file, but the person responsible for co-ordinating your movements to provide maximum safety and effectiveness, monitors are indispensable.

In Oakland STDW there were some signs of the movement being able to protect and rescue people from the cops. In SF people watched helplessly as the cops — who are well-trained and almost always operate as a unit — scattered and isolated, beat and arrested. There were a few occasions of individual heroism in protecting others, and cases of bricks and bottles being used to prevent or limit beatings. But the movement as a whole showed no co-ordination

in this direction. We must begin to develop the tactics and training to enable us to separate cops as they separate us, to surround and stop those who attack us.

Lack of organization and strategy was accompanied by lack of political direction and education. In New York, the SDS contingent had a well-developed anti-imperialist which came across in at least movement and left-press reporting of the event. Clearly, SDS was not able to communicate this perspective to the mass of the demonstrators at the Hilton, but the idea did come across in leaflets and newspapers.

It can be argued, that given the shortness of time, no adequate preparation could have been made for this demonstration. We clearly need a political-practical and on-

23rd demonstration.

The Fairmont demonstration raises some important questions that must be

At least 62 people were arrested and beaten in the Fairmont demonstration. The Fairmont Defense needs money and witnesses. If you were present, you may be able to provide some vital information or testimony. Witnesses and contributors should call Attorney Joe Ryan at WE 1-7363 or the Peace and Freedom Party, 55 Colton St. San Francisco (431-0383).

discussed. If it is true that no adequate preparation could be made, is it not perhaps our responsibility to limit or pre-



Posters by Ervin Cobbs - Rap Brown, LeRoi Jones - available from The Movement - \$1.50 each.

going organization which would keep us informed and prepared, helping to eliminate the chaotic character of last minute action.

Need Education

Such organization could be constantly educating and radicalizing new people, pulling them into the movement. And it might also serve to re-educate the old activists and deepen their understanding of what they're doing. Those groups which now exist — both permanent and ad hoc — have been failing in this task.

Minimally, perhaps, we could train a permanent self-defense squad who would function as monitors at all demonstrations, as has been done in LA since the June

vent semi-spontaneous demonstrations that might occur under such conditions? At this stage, the fight is far too serious, repression too evident, for us to be letting people "take to the streets" unprepared, simply because a handy target appears.

Demonstrations are an important part of the movement, and can serve as catalyst, educator, and, if done correctly, one element of power. But if demonstrations are to serve as advance, rather than self-destruction, care must be taken. The choice left to us is to cease demonstrating, or to make damned sure we are ready. Each protest, each target, each act of resistance from now on must be carefully weighed and worked out, analyzed and prepared for in advance. ♦

TIJERINA HARRASSMENT CONTINUES

JAMES A. KENNEDY from Albuquerque, New Mexico

The attempts by the State of New Mexico to turn back the Mexican liberation movement by legally tangling up the Alianza Federal de los Pueblos Libres and removing Reies Lopez Tijerina from action has taken some new turns since the last report in THE MOVEMENT (January).

On January 16 the State Supreme Court in Santa Fe handed down its "speedy decision" on the revocation of bond for the twenty June 5 defendants who were re-arrested in an attempt to frame them for the January 2 murder of Rio Arriba County cop and jailer Eulogio Salazar. The Supreme Court ruled that 16 of the 20 defendants could be released if they posted another bond — \$2,500 from an authorized surety company or \$5,000 if personal sureties are secured. The court magnanimously ruled that District Attorney Joe Angel had no right to grant bail last summer to Reies Lopez Tijerina; to Juan Valdez; to Tobias Leyba, father and sole support for not only his 16 children but also his 90 year old grandmother; or to Baltazar Apodaca, in his 70's and in poor health. These four will be held without bond until the trial. Albuquerque lawyer Lawrence Tappia, a defense attorney, announced that this decision will

by appealed promptly to the US Supreme Court.

On the evening of January 18, as the sixteen defendants were prepared to post bond that has been raised, they learned that an additional charge and bond had been fixed. District Judge James Scarborough announced that Santa Fe D.A. Alfonso "Little Joe McCarthy" Sanchez had charged all defendants with "assault with intent to kill" as a result of the shooting of State Cop Nick Sais last June 5th during the Tierra Amarilla uprising. Scarborough ordered the defendants to remain in jail until they could post an additional \$10,000 cash bond or \$20,000 property bond. This for an ill retired man; Reies' teenage son and daughter; men whose families have run out of money and food. Since the defendants heard the new charges they have begun a hunger strike in the State Pen at Cerrillos, New Mexico.

The wives and families of the defendants appeared at the Governor's office January 20 to protest. The Governor claimed that he had "nothing to do with their arrests or being in prison." The governor forgot that it was he who hysterically screamed on January 3rd that the bonds should be revoked and all the freedom fighters picked up.

In the case of several defendants; Tobias Leyba; Victor Dominguez, father of

8; and Victor's brother Esequiel, father of 10, new hardships have appeared as the families, out of money and without support, have run out of food supplies. A food raising drive has begun in Albuquerque by the Alianza and some gringo allies. The Alianza's General Office — 1010 3rd St. NW, Albuquerque, NM 87101 — has put out a call for assistance in raising money for the bond, for food, for other defense expenses. Appeals from other Alianza leaders for telegrams, petitions, letters, actions and demonstrations of support and solidarity have been made to people around the country. Protests have been received from MAPA in California, from H. Rap Brown in SNCC's name and others. Much, much more is needed — for a real crisis is looming and in many ways this is becoming the Selma of La Raza's struggle for freedom in the Southwest. Protests to the Governor, the courts, etc. are sought.

On January 19 District Judge Joe Angel, who signed the bond revocation order last January 3, refused a defense motion to postpone the preliminary hearings for the trial set for January 29 in Rio Arriba County because of the unfavorable climate. And so justice goes merrily on its way to the gas chambers in the Colonial Southwest as new repression and a thinly veiled police state sets in behind the facade of law and order. ♦

THEATRE OF THE REVOLUTION

National Liberation Front

Song and Dance Troupe

Performing

in Liberated Zones in

South Vietnam

Photos: National Liberation Front

By Karen Koonan

In the middle of November Jeff Jones (New York SDS), Cathy Wilkerson (Washington SDS), Steve Halliwell (NY SDS) and I left New York for Cambodia with the intention of going to Hanoi. We had been invited to visit the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as the first student delegation from the U.S. peace movement by the Federation of Youth of the DRV (the Federation is the mass youth organization of North Vietnam; it includes several student and youth groups, the two major ones being the Union of Students and the Committee of Working Youth). BOMBING TOO HEAVY

The only flights to Hanoi are those of the International Control Commission, arranged by the 1954 Geneva Agreements. There are an average of three flights every two weeks. However, due to the heavy American bombing, it is not unusual for flights to be cancelled or turned back unexpectedly. Though there is a "gentleman's agreement" between the US and the ICC, it is not totally reliable. Only a few weeks before we arrived, American bombers had followed an ICC plane into Hanoi, taking advantage of the temporary cessation of anti-aircraft fire to drop tons of bombs on the suburbs around the airport.

We were told that we would not be able to take the ICC flight. The Committee of Working Youth had sent a telegram to Phnom Penh explaining that the bombing had become so heavy that any travel outside Hanoi would be extremely dangerous, especially for those untrained in self-defense against sudden bombing raids. We were told that almost all foreign visits had been cancelled, probably until February.

Valuable Experience

Despite our tremendous disappointment, the trip was a valuable experience. We had several talks with Vietnamese officials, Cambodians and others who had been to both North and South Vietnam. We learned about the situation in Southeast Asia and Cambodia. We received a general, but first-hand view of the political and cultural importance of Southeast Asia and the determination of its people to resist Western (specifically American) imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Song and Dance

On our third night in Cambodia, we had a chance to see a song and dance concert of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The N.L.F. song and dance troupe normally travels through liberated zones in South Vietnam, giving performances for local people and troops. Like everyone else, the performers are always ready for surprise attacks with arms near at hand. Camouflage and equipment are used for protection and as scenery and props. The performances are given out in the open — in clearings in the jungle and in villages.

The performance we saw was in a large sports arena in Phnom Penh, filled to capacity. It was one in a series of 5 evening performances being given that week.

As a dancer, I was especially interested in seeing how fighting revolutionaries use dance as a relevant part of their struggle. The concert consisted of about eight dance numbers with songs and music in between. There were two narrators — one who spoke Vietnamese and a Cambodian translator.

There were three different types of dances. The first kind was fairly abstract, using classical modern dance techniques. We had a little trouble understanding and relating to this type. The political sig-

nificance (there was political content in all of the numbers) was related to the audience by the narrators at the beginning, and since we didn't understand them, the dance appeared to me like so many abstract modern dances that I have seen time and again in the U.S.

The second type of dance was more clearly like our concepts of agit-prop theater, using movement instead of words. One dance showed a group of Vietnamese woman and an old man trying to protect a young man from being forced by American soldiers to join the Saigon army. The American soldiers appeared obscene and absurd, symbolic of the obscenity and absurdity of American intervention in Vietnam. We joined in the laughter and feeling of victory when the villagers tricked the soldiers out of their weapons and chased them away. The victory was the successful resistance to U.S. military power, and the audience — Vietnamese, Cambodians and the four of us (very conscious of being Americans) understood and appreciated that. The result was a great feeling of solidarity and confidence.

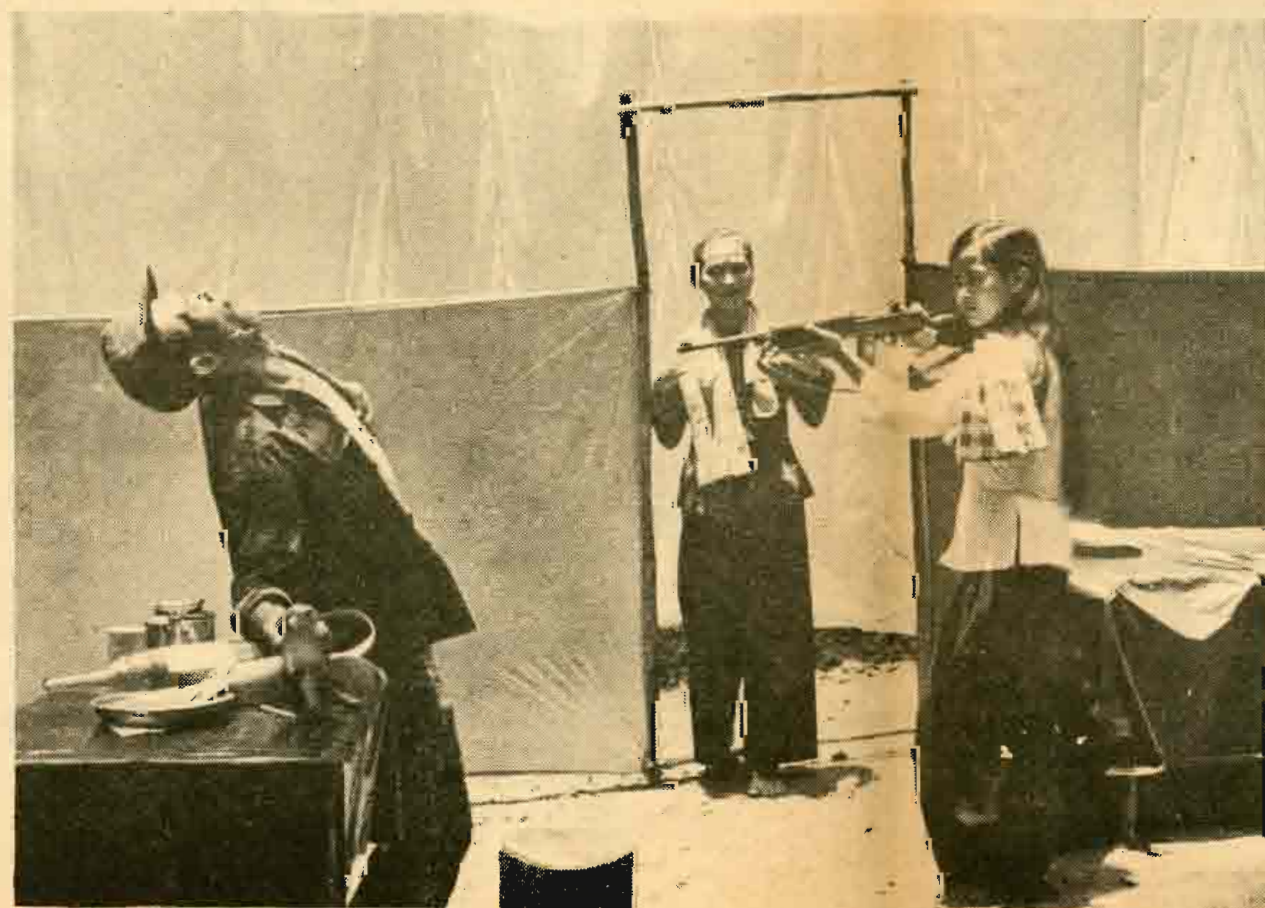
Pride and Political Content

The numbers which derived from folk and ethnic dances of the Vietnamese people, were the ones that effected me the most. The strong bodies of the dancers were proud and constantly moving with leaps and runs. One dance from one of the tribal minorities in the mountains, again showed successful resistance to American forces. This kind of dance was the most effective because it combined the political content with a feeling of real pride in being Vietnamese and an understanding of Vietnamese culture and history. You can't lose with that combination — the fight and the reason for fighting. And it was transmitted to the audience solely through movement.

The final number in the concert began with six men on stage in various poses of being in chains. My immediate reaction was, "Oh no! Socialist realism — a la 1930." The minute they started moving, however, I forgot that and became completely immersed in the dance. The movements were strong and believable. You KNEW that the people on the stage were also people who in reality were breaking their chains. They were not depicting an idealized super-human worker in a struggle that did not really exist. Those dancers on the stage were the same people who were in fact fighting American oppression. At the end of the dance large N.L.F. and Cambodian flags were carried by the dancers and waved together on the stage, judging from the response of the audience and the response of all the people we talked to in Cambodia, the feeling of solidarity between the two peoples, symbolized by the flags was real, and the flag waving rather than being corny was very moving. The whole thing brought the four of us and many others to tears.

The music and songs throughout the whole concert were beautiful. The Vietnamese language is very tonal and the music heightened those tones. Like the dances, the music was strong, dignified and moving.

After many years of questions about the relevance of dance to the movement and questions of the use of agit-prop theater generally, I realized in one evening that art (in any form) is relevant and important if it is talking about something that really exists. It is reality concentrated in time and space. If we begin from that point of understanding we can make agit-prop theater and art an important force in the cultural scene and the political movement in this country.



THE NEW LEFT VISITS CAMBODIA

SPECIAL TO THE NEW LEFT NOTES AND THE MOVEMENT
By Steve Halliwell

Cambodia is, as our people say, a "trip in itself." Four New Lefties could hardly step off a monster jet in their overcoats in the middle of the tropical rain forest of Southeast Asia without undergoing the "cultural shock" version of the blown mind. The experience in Cambodia, however, became twice as intense when it became clear to us that our trip to North Vietnam was impossible; Cambodia was not then a way-station but the real thing, part of Asia and all that that continent has meant to the American political scene in the past twenty years.

We began our trip with some knowledge of Vietnam and its history, but deeply into that all-American ignorance of everything else Asian, though we were able in the course of discussions to put together some of the recent history of the country and its peculiarities within the Southeast Asian cluster of nations, what is well-known here of Cambodia makes no pretensions of being anything more than the direct perceptions of a young American radical on the loose in Cambodia.

Phnom Penh

Phnom Penh, the capital city situated at the junction of the Mekong and Tonle Sap rivers, has all the characteristics of an Asian city that we have seen in travelogues and magazines: busy markets, streets filled with bicycles and rickshaws, people carrying goods on their heads, hundreds of children playing semi-naked on the streets. But there are some essential aspects of this society that don't come through in that kind of description. The most notable element is the tranquility of the people in the midst of all that bustle; we never saw any fights or arguments in the streets, babies very rarely cry, and in general people are very kind to each other. That kindness extends to the foreigners as well, and not strictly in commercial situations as might be expected. One night, for example, I wandered around in the poorest section of Phnom Penh I could find just seeing what people did in the early evening and, while walking past a group of guys playing a chalk game on the sidewalk, was invited to join in. The game, an expanded version of tic-tac-toe played on the inch-square tiles from which all the sidewalks are made, was watched by about 25 Cambodians; none of them spoke French, an unusual thing in Phnom Penh, and so we played along by ear. Throughout the game, I was advised, admonished, joked with, and corrected if I made a move that someone decided was stupid; there was no fear or hostility in their faces, and none of that overweening respect that is common in hotels and restaurants.

Conditions

Furthermore, the conditions of life are not remarkably advanced, but there does not seem to be any serious illness or hunger. The children in the capital all have vaccinations, they are well dressed for school and really seem happy. Once in a while you'll see some peasants selling things on a corner that look like really down and out — dirty, forced to live in the streets — but they are rare. The central market is chaotic and smelly, but it is

fact of 14 years of independence from the French, an independence that Sihanouk has been able to make quite real to the people by his skillful maneuverings between larger powers. The primary aspect of his policies in recent years has been to deny American "aid" a role that would have undermined that growing sense of national integrity; in addition, he has been able to deal with the traditional tensions with the Thais and Vietnamese — as well as a strong distrust of the Chinese — in ways that have held the nation together and not antagonized any other nation too badly.

Furthermore, most of the city is only about ten years old — there are three-story concrete buildings along all the streets, no open sewers that we could find, and a great many open areas with grass and trees. It should be kept in mind that Cambodia is very much a tropical country so clothing and shelter do not demand the kind of resources that we did in Merrie Olde England of the Industrial Revolution and it is relatively easier to avoid the Hogarthian nightmares that took place there, in a country where you can go all year round without putting on a shirt, a house is just a roof and some privacy. Given the relative ease with which basic needs can be met, the squalor of the American-controlled sections of Asia (Vietnam, Laos is supposed to be particularly bad) is even more striking.

Economy

The key, though, to all of this is the strength of the natural economy. Only one fourth of the arable land in Cambodia is under tillage, a consequence of the underpopulation of the country (India has about 270 people per square mile, Cambodia about 80). The country is so rich in fish, rice and fruit that the urban population is able to live with apparently little monetary resources. No doubt government controls on the big rice and fish merchants is an important part in this, for the entrepreneurial exploitation of those resources could have just as easily led to a landlord/merchant system like in South Vietnam and an impoverished countryside. But it seems that for much of the population of Phnom Penh

By Noel Ignatin

Many white radicals have begun to talk about the need to organize working class whites. As one active movement figure put it, "We now see that the people we used to refer to as 'working class fascists' are the very ones we have to reach."

As we all know a large share of the credit for this new attention on the part of white radicals belongs to SNCC. Of course, even before SNCC took its stand on black power, there were some people, such as SCEF and JOIN, who felt that the main task for white

radicals was organizing other whites. But SNCC, by telling its white supporters that their role should be organizing whites for the black people to form coalitions with, pushed thousands of people into a new awareness.

In my opinion, this new awareness is healthy.

However, along with this new and correct realization has come the baggage of old, unchallenged and incorrect concepts which, if allowed to prevail, will certainly undo any positive work in this field.

LEARN THE LESSONS OF U.S. HISTORY

Among many radicals who have begun to tackle seriously the task of organizing working class whites there is an approach which shows that we - the movement as a whole - have failed to learn the lessons of U.S. history, and specifically the lessons of past experiences in large movements of downtrodden whites.

The approach I am criticizing I would summarize as follows: find the issues which immediately affect the people we are trying to reach, and which they feel most keenly. Organize around these issues and, as the people are drawn more into struggle in their own interest, they will come to see, with our help, who are their friends and enemies. Specifically, coalitions between poor white and black will develop from each fighting for his own "self-interest" and coming to see that there is a common enemy, the rich white man.

I think there is no need to cite documents for the above, as everyone involved will recognize it as a fair summary of a very popular approach.

I don't think it can succeed.

What is the greatest barrier to the development of working class consciousness and solidarity in the U.S.? White supremacist thinking, both now and in the past.

White supremacist thinking, while it is part of a mind-set, is not a pure question of ideology. It has real roots in the practice of white supremacy, the general oppression of blacks by whites.

The Al Capones who run this country have made a deal with the labor officials and, through them, with the totality of white working people. The terms of the deal, which was a long time in the working out, are simply these: you white workers support us in our enslavement of the non-white majority of the earth's population, and we will reward you with a monopoly of skilled jobs, education and health facilities superior to those of the non-whites, the opportunity to occasionally promote one of your number out of the laboring class, social privileges and a whole series of privileges befitting your white skin.

Exploited But Privileged

Thus, while the ordinary white workers are severely exploited, they are also privileged. White supremacy is a deal between the exploiters and a part of the exploited, at the expense of the rest of the exploited - in fact, the original sweet-heart agreement!

Some may argue that it can't be called a deal, since most of those participating on either side are not conscious of where they fit in, that it is more accurate to consider white supremacy as the simple

and determined result of the operation of certain blind laws, as something institutionalized, beyond the control, right now, of any sector of the people involved in its workings.

Those who argue thus should consider the following question: if the bosses are always screaming about high labor costs, why don't they simply hire the cheapest labor there is, namely black and brown labor? The reason is that, for the bosses, the few cents an hour they would save in wages would be far outweighed by the growth in working class solidarity that would follow if all workers were on exactly the same footing. (For information on how the color line was erected in a single industry, in this case the cotton mill industry in the South, for the purpose of buying off the poor whites, see W. J. Cash's classic "The Mind of the South" or Broadus Mitchell's "The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South".)

Certainly, national oppression goes hand-in-hand with imperialism, but that is not to say that it is an institution, or that it should in any sense be considered too deeply entrenched to be challenged. White supremacy exists simply because sufficient numbers of white people, including white workers, have not been rallied to fight it - black people have never stopped fighting it. And the reason why white workers have not fought white supremacy, have in fact acquiesced in and cooperated with it, is that they enjoy their privileged status.

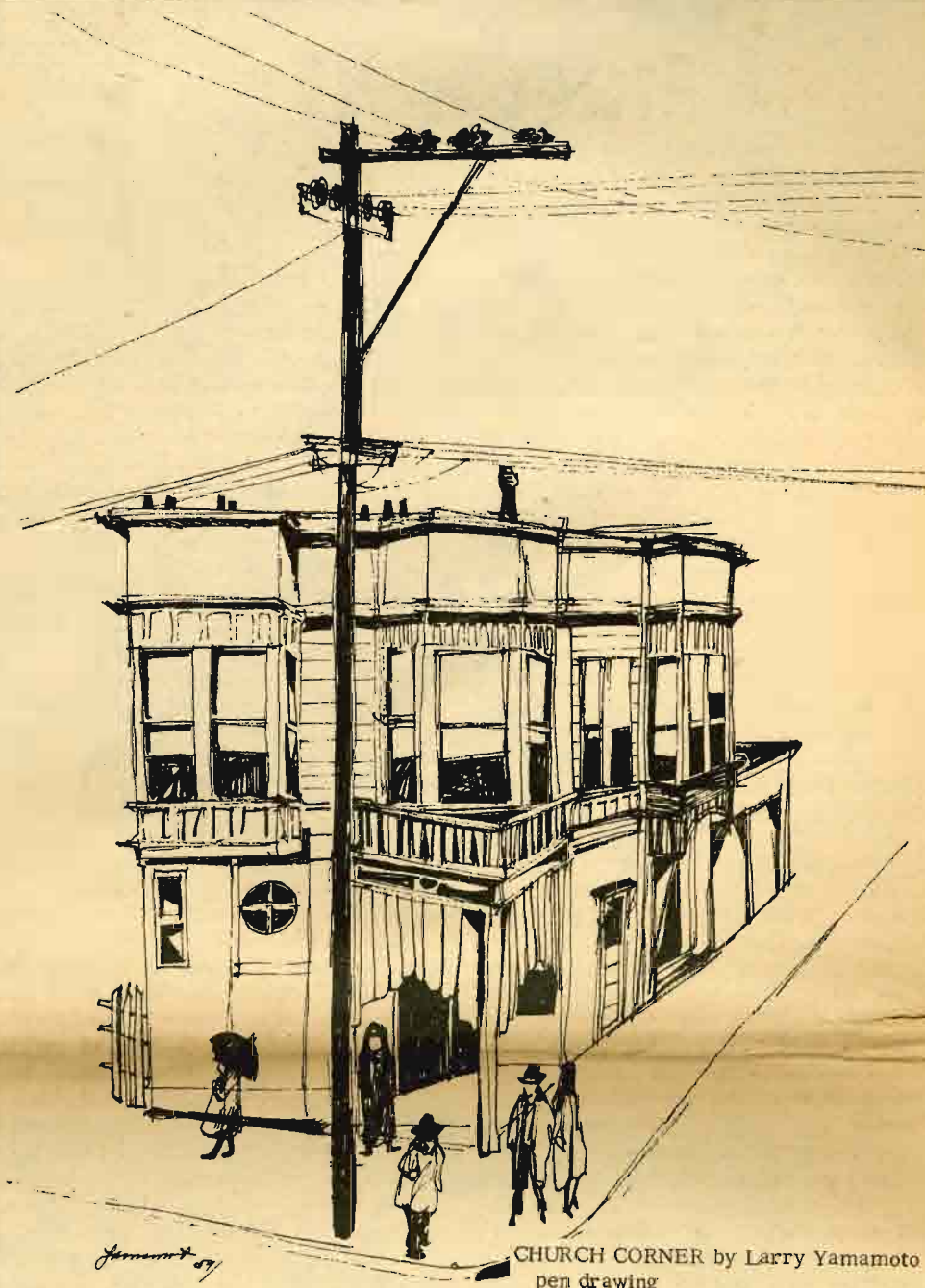
No Self-Interest Coalitions

Now, my point of disagreement with the approach I summarized earlier is this: I don't believe it is possible to build coalitions of black and white on the basis of the self-interest of each, if the self-interest of the whites means the maintenance of white supremacy and the white-skin privilege.

I would state, from my own experience as a worker and my travels among workers, that there are very few white workers who would object to having the Negroes "brought up to our level." Most white workers would be pleased if all the black people had a decent job and a place to live, as good as the whites' anyhow.

But if there are not enough jobs to go around, then the great majority of white workers are quite willing to invoke their privilege and say "me first", thus making them active partners in the exclusion and oppression of the black people.

Under the system of private profit, all workers compete in the sale of their labor power; yet their general tendency is to unite. However, because the competition between black and white workers is not an equal one, but is weighted by



CHURCH CORNER by Larry Yamamoto
pen drawing

the white-skin privilege, white workers have generally preferred to unite with the boss to maintain their privileges rather than unite with the black people to destroy all privilege.

And this is the rub for our movement. History shows that whenever masses of white poor have been radicalized and brought into struggle, the power structure has been able to hold out the crumb of the white-skin privilege, breaking any developing coalition and struggle.

Why Others Failed

The defeat of the great struggles of the labor movement, which began after the depression of 1873 and reached their

climax in the railroad strike of 1877, can be traced to the failure of American labor, as a whole, to join with black labor in the South to preserve the democratic advances of the Reconstruction Era. In his great work, "Black Reconstruction", Du Bois put forward ideas which should make us all think long and hard. On page 353 he wrote, "The South, after the war, presented the greatest opportunity for a real national labor movement which the nation ever saw or is likely to see for many decades. Yet the labor movement, with but few exceptions, never realized the situation. It never had the intelligence or knowledge, as a whole, to see in black slavery and Reconstruction the kernel and meaning of the labor movement in the United States."

The defeat of Populism was due to its tendency to compromise with, and ultimately capitulate to white supremacist pressure to "abandon the Negro" (See Woodward biography of Tom Watson on this subject.)

The halting of the labor movement's advances at the end of the 1930's, and its reversal and defeat in the years after World War II, was due to the same failure to challenge white supremacy. If anyone doubts this, let him consider why the CIO, after having organized U.S. Steel, GM and GE by 1940, paused on the brink of the South and turned back, permitting itself to be co-opted by the Roosevelt Administration.

In the three great eras of struggle I have cited, probably the three greatest in post-Civil War history, in the final analysis the matter came down to this: the power structure was able to solve its problems with the white workers "within the family", by offering them privileges. By accepting these privileges, the white workers turned their back not merely on

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

PITTSBURGH-GROPING ATTEMPTS TO BUILD A MOVEMENT

By John Bancroft

Pittsburgh is a long way from the shut-down streets of Oakland, JOIN activities in Chicago, and the urban guerilla bands in New York. This is a traditionally reactionary city, which did not go Democratic until 1936, and which was still at the height of McCarthyism in its politics and its university in the late 1950's. The city sports a contingent of adult peace groups, some fledgling university-reform and anti-war activities at Pitt, and a few part or full-time organizers who are trying to move into other areas of the city. Little in the way of new tactics or success has occurred in Pittsburgh, yet the situation here is worth reporting because it may be fairly indicative of the mediocre state of the movement in most parts of the country.

Draft Activities

To start with draft activities: four months ago about 20 guys, all Pitt students, gathered in a living room and drew up a rather typical "We won't go" statement. There was the usual split between the pacifists and the politicoes, and the statement was made general enough to accommodate both. Whether to sign the statement was a big decision for many in the group. Only last spring several of them had felt that they would never sign such a thing, because they didn't want to ruin their careers, not to mention going to jail. Even at the time of the signing, there were middle-of-the-night calls in which people, on second thought, asked that their name be scratched from the list.

Plans were laid for action by the group. Some wanted to leaflet induction centers, with an aim to doing draft counseling. Others wanted to speak and work with existing middle-class groups, with high school kids, PTAs, and churches. With a few exceptions most of these plans fizzled out, primarily because most signers viewed their action as a one-shot affair.

We Won't Go

Meanwhile, the student peace group at Pitt — led primarily by the "We Won't Go" signers — embarked on a series of university campaigns: secret research, ROTC, and most prominently, anti-recruiting action. The Dow campaign caused a crisis in the peace group because it brought about a startling realization: "Education" was in many ways a misleading goal, because the simple fact was that a vast majority of the students at Pitt wanted the Dow and other recruiters there, knew that this was vital to their future careers, and were not about to be "educated" out of thinking so. Given this fact, the group realized that in the future it would either have to drop such campaigns, or face up to the fact that its actions were sure to alienate a majority of the campus. This came as a surprise to most members of the group, either because they had come from campuses in which a majority of the students were against such things as Dow, or because they had thought "education" was the solution to any such situation. Another discouraging episode in this campaign was the realization that many of our precious "allies" on the faculty became class enemies on this issue: one liberal professor stated flatly that as a member of the university disciplining committee he would push for our expulsion if anyone sat in the placement office.

Card Turn-Ins

About this time, Arlo Tatum of the Central Committee For Conscientious Objectors blew through town, spoke on draft resistance, and said that to him it seemed that turning in one's draft card was the only meaningful political and moral thing to do, and that while this might land you in jail for five years, you could do more honest anti-war work when you get out. In the wake of the "We Won't Go" fizzle and the Dow failure, there was a rather desperate feeling, especially among the leadership, that "we have to DO something." Given this situation, Tatum made quite an impression, since turning in one's draft card was certainly doing something. Anyone arguing that as an isolated action it was politically irrelevant and martyrish was silenced with, "Well, what else is there to do that means anything?"

So a Boston-type church ceremony, rather impressive if you go for that sort of thing, was put together on December 4th. Nine guys turned their cards in, (A majority of them were padding; people with C.O. status, discharges, or people who had already turned their cards in). An adult support group was quickly formed, complete with an "aiding and abetting" statement. Perhaps more important, enough of the leadership of the student peace group (two or three) participated to create the feeling for the rest that this was really the thing they should do. At the same time, however, most were unwilling to do so, so that it now looks as if a kind of paralysis will set into the student group, in which draft resistance will become the action of the brave elite, while any other type of action will be considered ineffective and hypocritical.

Reaching Out

Three attempts have been made to reach into non-student non-adult-peace-group activities in Pittsburgh. In an integrated working class area called Hazelwood, anti-war work was begun by a few organizers and a large group of Pitt students during the summer. They started with a canvassing project which found, according to the project, 83% of the people against the war. A few attempts were made at organizing such anti-war sentiment, but failed for two reasons. First, it ended up with white students dealing with black people (featuring a scene in which a black guy walked up to a black basketball game, stopped it, and announced, "This here girl (white) wants to talk to you guys about the draft"). And secondly, the project failed because all the students went back to school and stopped work.

A labor project was started by two organizers and several volunteers, featuring a leaflet which tied in the war with anti-strike action. It was handed out mainly at the several steel plants here. At the bottom was a "for further information . . ." coupon, addressed to Vietnam Summer. Some response, about half from black people, was received. The follow-up on this action consisted of several pamphlets sent and then a call from a local Labor for Peace group. A city-wide meeting of this group is planned for February.

The attempt to work with the middle-class materialized in one instance. An organizer got ten weeks' access to the



STANLEY KOPPEL

"Steel Worker" Wood Cut

Youth Leadership Club of the Irene Kaufman Jewish Center to conduct a study group about Vietnam. The group was made up of about 20 middle-class high school kids. The sessions varied greatly in their success. The kids' eyes swam and attendance dropped off when such things as the Geneva Accords were discussed, but on such matters as dissent and the domino theory, quite lively discussions occurred. The seminar ended just before Christmas. Most of the kids remained unchanged in their rabid anti-communism, but they did become moderately opposed to the war. A few of them expressed interest in some sort of anti-war activity, which hopefully will follow in the next few months. A similar study group will probably be given to the Mother's Day Out (1) group of the Unitarian Church.

Blacks & European Ethnic

All of this leaves out the two groups which comprise a majority of the people in Pittsburgh: the European ethnics and the black people. In the case of the blacks (about 20% of the city), there is considerable activity along civil rights lines, and even some black-power activity in the high schools, neither of which I feel competent to report on. On the anti-war front, every so often white student radicals discussing plans will get excited and agree that they know black guys who want to do anti-draft stuff. But it always turns out they are all thinking of the same (one) black guy, who it turns out is not at all interested (not surprisingly) in talking to ghetto kids about student-type resistance activity. As far as the European ethnics (about 35% of the city), there is simply no

one around who has in mind a strategy for beginning radical activity in this area.

Uncertain Future

Pittsburgh's future is quite uncertain. One of the largest things in the offing is the McCarthy campaign, which has really turned on the liberals and adult peace groups in town. These groups were horrified by the NCNP circus in Chicago, have been talking about little else since, and plan to be very careful about who they associate with in the future. They will probably be able to enlist the more conservative members of the student peace group in their activities. The more radical students will be uninterested in the McCarthy thing, and will probably have most of their time taken up with resistance ceremonies and activities, which have a way of being self-perpetuating: more draft cards turned in at church, induction refused, support rallies, legal defense committees, fund-raising, etc.

The only thing that could save Pittsburgh from being confined to McCarthy-type activities and narrow student resistance activities would be an organizing effort outside these confines which caught on in a big way. Thus, if full-time organizing with high school students or with labor, for example, produced something tangible in the way of anti-war or other radical activity, it would probably be possible to convince more students and maybe even some adults to devote most or all of their time to such work. But until such organizing is more successful and shown to be vital, it is likely that Pittsburgh radical activity will be meagre and confined mainly to anti-war actions directed toward people already opposed to the war. ♦

THE DANGERS OF MACE

By Beverly Leman

Recently, an organic chemist who had access to the General Ordinance Equipment Company (the Pittsburgh manufacturer of Mace) specification sheet informed this writer that Mace contained dimethylsulfoxide — DMSO — an industrial solvent which is a byproduct of the pulp and paper industry. A few years ago, medical researchers discovered that DMSO displays the remarkable ability to instantly penetrate skin tissue, providing immediate absorption and circulation for any drug it carries.

Since 1964, DMSO has had a complex and controversial history. Its remarkable ability to "permanize" other drugs has led medical researchers in malaria control to suggest that it might be used to impregnate the skin with insect repellent for long periods of time. From its experimental use with schizophrenics, it has been discovered that DMSO might control the chemical penetration of brain tissue and thus alter the transmission of nerve signals. In September 1964, Wyeth Laboratory, which had been testing DMSO for possible distribution as a miracle "carrier" for heart patients and others who require emergency drug treatment, first noted DMSO's dangers. In experimental animals it caused severe eye damage, abnormal changes in the refractive index

of the eyes and cataracts. However, Wyeth did not report these effects to the Federal Drug Administration until November 1965, at which time all testing of the chemical was suspended.

In an October, 1966, meeting in New York, the N.Y. Academy of Sciences assailed the FDA for withdrawing the compound altogether and issued a formal request for reinstatement as a controlled investigational drug. On December 12, 1966, the FDA acquiesced on condition that its approval was obtained before any plans were undertaken. There was good reason: Use of DMSO will be restricted to cutaneous application in serious conditions . . . for which no satisfactory therapy is now available . . . Patients must be fully informed of the effects of DMSO in animals and told of the possibility that these may occur in humans . . . Damage to major organs . . . has occurred in laboratory animals when massive doses of the drug were administered and, in some cases, when doses close to clinical levels were used. Damage to embryos also was observed . . . Adverse reactions attributed to DMSO have ranged from headaches and dizziness to dermatitis and ulceration of the skin.

(FEDERAL REGISTER, 12/23/66)

LESSONS OF HISTORY Con't from page 8

their black brothers, but on the class struggle, and renounced their right to a say in their destiny.

Of course the acceptance of privilege and the maintenance of white supremacy was not in the interest of either white or black workers! The result of the overturning of Reconstruction and the defeat of Populism is the impoverished South of today. The result of the CIO's wrong turn in 1940 is the deteriorating conditions of labor and the oleomargarine unions which dominate in every industry.

The ending of white supremacy does not pose the slightest peril to the real interests of the white workers, but to their fancied interests, their counterfeit interests, their white-skin privileges.

Renouncing Privilege

Once again the signs point to an upturn in the militancy of the American workers, including the whites. And once again the white workers will be faced with a choice: unite with the black people for our common interests, including the defeat of white supremacy and the repudiation of the white-skin privilege; or unite with the boss to maintain them.

Solidarity between black and white requires more from the white than a willingness to "help the Negroes up if it doesn't lower us any." It requires a willingness to renounce our privileges, precisely to "lower ourselves" in order that we can all rise up together. If anyone says that it will be difficult to get the whites to renounce their privileges, I readily concede the difficulty - whoever said it would be easy to make a revolution? But is anyone thinks it is possible to skip this renunciation and to build coalitions between blacks and whites who want to maintain their privileges, I will point to 1877, 1904 and 1940, and say that if this task is not tackled and achieved, we will see the same thing over again: the crisis comes, conditions worsen, the working people are radicalized, and then-defeat, because the white-skin privilege and its vile ideology were not specifically, directly, consistently and courageously denounced and renounced, in words and in deeds.

Tactics

Now, what does all this mean for our tactics? I have some suggestions:

- (1) in all our work we should bring the question of white supremacy to the fore. Thus in opposing the Viet Nam war, we should especially expose it as a racist, white supremacist war, an extension of U.S. genocidal policies toward Indians and Afro-Americans.
- (2) we should discover and take advantage of every opportunity to point out to white workers the nature of the white supremacist deal and show them how it operates against them by tying them to their enemy, the bosses.

- (3) for my third suggestion, I can do no better than to quote a memo written in June 1966 by Anne Braden to the Southern Student Organizing Committee:

"Now, the pendulum seems to be swinging the other way, and more and more white people are deciding they must reach the white Southerner . . .

"I am glad they are deciding this.

"What I disagree with is the concept that they will organize these poor white Southerners completely apart from the Negro movement -- and figure that somewhere down the road, maybe several years hence, maybe they'll get together in some sort of coalition.

"I don't think it can work that way. . .

Blacks Organize Whites

"Again to be specific, if you are going to engage in a project (rural or urban) to organize poor white people, I can see how it might be desirable (and it may happen whether you think it is desirable or not) for Negroes to be organizing the black people in that community into an independent organization. But when you go to and organize the white people I think you have to say to them in front, from the very word go, that if they are going to be effective and solve their problems they are going to have to team up with those black people over there and find terms that are acceptable to the black people to do it on, and I think you should go to these white people with teams of black and white organizers working together.

"White people may not be able to work in organizing Negro communities and maybe should not -- for all the reasons stated recently . . . But I think black organizers are urgently needed to work in white communities.

"In other words, I am saying that I think you have to confront the white Southerner you are trying to reach with this whole question of racism and what it has done to him from the very beginning.

"Some may say this is impossible -- it will frighten him off and you'll never get to him. I am not saying it will be easy. We will fail many times. But I think we must begin trying in the beginning because I think if you wait it will get harder as time goes on and not easier.

"In fact, if you begin to organize groups of white people without tackling this issue in a very concrete way, I think the problem is much greater than that you will just be wasting your time. I think you may be creating a Frankenstein. . .

"As I understand it, Saul Alinsky had this experience in Chicago. He organized Negroes on the Southside -- and he organized the Back-of-the-Yards movement which was all white and poor and very oppressed. The Back-of-the-Yards movement became very strong and effective in fighting its own oppression -- but later it was the backbone of a movement

to keep Negroes out of that part of Chicago . . .

"What I am saying is that we must try to avoid such mistakes by beginning in the very beginning to try to convince white people that their interest lies in teaming up with Negroes -- even if the Negroes want and are forming their own organizations. And if we hope to convince them, we must confront them with the issue as we start -- because it will get harder as people get more organized, stronger in their own organization, more solidified, etc."

I think Ann Braden's suggestions for Southern organizing apply with equal force throughout the country.

- (4) we should find and put forward slogans and issues which make concrete the repudiation of privilege, and which are tied in as closely as possible with building unity and winning real benefits. For example, in a shop which is not organized, instead of trying to organize a union around the demand of straight seniority (an obvious white-skin privilege, since it was the boss who decided whom to hire first), we should try to rally the workers around a demand like the following: a contract provision that at no time in a layoff could a greater proportion of Negroes be included than their proportion in the plant. Another provision might be that workers in the most dangerous, dirtiest departments (usually Negroes) receive a special seniority bonus. I think these demands would appeal to the sense of fair play of working men and women.

Like SDS Draft Position

An excellent example of the practical application of my thesis is the SDS position on the draft, of opposing the draft and, at the same time, denouncing the II-S student deferment as a racial (and class) privilege whose only purpose is to divide the anti-war movement, and not merely denouncing it, but calling upon all students to renounce it. I don't want to attribute the totality of my views to SDS; I merely applaud their stand as the only honest one under the circumstances.

I don't claim to have the best tactical solutions to the problem I raise. But I do say that if all of us in the movement don't find ways to win the white workers to repudiate their white-skin privileges and oppose white supremacy, then we might as well, as one of my friends says, "piss on the fire and summon the hounds," because the hunt is over.

At this point the main thing, in my opinion, is to create a wide-spread awareness among white working people of the nature of the white supremacist deal. I am confident that the American working class, which gave birth to May Day and International Women's Day, which developed and creatively applied the tactics of the sit-in strike, voting pickets and the slow-down, will be able to come up with plenty of ways to repudiate a deal once they have decided it is in their

interest to do so.

Too Moralistic?

In discussing my thesis with movement people, I have sometimes encountered the objection that my approach is a moralistic rather than a materialistic one, that it relies on idealism rather than "self-interest". To this I answer as follows:

- (1) The "moralistic" John Brown made a far greater contribution to the struggle of labor than all of the sophisticated "Marxists" in the pre-Civil War labor movement (and there were some, even then) who shied away from directly opposing chattel slavery because, they felt, "the workers wouldn't go along."
- (2) As a worker I resent the prejudice, common among student radicals, that the workers can only be moved by narrow economic considerations while they, the students, are radicals for reasons of idealism. I point to the thousands and thousands of white workers who marched off to war for the Union singing, "As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free." And I would predict that the next few years will show that the great acts of heroism on the part of the working people will be called forth not by demands for a nickel an hour but by the "idealistic", "moralistic" slogans of the solidarity and humanity of labor.
- (3) the repudiation of the white-skin privilege is in the interests, both short and long range, of the white workers, and the only problem is to help them (and some of our radicals) see it.

"Working Class" & "Poor"

Just one more point. I notice that I use the terms "working class" and "poor" in a somewhat inter-changeable manner, which might offend some people who seem to regard them as two separate, non-overlapping categories. In this regard, perhaps I might be permitted to cite personal experience. As recently as six years ago, I was running a turret lathe in a sweatshop for \$1.15 per hour. Today, I am more highly skilled and better paid; I make \$3.65 per hour. (According to the government, that is almost enough to maintain a family of four, exactly what I have, at what they call a "minimum adequate" standard of living.) Between the two extremes I have had various spells of unemployment, with and without compensation. Judging by certain developments within the economic sphere, such as the British devaluation of the pound and the U.S. unfavorable balance of payments, I fully expect, within the next few years, to be glad to work again for \$1.15 an hour, if I can get it. While I can clearly see the difference between a bad job and one that's not so bad, and between an unemployed worker and an employed one, I can't see a difference between working class and poor, except, perhaps, that there are other people besides workers who are poor. ♦

NEW LEFT VISITS CAMBODIA Continued from page 7

currency exercises, for it is apparently worthwhile to have many people virtually unemployed in the hope of making a few sales a day.

The role of foreign currency then, should not be understood in terms of its power over others but in terms of the number of people who can afford to spend their time trying to get some of it. There are not only many shops for the foreigners, but also over-stuffed hotels and restaurants, many more pedicabs than can be continually employed, and children hawking cigarettes, magazines and newspapers.

That economic circumstance makes it easy to understand the colonialist frame of mind that mistakes the interest of the pedicab driver in the fare for interest or respect for the person. But though that is readily overcome by New Lefties in Asia, there are still many ways in which a kind of honkie arrogance goes with them, and much of learning about Cambodia was learning about that arrogance. We were surprised, for example, when having told someone we were "from Ameri-

ca," he asked with a straight face if that was North or South America. I was surprised when a young night clerk in the hotel didn't know the postage for a letter to Germany because he didn't know what continent it was on, but then I recalled some of our discussions.

Lesson of Cambodia

In subtle ways, we were still thinking of the rest of the world as teeming hordes madly trying to ape Western technology and style and assumed that the doings of the West were somehow central to their lives. And it is even possible from reading the reports of revolutionary governments like Hanoi to think that the Third World sees success or failures in Western terms. The lesson of Cambodia is that this simply is not so. Asia understands the West because it was colonized by the West, and it understands perhaps better than we do ourselves the aggressiveness and arrogance that underlies our culture. But it rejects that aggressiveness for itself and looks

to the West only in terms of how it might harm the way of life that already exists in Cambodia.

The War

The war is only forty miles away from Phnom Penh, and at night you can watch the fires caused by shelling along the border. There are constant declarations from the government about the war and the American plans against Cambodia -- one of the rumors circulating in Phnom Penh during our stay was that the Americans planned to bomb Sihanoukville, Cambodia's deep-water port on the Gulf of Siam on the pretext of stopping arms shipments to the NLF (Sihanouk responded to Westmoreland's charges by suggesting that if the US was serious about stopping arms flow, they should bomb the USSR and China). While we were in Phnom Penh, the papers announced the beginning of a program in all provinces for training guerilla regiments; at the same time, the papers were running a serialized history of

national insurrections (guerilla movements) in Cambodia in the last century.

And the people will respond to the government's call if the invasion comes, but in a way the proclamations are as irrelevant to the people as the sunglasses in the shops. They understand the danger of the West in a much deeper sense than any government statement could suggest because they have seen Western colonial rule and know that living in this world is like living in a house with a lunatic on the loose. We knew they understood the insanity of the West when we watched the NLF guerilla dance troupe perform a skit for an audience in Phnom Penh that showed American GIs trying to seduce Vietnamese village women defending their homes by doing the twist -- the audience roared with appreciation. Western genital arrogance, Western cultural depravity, Western military brutality all flowed together in the skit and struck home with those people. As I sat there, I

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

RENNIE DAVIS Con't from page 4

and significant way at the time that Johnson is nominated, turning the delegates back into the amphitheater as they attempt to leave, demanding that the American people be given a choice, demanding that they reconsider a decision not in the national interest, a decision that can only lead to the funeral of the democratic policies that support racism and the war, should carry not only us, but thousands of Americans into an active boycott of the elections and giant showdown in Washington to prevent the inauguration next January.

Priorities

THE MOVEMENT: Do you feel that national confrontations such as you envision for the Democratic Convention detract from your own priority of organizing locally?

DAVIS: Yes, in part. The Democratic Convention will have mixed results for local building. Since most people in the movement are not organizers, it is said that a national action allows non-organizers to find a role. I believe it also reinforces the idea that one's role is to go to demonstrations rather than build radical organizations day-to-day. And pressure mounts among the actual day-to-day organizers to respond to the call and fit their local needs into the national strategy of the moment.

THE MOVEMENT: Why then do you actively support building the machinery you called for in preparation for the Democratic Convention confrontation?

DAVIS: The confrontation will have mixed results for local organizing and highly important consequences in other ways. I believe it is important for what we can say to Americans at this time. I believe it is very important to Vietnam. And frankly I see it as a possible turning point for the country and the movement.

If the Convention confrontation can be placed in a broader strategy, it can perhaps induce many people to take up organizing positions. Can the Democratic Convention focus have a relationship to an over-all white organizing drive beginning in the summer? Can SDS, the Student Mobilization, the Resistance, the Young Christian Movement provide the network for recruitment and the resources for training and direction to make possible new white projects in dozens of communities leading up to the Democratic Convention and then continuing beyond it. Can the anti-war movement, identified publicly as people who organize national days of resistance, or Washington marches or bank accounts for NY Times advertisements, become associated more directly with efforts to build power locally?

I'm interested personally in working

for the Democratic Convention challenge because it's being held in Chicago--a really arrogant thing for Daley to do--and because I want to work more directly with the anti-war movement as an organizer, and this offers me a way to do just that. One of the challenges to organizers is how the enormous energy and numbers of people who are opposed to the Vietnam war can be directed towards building organization which has permanency, power and radical posture long after Vietnam.

Beyond Vietnam

THE MOVEMENT: How does the Vietnam issue become the issue of imperialism and how should the anti-war movement organize to outlast the Vietnam war?

DAVIS: SNCC, SDS and the people who make up the Resistance have been fairly successful. Perhaps they offer approaches to the problem. I would add, as a way to expand into the constituencies which perhaps these people are not reaching, the idea of "localizing the anti-war movement." Since returning from North Vietnam, and speaking to more diverse groups than I am accustomed, I have been struck by the militancy of suburban groups, newly organized student committees and clergy peace associations on the issue of the war. People are willing to work as organizers, as well as support the Resistance, etc., if they believe it will help build pressure to end the war. These same groups become angry, bored or generally turned off if they are bombarded with words like imperialism, neo-colonialism, or tightly drawn analysis too thick with Marxist or left slogans.

Not everyone who comes in the front door of the JOIN office in Chicago is opposed to the Democratic Party, the machine and the war in Vietnam. It may only be the policeman who beat their head or the case-worker who is threatening to cut off support which provides the will to consider a political act. For the organizer the problem is to search with that individual for the process which is the most liberating and radicalizing, as the immediate political act is thought through and carried out, a process which can connect that individual to a larger organization and more radical program.

If the radicals in the movement are to give leadership to the anti-war movement in its broadest sense, it will not be because we joined the National Mobilization to fight for "our politics" or demanded a focus on "imperialist targets". We will have to suggest programs and organize work which allow people new to the movement to learn from experience who holds power, how decisions are made, the relationship of the war effort to corporations which operate in every major city. There are numerous examples

of such an approach. Let me suggest only one.

Discovering the War Makers

In those regions of the country where the movement is strong in the ghettos, I would like to see organizers develop programs that recruit people basically concerned about the napalming children or the use of indiscriminate US fire power against the civilian population of Vietnam -- the people regarded by some in the movement as too apolitical or too humanitarian to work with. The program might begin by helping people learn about the experimental weapons being used in Vietnam: the Shrike guided missile, the electron bomb, the cluster bombs, the cylinder fragmentation bomb and the long line of incendiary weapons, toxic chemicals and poison gases. Then research could begin on who makes these weapons in the local community--what corporations are involved, who sits on the board, where do they live, what positions of influence in the community do they hold? The program would urge people to look into the kinds of weapons that are actually being used in Vietnam only to learn that the people who manufacture these weapons that have been banned by international agreement are the very people who sit on the Board of Education and the Mayor's Committees in their own cities. This process, I suspect, would radically expand people's consciousness and the scope of possible activity. Suddenly the war makers become real people, the same people, if the ghetto movement is strong, who are being attacked by the blacks or poor whites because of rotten schools or urban renewal. War crime tribunals that put these individuals on public trial for complicity in US war crimes might represent still another dimension of a process that begins with simple moral concerns but allows "nice" people to grow politically through their own work and experience.

I believe anti-war activity of this sort -- and there are many other examples--begins to suggest to various movement constituencies in a city new kinds of political relationships we have not seen significantly at a local level.

Repression

THE MOVEMENT: We've been reading reports coming into our office of people subpoenaed, arrested or investigated all over the country. It appears there is a coordinated effort to intimidate and infiltrate every protest organization. In fact, it appears that the Administration is extremely afraid for its convention next summer and will be making moves to repress those involved

in the convention strategy. How should the movement respond to these events?

DAVIS: While the movement is still small and generally overly preoccupied with talking to itself, these limitations every day are breaking down, as new people, fed up and disgusted, turn to us for direction and work, or ignore us and create exciting political communities of their own. It seems to me that there is every reason to believe that conditions are with those who want the movement to be vastly broadened.

The Viet Cong believe that the United States has been militarily defeated in South Vietnam and that the question of NLF victory is a question of time. Johnson--or for that matter all public candidates for President--appear unprepared to accept a military defeat, at least for some time. So, as sickening as it is, every sign points to a long war and greater and greater loss of American lives. Thus far, the only response of the Administration to the black ghetto revolts has been to improve police tactics, training and manpower. So, every sign points towards more intense black-police warfare in our cities. And finally the reports from the inner circles of international finance capitalism point with horror to the softening of currency, the new protective tariffs in the US and the rising US price level, signs which even conservative economists now claim point toward economic slump or worse in this country. It seems the very conditions we deplore harbor the potential for a vast swelling of our movement and our power, as the war, riots and recession converge on ordinary people.

Need Positive View

This reading of conditions makes it imperative, I believe, that we develop a fresh and positive view of the role we may play in this country and the world. We are not the Communist Party in the middle part of this century. We must not face repression by taking the defensive, by sending large numbers of people underground or seeking to protect ourselves by denying what we stand for at our public trials. I believe we must turn every trial into a trial of the system, that we should fight off paranoia as much as possible as repression comes and that we should seek the widest support for our actions and for our right to hold and express our convictions. I'm calling not only for a political strategy of openness, but among ourselves for a psychological frame-work that allows us to turn outward rather than inward as the going gets rough. The escalation of the war in Vietnam has only strengthened the Vietnamese struggle as they turn each stage of the escalation into a new response to their own people. The escalation of the war of repression in the United States might be seen as that kind of organizing possibility for us.

CAMBODIA Con't from p 10

thought back over the countless arguments with liberals: I had been through when I tried to counter those neat "spheres of influence" type arguments in which Cambodia is just another space where someone places a pawn and realizes that it is enough to know that those people in Cambodia understand their lives in a very different way. In the long run, their perception is much more important as a factor than all the slick theories produced in US academe.

US Will Move

It seems clear now that the US will move against Cambodia, though it may delay until the International Control Commission has done some of the reconnaissance and cleared some helicopter landing areas. But the force that will move people to defend themselves in Cambodia is prevalent throughout Southeast Asia. Thailand now has 12 provinces under martial law, which means population relocation and police terror is underway. Laos is faced with a 30,000 man Pathet Lao force (according to the New York TIMES even) that has been taking concerted actions in

spite of the continual bombardment from US planes. The NLF continues to make incredible offensives in the South, moving now from the central highlands into the Mekong Delta and the coastal plains in the North, areas that Westmoreland was claiming two weeks earlier were beyond NLF control.

Cambodians have not undergone the struggle for independence that the Vietnamese have been forced to undertake. But they share with the Vietnamese a sense of their own stability and identity. And as the West disintegrates politically, psychologically and militarily, that sense of stability, expressed now as a non-aggressive way of life, will become a major resource for struggle. For that stability springs from an understanding of the terms upon which life is bearable; an enemy can be quite clearly defined against that understanding and fought with a tenacity unknown to men hired to do a job. The jungles of Cambodia are no less impenetrable than those of South Vietnam and the people who rise to fight imperialism in Cambodia will be cut from the same kind of cloth as the NLF.

"SUBVERSIVE" ATTACK ON DU BOIS CLUBS

The Subversive Activities Control Board (S.A.C.B.) is conducting hearings against the DuBois Clubs, beginning on Feb. 5 in New York. The hearings are part of the same proceedings begun against the DuBois Clubs in March 1966.

The hearings will be conducted under the provisions of the "new" McCarran Act, signed by LBJ on Jan. 2, 1968. The new legislation is designed to take the "unworkable" kinks out of the old McCarran Act. Provisions for punishment have been improved and expanded.

It is now possible for the government to label any organization a "communist front" by producing a stool pigeon who will simply charge that one or more people in the leadership of the organization are members of the Communist Party.

The new act also overcomes the problem of the governments previous inability to force an organization to register as a "front." The solution is characteristic: after the SACB conducts its kangaroo court, the government registers for you!

The new act retains its nightmare provisions concerning "detention" camps for

"subversives."

The hearings come at a critical time. The government has already launched a full scale attack on the black community as well as major efforts at repression of the anti-war movement and left in general. Its attack on the DuBois Clubs is part of this larger climate. HUAC hearings are scheduled to begin soon against a number of movement organizations.

A press release from the DuBois Club states: "We are determined to do every thing in our power to resist this attack on democratic liberties of all Americans and to prevent the government from broadening its attack on the DuBois Clubs to an attack on the entire movement."

The DuBois Clubs have requested that people and organizations help in the following ways: Issuing press releases showing your organizations opposition to the hearings; helping to mobilize the protest actions to take place on Feb. 5 and throughout the hearings; sending telegrams and letters to Johnson and Atty. General Ramsey Clark demanding an end to SACB hearings and the repeal of the new McCarran Act.

FILM REVIEW

"INSIDE VIETNAM" IS REAL

By Ellen Estrin

There is a despair in our movement sometimes, a feeling that no matter what we do the war will continue, that our actions are some sort of parody on resistance, that we are part of a play by an absurdist playwright. I often feel that US politics is more "agit-prop" than real. Johnson and the other Administration figures create political crises in order to gain a political effect; they attempt to solve the crises for their own aggrandisement. That was the situation with the Bay of Tonkin, and the new Pueblo incident.

Different people react differently to these agit-prop dramas, some folks believe them as they are reported, and others take a leap of faith (while doubting their reality), because to not accept the Administration's version of the event would force them to doubt all else, the "democratic way", the morality of America. We, who habitually do not believe the official tales, often tend to dismiss the incidents because we don't know what to do about them. Usually we say: "there they go again, the bastards." Other times we go out into the streets and get our heads cracked open, because we can't allow our anger to be totally submerged. We try "organizing", demonstrating, paper writing. Yet it is within the framework of despair. Can we really stop the war? Can we really bring on a revolution, or do we do these things because to not fight would be a kind of death?

I usually avoid reading the news reports on Vietnam in the daily press. They are so strangely repetitive, as if they were written by rote, perhaps by a computer, in order to fill the space allotted to the war on page two. How many did they say died today? How many mythological words were spoken, bombs dropped, hills taken? Vietnam becomes another unbelievable creation of the bad playwrights who we call the United States Government. It is easier to think of it that way.

Vietnam Is Not Playacting

So it comes as a shock to be confronted with Vietnam as a reality, as a country of people fighting daily confrontations with the enemy, who is the United States. It is a shock to comprehend that the Vietnamese are playing no games at all, and that the bombs which we read about (in total numbers of missions flown daily), drop on them - and injure them, and destroy their homes. For us it may be an absurdist drama, to which we respond with posters which read "make love not war", or rock songs like "Hot Damn Vietnam", or demonstrations where we flee down Nob Hill while cops shoot mace at us. But to the Vietnamese, this drama is their life.

Felix Greene's movie on North Vietnam is more impressive than anything he has done so far. He communicates an amazing amount of information about how the North Vietnamese fight their end of the war. For the first time I understood how they survive, and why they are undefeated - short of total annihilation. Greene shows us how every member of the population is being trained not only in how to survive the bombings, but also in guerilla warfare, in the event of a US ground invasion. US troops would be powerless in a ground war, that is made quite clear.

The film is also a political comment on national liberation. Greene does not forget that Vietnam is still in the process of consolidating its own revolution, its liberation from thousands of years of foreign intervention and rule (first the Chinese, then the French then the Japanese, the French again, and now the US).

We see our "enemy", these deep-eyed children, the teen-age youth brigade workers giggling as they scramble up from a ditch to go back to work after a bombing attack, the slim legged women planting rice, with mud molded around their calves. A single rose sits on the front of the combat hat of one Vietnamese girl.

Human Tactics

But the film is more than a series of human interest vignettes. Greene describes tactical aspects of North Vietnamese defense so that we get a feeling for the kinds of problems the war has

created, and the real ways the Vietnamese have solved them. There is no sense of despair - for here is a strong, organized people with the indefatigable determination to survive, not singly, but as a people. Their most important weapon is themselves - hands, minds, skill-machinery gets bombed into oblivion, but people run into fox holes and live. Vietnamese women, men, children; villagers with Catholic crosses around their necks. Drums beating, bells ringing - warnings of planes coming with bombs, big bombs, and small "anti-personnel" bombs. Villages destroyed, homes obliterated, limbs broken, bellies torn open, children mourning for a dead mother, singing girls and boys, flutes playing in the evening as people work, as rice is planted, as grain is harvested. Bicycles loaded with rocks to repair roads on which transport to Hanoi takes place as soon as the sunsets. Vietnam, real, whole, alive.

American POW

And then, like a surreal dart, a real anti-personnel bomb is dropped on us as we see The American again, a pilot lying in a hospital bed, two weeks after he has been downed by Vietnamese rifles. Who is this man - this killer who does not know that he kills? He tells us that he drops his bombs from such high altitudes that it is hard to see what you hit. Sure, he used anti-personnel bombs, sure he says, the Vietnamese have been real friendly to him. They've treated him well we are told. What's his position on the war? Oh,



Photo: Julius Lester

sort of the Kennedy-Fulbright thing, he smiles, you know, protest at the polls. No, draft card burning isn't his sort of thing. And now that he is captured, he wants the war over. Because he is our American and he doesn't like being inconvenienced with a broken leg and arm, holed up in North Vietnam. He is a strange specimen. He is part of the agit-prop drama again. He doesn't believe in what he has done; he doesn't know what he has done.

And my friend's child, after the film is over says: but you're not supposed to bomb hospitals, it's one of the rules. And how do you explain that the rules are drawn up to entangle us in a web of illusion, that the rules are the guidelines of good theater, with re-election the payoff instead of box office receipts. A nightmare Alice in Wonderland of rules, where we must go to movies such as this to find reality. ♦

SUPREME COURT RULES
McCLELLAN CAN'T USE
STOLEN DOCUMENTS

The Supreme Court has ruled that documents stolen from poverty workers in Eastern Kentucky cannot be turned over to the McClellan Committee. The Braden's, McSurely's and Mulloy had been charged with sedition in Kentucky. The court threw the charges out. Then McClellan, the red-baiter, wanted to get his crack at them. McClellan's case would have rested on the stolen documents. The Supreme Court ruling means that the McClellans of this country will have a harder time in the future - they'll have to get their evidence honestly.

GIANT POSTERS!

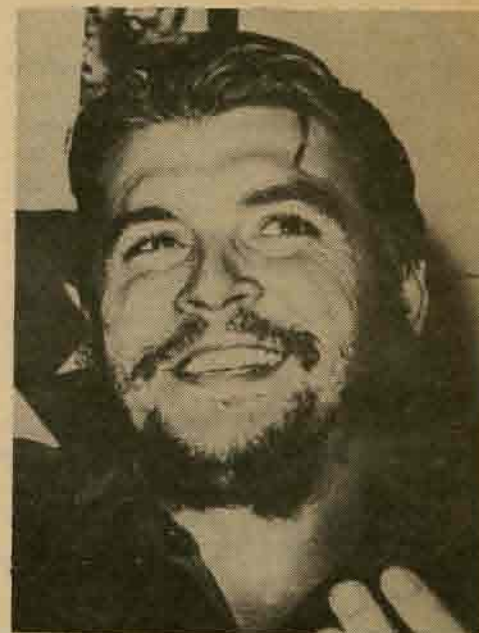
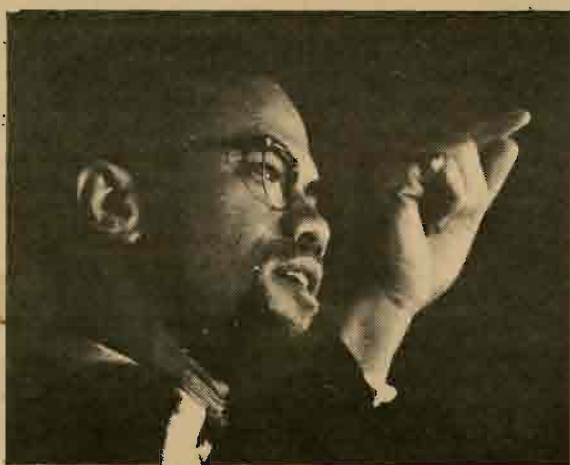
MALCOLM X and CHE GUEVARA

\$1.00 EACH.

ONLY 75¢
to Movement
subscribers.

(22 X 28 inches)

SPECIAL BULK RATES



SUBSCRIBE TO THE MOVEMENT!

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

Please send me:

- ☐ Next 12 issues of THE MOVEMENT (\$2)
☐ Malcolm X posters
☐ Che Guevara posters

I enclose \$ _____

☐ check if
Movement
subscriber

SEND ONE TO A FRIEND!

MAIL TO THE MOVEMENT

449 14th STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94103