

# CREATE TWO, THREE, MANY COLUMBIAS



Affiliated  
with  
SNCC  
and  
SDS

## THE MOVEMENT

JUNE 1968

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# COPS SHOOT PANTHER



On Sunday, April 7, the Black Panther Party had planned a picnic barbecue to raise money for the defense of Huey P. Newton, jailed Minister of Defense and founder of the BPP. Saturday night Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Hutton, and a number of other Panthers were driving around Oakland to collect food that the sisters had prepared. Their mission was interrupted when several squad cars of Oakland police intercepted and ambushed the Panthers in their own community. Today, Eldridge Cleaver is behind bars, possibly for life. Bobby Hutton is dead — murdered by the Oakland pigs when he tried to surrender from the gas-filled, burning house. Seven other Panthers plus Eldridge face Grand Jury indictments for attempted murder, indictments based on false information provided by the pigs and extorted confessions from the imprisoned Panthers.

The following pieces of information came out in an interview a San Francisco Chronicle reporter had with Eldridge in jail:



—Bobby Hutton, 17, killed by police bullets, was told to run for a squad car and, while his hands were raised and he was unarmed officers shot him down.

—With one or two exceptions, the arsenal of guns the police claim was taken from the scene of the shoot-out was actually taken from a parked Panther's car's locked trunk, miles away and hours later.

—Following the police ambush of the Panthers, cops made no attempt to immediately allow Cleaver and Hutton out of the house they were holed up in, but instead poured a fusillade of bullets in through its walls.

—Eldridge Cleaver was not carrying a gun. "I was never armed, because Huey P. Newton had laid down orders that, as a parolee, I should not be armed."

—The Panther newspaper points out: "Although the pigs and the racist press repeatedly tried to call the ambush a Panther set-up, within two minutes after the police had stopped and pulled their weapons at 2906 Union Street, an entire two-block area was blocked... and dozens of Emeryville and Oakland police officers had (supposedly answering a call for reinforcements) appeared on the scene, thoroughly equipped with riot helmets, OVERKILL weapons, tear gas bombs..."

### Cleaver's Account

Cleaver's account of the shoot-out indicated that the trouble began around 9:30 PM when a squad car pulled alongside 3 Panther cars parked on 28th St. Cleaver saw a cop get out of a squad car, which had suddenly pulled up, "heard some loud talk" from a cop "and suddenly a gun exploded right in my face." Cleaver said he and Bobby "lit out" through an alleyway and through a side door into the basement of a house that had no connection with the Panthers. "We laid down on our backs and the cops started

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Columbia University is an Ivy League School which borders on Harlem, New York City. Ivy League schools train the "cream of the crop" to be administrators of the white American empire. Harlem is the country's largest colonized black ghetto. There has always been tension between the University and the ghetto.

Periodically the University expands and grabs up some more black people's homes in the name of "urban renewal". The University is the biggest slumlord in the area. It is also tied to the Institute of Defense Analysis, a think tank to devise ways of putting down rebellions in the ghettos at home and abroad.

Columbia University insists on destroying one of Harlem's few parks by building a gym on it. The University's answer to protests from the Harlem community has been a racist insult. "Community people" (black people) can enter the gym by a rear door and use some special facilities of a gym built in their own community. The gym is just the most blatant example of Columbia's racist policy towards those who live outside its ivy walls.

### Revolt

Community pressure against the gym has been steadily building over the last few months. At the same time, white students have been trying to build a campaign against the University's ties with the IDA. Over a month ago, SDS staged an "illegal" demonstration against the IDA. Six steering committee members were put on disciplinary probation without hearings.

On Tuesday, April 23, about 600 marched on Low Library to protest the probations and IDA. Low was locked, so the students marched to the construction site of the "Jim Crow Gym". The march was spon-

taneous. Some marchers tore down parts of the fence around the site. By then black people had joined the demonstration. There was a scuffle with the cops, an arrest, and some police brutality. That was the spark of the most militant campus revolt we have seen so far.

### The Demands

SDS and the Student Afro-American Society formed a loose coalition. They separately endorsed the same demands:

- 1) All work on the Columbia Gym must cease immediately.
- 2) The Institute of Defense Analysis must leave Columbia.
- 3) The six students involved in the IDA demonstration in March must not be disciplined.
- 4) Amnesty for all participants in the current demonstration.
- 5) Drop charges on arrests of previous community demonstrations against the gym.
- 6) The edict on no indoor demonstrations must be rescinded.

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# LETTER

To the editor:

The May issue of the Movement carries a reasonable editorial. If I understand that editorial and the tone of other statements the Movement has made, our job as revolutionaries is to "get our shit together"—which seems to mean educate people about the enemy, organize ourselves, pose alternatives and create a strategy that can someday help us to take state power.

If that is our job, it is also the job of the newspaper the Movement. I was therefore very disappointed to read Reese Ehrlich's inadequate apology for the Peace and Freedom Party in the pages of your paper. Ehrlich's article is internally self-contradictory, historically inaccurate and politically deceitful (or, at best, naive). I would like to challenge you to explain to your readers why you published this nonsense.

I know this letter has a better chance of being published if I am as concise as possible. So I'll restrict my criticisms of Ehrlich's article, and therefore your editorial policy, to a few of the most blatant examples.

## Internal Self-Contradictions

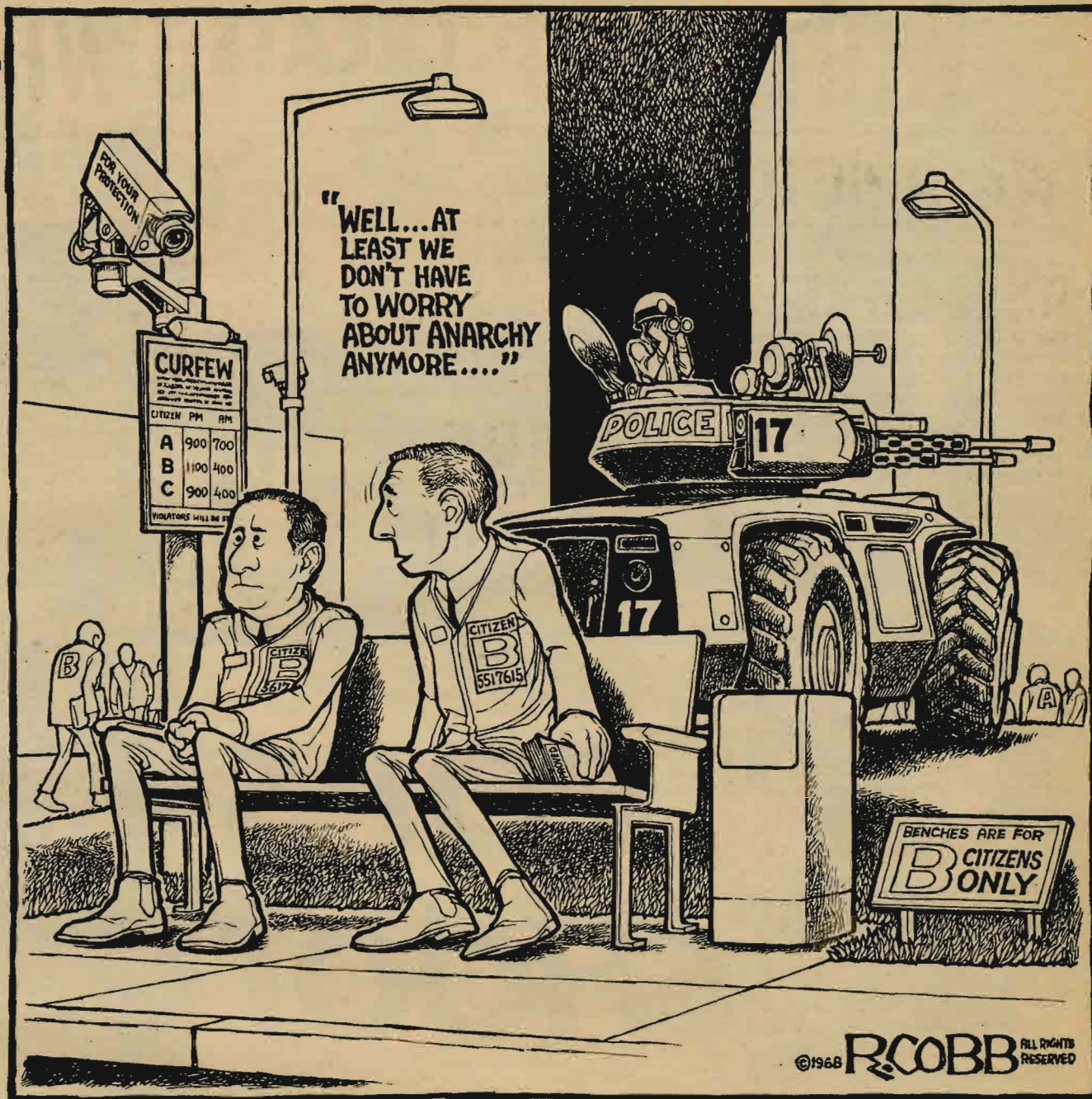
Internal self-contradictions: First, Ehrlich states that "mobilizing students for precinct canvassing is much less effective than organizing them into an anti-draft union." This may or may not be true, but Ehrlich contends it is. Why then, does he work for and defend the PFP whose main activity is precinct canvassing? Second, Ehrlich sees the PFP as a tool for educating and organizing people for the anti-war and black liberation movements, not to get out a big protest vote. Yet earlier he criticizes the painful education process against racism and imperialism as being too inefficient. He writes, "In some areas, these local groups are too democratic. Because local groups are constantly engrossed in hammering out the correct political line..." But Ehrlich ends the paragraph on a more optimistic note. He assumes the trend towards extended discussions will reverse, "now that the elections are imminent." Such a reversal implies that political education and discussion will be subordinate to vote getting—just what Ehrlich previously asserts the PFP doesn't aim for.

## Historical Inaccuracies

Historical Inaccuracies: First, Ehrlich assumes that the alternative to a "radical" third party in an election year is to ignore electoral politics and thus drive people into the Democratic Party. Historically, to oppose electoral politics is not synonymous with ignoring electoral politics. A well organized boycott of the electoral process does not ignore that process, just as an organized boycott of racist classes doesn't ignore the educational system. Second, the primary constituency of the PFP is middle class and Ehrlich admits that there is a danger of it becoming social democratic. But he insists, at the same time, that it is "closer to the emphasis of a revolutionary party...or at least 'laying the groundwork for one.'" Why? Ehrlich says because the PFP controls its candidates and because it opposes racism and U.S. imperialism. Some political science major should remind Ehrlich that the Democratic Party is controlled by the American ruling class and that its candidates are far from free agents. Then Ehrlich has the balls to say that one of the "radical" resolutions of the PFP Convention was to oppose "communist imperialism". What revolutionary party ever opposed "communist imperialism"? (Did someone convince Ehrlich that the NLF opposes North Vietnamese imperialist ventures in the South?) A revolutionary party worthy of the name would stand in solidarity with the revolutionary parties who are fighting imperialism in Vietnam, in Cuba, in China—these parties happen to be Communist. Labelling them imperialist is hardly a gesture of solidarity. (Besides, "communist imperialism" is a logical impossibility since imperialism is only an advanced stage of capitalism. I can only assume the PFP meant to say "communist aggression", but didn't cause that would have betrayed their affinity to the State Department)

## Political Deceit or Naivete

Political Deceit or Naivete: Since I don't know him, I am willing to give Ehrlich the benefit of the doubt. His political deceptions may just be his own naivete. First, he claims that the PFP has a large base, 105,000 registrants. In another issue of the Movement I read that potential registrants were told "you don't have to be for PFP, only for its right to be on the ballot. You can change your registration later." Does Ehrlich consider these people part of his base? Second, Ehrlich states that the PFP will educate and radicalize a lot of liberals. He never says how. Third,



# ALIANZA BOMBED

from a report by Mary Varela

Around 9:30 P.M., the night of April 17th, an explosion shattered the quiet neighborhood around the offices of the La Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres. A nearby policeman, Gallegos, heard the explosion and gave chase to the wildly

weaving car. When Gallegos stopped the car he found the man, William Fallion, 52, bent over what was left of his right arm and shoulder. Fallion was charged with reckless driving and possession of a deadly weapon.

Fallion is an ex-deputy sheriff of Bernalillo county. He is an expert "powder

man" and has just recently gotten out of prison.

Apparently Fallion pulled up in front of the Alianza office and broke out a side window. He then went back to his car, pulled out the dynamite and lit it. In the process of turning around to the building he tripped and fell. The dynamite went off in his hand.

The police told Chris Tijerina that Fallion would probably not be prosecuted for the attempted bombing because no one had been hurt.

## TIJERINA ARRESTED AGAIN

This statement was made by Reies Tijerina from his jail cell on April 27. Reies, his brother Cristobal and ten others were re-arrested on trumped up kidnapping charges.

Alfonso Sanchez (D.A.) has been shouting at the Alianza that Reies Tijerina should stick to the courts only. Now that the courts have decided on January 29 in our favor, Sanchez refuses to comply with a court order and resorted to the Democratic political machine to form a grand jury and prosecute. I feel that Senator Montoya is behind the whole conspiracy. It was well timed. We were arrested a few hours before I was to leave for Washington, D.C. where I was to meet with Reverend Abernathy and the steering committee of the Poor People's March.

The authorities' traditional attitude of pampering and conspiracy against the peaceful Spanish American people is clear, but we intend to put a stop to this nonsense. Law and order must be established for the poor as well as for the rich and powerful. The law enforcement officials in New Mexico do not realize that using their political power to prosecute innocent people is a very dangerous game. It is also violence of the worst type. I, like all my people, am very much suspicious of the combination of my arrest and the ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL's editorial attacks on me because I was elected to lead the poor people's march on Washington, D.C. The public should be aware that our constitutional rights have been violated today. Tomorrow theirs will be violated. The bonds set against poor people amount to nearly one quarter of a million dollars (\$250,000). This shows how the powerful authorities try to bleed the poor. It is clear that they know where the weakness lies: money. It is a direct attack on the poor people's march on Washington."

Ehrlich seems to be saying also that now that LBJ has pulled out of the race, PFP had better not bother running a presidential candidate. "The prospects are better in local areas." But I thought the PFP was out to educate people and not amass a big protest vote. The implication of PFP's possible withdrawal from national politics seems to be that in order to keep McCarthy supporters within the PFP, they won't challenge McCarthy's party nationally, only locally.

In conclusion, I think the PFP probably has some merits. But I could not find them in Ehrlich's article. If PFP does have some merits that would help us "get our shit together" it is the responsibility of the Movement to print an article about that and not nonsense.

For the revolution,  
J.M. Brownly  
New York City

## One Man or Conspiracy?

Members of the Alianza staff felt that this bombing was part of a conspiracy to destroy their organization. People have told them that Fallion had been seen with Frank Lovelady, the head of the John Birch Society in Albuquerque. There are known members of the John Birch Society in the State Police, the Sheriff's office, the D.A.'s office. Other members and people have said that they have overheard conversations of the State Police in which they said that they were going to pay someone to get rid of the Tijerinas or La Alianza.

The Alianza office has also been receiving calls like "Esta es La Mano Blanco." (This is the White Hand) They are a right-wing terrorist group in New Mexico.

Now the police are saying that there was no connection between the explosion and the Alianza! The papers reported the same. Perhaps something is being covered over?

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# WHITE RESPONSE TO WHITE RACISM

## WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "For three hundred years America has demanded that blacks be non-violent even if whites are violent. The greatest American who stood for that position was murdered Thursday night. Now is the time for white America to repay that historic debt; to be non-violent even if the blacks are violent."

"But instead President Johnson has sent the Army to conquer his own national capital. His troops and helicopters are not yet strafing Washington; but the mass arrests have already begun. If anything was needed to show the bankruptcy of American racism, this is it: that the U.S. Army is now carrying on a military occupation of its own capital..."

This statement, issued April 5 by eight movement leaders, set the tone for white response to the Washington rebellion. It put forth a number of demands, including withdrawal of all troops and police from the ghetto, release of all prisoners taken in the nation-wide black protest against the murder of Dr. King, and free public distribution of food, clothing and other necessities during the disturbances.

### Center for Emergency Support

The white community proved that it could offer and implement a specific program for meeting the crisis nonviolently. Last August, after the nation-wide ghetto uprisings, hundreds of Washingtonians organized the Center for Emergency Support, a coordinating facility to provide for the services of doctors, lawyers, clergymen; for transportation, information, and communications during an emergency. When the recent rebellions erupted this apparatus immediately went into effect. The Center's office was announced over radio and television as a coordination point for those needing or offering aid. City and suburban churches provided centers where persons to be referred to doctors could obtain various services. A medical committee arranged for injured persons to be referred to doctors who volunteered to be on call. Law students staked out precinct stations to be on hand to advise prisoners of their rights, while lawyers pressured for the lowering of unreasonable bail rates. Churches served as distribution centers for food, while many people offered to provide housing for the homeless, and nurses helped care for the children of parents who were arrested or lost. No recruiting was necessary, as the simple repeated radio and TV message brought more offers to help than the center could have expected.

During the rebellion white radicals also organized demonstrations (over 100 students at the White House demonstrating against the use of troops were attacked by police), and passed out broadsides printed by the Washington Free Press. But these efforts were limited by the exodus from the city of students, because school administration called off classes for all days remaining until spring vacation; and a rigidly enforced curfew also prevented many people from organizing help. Those cooperating were mostly from SDS, Liberation News Service, The Free Press, and the Draft Union.

The Center for Emergency Support asks that anyone interested in using a similar program in their own community call them at 234-9382 (area code 202) or write to the Center for Emergency Support, c/o Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

## DETROIT

by David Wellman

Things were pretty quiet in Detroit after Dr. King's assassination. But the kind of "peace" which settled over the city was anything but friendly. Detroit was occupied territory with a strict curfew for six days.

In sharp contrast to last summer, when the city was gripped by an intense rebellion, on April 5th, when the curfew was imposed, no stores had been looted, no shots had been fired and no molotov cocktails had been thrown. The Mayor, in one of his more candid moments, said he was "over reacting". To what? He didn't say because he didn't have to. It was implied: last summer. He certainly wasn't over reacting to anything which followed Dr. King's death because almost nothing had happened. And yet Detroit was placed under a harsh curfew.

### Martial Law

Dr. King was murdered Thursday evening. In ANTICIPATION of any response to the assassination, on Friday afternoon Mayor Cavanaugh announced his curfew. Nothing had yet happened.

The curfew would be strict and uniform. It applied to everyone. No one could be on the streets after 8:00 p.m. People could return to the streets, if they cared to, after 5:00 a.m. All bars and other public places were to be closed immediately until further notice. Public meetings of more than three people were also banned until further notice. The curfew included all of Wayne County, which includes Detroit. This is an area which covers hundreds of square miles.

The city and county had been literally closed down. Apparently this is the most recent "model cities" program worked out

## BOSTON

The Boston Resistance was just beginning its first general organizational meeting on April 4, when a young man ran in and announced that Martin Luther King had been shot and killed. This coincidence helped build a swift white response in the Boston Area to King's assassination and the black riots following it.

The Boston Resistance and People Against Racism (PAR) immediately organized a rally and march for the next day. 15-20,000 people marched from the Boston Commons to the Federal Building. Seeing the American flag still flying high off the Federal Building, they chanted "Lower the Flag! Lower the Flag!" until it was brought down.

Militant white speakers hammered away at the theme that racism is structural in America. Terry Cannon, an editor of The Movement, said "America is not incapable of ending racism, it is unwilling. America has hidden behind the mask of law and order. We have learned that American order is another name for death and American law another name for murder. The propagandists for law and order tell us that rioters are hoods and criminals. We hold they are not criminals, they are rebels." When he asked, "Who among us will campaign to keep the police and the military out of the black community, even if this means sitting-in at armories and police stations?" members of the crowd shouted back, "We will!"

The radicals had got the jump on the power structure. It took the Mayor and the Cardinal several days longer to put on their Commemoration Rally.

Those attending the Resistance-PAR rally were asked to take leaflets into the community and talk to whites about racism. Many did. After the rally impromptu street rallies and discussions sprouted up around the city.

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## PITTSBURGH

By John Bancroft

I live in the oldest white working-class neighborhood in Pittsburgh. The people, primarily Polish, work in jobs ranging up to steel worker, which is really a lower-middle-class job these days. I moved into the area mainly because the apartments were phenomenally cheap. It is the only neighborhood in the city that university people will not consider living in, which automatically lowers the rents. The area is all white, but there are pockets of black people several blocks away and my neighbors feel phenomenally threatened by them.

I was away from the city when King was killed. I got back the next day, by which time I had heard rather vague reports of rebellion in one of the black ghettos. When I came

up to my house I saw one of my neighbors — a 60 year old postal worker who skimps constantly so he can send his four kids through college — and stopped to talk to him.

"Got your gun ready John?"

"Uh... No, I haven't."

"They're coming up here tonight, you know."

"You think so? I don't really think anybody will come up here tonight, Mr. Fabec." Which brought an incredulous look, as Mr. Fabec realized that I actually didn't think anybody was coming up that night, and so wouldn't help in the preparation. My main reaction — aside from realizing frustratedly that the conversation was over despite what anyone says about the possibilities of white civilizing — was how absurd an idea it was that Mr. Fabec and I could hold off anyone at all anyway.

### Nervous Neighbor

I went out later that night to a movie, after disregarding the advice of my neighbors across the street about going out at all. I came back about 11:00 and started up the stairs. The guy who lives right below me — a young guy, Irish, married, mechanical draftsman, ex-marine — shouted:

"Who's there?" To which I answered a rather inadequate "it's me," thinking he must have been expecting some company. But his television was on too loud for him to hear me, so he shouted again even more

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(photo: Bill Nowlin, Chicago Film Co-op)

## CHICAGO

by Noel Ignatin & C. Clark Kissinger

The week or so following the assassination of Martin Luther King on Thursday, April 4 was a period of the most intense activity on the part of white radicals in Chicago. It was a period of furious shifting of gears, crossing of wires, individual and small-group projects, proposals and counter-proposals, midnight telephone calls, work sessions and hot disputes over immediate steps. The main thing was that, for the first time, white radicals responded in deeds to a crisis situation brought about by official terror against black people.

Let us trace, day by day, what was going on within the white movement and, in the process, hit on some of the key arguments and lessons.

Thursday, April 4. Dr. King assassinated in the late afternoon. By evening, the wheels had been started to call a rally in the loop for Saturday to commemorate Dr. King and demand an end to white racist violence.

### Friday, April 5

The National Guard was called out at 2:30 PM and the first fires had started in the ghetto. That night CIPA (see MAY MOVEMENT) had got up a leaflet to the Guardsmen, asking them not to fight for Mayor Daley and loop department stores. About twenty people went to one of the armories where the Guardsmen were quartered. They were able to talk to many soldiers, even got into some arguments with Guard officers in the presence of the troops, and got fairly good responses. Some of the Guardsmen were wearing McCarthy buttons.

Also on Friday night, people from JOIN and the NCU went into bars in Uptown, site

of the armory CIPA was leafleting, and struck up conversations with Guardsmen who were there getting prepared for what they expected to face in the ghetto later that night. They reported the Guardsmen as very confused, scared, nervous and generally up-tight.

### Saturday, April 6

People gathered at the Civic Center at noon. This rally had been conceived Thursday night, BEFORE THE CALLING OUT OF THE GUARD and the first killings. Until as late as Friday night it appeared that some liberals (including some CP-oriented liberals) would take part in it and help shape its character. But by midnight Friday it had become obvious that the liberals' projection of a silent vigil for Dr. King was in increasing conflict with the radicals' demands for the immediate withdrawal of troops and police from the ghetto, freedom for Rap Brown and self-determination for the black communities, and the situation had polarized people, making impossible any compromise of the two approaches. The Saturday rally was started by two people in the Union of Organizers here, and was originally planned for the Federal Building.

The change in locale is significant mainly in that, in Chicago, rallies at the Federal Building have been legal whereas rallies at the Civic Center have not. (Of course it could be argued that the police would not have permitted a rally of such a radical character even at a "legal" spot, or that, on the other hand, if the "illegal" Civic Center rally had been opened by a well-known liberal politician or a moderate black figure, the police would not have dared to deny it a permit. We'll never know.)

### At the Rally

In any case, over 300 people gathered at the Civic Center with various intentions, quite a few having come to memorialize Dr. King in a silent service and many others with more militant expectations. (For instance, CIPA had made a decision not to block trucks at the Guard armory on Friday night after being assured that a larger number of people were preparing for militant action the next day.)

Rennie Davis opened the meeting and announced the intention to commemorate Dr. King, to organize the collection of food and clothing for the ghetto and to demand the immediate withdrawal of police and troops from the ghetto. At this point a police district commander stepped forward (there were lines of helmeted cops on all sides) and officially informed the group that it was illegal to assemble at Civic Center and that to proceed would be in violation of the law. Rennie then announced to the crowd that, "We have been informed by the police that it is illegal to hold a memorial service for Dr. King in Chicago. Some people are going to march to the Chicago Ave. armory to have a teach-in with the Guard." After some more ex-

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# We Are Not Americans

I  
There has been much talk of life styles  
And styles  
Of writing and dressing, talking,  
content, ideology and form.  
Shaggy hair, Afro hair, teased hair, bluejeans  
Bermudas, business suits, evening gowns.  
We all wear clothes around our actions  
Our bodies move  
Under the grey flannel, black leather, khaki coats  
When the body stops moving  
The embalmer dresses it.

There has been much talk of thoughts  
Our thoughts immigrate from the world  
Zen thoughts, Marxist, theological . . .  
We have grown desperate from thinking  
Our fears give off a heavy coat of thinking  
Around us  
of heavy grey flannel, black leather, evening gown.  
Inside them our body of action is sweating.

We wait for the tower of power to be dynamited.  
The riots don't do it, the strikes,  
Demonstrations, letters  
We wait for the man with the fuse:  
Jesus Guevara and Mao Tse Lenin.

We wait to be swept up in an uprising  
of passion  
Instead we are swept down like loose pages  
of an unwritten book  
In a narrow, narrowing channel  
until the veins loosen, the heart attacks  
and the last business man  
gives us our final instruction:  
Lie still.

We pore over texts of diagrams  
Showing the match, the fuse, the explosive  
Russian fuses, Cuban matches,  
Chinese gunpowder  
None are sold in the American supermarket

In our rooms we study ideas  
We want the idea  
that will rearrange the cells of our minds  
The DNA structure  
The idea that when spoken will awake  
the cataclysmic vibration in American walls  
Cracking the cement, the plastic,  
the plaster, the chrome, and the steel

Out of the mountain of despair  
we seem to have hewn the stone of defeat.

II  
There is no such thing as America  
It is united by brute force only  
Nothing else holds the black, the  
white, biblesinging, pacifist,  
communist, rich, plastic, hippie  
blues, country and western, jewish!  
fascist, cowboy and indian, gangster  
guru America together.

Brute force created it, maintains it,  
holds it together.

Blacks burn down a neighborhood  
That is called  
a local problem.  
We destroy the corner gas station:  
Standard Oil has 10,000 more  
We await the arms shipment to arrive  
on a boat from the Third World  
There is no such boat  
We return to the texts and the tomes  
Describing who designed the bomb  
in Germany, who carried it to China,  
Who lit it in Cuba  
Uh uh.  
The people named in those books  
Do not live in America.

Our fear feeds American power  
Our richness comforts it  
Our comfort enriches it  
We are led into green pastures  
of boredom and jobs  
And we lie down,  
Gifting our lives to those who employ them:  
Scrap in the mechanism building  
more scrap.

We envy the blacks who are forced into  
action, we envy the Indians who went down  
fighting, we envy the hippies  
who have made a separate treaty.

When we think we are up against the wall  
it moves  
When we plant our gunpowder under the tower  
it gives way  
The dead heap up where the wall once was  
but they are our dead

The enemy moves through America  
like fish through the sea

We throw out glittering nets of words.  
The smiling fish at mahogany desks  
slip through the netting  
like debaters through logic  
like Kennedy through a throng of students  
like a society matron through her servants  
The smile on the face of the mighty  
is their passport.  
We don't believe in passports  
But the smile is the shape of a gun  
and we believe in guns.

We allow the book to be thrown at us  
The book is full of liberals' words  
And it is heavy  
like a club.  
I suggest that the sea turn to stone.

III  
Our short lives and our bodies are our  
only weapons.  
If we turn these weapons over to America  
it will use them, as the NLF uses  
guns captured from America  
We cannot allow our lives and our bodies  
To be captured and used.

We are foreigners on our own soil  
This suggests COUNTER-insurgency.

We begin at the bottom where the enemy  
is weakest and most exposed  
These are the institutions  
that control the young.  
We throw out a fine net  
of our own institutions  
that at first feed off  
then control  
then replace  
those owned by the enemy

It is not enough to agitate the sea  
We must throw fine powdered cement into it.

We ask allegiance of our people  
Life long allegiance  
We ask constant motion, action,  
work until death.  
We demand hard work and strong pleasure  
(divide them and die)  
The hippies have proven that pleasure  
Can be taken  
without help from the enemy  
(he will be glad to provide us with pleasure  
of his own making)  
We will enjoy our brothers and sisters  
They are our weapons and our homes.

We will infiltrate America's strongholds  
Its bureaucracies, police [stations], corporations,  
armies, postal services, welfare departments,  
governments  
Sap them, loot them and learn from them.  
When we return home at night we will  
assemble the stolen parts in our basements  
Building our own strange, exciting  
traps, pleasures and tools.

We will assemble our own schools,  
homes, families, services, unions,  
churches, theaters  
With ONLY the ultimate intention of  
replacing theirs!  
We will beat our hobbies into vocations  
our desires into institutions  
our loves into families  
our neighbors into friends

This will be done by young people  
while they grow older.

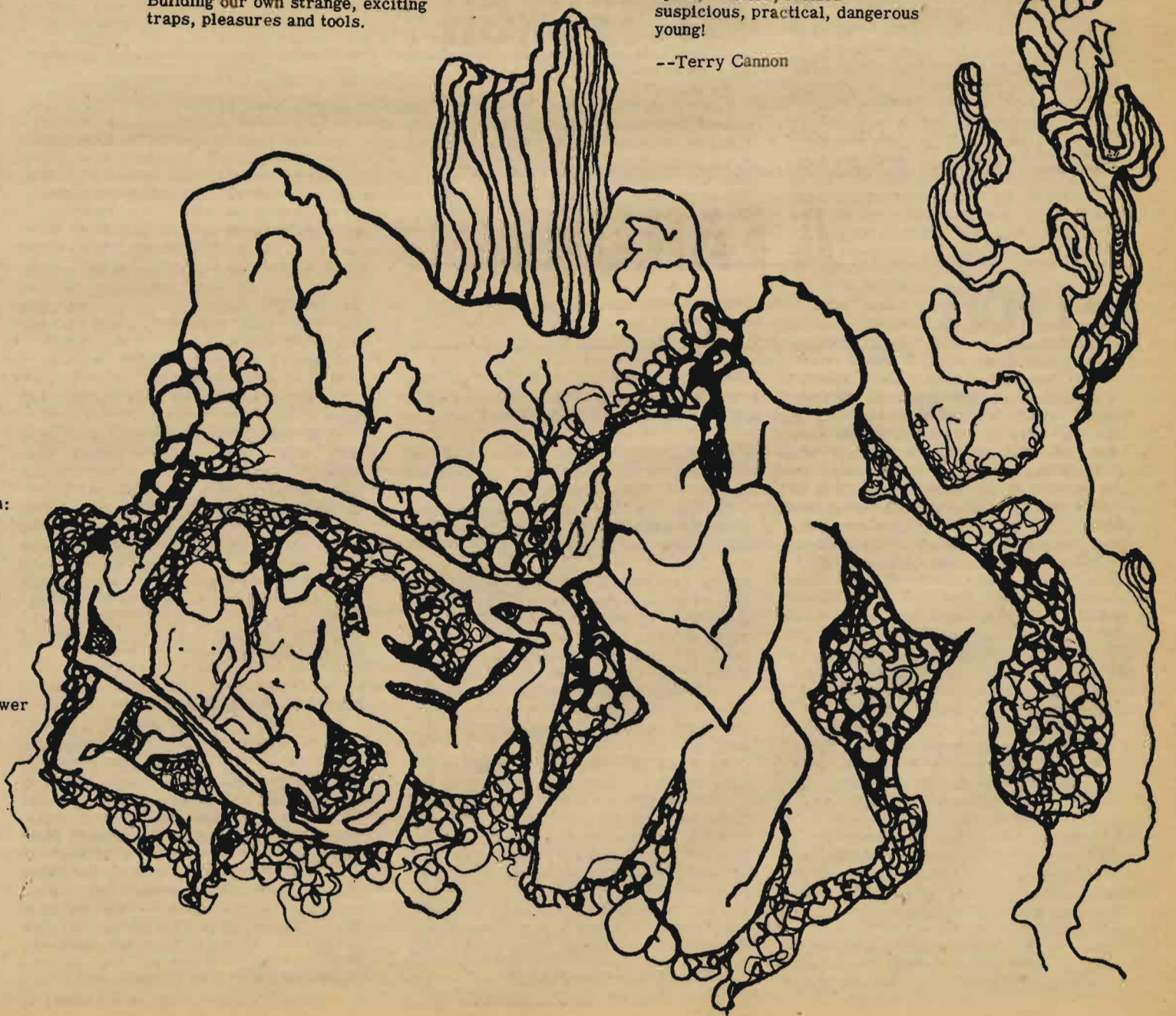
Remember what Che left behind him in Cuba  
A Brigade whose job was to clear  
land and plant it.  
Clearing and planting the land are not  
romantic revolutionary callings  
They are necessary revolutionary jobs.

This demands an act of will  
and an identity  
Will to resist as long as we are alive  
An identity of action, motion, changes.

I call for a lifestyle of action  
When asked what kind of life a leftist leads  
We will answer:  
We are tough  
We protect our own  
We steal from the enemy  
and give freely to our own  
We defy property  
and support people  
We defend ourselves  
We fight no wars except our own  
Whenever America tells us to lie still  
We move  
If America tells us to watch something on TV  
We go to see it ourselves  
If America tells us to talk on the telephone  
We talk in person  
If America forces us to take a job  
we move in and out and around that job  
robbing the job to pay our people  
If America tells us to read its newspapers  
We write our own  
If America tells us to listen to experts  
We become experts  
If America tells us to listen to it  
We listen to ourselves  
Only in a group  
Only as a people.  
When America tells us to fear ourselves  
We embrace one another  
When America asks for peace  
We call for conflict  
When America pleads for unity  
We demand civil war

Knowing that there has never been unity  
as long as we are foreigners on our own soil.  
We are not Americans  
until we have created America.  
Until then we are  
spies, traitors, looters  
suspicious, practical, dangerous  
young!

--Terry Cannon





## Soul on Ice

## IT'S ALL JUNGLE HERE

by Ellen Estrin

Eldridge is back in jail now. He was out about a year and a half. He must have known that he'd be sent back, he must have decided that that was the way it had to be.

Eldridge Cleaver had grown to be an important person in the Bay Area during the year and a half he was allowed freedom. In the press he was known as a member of the Black Panthers, but to movement people Eldridge was an important link between white and black radicals. He understood the need for working unity between his black brothers and the whites who were committed to social and economic revolution. He had seen that concept growing into Malcolm X's ideology in the year before he was assassinated, and he knew that was why Malcolm X was so threatening to the Establishment.

Eldridge had gotten a job on the RAM-PARTS staff soon after he was released from prison on parole, and everyone who knew him had heard that he was going to have a book published, based on the writings he had worked on in jail. But to us he was considered a black revolutionary, a Panther, not "a writer".

SOUL ON ICE is a diverse collection of essays and letters. The best ones are about prison life, about love, about blacks and whites, about American society. There is a more accurate description of how American society affects the population than ANY sociological analysis I have ever read. I see no point in going over the content of each essay - for you should read them yourselves. What he has to say is absolutely clear and needs no explanation.

The most remarkable thing about the letters and the essays are their potency. So many books have been published on blacks and the black movement ("civil rights movement", "freedom movement", "black power") that my immediate response to a new title is a groan: "Oh man, another black author telling the white folks where its at," or "Oh man, another white radical telling the white and black folks where its at". But SOUL ON ICE is a different trip. There are only a few essays which deal with "the movement".

Most of the writing is so straight and intimate that I wonder how Eldridge could have published it at all. The book is intimate because Eldridge writes about hate and love, sex and sensuality without abstraction; he writes about himself, his own confusion, about how he adopts different roles in order to gain different ends, about his contradictory feelings towards whites, especially towards white women. The writing is so specifically about him and from him that it becomes universal. When a writer gets away from abstractions when he gets down to minute, personal detail, he begins to describe everyman. It's like skinning writing of its gloss, undressing writing of its sham store-bought clothes and dealing with the electric currents in the nervous system, the pulses which run between sensory receptors, the brain, the muscles and the bones. It seemed to me that Eldridge was trying

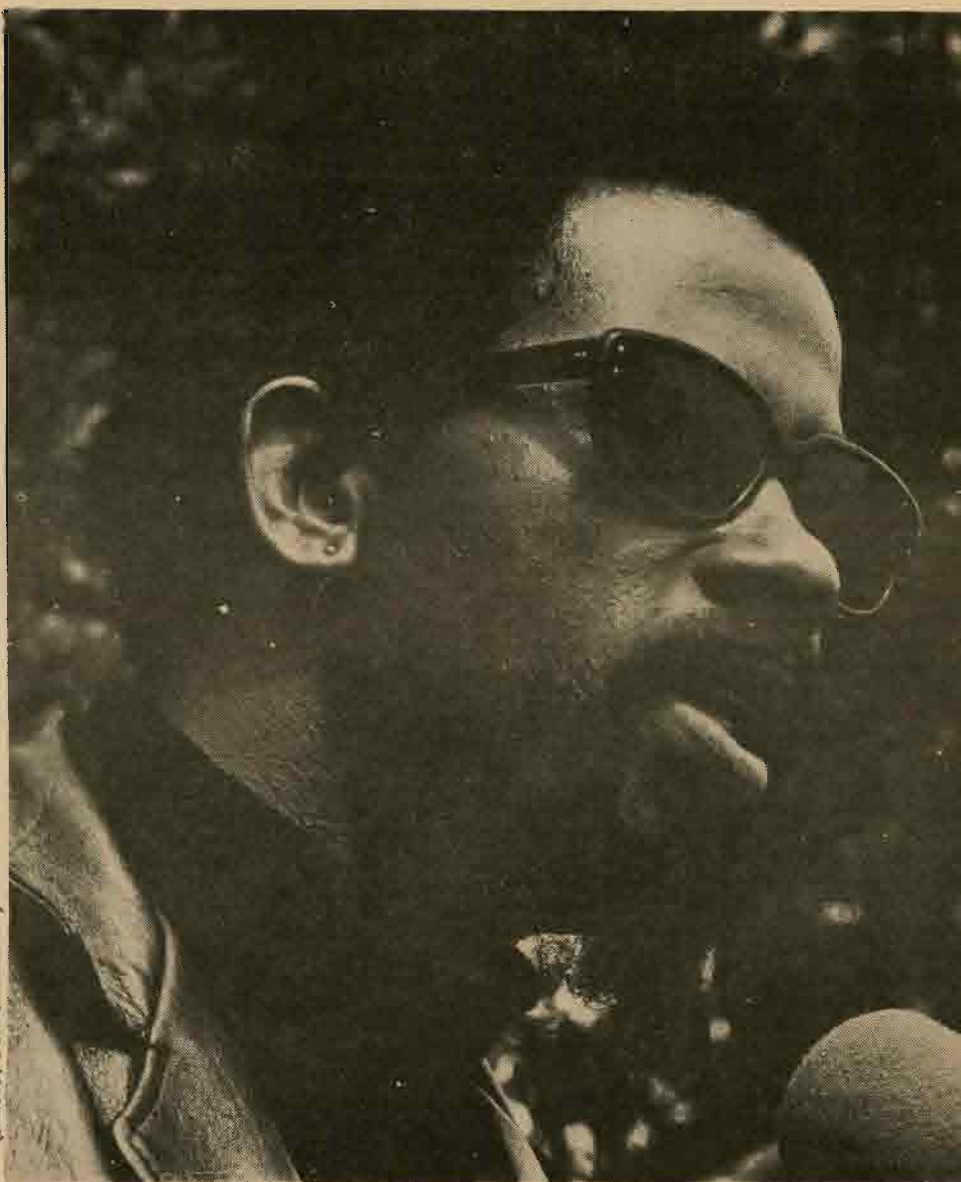
to do that in his writing, he was trying to be that honest. Perhaps one reason for this attempt at nervous system-gut level communications is the confusion Eldridge feels with his own self. He wants to get underneath the contradictions of Cleaver the black man, Cleaver the lover of a white woman, Cleaver the con, Cleaver the revolutionary, Cleaver the intellectual.

You should read Eldridge's book. He is back in jail again, this time with wounds in his body from the guns of Oakland police (he was lucky you know, they killed his comrade who was with him that night.) The cops were out to get him. It was not important to the Oakland police that Eldridge had been published by McGraw-Hill and formally praised by the establishment critics. He was dangerous to the law and order of oppression.

## Worthy Contribution

On the jacket cover of Eldridge's book, Kenneth Clark writes that there is "... a purity in Cleaver's ability to describe horror and degradation which reminds me of Genet. While reading the book I kept thinking of the type of contribution that this man with his extraordinary intelligence could have made to our society if he had not been so early consigned to the human dungheap." And we say, Clark, you have your head up your ass. For Cleaver is engaged in the only worthwhile contribution to this society that there is at this time: he is trying to destroy it, top to bottom, end to end, inside and out. And man, if that's not a contribution worthy of his extraordinary intelligence, then I'm at a loss to know what is.

The Oakland cops understood that, and that's why they shot him full of bullets instead of praising his writing. Had he gone to France to live, like James Baldwin, or quietly played it safe until his parole was up, he might have gone on to write any number of books for McGraw-Hill. He didn't. It may be hard for some people to understand that; that the only way to maintain dignity and humanness is to fight those things which sit on your head and body and tear you to pieces (let us not mince words: this system does that to



(Photo: Jeff Blankfort)

## Eldridge Cleaver

all of us, it takes its toll of each person in his own role, in his blackness, whiteness, man-ness, women-ness).

The most important thing for Eldridge Cleaver, the theme which runs through his book like a recurring nightmare, is the necessity of breaking out of the roles which he has played all his life, and which other blacks play in their lives. Whoever he is, whichever "facet" of him appears at a particular time, he must free himself from the great con job which has evolved in these hundreds of years of American enslavement. And the only way to find out who Eldridge Cleaver is, for him, is to act, to move, to refuse all safety and all labels.

We once thought it was humorous to say that we could organize a movement around people's alienation; as if the only things people would fight for were jobs or better working conditions if they had a job. But the justice that Cleaver is asking for is a totally different thing, and he articulates it for me, a white woman, as well as himself, a black man.

"The white man wants to be the brain and he wants us to be the muscle, the body. All this is tied up together in a crazy way which was never too clear to me. At

one time it seems absolutely clear and at other times I don't believe in it. It reminds me of two sets of handcuffs that have all four of us (black men, black women, white men, white women) tied up together, holding all black and white flesh in a certain mold."

And as far as I see it that mold is not just the cage of brain-muscle, white-black definitions, but a thousand-angled description of men, women, workers, thinkers, right behavior and wrong behavior.

"...without asking how, just say that we survived our forced march and travail through the valley of Slavery, suffering and Death... And we had thought that our hard climb out of that cruel valley led to some cool, green and peaceful, sunlit place -- but it's all jungle here, a wild and savage wilderness that's overrun with ruins.

But put on your crown, my Queen, and we will build a New City on these ruins."

We are left out here to build the New City, to build new selves. But Eldridge is back in jail again, this time with bullet wounds in his body. He should be out here working with us. There is absolutely no question about that. ←

## A FAILURE TO THINK ABOUT

People don't hear too much about community projects that die. We don't like to talk about our defeats, and besides, it's tough enough to recruit organizers without running obituaries. So we talk about recognizing that your life matters and there's important work to be done. We talk about making long term commitments and building enduring institutions. And we talk about Chicago and a few other places that survive and run-down techniques and tactics that seem to work. That's good. But every once in a while someone says "Yeah, I'm through with chicken-shit student politics, I'm going to organize." And like as not a few months later he's licking his wounds back in school or the hippie ghetto or a high office in SDS. That's happened to hundreds of hopeful people in Chester and New Haven and Oakland and Minneapolis and a lot of other places we've forgotten about. And the movement has lost not only their participation but their experiences.

One of the few relevant things that Regis Debray has to tell North Americans is that "for a revolutionary, failure is a springboard. As a source of theory it is richer than victory: it accumulates experience and knowledge." Community organizing is the cornerstone of the movement's strategy for social change. Yet with a few exceptions, we have been unable to use our failures either to record the mistakes that must be avoided in the future or to evaluate the strategy as a whole.

Recently, the Movement got a report from Dave Muhly, a project staff worker who watched an attempt to organize poor Appalachian whites fall apart. Eight members of the Penn State chapter of SDS set the project up in the small town of Bellefonte, Pennsylvania in June 1967. By the end of August it had collapsed.

## Typical Project

The picture that emerges from Dave's report appears to be typical. The organizers were students, "students frustrated by the calibre of campus work"

who wanted "to deal with real people and their real problems". They were well-versed in theory, and sought "to establish a radical power base in the community" by organizing around unemployment, welfare and corruption in the borough administration while learning how to modify the tactics developed by urban projects to fit the needs of semi-rural Appalachia. But though theory prepared them for the real problems, nothing in their middle-class lives and training had prepared them for the real people. As a result, they were never able to make their actions conform to their analysis.

The students had expected to refrain from initiating any actions until they knew their neighbors and the community and felt "the same needs and hardships" as the rest of the townspeople. But they found themselves attempting far too soon to create organizing situations. Their impatience, says Dave, was bred from the accumulated frustration of campus politics; the joyful novelty of a situation where they could apply all their theoretical concepts; and the desire to create a commitment that would

resolve their uncertainty about returning to school. They wanted "to use Bellefonte to help us define ourselves and our lives."

The project had also realized that it was dangerous to try to fit the community to preconceived tactics. Its organizers left their plans indefinite and stressed their adaptability. But a decision as seemingly simple as the way they moved into town was later to prove of considerable importance. The students decided to combine communal living quarters and an office in a three-story house. Their decision rested on the assumption that they would be working with adults and attacking welfare and the corruption of the Borough Council.

## Open Door Policy

But the first people to be attracted to the house were not adults, but little kids "who came to be around us as friends in an atmosphere that was devoid of authoritarian restrictions." The project left the kids almost unlimited freedom, and Dave says "their reaction was incredibly beautiful." The organizers thought that the project's "open door policy" would reach out to the parents through their kids and establish a good relationship with the adult community. Instead, the older brothers and older friends of the original kids started coming in through the open door. These older kids were veterans of the reformatory. Through them the organizers became aware of the local cops who harassed their new visitors and cooked up charges against them in an effort to

get them out of town for good.

As the organizers became more interested in these kids, the open door began to make trouble. First the neighbors began to talk. They were hostile to the house for harboring the town's troublemakers. And they began to gossip about the hours that the women associated with the project were keeping at the house. The students were shocked to find the low-income people they had come to work with identifying so fully with "bourgeois" values. But they realized that they had to make a decision: either maintain their original vision of organizing adults and abandon the kids who were coming to the house; or work with the kids and alienate the welfare recipients.

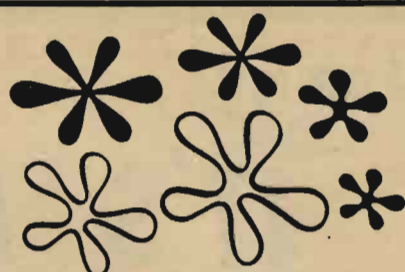
## Stick to Kids

They decided to stick with the kids. They felt that the life style of the hood was an expression of his anger and frustration - that given a perspective he would turn that anger on the system responsible for his condition. The older poor on the other hand repressed their frustration and refused to see the reality of their oppression; their denunciation of the teenagers had convinced the organizers of that. In addition, the project had begun to shift its priorities. The staff began to see in the young men who came to the house a pool of potential community organizers, detached from local concerns and free from family responsibility. They began to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13



# KIDS ARE BUSTING OUT ALL OVER



One of the high points of the Ten Days in the SF bay area was the widespread participation of high school students in the International Student Strike. On both sides of the Bay, in large schools long familiar with racial tensions, in small, cloistered schools in the white suburbs, in city and technical schools witnessing organizing for the first time, students became aware of the relevant issues of the day and decided to act upon them.

Representatives from the United Student Movement (USM), a high school organization, reported high absenteeism from a number of Bay Area schools on Friday, including many schools not previously active. Berkeley High, as expected, doubled its absentee rate on that day. One teacher at Willard Jr. High School in Berkeley reported, "I don't know whether this was typical, but half my class was absent."

## El Cerrito

At El Cerrito High, a very straight school, also in the East Bay, students say about 750 students walked out, and the principal frankly admitted he didn't know what to do. 750 is more than half the school's total enrollment. Exact figures are uncertain, however, since many teachers weren't reporting absences. Attendance cards are sent in at the beginning of class, and in many cases students went to class and then walked out in the middle as a more significant gesture. In El Cerrito only 200 students were officially reported absent, but students report that by mid-day the classrooms and halls were nearly deserted. A picket line surrounded the school all day.

## Marin

In Marin County three hundred students appeared at a rally in San Rafael, an area that has known little previous organizing.

## Richmond

In Richmond, several hundred black and white students left school and began, for the first time, a dialogue among themselves on issues vital to them all.

At the John F. Kennedy High School in Richmond, which is about evenly divided between black and white students, strike activity was about equivalent to that at El Cerrito.

The USM organizer for the El Cerrito-Richmond area wasn't overly optimistic or impressed with their success, although he was very pleased. While it was true that the strike was organized and officially called to protest the war, the draft and racism, not all students stayed out for those reasons. Many went out and got stoned and had a good time, he admitted. Nevertheless, students were for the first time taking part in widespread protest activity against the evils inherent in our system, and this is encouraging.

## El Sobrante

Not all strike organizing and activity went smoothly. At De Anza High School in El Sobrante, a small community of middle and working class whites about 40 youths attacked and beat the half-dozen picketers who were on strike. In Oakland and its suburbs, the students' stand on racism caused dissent.

## Skyline High

At Skyline High School in the suburb of Montclair, an upper-class white area, a girl brought a handful of strike leaflets to school, and found the school flooded with the leaflets the following day. An enterprising student had mimeographed them on the school printing press, and they were handed out and plastered all over the school. The fate of the printer is unknown. One student who was caught distributing them was suspended. The leaflets listed the reasons for the strike — the war, racism and the draft — and outlined the plans for the day, including demonstrations at the Oakland Induction Center and the Court House where Huey Newton is being held prisoner. They concluded "DON'T BE A SCAB".

## Piedmont

At Piedmont, the exclusive upper-middle and upper class white area in the hills above Oakland, at least 50 students boycotted classes, with a surprising amount of faculty support. Many teachers arranged to switch test dates so students who were on strike wouldn't be penalized. The students emphasized that they were protesting the war and racism because as high school students these were issues which now or in a very few years would directly affect them. After the strike, a group of these students, who decided that "we had to do something about our community", arranged a meeting with some of the town's prominent citizens. The students prepared a short paper to present, which began "We, as children of a homogenous, influential town, wish to bring to the attention of the adults that we are not being brought up in a realistic sit-

uation". They referred especially to the racism inherent in the community, which is all white.

There have been two kinds of responses to the students' growing awareness. One teacher helped organize a tutorial program in which about 50 high school students spend one day a week after school tutoring in the Oakland grammar schools on a one-to-one basis. The downtown Oakland schools are mostly black.

But the students also want as part of their programs to have some members of the Black Panther Party come to their school and explain their Ten Point Program. And as one student put it simply, "We're having a lot of trouble".

## Oakland

An organizer of the Oakland schools put it more sharply. "The adults are afraid of the racism issue because it hits closer to home". Peter Lisker, who organized Oakland High School and McChesney Jr. High, was incisive in his appraisal of the organization and opposition to the strike:

Organization centered around racism and the war, with the draft simply falling into place with the others. But although the war is a pretty clear-cut issue to most students, a great deal of dissension rose over the question of support for Huey Newton. The final position taken by the students -- a "fair trail" for Newton -- pleased no one. Those who still clung to their preconceptions ("But he's a murderer, and you can't just let a murderer go loose") felt that this was a call to Free Huey, and were against such a call. Those who really did want to demand "Free Huey" felt the position wasn't stated strongly enough.

Parents in the community had no doubts how they felt. Lisker reports his phone was constantly ringing, with parents calling to protest the injection of the Panther issue into a peace protest. One father called up and said "I'd let my daughter go, but you've got this Huey thing in it". Clearly, Oakland parents view support of the Panthers as far more of a threat than opposition to the war. "But that's the issue we face most directly, right here?" pointed out Lisker.

Organizing in Oakland was purposely made difficult by the school authorities. At McChesney, where word got out only three days before, there was little chance for either organizing or opposition, and the student organizers at Oakland High were very pleased when 25 Junior High students from McChesney joined the strike by walking out of classes. But at the high school students tried to organize in advance. Leafletting soon proved impossible for although it is generally permitted, school officials clamped down when the leaflets were about the strike. News of the strike went by word of mouth. And even this couldn't be done in class time, for there were likely to be reprisals against the organizers.

As in other schools, officials warned that any students absent would be marked with an illegal cut, even if they produced a note from their parents. Teachers were urged to give tests on Friday if possible, but few complied. A great many teachers were sympathetic to the strike purposes if not the tactic. And the Oakland teachers union supported the strike. They called a strike of their own for the following Friday, for separate reasons. One teacher allowed a student strike organizer to come into his class and speak to his students about the strike.

Many of the students used the class boycott to engage in direct protest activities. Four hundred students gathered at the Alameda County Court House in Oakland on Friday demanding freedom for Huey Newton and an end to oppression of the Panthers by the Oakland Police. Many of these were joined by others at the Oakland Induction Center to protest the draft.

## Mandel Arrest

The uptightness of school and community officials over high school organizing was evidenced in the arrest of Bob Mandel in the midst of the Stop The Draft Week Demonstrations on Tuesday, on warrants charging 5 counts of "loitering on school property". Mandel has been a major or-

ganizer of high school students in the Bay Area. One student reported "Our principal is really uptight about it. Every time he sees Mandel he writes out a citation". Although the school loitering charge has already been thrown out in the California courts as an illegal harassment action, the police still use it effectively for this purpose. Mandel was held in jail two days on \$2500 bail.

## San Francisco

At Poly Technical High in San Francisco, a school that is about 65% black and the rest poor white, speakers from the Black Student Union at SF State were invited to come speak to the students about the draft and the war on Thursday, the day before the strike. The BSU speakers were going to address the crowd of students in front of Kezar Stadium, on school grounds. But students warned the BSU speakers that 8 car loads of cops were waiting to arrest them when they appeared on school property, and the rally was moved over to the nearby park. Between 150 and 200 high school students skipped their fifth period class to hear the anti-draft rally. Neither the threats of the school authorities nor the intimidation of the police prevented the students from listening to the speakers, or from going out on strike the following day.

A rally at San Francisco State College for SF High School strikers drew a crowd of 1,000 high schoolers on Friday. Many of these joined SF State students who in the morning joined the telephone strikers and in the afternoon demonstrated at the San Francisco draft board.

The draft board demonstration saw a number of students turn in their 2-S de-

ferments, or pledge cards saying "Hell No I Won't Go" or "I Will go into the Army--to Organize"! A number of woman students entered and asked a barrage of questions concerning the WACS and the WAVES. During all this time, a crowd of about 600 chanted and picketed outside. At the start of the demonstration the draft board was closed for a few minutes while officials resisted the attempts of the demonstrators to enter 25 at a time to hand in their pledge cards. The draft officials finally surrendered and let the students in.

## Kazoo Band

In addition to the Strike activity, a group of USMers formed the Colonel James K. Farrer Memorial Kazoo Band and attended the City-Wide High School ROTC Drills at Civic Auditorium Friday night. Col. Farren is the commander of the high school ROTC for San Francisco.

Competing ROTC drill teams from various high schools performed. Military high school bands played in between. The Kazoo Band joined them, from a relatively safe perch in the balcony, with a 12 foot banner announcing their name flowing over their heads. They were greeted with not a little hostility.

At the end of the evening, there was a call for complete silence as the best member of each drill team was about to go through a special, elaborate drill under the command of Col. Farren himself. Halfway through the difficult drill, the Kazoo Band began playing "Ring Around The Rosy" and marching out. They somehow escaped with their lives, and returned in force (72 kazoos) to play at the grand peace march through SF on Saturday.



# AMERICA THE TRIVIAL

(A new MOVEMENT feature dedicated to those who know that the trivia of a country often tell us more about its culture and politics than all the heavy pronouncements of political people.)

\* The Social Systems Associates, Inc. of San Francisco in their own words "has fully developed and refined one of the most exciting social phenomena of the 20th century -- the computer matching of individuals". That's no news. The electronic version of the personal ads in the Berkeley Barb has been around for a while. The kicker on this one is who's doing the programming: Bishop James A. Pike, Anthropologist Ashley Montague and Author-Philosopher Alan Watts! Only in America: the wisdom of three leading philosophers added to the magic of electronics in the service of finding someone for you to go to the movies with.

\* The DAR has announced that Crispus Attucks did not take part in the American Revolution. He was a rioter! Besides, adds a DAR member, "He was just a boy." (Attucks was 50 when he was killed).

\* Max Rafferty, California superintendent of education has defined western civilization. Supporting Mayor Daley's shoot-to-kill statement, Rafferty said he did not advocate that we shoot ALL looters, "But that's the traditional way since our western civilization began."

\* Saigon (UPI) -- Airman 1/C Patrick J. Nugent, son-in-law of President Johnson, flew into Vietnam for duty as an Air Force weapons mechanic yesterday aboard the VIP jet of ambassador Ellsworth Bunker.

\* From the social page of the Sunday Chronicle:

"What happened when Washington, the city of elegant entertaining, VIP parties, and embassies ablaze with lights nightly, found itself closed down from 4 to 6 on every evening? It got the first complete

social rest it had ever experienced . . .

"It was unreal to find two soldiers guarding either end of even the little bridges over the canal in charming, manicured Georgetown -- the pride of Washington.

"To the wife of the Venezuelan Ambassador, glamorous Pepita Tejera-Paris who had to cancel a party for 100, the curfew did not seem so strange.

"I have encountered the same thing in Caracas, only there for political reasons, not racial."

"She dedicated the curfew to her children and to reading. 'I love to get in bed with a book,' said the beautiful Pepita.

"Moroccan Ambassador Ahmed Caman, who canceled the dinner dance he and his chic royal wife, Princess Lalla Nezha were giving for Chief of Protocol and Mrs. Angier Biddle Duke, said in a certain way having no parties to go to was a relief. But in another way the curfew was boring. That's because he's an avid bridge player and he and his wife were holed up in their embassy with no one to play with."

# NCU School for Organizers

The National Community Union (NCU) is attempting to create through its school a vehicle through which those interested can acquaint themselves with the problems of poor and working Americans by sharing their lives, working, and studying past attempts to deal with these problems in radical ways. White student radicals often give lip service and theoretical justification to organizing poor and working-class Americans. NCU wants those who are interested to come and "get their feet wet" in the practice of

these ideas. Those of us who have tried it have found that the prospects are excellent. We urge others to join us. It's time to light a fire under working-class America.

The second session of the NCU school for organizers begins May 6th and lasts four to five weeks. The third session starts June 3rd.

For further information about the training school and the summer work-in for students, contact the National Community Union, 630 North Racine Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622.



# WE WENT BACK

## The Day We Seized the Streets in Oakland Barricades in Oakland Guerrilla Warfare

by Arlene Eisen Bergman

These are the headlines from the Movement issue on the first Stop the Draft Week, STDW the second time was different. The second STDW leadership said it would be different, people realized it would be different but everyone seemed disappointed when it was over because it really was.

This time Stop the Draft Week was a single demonstration during the "Ten Days." The demonstration was launched from the Berkeley campus. On the campus, there was none of the old pre-dawn tension. No one listened to long discussions in monitor groups. People didn't seem very serious.

The balloons people were carrying created a carnival atmosphere, even if "End Racism and Imperialism" were printed on them. And as we waited in a park near the Induction Center for the groups to get together, the buses carrying the inductees quietly unloaded their cargo. The featured drama passed without an audience.

Leaflets and speeches before the event reiterated that we would not attempt to attack the Induction Center, to stop its functioning or to remain in the area past a three-hour limit. "We will surround the entire Induction Center and hold a rally. Because of our presence in the streets, the inductee busses will be blocked from reaching the center." The plan to have a "rally" at the Induction Center, rather than a "disruptive demonstration to shut the mother down" indicated the effectiveness of police terror.

The changed tone of the demonstration also indicated the change in political climate since October. People didn't have that outraged, desperate sense that they had to "shut the mother down". After all, Johnson was supposedly making an attempt at negotiations. And maybe it wasn't so urgent to fight in the streets since McCarthy now offered an alternative form of "protest."

In those last minute campus rallies during the week before STDW, speakers tried to convince people that McCarthy wasn't an alternative, that the nature of the enemy hadn't changed. They tried to focus the demonstration on racism (that "noncooperable issue"). That men would be drafted to wage genocide in the ghettos was a good point to raise. But the enthusiasm of the first STDW couldn't be re-staged.

About 2000 people amassed in front of the Induction Center. They were more or less obedient when the cops pushed them onto the sidewalks. There weren't enough people to surround the Center. After about an hour of speeches from a sound truck in front of the Center, the group marched to the Alameda County Courthouse where Huey Newton is being held. During the march, there were sporadic scuffles with the cops. There was a brief demonstration in front of the Courthouse until the cops forced the people to move across the street for a rally on the shores of Lake Merritt. Twenty-two were arrested, two felony charges, and two had to be temporarily hospitalized.

### Demands of STDW II

The political demands of the demonstration reflected the movement's increased awareness of the unity of racism and imperialism. "Withdraw the troops from Vietnam. Get the cops out of the ghetto. Free Huey Newton. End the draft. Black control of the black community." The press picked up the slogan, "End Racism and Imperialism". That was good. But the tactics did not correspond, in any realistic sense, to the demands.

The whole thing became a ritual. People seemed to enjoy smearing their faces with vaseline. Some seemed to want to be able to say they were hit by a cop. But few seemed to be thinking about the relation between slugging a cop and even "tickling the empire."

Part of the problem may be that the political demands or line of the demonstration was abstract. What tactic corresponds to ending racism? The target must be more concrete and meaningful. For example, racism includes brutalizing and jailing black people. Tactically, we could make mass jailings very costly and disruptive if thousands of us were arrested and refused to post bail during a rebellion.

### Functions of Demonstrations

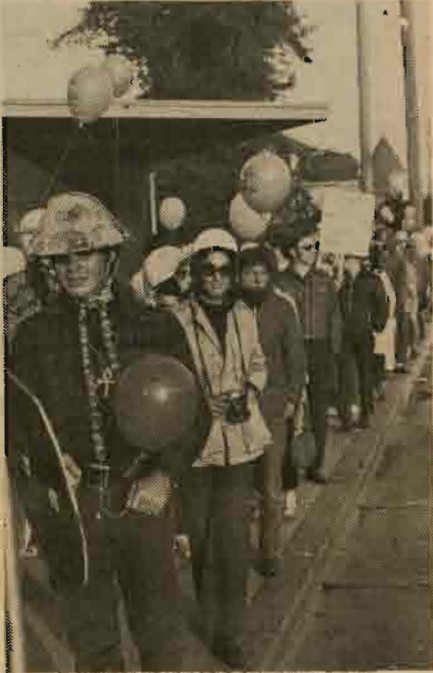
The fact that many people are disappointed when a demonstration is "boring" indicates that some do not understand the purpose of demonstrations. They shouldn't be entertaining. People should get their kicks somewhere else.

Demonstrations should be either educational and symbolic or disruptive and literally effective. A demonstration that can't or doesn't try to fulfill one of these two purposes becomes a ritual.

Symbolic educational demonstrations are usually linked to the idea of protest. The assumption behind them is basically a liberal one. "If we show that enough people protest something, i.e. educate the public, then things will change." The realities of power relationships are ignored.

Part of moving from "protest to resistance" meant staging disruptive demonstrations. Radicals came to realize that effectiveness meant power, not numbers of votes or bodies at a march. Disruption, while it may not increase our power, visibly hurts theirs. STDW wanted to be disruptive. "Stop the buses." But the buses came before we got there. Disruption became a ritual.

Some people dig ritual. They like "to go back", even if it's just for the sake of "going back". That's O.K. The point is that rituals should not be publicized as political acts. At STDW, the actors donned shields, helmets, vaseline. When they couldn't use their accoutrements, they were let down. At Lake Merritt,



Some of the folks at STDW II  
(Photo: Mark Hardesty)

after the thing was virtually over, some even clamored to retrace the march back to the Induction Center for another demonstration. They were frustrated, but the spectacle was absurd.

### What is Needed

When we demonstrate from now on, it should be for a specific purpose and specific effect. This requires flexibility that can come only from continuous organizing efforts. Even the title of the demonstration, Stop the Draft Week, underlined our lack of flexibility. We are at a stage where, when the political context demands it, we can be disruptive. Disruptive for a specific purpose. It is senseless, even dangerous, to take to the streets for the hell of it.

Disruption is serious business. We give lip service to the need for organization before demonstrations. About two months before this STDW people began organizing. Some tried to form cell groups that would function as educational units and tactical street units. Each cell was to develop a sense of solidarity and was going to become a monitor group that had the experience of working together. The idea was a good one, but, for various reasons, few cells were functioning by the time the demonstration came.

We also talk about developing more effective communication. Communicating our politics to the public needs top priority. There had been plans to canvass neighborhoods explaining STDW personally to people. No one took that very seriously. Many seemed to think that they were effectively communicating when from a line of the march they screamed at a bystander, "Stop racism, you fascist!" Demonstrations are dramatic. But the drama itself doesn't communicate much, unless the drama is used as a lever for talking to people in a calmer atmosphere.

Our internal communication needs improving. When I first saw the different colored balloons, I thought that was a clever way for different monitor groups to identify each other. "Follow the red

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

# Sound Scene

CHRISTOPHER BERGMAN

Ralph J. Gleason, well respected by young and old as a perceptive and tuned-in critic of music is unfortunately not consistent in his good judgment.

He recently wrote a stupid and maddening column for the "Rolling Stone" newspaper entitled "Stop This Shuck, Mike Bloomfield". What it says in effect is that Bloomfield should not play soul music because he is not black. At the time he wrote the article he must not have yet heard the group in question's album titled "The Electric Flag, an American Music Band" subtitled "A Long Time Comin'". When he does I wouldn't be surprised if he prints a retraction of his quick judgment. That's what he should do at any rate. It was obvious from the article that he judged the group solely on an in-person concert, which doesn't in any way show the wide range that the group is capable of in the same way that the record does.

The group's image in person is more of an exclusively soul music group, which is fine because they do it so well with Buddy Miles, the drummer doing most of the vocals in his unbeatable soul shouting style. On the record many more areas of music are covered and the record is what the group should be judged by because that is how they'll be best remembered in the future. But even if the group as it is in person was the extent of its music, Gleason's condemnation on the grounds that playing music not native to your background is wrong is complete bullshit.

### "Black" Music

Gleason tells Bloomfield in his article that he's just a Jewish boy, not black, that he'll never be black and should stop trying to become a black. It is an ignorant and meaningless suggestion to say that he is. All that Bloomfield is trying to be is an accomplished musician, and that he has already done over and over. Before he formed "The Electric Flag" he was lead guitar for "The Butterfield Blues Band", the heaviest blues band yet to happen. And before that he played with Bob Dylan on "Highway 61 Revisited", Dylan's best album to date, at least musically. Gleason also puts down Butterfield's old group in his column for the same bullshit reason; they're white musicians trying to sound black.

It's really strange that Gleason should make such foolish statements which can only be diagnosed as arising from some weird hang-up in his concepts about race. Very strange indeed for one who has shown super hipness in his discussions about music that appear in the San Francisco Chronicle and in papers across the nation, who has been an expert on American music for so many years, who actually met Billie Holiday and was qualified to write the lengthy notes for the Columbia release "Billie Holiday, The Golden Years," and numerous other liner notes for musicians in both the rock and jazz fields. For some reason he's just down on the Butterfield/Bloomfield group of musicians who are among the finest now recording and appearing.

Months ago when the old Butterfield Blues Band featuring Bloomfield on lead guitar was in its prime, recording for Electra and amazing audiences around the country, I remember watching expectantly for Gleason to spread the word about this non-parallelled group in his column as he had done in the past with the emergence

of other great young performers like Bob Dylan.

Evidently their greatness escaped him as he invented some quick definitions of black and white music and dismissed them merely as white musicians trying to sound black. Although it is true that their music had its roots in the black music of America, it was none the less original music, with a sound that only that band could give it, and not merely an imitation. The same is true with "The Electric Flag" and the current Butterfield band.

### The Latest Flag

The Flag's current album, their first for Columbia, is really a masterful mixture of many types of American music, both black and white. It opens with an up tempo blues, "Killing Floor", which begins with a typical phrase by President Johnson; "I speak tonight for the dignity of man ..." which is drowned out by laughter and crowd noise leading immediately to the band and a beautiful lead by Bloomfield and then the vocal by Nick Gravenites, who has since left the group.

The group also experiments very successfully on the album with a collage flow of voices, strings and sounds with portions of Johnson's sickening "We Shall Overcome" speech audible at times buried under other voices and sounds. That is on the longest cut on the album, "Another Country".

"You Don't Realize", written by Bloomfield, sung by Buddy Miles and "dedicated with great respect to Steve Cropper and Otis Redding" is another masterpiece on this their second album. Their only other album is on Sidewalk Records and is the soundtrack for the movie, "The Trip". Despite the sensational misrepresentation that the movie itself is, the music for it is very fine.

Eric Clapton, Cream's guitar player who was previously with John Mayall and can also be heard on the song "Good to me as I am to you", from Aretha Franklin's latest album, calls the Electric Flag "just the heaviest thing around", and that seems to sum them up well.

It's just a shame that Gleason should print such unjustified bad mouth about them and thus perhaps persuade some of his trusting readers to pass up a chance to go see them or to buy their record, causing them to miss out on one of the finest history making groups to come along in the new rush of quality music makers. ♦

→

paper tiger

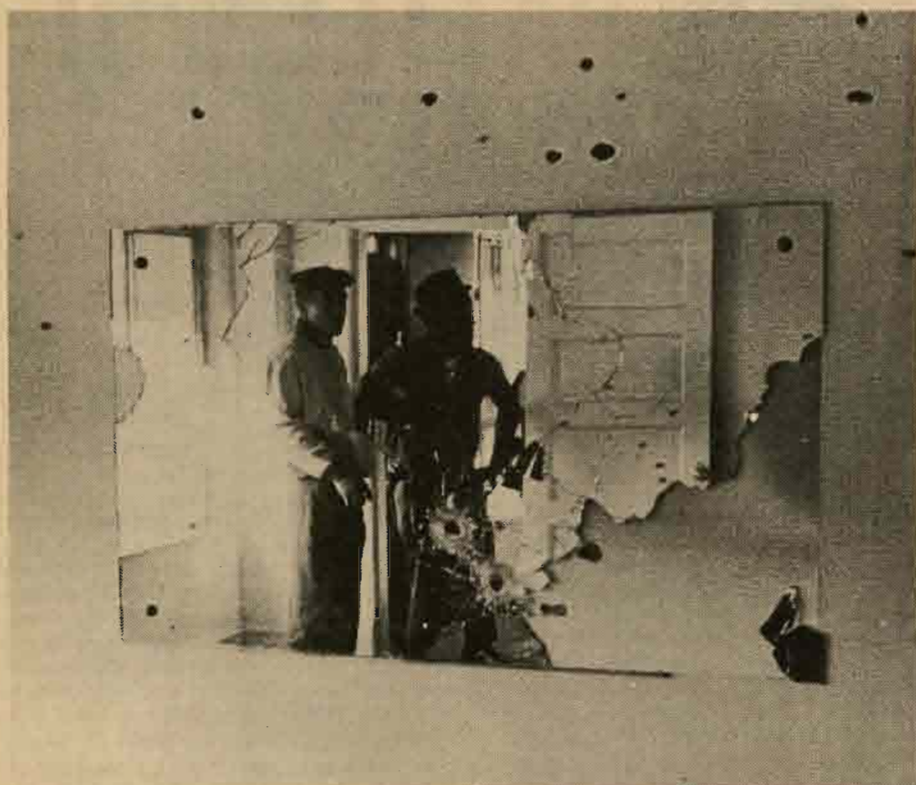
A MAGAZINE OF THE ADULT NEW LEFT

\* radicals in professions \* political analysis \*  
movement strategy \* problems of organizing \*

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A shattered mirror in the burned-out house. (photo: Jeff Blankfort)

# BOBBY HUTTON DIED HERE

## Continued from page one

firing. I could see their bullets coming in through a beaverboard partition about a foot above my face."

A concrete foundation of the building partially protected them and it was probably a ricochet that later wounded Cleaver. A tear gas cannister also hit him in the chest. "The gas was thick now and Bobby took off my clothing to see where I was hit. I was bleeding from my foot and coughing."

Finally a tear gas cartridge or something else fired by the police set fire to the basement and the side of the house. "We couldn't stand it anymore and I yelled, 'we're coming out'." Cleaver limped out of the house, with Bobby holding his arm to support him. Out in the alleyway, "We both fell down when they (the cops) told us to and cops from the street (perhaps 15 yards away) approached us. They kicked us and cursed us for about five minutes — while we were lying on the ground." At this time Cleaver was wearing only his socks, all his other clothing having been stripped off by Bobby in a search for wounds. "Then the cops told us to get up and start running for the squad car." Cleaver was unable to because of the leg wound, and he fell. "Bobby started running — he ran about 10 yards — and they started shooting him. I heard about 12 shots; it was hard to tell for sure. He had his hands high in the air until he died."

Cleaver was taken to Highland Hospital emergency room, then rushed off to San Quentin, and then, as soon as his lawyer arrived, was whisked off to Vacaville — supposedly for "medical attention", although San Quentin has some of the finest medical facilities in the State prison system. At Vacaville, Cleaver has been kept in total isolation "maximum security", with his wife and lawyers being curtailed in visits, and no other visitors allowed. It was only the power of Establishment Press which finally got the Chronicle reporter in to interview him.

Exorbitantly high bail was set for all of the arrested Panthers — \$63,000 for Cleaver (which is irrelevant, since the revocation of parole automatically confines him for the next four years) and \$40,000 for each of the others.

## Alleged "Confessions"

The Grand Jury testimony against the 9 Panthers who were arrested that night, at the scene of the shoot-out, in homes nearby, or in their cars, includes alleged "confessions" by them that they had been out "looking to do some shooting" and other statements equally difficult to believe would have been willingly made by any Panther arrested for shooting at cops. The Grand Jury, of course, was employed to circumvent the necessity of allowing the Panthers the due process normally guaranteed to them. When they appeared for a preliminary hearing of their case in municipal court, at which time they and their lawyers could have presented evidence and witnesses in their defense, they were told the preliminary hearing was called off because of the Grand Jury investigation. The Grand Jury, a hand-picked panel of businessmen selected by the DA's office, admits selected witnesses

and evidence. The Panthers were not present at the Grand Jury hearing; if they had been, neither their lawyers nor witnesses of their choice would have been admitted.

It was before this panel that police presented the "confessions" of the Panthers. Later, attorney Charles Garry filed affidavits in a suit against the City of Oakland, the Chief of Police and the Mayor of Oakland, seeking to enjoin DA Coakley from any further prosecutions of the Panthers. The affidavits charged brutalization by the police, intimidation, and lying. Some Panthers did make brief statements to a man they were told was their lawyer, who had been brought in "because Garry and other Panther attorneys had no interest in the case" (a complete fabrication). The "lawyer" later turned out to be a cop. Another Panther was beaten on the soles of his feet until he made a statement. A third Panther said he had never made any statement to the police at all, and that it was pure lies on their part when they attributed statements to him. The complete statements in the affidavits indicate that the cop harassment and brutalization were designed to 1) "confuse and deceive each of the brothers and turn them against each other and on Eldridge Cleaver by blatantly lying to them; 2) to get statements from them which would build up as much evidence against Eldridge Cleaver as possible." Some of the statements from the Panthers include: WADE: " . . . He then asked me what kind of a gun I had, and then he pulled out a snub-nosed pistol and asked if the gun I had was loaded and would shoot, and said 'my gun can shoot, too'. During all of this time he was pointing the gun right into my face."

WELLS: " . . . They told me that if I did not cooperate with them and give them the statement they wanted, they had the power to see that Eldridge Cleaver and I would be convicted of the murder of Bobby Hutton and that we would both be sent to the gas chamber. . . The officers took the statement, wrote it themselves, and then asked me to sign it without letting me read it and without reading it back to me . . ." LANKFORD: " . . . He then told me that Eldridge Cleaver had said that everybody had made statements against him, and so he was going to make statements against the rest of us. . . He then asked me whether I was getting paid by the Black Panthers and said that nobody in the Black Panthers was getting any money except Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, and Huey Newton. He said the lawyers were only going to do work for those three who had the money and wouldn't do anything for the rest of us. He told me also that if I told any of the things he said to me to my lawyer, he would deny them all."

BURSEY: " . . . Sergeant Stevenson said 'Eldridge Cleaver, that son-of-a-bitch, is no damn good and is just trying to bring everybody down with him because he knows he has no hope.' They also told me that if I wouldn't make a written statement I could just make an oral statement as long as I said that Eldridge



Doorway of house where Panthers took refuge (photo: Mark Hardesty)



Inside of burned-out house where Panthers sought refuge (photo: Mark Hardesty)

Cleaver started everything and was to blame for everything . . ." He also testified to being beaten on the soles of his feet.

## The Target

The actions of the police in attempting to extort these confessions makes it quite clear that their target was the leadership of the Panthers -- in this case, Eldridge Cleaver. Like most elements of the power structure, they are working on the assumption that if you

can destroy the leadership you can cripple the movement. As usual, they fail to recognize the extent to which the struggle grows out of the needs of the community. Oppression in the black community isn't going to be gone or forgotten when the leaders of the Black Panther Party are jailed or shot. And the people aren't going to stop fighting.

On Sunday, April 7, several hundred people turned out in DeFremery Park at the barbecue picnic for the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund. ◀



# UNION BATTLE WON IN MEMPHIS

Editor's note: We are reprinting this article (slightly modified) from MDS Newsletter, Box 2647, New Orleans, La. 70116, because we feel it can serve several useful purposes. It is a vivid lesson in building wide community support for workers' struggles and in going beyond strictly trade-union forms of struggle. Memphis is also a case study in the sources of the recent ghetto uprisings which go deeper than the bullet that killed Martin Luther King.

by Fred Lacey

A titanic union struggle in the city of Memphis, Tenn. is over and the workers have come out on top. City sanitation workers stayed out on strike for 65 days. They defied a court injunction demanding their return. They braved police terror which included mass arrests and the widespread use of Mace, tear gas, and police clubs against them. And they defeated a city administration which brought in scabs by the truckload from the bordering states of Mississippi and Arkansas in an effort to break their strike.

The strike began on Feb. 12, in the wake of the sanitation workers' strike in New York City, and was sparked by a typical action of job discrimination against black workers (black workers make up over 1,300 of the city's 1,600 sanitation workers). On a rainy morning a good number of black workers were sent home, while a smaller group of favorites, including white workers, was told to stay by the trucks. Later, the weather cleared up and those who were told to stay got in a full day's work. The workers sent home demanded that the city pay them for the lost day, but the administration refused to give the men more than two hours compensation. Piled on top of all the other rotten working conditions, the men decided that they had taken enough, and walked out on strike.

Some of those other conditions that led up to the strike include: (1) no bathrooms, no washrooms, and no showering facilities for the men to clean up with after work, and no protective work-clothing, which meant that all workers had to go home in the same clothes they had been working in all day; (2) no place for the men to lunch, which meant a situation that one worker described as "having a sandwich in one hand and a garbage can in the other"; (3) job discrimination against black workers, who were consistently denied job promotions; (4) no pension or retirement system.

Besides this, the sanitation workers were not listed as regular city workers, and therefore did not qualify for workmen's compensation. Early in January of this year, two men were crushed to death by a defective packer in their truck. The men's families received a "gift" from the city of \$500 for "burial expenses," and one month's pay. Nothing more.

Wages were another factor causing the strike. The city administration hired mostly older men with families for the job, and paid them 5¢ over the minimum wage to start, with the maximum wage rate set at \$1.80 per hour. This pay scale, averaging between \$53-\$60 a week after taxes, came nowhere near to supporting the men's families. Forty per cent of the sanitation workers qualified for and were drawing welfare checks in addition to their sanitation pay to support their families before the strike. Many more workers were on the food stamp program as well.

## Long Organizing Effort

Memphis is one of the many big Southern cities that the freedom movement never really organized. But there is no question that the battles of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia and the early Memphis sit-ins had a major impact on

the city's black workers. Their response to this tide was to move and try to organize against what was oppressing them the most, which began in 1963 for the sanitation workers when they threatened a strike. Another strike was planned in 1966. But on both occasions the city administration immediately got an injunction against the threatened strike, fired the most militant workers, and promised to fire any man who dared to walk out on strike. These tactics of the city stopped the walkout those years, but nothing changed for the workers, and in 1968 they were ready to fight.

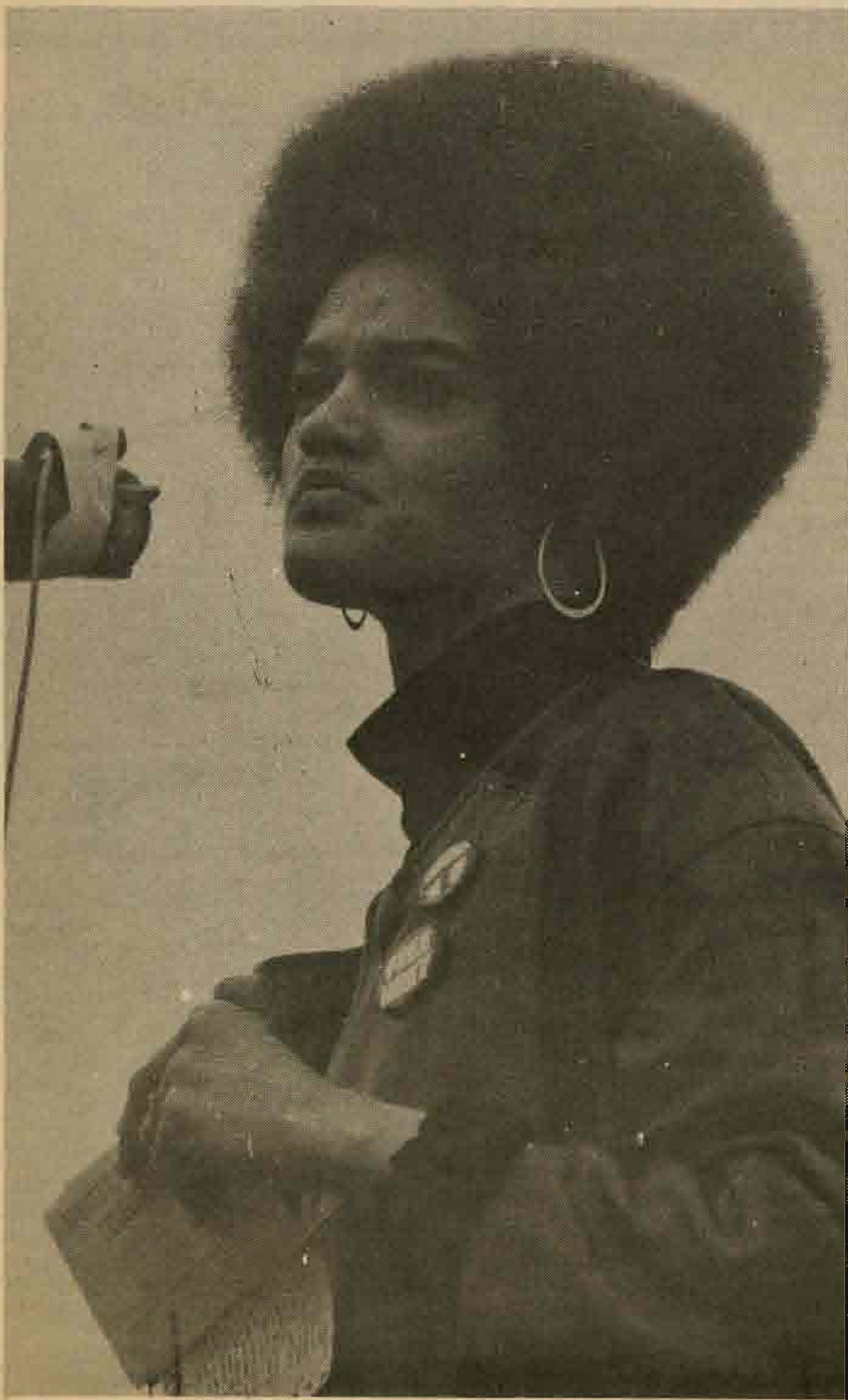
One reason for this lies with a man named T O Jones. He was fired by the city in 1963, after six years on the job, for leading the workers to strike. Later that year he was hired by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) to continue organizing among his former co-workers.

## The Opening Guns

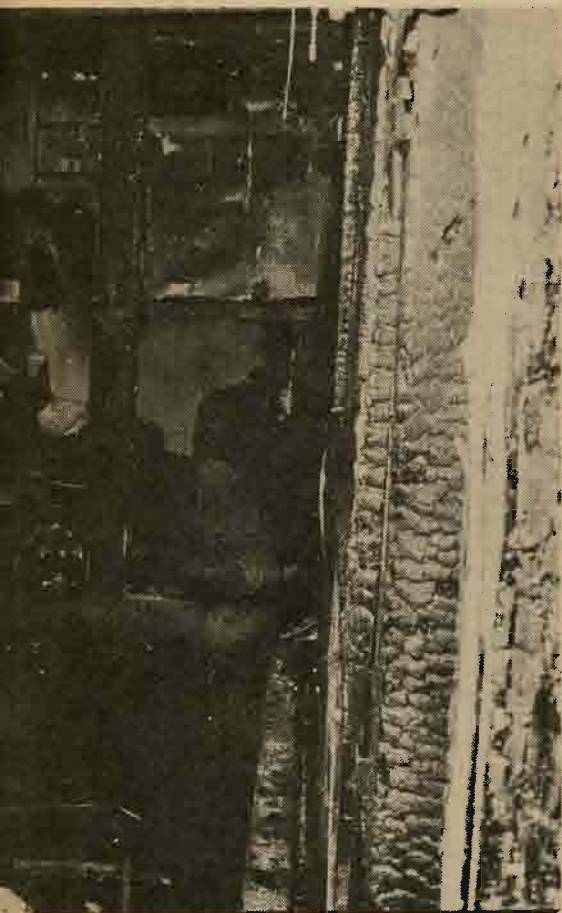
On the first day of the strike, T O Jones appeared with a committee of sanitation workers at the office of the city's director of public works demanding a pay increase and action on many of the job conditions the men were fed up with. When the public works director refused to commit himself to improving the conditions or raising wages, and insisted that the strike was illegal under the 1966 injunction, T O Jones pulled out a brown paper bag, took off his dress clothes in the director's office, and put on what he called his "jail clothes." He then told the director that they could throw him in jail if they wanted to, but that the strike was definitely on.

The next night, the city's mayor, Henry Loeb, addressed a union meeting of over 800 striking workers. He told them that this was not New York City and that "nothing will be gained by violating our laws." He also said that the walkout was posing a grave "health menace to the city" -- the men laughed at him. He sternly told the men to go back to work and then there would be negotiations -- the men laughed at him again and shouted,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13



Kathleen Cleaver at Hutton Memorial rally. (photo: Mark Hardesty)



refuge. (photo: Jeff Blankfort)



After the shoot-out. (Photo: Jeff Blankfort)



# OUR GERMAN ALLIES

by Arlene Eisen Bergman

It is fashionable now for us to look to the Third World for allies — Che, Debray, the NLF. But Western Europe, especially the super-Americanized West Germany, has also generated powerful movements against American imperialism.

Thousands of German students clashing with police on the streets of Berlin, Frankfurt, Hanover, Munich and other German cities rallied for reasons beyond the original motivation to protest the shooting of Rudi Dutschke. Organized by the German SDS, they were demanding: the U.S. give up control of a Berlin radio station; the break-up of the reactionary Springer publishing empire; the resignation of Berlin mayor Schutz; the creation of a city council of workers, government officials and students; and one hour free TV time for presentation of the students' case.

## German SDS History

These specific programmatic demands are part of a strategy that the German students articulated as far back as 1965. They defined their struggle against the violation of fundamental human rights, against colonialism, genocide, neocolonialism imperialism and totalitarianism. They wrote: "As German students have learned through the history of their own people to abhor oppression of freedom and of fundamental rights, they maintain with all possible emphasis the right of free self-determination for all peoples and nations. In their endeavor, they declare their solidarity with all those who also stand for realization of these fundamental tenets in a peaceful, free and just world."

The New York Times claimed that the Dutschke shooting was the first attempt at political assassination in the German postwar period. Not true. Last June, German cops fired into a crowd of German

Parliamentary Opposition," the Springer Empire must fall. They have gotten over 100 writers to join in the protest against Springer along with some deputies in the German Parliament.

Then, when faced with brutal violence by the police, encouraged by Springer, German SDS announced they "would use counterforce against things, not humans." The things they have attacked are Springer headquarters, delivery trucks, plant and distribution centers all over Germany.

## Repression and Counter-Attack

German police have responded to protest demonstrations with high-powered water cannons, horses and rubber clubs. Over 500 students have been arrested and German SDS may be declared illegal by the government. Many suspect that the U.S. Military Command is behind this repression of these demonstrators who challenge American military presence.



West Berliners came to this demonstration last February 18 prepared for police assaults. Such preparations proved their value following the attempted assassination of Rudi Dutschke.

SDS students who were demonstrating against the visit of the Shah of Iran in Berlin. Eight students were shot and one died. As in the U.S., cops in Germany are immune from accusations of murder.

The campaign against the Shah was part of a larger struggle the German SDS, led by Dutschke, has been waging against imperialist forces in Europe. Favorite targets are NATO, U.S. permeation of German universities, the American Military Command in West Berlin, the CIA and the Frankfurt Stock Exchange. SDS has also been aiding American G.I.s who no longer wish to be part of America's occupying forces.

## Shaking the Springer Empire

A rival publisher told the New York Times that "No single man in Germany before Hitler or after, with the exception of Bismarck or the two emperors, has had so much power as Springer." Axel Springer seems to make the Hearst publications look like dwarfs. He controls 73% of the newspaper circulation in Berlin, 43% of the morning tabloid circulation of Germany and 31% of the daily national circulation. His monopolization of the media, including television, with reactionary slander, sets the political climate in which the German movement must function.

SDS blames Springer for creating the anti-student hysteria that led to the attempted assassination of Dutschke. The German students also realize that in order to get a fair hearing for their "Extra-

But the German movement has been growing and has a constituency that reaches beyond students. As bystanders witnessed police atrocities they became increasingly sympathetic towards the students. By the third day of demonstrations, students shared the platform with the ex-Lord Mayor of Berlin and Ralf Dahrendorf, sociologist and a leader of the Free Democratic Party. Other members of the Social Democratic and Free Democratic Parties support SDS demands.

SDS has not lost this more "legitimate support" as it battles police with sticks, cans of spray paint, rocks, firecrackers and apples. Demonstrators are organized in cadres that strike systematically. They seemed to have learned a lesson from German history and are incredibly unsusceptible to police terror.

## An International Movement

Before the Dutschke shooting, the German SDS organized a conference of some 8000 students from Western Europe. (American SDS also was represented). The purpose of the conference was to map out plans for a coordinated effort to aid the NLF and defeat American imperialism. The main thrust of the conference was planning for demonstrations against NATO and the calling for the International Days of Desertion.

This same international movement has responded to recent events in Germany with militant demonstrations of sympathy in Rome, Paris, London, New York and Washington. ➔

# CHICAGO Continued from p 3

change with the police, in which the captain said that the armory was off-limits to public visiting, the march began.

The group moved fairly cohesively up Michigan Blvd. to the armory. The cops made no attempt to break it up, confining themselves to escorting it and seeing that it didn't block pedestrian traffic.

There were contingents from campus and community groups, Women for Peace and others. Many brought their own signs, including "Troops, Go Home to Your Families", "End Racist Violence", "Free Rap Brown", "America Dream or Nightmare", "Get Out of Vietnam and the Ghetto". A leaflet had been prepared for the troops, and was distributed to passersby on the march, calling upon the soldiers "in the name of our common humanity" not to "kill for loop department stores and greedy landlords". (This leaflet has been criticized on the tactical grounds that its specific call to the soldiers to go home was unrealistic and should have been replaced by a call to keep cool and don't kill people.

## At the Armory

When the marchers approached the armory, contingents of troops burst out of the armory doorway and, bayonets in position, deployed around the building, joining the police who had gathered there. With no provocation—no sit-down, no angry words—the troops advanced with fixed bayonets, pushing back the crowd, arresting anyone who was too slow to move, clubbing anyone who resisted. Several tear gas grenades were thrown. As the troops advanced, police attacked from the sides.

Twenty-three people were arrested, four were bayoneted, several were clubbed (one cop was incapacitated by tear gas) and a large part of the group was driven back down Michigan Blvd. Some people, separated from the main action, were able to hang around and talk to Guardsmen standing around.

As originally planned, the march to the armory was only one of several actions to be proposed to the rally at the Civic Center. Of course the action of the cops in declaring the rally illegal made it impossible to present alternative projects, such as dispersing to various armories, forming a group to collect food, etc.

People differed in the reasons for which they went to the armory. Basically there were four aims, and in the minds of many participants one or another was predominant: (1) to educate the Guardsmen, (2) to divert police and troops from the ghetto, (3) to demonstrate white opposition to racist repression and (4) to give moral support to the black people. Many of those who went mainly to educate the soldiers would have preferred to break up into smaller groups and approach the Guardsmen in a way less likely to arouse their fears and antagonism. On the other hand, some of those who went mainly to demonstrate white opposition to racist violence felt that their task could have been equally well accomplished by marching around City Hall and not running the risks of the arrests and injuries.

One thing is for sure: the action did not please the establishment. The TV and the kept press all tried to portray it as a "peace march". This shows clearly that the power structure is put up tight by even the slightest hint of white action against white supremacy.

Later on, we learned that the lieutenant colonel of the battalion which attacked the march has, for his "peace-time civilian" occupation, the post of sergeant in the Chicago police department. Also, one of the marchers who was bayoneted found himself in the hospital next to a Guardsman who had accidentally stabbed himself in the finger. This intrepid warrior transmitted the information that word had been spread among the soldiers that a huge mob was marching on the armory intending to sack and burn it.

Many of the marchers regrouped and

addressed themselves to two projects, which took up the rest of the day: raising money to bail out the arrested, and going out in small groups to leaflet the other armories and talk to Guardsmen.

As fundraising was going on for the arrested, some people asked why we were working to raise \$4000 in a few hours to bail whites out, but had paid no attention to the thousands of blacks, many with families, who were being held. Their point was not picked up Saturday afternoon, but Tuesday morning we got another chance.

As people got out of jail they reported good contact between those arrested at the armory and the blacks arrested for "looting" etc. A rumor had been started that there was to be a race riot in jail, but it proved unfounded. The House of Correction was probably the only place in Chicago in those days where blacks and whites were talking.

## Sunday, April 7

CIPA distributed a leaflet in their community and at church services. The leaflet pointed out the hypocrisy of those who were "mourning" Dr. King and had done everything possible to block his program two years before when he was in Chicago. The leaflet went on to say:

"Because we did not want to hear the whole message, there is an insurrection going on in America today. Not rioting, not petty lawlessness, but an insurrection. Government is by the consent of the governed, and that consent has been withdrawn, in fact it was never there. For the black man in Chicago, government has always been of some people, by some people, and for some people. And the estrangement between black and white communities is reaching a point of no return.

"Most appalling of all is the fact that we as a community voted for this insurrection last year. In our aldermanic election, for example, the smiling politicians of the status quo told us how great Chicago was, how effectively they would represent us, and how our curbs would get fixed if we voted right on election day. The independent, 'radical' candidate told us that Chicago was a city in crisis, and suggested a series of positive programs to deal with the prob-

lems which the politicians wouldn't even admit existed. remember? You were here. Which way did you vote? How much of the responsibility for what has happened is yours?"

CIPA speakers were able to address some of the church congregations, presenting a program of demands for Chicago, and the CIPA office became a drop-off point for clothing for the ghetto.

Join went into the neighborhood with a leaflet pointing out that the rebellion was not a race riot but a struggle of poor people, and called on people to support and attend the Poor People's March on Washington.

Some fires started in Uptown, a poor neighborhood of southern whites and some Indians and blacks.

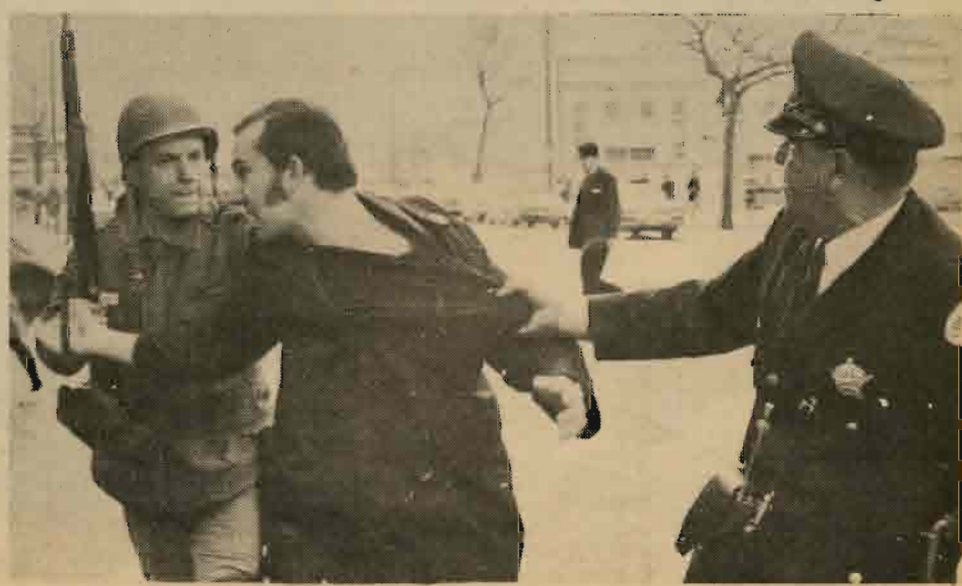
PL distributed a leaflet at the zoo and various churches, explaining that racism is the bosses' tool to divide the workers.

A meeting was held in the morning, involving SDS and other white radicals, SCLC militants and some church people, to talk of further responses. The general tone was toward demonstrations, fund raising and emergency relief.

In the afternoon, a meeting was held at the anti-Democratic Convention office here, which decided to call a rally, in conjunction with SCLC, for Tuesday afternoon in Grant Park.

## Monday, April 8

Some people in the Union of Organizers



(Photos: Bill Nowlin, Chicago Film Co-op)





and elsewhere got out a leaflet entitled "Message to Workers", about 10,000 of which were distributed at several big factories. It called upon all workers to stay home on Tuesday in support of the appeal of black leaders to their people. It made the point about Dr. King's being in Memphis to rally support for the striking sanitation workers, whose cause was that of all labor, and demanded the pull-out of the Guard, mentioning examples of how it had been used to repress strikes in the recent past. The leaflet went on to say:

"Big business called out the troops against black people.

"Big business is the enemy of all workers.

"Only the workers, who make the goods that make the money for the bosses, can stop the murder.

"Hit the bosses where it hurts—in the pocket!

"Stay home on Tuesday.

"Demand that the troops be pulled out of the ghetto.

"Racism hurts all workers. That is why the bosses encourage it. In return for a few miserable crumbs to the white workers the ranks of labor are divided and weakened.

"During the Depression, when unemployed workers demanding jobs were shot, the labor movement answered with strikes and organization.

"Today black people are being shot for demanding justice and an end to white supremacy. Where is the labor movement today?"

The reaction of the power structure (often a good clue as to whether we are on the right track) was to arrest three of the leafleters at a big factory on Tuesday morning, charging them with "disorderly conduct—attempting to disrupt industry."

### Living Memorial

On Sunday afternoon there also occurred a meeting, principally of students, which discussed the aftermath of the march to the armory and proposed a memorial meeting for King at the Grant Park band shell for Tuesday, the declared national day of mourning. The thought was, however, to make it a "living memorial" in that it would discuss the plans and problems of the present rather than eulogizing the past.

Since a number of white SCLC staff members had called a meeting for Monday to discuss white response to the black insurrection, it was decided to carry the memorial proposal to that meeting, which subsequently approved the idea and lent support. The city of Chicago is normally touchy as hell about what it allows its parks to be used for, but one phone call to the Park District requesting the park facility on behalf of SCLC produced an immediate approval; the city was most anxious to avoid more trouble on the day of King's funeral.

But during the night the city had a change of heart after discovering that the Grant Park rally was engineered by white radicals and was not a major SCLC activity. Tuesday morning's Chicago Tribune ran a front page story "revealing" that the King memorial rally was actually being organized by leftists and black power

extremists. As evidence they charged that the Park District permit had been issued to one "Rennie Davis" purporting to be an SCLC spokesman, who was in reality the notorious Rennie Davis who had been with other black power extremists at the secret conference in the woods to plan the disruption of the Democratic Party Convention.

Spurred in part by an erroneous news broadcast over Radio Havana, rumors were going around that the rally was going to be used to kick off another march on the armory. Pulling out all stops, the establishment had several radio stations broadcasting warnings Tuesday morning to the public to stay away from the King memorial rally because it had fallen into the hands of extremists. Fearing (or hoping for) the worst, the city prepared for the meeting by stationing one army helicopter over head, by hiding 200 helmeted police in a maintenance shed across the street, and by marshalling a full battalion of regular army troops at the north end of the Park.

By contrast the meeting itself, about 1,000 strong, assembled on the warm grass with a kind of serenity that follows a storm. The program was long, but most people stayed to the end and listened attentively to the speakers. Most of the speakers were black, and they spoke angrily, but with an obvious intent to communicate to their predominantly white audience. Given what we had all just gone through, it was a miracle that blacks and whites could even meet together -- but they did. All of the speakers eulogized King in one manner or another, but all concentrated on the fundamental problem of racism and on what had to be done in white America at this time. Most warmly received was Staughton Lynd's succinct analysis of colonialism and why that term was applicable to the treatment of black Americans.

Perhaps the high point of the meeting, and symbol of our changing consciousness, was the announcement that the white organizers who had been arrested for leafleting factories had refused bail and would not leave jail until their black brothers also went free. ➔

### WE ARE STILL DESPERATE

Movement expenses:

\$125.00 - rent for May  
35.00 - stationary bill  
300.00 - printing bill for April  
800.00 - back rent (for 1967)  
15.00 - photo expenses

\$1275.00 (IN DEBT)

NOT TO MENTION COMING EXPENSES:

May printing bill  
May mailing costs  
June rent  
Office equipment we need - a good typewriter - \$300.00; a postage scale - \$5.00 and we can't get one. And more.  
HELP HELP HELP HELP

# splintering the big stick

A few more-or-less new things have come out on the draft. Or at least we have finally gotten around to discovering them. First off, a couple of inexpensive items which might prove useful for mass distribution --

THE DRAFT: WHAT IT IS, HOW TO STAY OUT, HOW TO FIGHT IT is a new pamphlet available from SDS (1608 W. Madison St. Chicago, Ill. 60612). Impossible to present more than the briefest overview in its 12 pages, but its brevity and content make it good for mass distribution.

The Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union (217 South Hamilton St., Madison, Wis. 53703) has put together a pamphlet (12 pages mimeographed) for distribution at induction centers or to GI's in general. Called THE ARMED FORCES AND RESISTANCE or LET'S CUT WITH THE CRAP, it contains a number of articles mostly written by GI's or former GI's on such subjects as getting out of the military, preventing one's self from being sent to Vietnam, how deserters get caught and travel to a foreign country. Although this probably isn't for sale, interested folks might be able to get a sample copy for reproduction -- anyway, you'll have to talk to WDRU about that.

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA AND ITS RELATION TO THE DRAFT is all about landed immigrant and other types of status, possible places of employment, anti-draft contacts in Canada, etc. Four tabloid-size pages. Write to: Montreal Council to Aid War Resisters, Case Postale 231, Montreal 6, Quebec, Canada.

Exile to Canada should come as a last resort and even then doesn't necessarily mean political silence, as is evidenced by a newborn magazine called THE REBEL. Its purpose is to link exile activity with the movement in the States. In the editors' words, THE REBEL is "published by several Americans who have had to leave the US because of their opposition to US imperialism which currently is manifested by military aggression in Vietnam. No doubt in the future other colonial peoples will face the American military machine in their quest for liberation." "Someday, not too far away, the American people too will struggle for their own liberation and have to face that same military machine. THE REBEL is published in exile by guys who will return to participate in that fight and who will continue to work in the movement as best they can from over the border in Canada."

Subs (6 issues for \$1.75, 12 for \$3.00) from: THE REBEL c/o S. Gruber, PO Box 611, Station H, Montreal 25, Quebec, Canada.

**Summer of Support** -- Organizers will move into army towns across the US this summer, and perhaps longer, in a program to support GI's in their right to come home and return to civilian life. The Summer of Support needs people who can give legal counseling in military law, entertain in coffee houses, write or edit army town newspapers, organize and run day-care centers, teach in a "university lecture" program, do layout and art work for publicity, operate coffee houses, etc. Interested people can write to SUMMER OF SUPPORT, Room 315, 407 S. Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois 60650.

**Fort Ord, Calif.** , APRIL 15 -- Court martial charges have been brought against Pvt. Ken Stolte and Pfc. Dan Amick for distributing antiwar literature calling for a GI's union at Fort Ord.

Stolte and Amick are being charged under Articles 134 and 81 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Article 134 deals with general offenses "to the prejudice of good order and discipline" and Article 81 with attempting to conspire to commit an offense. The maximum sentence the two GI's face is six years in federal prison.

The one-page mimeographed statement, written and signed by Stolte and Amick, protests the war and says, in part: "If you really want to work for peace and freedom, then join us in our opposition. We are organizing a union in order to express our dissension and grievances." The announcement was posted all over the base -- in chapels, mess halls, phone booths, bus stops -- on February 20.

Stolte and Amick are being represented by attorneys Francis Heister and Peter Haberfield of Carmel. Funds for their defense are being raised by THE ALLY, a Berkeley-based antiwar newspaper for servicemen. Contributions may be sent to the Stolte-Amick Defense Fund, c/o THE ALLY, Box 9276, Berkeley, Calif.

**Fort Campbell, Ky.** -- APRIL 13 -- (from THE BOND) A curfew has been imposed on this base after GI's broke loose in scattered acts of rebellion against the army on the nights of April 11 and 12.

Men are required to stay inside barracks from 11 at night to 5 in the morning and from 8 until 12 unless they are on duty.

After a week when the entire post was mobilized in response to uprisings in major cities across the nation, soldiers here began some uprisings of their own.

Angry GI's, mainly the black soldiers, were reported tipping over cars, breaking furniture and attacking MPs. A very tight news security has been clamped on all this and on the extent of the damage. Extra MPs have been put on patrols and in addition CQs are patrolling their company areas in jeeps.

The 5th Division stationed here is scheduled to go to Vietnam this summer.

**GI Newspaper** A number of newspapers which have begun publishing in the last couple of years for the benefit of GI's are in need of support. Since they are circulated free to guys in the military they need even more financial support than most small papers, and in addition would like to receive the names of GI's interested in receiving subscriptions.

THE ALLY is a Berkeley-based paper which distributed 3,000 copies to service men in the US and overseas in March, and expected to reach 4,000 with the April issue. In addition to publishing the paper, THE ALLY supports individual GI's who are fighting for GI rights. Civilian subscriptions are \$4/year or \$3/6 months and should be sent to THE ALLY, Box 9276, Berkeley, Calif.

Other papers helping to break through the accordion-wire curtain are:

THE BOND, Room 633, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, New York 10010.

VIETNAM GI, PO Box 9273, Chicago, Illinois 60690.

VETERANS STARS AND STRIPES FOR PEACE, PO Box 4598, Chicago, Ill. 60680

### ODD BODKINS





## DETROIT

### Con't from p 3

field helmets. Stoner rifles, which shoot through walls, were clearly visible. Michigan State Police controlled the city in exactly the same fashion. The city remained under this state of siege for six days. Remember: up to this point, NOTHING HAD HAPPENED. This was all in anticipation of something happening.

#### Marchers Arrested

On the whole, the citizens of Detroit complied with the curfew. But the exceptions are important. On the Sunday after King's assassination, a group of whites--mainly liberal professional and middle class people and some student radicals--held a march which openly violated the curfew. They were arrested. Tuesday, a memorial meeting for Dr. King was held. When it ended, some more people marched in violation of the curfew. They too went to jail. In all, a couple hundred people were arrested. But mainly people just went along with the curfew.

The "model cities" program was frighteningly effective. People stayed off the streets. And with good reason. To step outside of your house after 8:00 p.m. was to risk death. More frightening, however, were the good people who accepted the curfew as just. As long as ALL people--black/white, young/old, worker/boss--were uniformly effected by the curfew, they felt it wasn't unreasonable. Besides which, some maintained, maybe this was the most humane way to prevent riots.

#### "Model City"

They pointed to the brutal suppression of last summer's rebellion as another kind of alternative. Mayor Daley's shoot-from-the-hip policy was seen as the other possibility. And in a sense the policy of a "liberal" Mayor Cavanaugh WAS a humane way of handling things. But it was humane at the expense of basic human and political rights. And when a group of people willingly give up their basic rights, they are a brutalized people. Detroit's new "model cities" program may become quite common throughout America. If it does, it will be a new and more subtle type of brutalization in American life.

The curfew reflected a more basic form of brutalization which has gripped Detroit. For years Detroit has been famous for cars and the Motown Sound. It will soon be known as the city without windows. Along many of Detroit's major streets, brick and concrete block walls are replacing the windows which used to allow people and sunlight to look into bars, candy stores, variety shops, and supermarkets. In many areas businesses will not be insured unless they "brick in" what formerly used to be windows. People will not much longer be able to look out on streets and see people. Detroit will pretty soon be a city of concrete tombs in which people sit worried about the next riot -- or better yet, the next curfew.

#### Polarization

Detroit is a scared, polarized city. The white working class and middle class suburbs are armed or arming. A right-wing group called "Breakthrough" holds meetings attended by up to 4,000 people. The newspapers have been on strike for almost five months. Radios, T.V., and most importantly, word-of-mouth are the main forms of communication.

Rumors are rampant. White people often speak only indirectly of the crises which are Detroit. The language they use is general, vague and often abstract as if people might avoid the concrete crises and problems they face by speaking AROUND rather than TO them. The "ghetto" becomes the "inner city". "Black people" become "those people". "The curfew", "the riot", "the current crisis" become the "situation".

Within this context it is easy to see why the curfew was imposed and accepted with a sigh of relief. It is a context which characterizes, or will soon characterize, almost every major American city. In the event that a liberal like Kennedy, McCarthy, Humphrey, or Rockefeller gets elected in November, he will most likely choose to follow a program like the one in Detroit or New York rather than an "outmoded" scheme like Daley's. That being the case, we will be witnesses to the proof of Huey Long's statement that when fascism comes to America, it will be wrapped in an American flag.

POSTERS - CHE &  
MALCOLM X \$1.00  
75¢ with sub  
22 x 28 inches

## WE WENT BACK

### Continued from p 7

balloon". But that wasn't it at all. The balloons were purely decorative.

The lack of communication at STDW was not only a technical problem. Communication was confused because the leadership was confused and divided. Even in the name of democratic decision-making, there is no excuse for one leader to be haranguing a crowd to go one way, after everyone else has decided to go another.



The relationship between monitors and rank and file was filled with mutual disrespect and distrust. People called monitors "neo-cops", "authoritarian". While most monitors were sincerely trying to help, they were largely useless. One learns not to pay too much attention to a monitor if you nearly get run down by a cop's motorcycle because the monitor has told you it's legal to march in the streets.

We need to integrate monitors and marchers. Monitors should be comrades who have a bit more experience and information. Monitors may have trained for two months before STDW, but they never met with the people they were supposed to be leading. Monitors were trained for self-defense, but they never even discussed what to do if the cops were restrained and they had to give positive direction to the demonstration.

Perhaps what we need most is some serious creativity. The first STDW was successful, in part, because it was a new form I'm not saying that new forms are needed for their own sake. New forms are not enough. But sometimes they give us certain tactical advantages. We couldn't seize the intersections at this STDW because the cops were prepared for it. They weren't prepared the first time.

Sometimes we need new forms, not for the novelty, but because old forms have outworn their usefulness. It's a cop out to blame the cops for an ineffective demonstration. We too deserve the blame.

#### Mood or Understanding

Some people attributed the weaknesses of STDW II to the fact that people aren't as desperate now as they were in October. McCarthy Kennedy and even Johnson have given them some vague hope. It

is true that a lot of people weren't turned on to STDW the second time because the source of their gut reactions against the war was gone.

But we shouldn't curse McCarthy. It is our fault for not moving people to understanding the political nature of their emotional enemies. The political mood is different only because we have not done our homework. We must understand that that enemy has not disappeared.

Unfortunately people act on the basis of emotion. I heard that one demonstrator walked up to a Mexican cop and said, "Free Huey, you dirty spic." This outrage may be an exaggerated, unique example. But it is the logical outcome to a movement built on emotion. We may use anti-war or anti-racist emotions to draw people into our movement, but if we don't follow-up with sound political education, our movement cannot last.

## PITTSBURGH Continued

frantically, "WHO'S OUT THERE?" when I reached the top of the stairs, I answered again, and finally I yelled louder that it was his very own neighbor. At this point I was on the landing. The door swung open, and there was my neighbor, a normally friendly and relaxed guy, with a look of completed horror and tension on his face. He relaxed a little when he saw it was me, and said,

"Listen, John... I don't know if you have any guns upstairs, but if you do, you better get them ready. I thought you were THEM coming up the stairs. I have my three shotguns loaded and I'm keeping them right by the door. How about you?"

"Oh... well, I don't really think anything is going to happen tonight."

"You don't, you're crazy. Listen, my brother is a cop, and he says they've already killed 14 people in Pittsburgh (a complete lie, there weren't even any black people killed in Pittsburgh.)"

"Hmmm... I just listened to the news and they didn't say anything about that."

"Of course they didn't John, they don't tell you about that on the radio. But I'm telling you my brother is a cop and he says they're heading this way tonight."

"...Why would anyone want to come up this block and cause trouble? Everything that's been happening has been in the Hill" (the local ghetto). Which ended the conversation, since Joe couldn't believe that I didn't think they were coming. When I got upstairs I went to the window and saw him meeting his brother, the cop, who had just pulled up to the curb. The cop said,

"What are you doing outside, Joe, I told you to stay in."

"Well, I heard a noise on the stairs, and I thought it was them. It was the guy who lives upstairs. It's lucky he told me it was him, I was about to open up through the door with my shotgun."

#### What Can a Radical Do?

What can a radical do in a situation like this? After snooping around a little I confirmed the fact that nearly everyone on the block was armed, and ready to open up when the time came. In fact, there seemed to be a certain amount of enjoyment in the whole thing, since it gave people something to talk about, and built up an atmosphere of "us settlers will put the wagons in a circle and beat the Indians off" which was complete with heroic lines right out of the movies.

The only thing to do really in that kind of a situation was to try and convince people that there was really no threat to them. Any kind of talk to make them more sympathetic or even understanding toward the rebellion was out of the question. No

one would have listened, and there was a good chance of being dismissed (physically?) as a traitor. In short, neutralization of the neighborhood was the highest goal to be set at present, and even that would have been a formidable task for a large group of people.

In reality the academic-adult community was the only place where there were enough politically-minded people to consider some action. Even there, the reactions were rather surprising. SDS-type students, while sympathetic on the surface to the rebellion, were showing their white bias by expressing fear for their lives. For example, they believed a story, spread by the police, that the water supply had been poisoned. In general they did not seem to understand the specific and rational goals of the rebellion, which presented no threat to them. Nor did they understand that rebellions never yet have gone out of black neighborhoods, and that Pittsburgh of all places would not be the first place that this would happen. Suggestions that they ought to do something to help their black brothers were met with complete scorn.

A small group of people discussed plans for diversionary action or support action, but this was prevented for several reasons: 1) The student and black-power movements in Pittsburgh have grown so far apart that we found ourselves with no direct contact with anyone in the rebellion area who could advise us on supportive action. 2) We hadn't planned anything ahead for such a situation, which must be vital to any kind of support action. You simply can't slap it together like a demonstration, especially in a relatively politically undeveloped place like Pittsburgh; it has to be prepared ahead and coordinated. 3) The nature of the student-and-fellow-traveller group in Pittsburgh is such that the action, even if planned, would probably have been the equivalent of turning in draft cards.

#### The Liberal Response

When we failed to come up with anything, the field was left open to the liberals and the NAACP. On the third day of the rebellion, a memorial march for King was held. Its only significance was that people marched even though forbidden by the police, and the NAACP leader shocked everyone by saying, "I'm not going to see people not to riot because I'm not responsible for the conditions." The next day, an End White Racism, Rebuild the March was to be held, which this time was changed (as if to emphasize the ritual nature of the whole thing) to an indoor church service.



# UNION BATTLE WON Con't from page 9

"No! No!, then booed him off the stage and out of the meeting.

The strikers began holding daily marches through downtown Memphis and nightly mass meetings to rally support behind the strike, a practice kept up for the entire length of the strike. They also formulated their demands which included: (1) an end to job discrimination against black workers; (2) a city-paid hospitalization, life insurance, and pension program; (3) additional sick leave, vacation improvements, overtime after 8 hours in any particular day, and premium pay of 10¢ an hour for night work; (4) a guarantee of a full work-week even in bad weather; (5) wage increases of 40¢ an hour; (6) recognition of the union as sole bargaining agent, the granting of dues check-off, and a written contract.

## Line Up of Forces

At this point it is important to go into just what forces were active in the strike. The main forces against the strikers were centered around the city's mayor, Henry Loeb, and the elements that had elected him. These included the segregationist-minded middle classes, the two daily Memphis papers (the COMMERCIAL APPEAL and the PRESS-SCIMITAR, both owned by the giant Scripps-Howard chain), and the city's big business.

Loeb continually refused to deal with the strikers at all unless they went back to work labelling the "lawbreakers". He lined up the city's police force to guard scabs he recruited, putting the cops on a seven day work-week and sent Negro cops, disguised as sanitation workers, into union meetings to report on what happened.

The two Scripps-Howard papers called the strike "a shallow attempt at blackmail" on its first day, and then ran the gauntlet of condemning "irresponsibility."

## from page 3

type thing at the demand of the police. At the meeting, attended mostly by liberals, ministers and others spoke about how King's murder and the riots showed that "we have to do something now to end white racism, in fact we REALLY have to do something." This hefty goal was to be accomplished by three means: 1) demand more money for the cities, 2) circulate petitions which pledge people not to be white racists, 3) exhort similarly to one's neighbors. The meeting was to end with a march, but this was abandoned when Father Riec, our local radical priest (who has been good on the war) said, in complete seriousness, "We mustn't march it will just tire out those poor policemen who already have their hands full trying to save lives in the ghetto. We shouldn't add to their burden." Everyone agreed that they hadn't thought of it that way before, and that the march shouldn't be held. It must be remembered that this meeting had not only liberals but every person who would in any way be considered part of the movement.

## Curfew

Perhaps the other notable thing about the reaction in Pittsburgh was how agreeable everyone in the city was to the curfew, which lasted five days, ran from 7:00pm to 6:00am every day, and forbade groups of more than ten to gather outside at any time. The main reaction was that it was a game, quite interesting, and required people to adjust their lives accordingly. So movies closed, people didn't gather to talk in the evenings, night classes were called off, and people watched television for five days. They were thankful that the city called it off two days earlier than the seven that had been planned, but seemingly not resentful at the general curfew at all.

It all makes one wonder what more will have to happen before we call it fascism. Black neighborhoods are militarily occupied, and their citizens killed. People are fed rumors and analysis by the police which they consider more reliable than what they hear on the radio, and even more trustworthy than what they see around them. The force of the left, allowed to play their silly games, are effectively paralyzed and silenced. Finally, everyone is willing and even eager to stay in their homes when told to, simply by edict, without ever questioning the right of the authorities to make such an edict. It may not be fascism, but it certainly does not build up one's faith in the resistance white people will put up if and when open fascism does come.

"outside agitators," and the inciting of "anarchy". Said one of their lead editorials: "The 12 crews who reported for work today are right. The rest of the 180 crews are wrong."

If the expected forces were lined up behind the city administration, some strange forces were lined up behind the strikers, but for clear enough reasons. One of the big surprises was to find the moderate Negro political machines backing the strikers. These included the NAACP, a very moderate force in Memphis, and the Shelby County Democratic Club (SCDC). Both these groups had supported a Negro moderate for mayor in 1967, and the guy lost.

The Unity League, another moderate Negro group, which had supported the incumbent, Ingram, for re-election in 1967, also lined up behind the strike. (The irony of this is that Ingram had previously issued a strike-breaking injunction against the sanitation men in 1966.)

The election was won by Loeb, who got into office by squeezing between the split between the moderate Negro political machines (black people in Memphis are over 40% of the city's population). When he took office, Loeb bluntly stated that as he had not needed the Negro moderates to get into the mayor's office, he would not need them to stay there, and completely eliminated them from the city's patronage plums. When the strike came, these two factions of moderate Negro leaders each tried to out-do the other in a joyful effort to repay Loeb for cutting them out of the patronage system, and to good advantage of the strikers. When the moderate leaders moved to support the strikers, they also mobilized their machines, which included more than half of the city's 300 Negro ministers, and this support enabled the strikers to get the large amounts of money necessary to sustain their drive, as the AFSCME had not allocated any strike benefits to the men at all.

Also unusual was the support of the AFL-CIO Labor Council leaders in Memphis. It is quite rare for these guys to support a wildcat strike, but they too had backed a loser for mayor. They proved to be of little other than financial help though, as their positions depended on not mobilizing their memberships in support of anything.

But the main point here is that two forces usually convenient to the rulers of any city to act as a safeguard against mass action by the poor and workers, namely the Negro moderate machines and the bureaucratic trade-union leadership, were lost to the rulers of Memphis in this strike.

## The Stalemate

As the strike moved into the end of February and through the first three weeks of March, it became clear that a stalemate was developing. The city administration's early strategy was just to get the men back to work and let the strike die. This obviously wasn't working. The strikers and their various backers moved against this possibility early in the strike by going around to all the strikers' landlords, to the city's utility company, to the various loan companies and retail stores that the strikers were in debt to and persuaded them to declare a moratorium on all debts, to promise that no eviction, repossessions, etc. would take place during the strike. This was agreed to by the various businesses concerned with the understanding that if they didn't agree, there would be a massive secondary boycott launched against them. So this front was neutralized early in the battle. Immediate expenses for food, etc. were met by raising money from the black community, which contributed upwards of \$100,000 during the length of the strike to aid the men and their families.

## Scabs

The next move of the city administration was to recruit local scabs and use the threat of job loss to get the men to return to work. The two Scripps-Howard papers went out of their way to help in this move. On Feb. 18, the morning paper ran a long article written by one of their reporters who had spent the previous day scabbing. He gave the time and the place to report for scab duty, described how one of his co-scabs had given up a worse job to get one on the garbage truck, and how they only worked three hours but were paid for seven. He also made it clear that the scabs were well-protected from the people by the police, as every truck was escorted all day long by a police patrol car.

The city's businessmen joined in the effort by organizing the Boy Scouts and the Junior Chamber of Commerce to pick up garbage in the wealthy Memphis area, and designated various suburban shopping

centers as central collection points. After getting a taste of what the job was like, these fellows quickly lost interest in playing garbage man. They set up instead a bonus fund to attract enough scabs to pick up the garbage for them.

The only heed the strikers took of the scab propaganda the two Scripps-Howard papers were grinding out was to issue a call to boycott them, a call that was respected by over 80% of the more than 200,000 black people in Memphis.

As for the city's scab recruitment, it went very slowly, partly because of a community-wide solidarity with the strikers, and also because scabbing got to be a very dangerous, as well as low-paying profession in Memphis. Union men and strike supporters began patrolling the city's streets looking for scabs, photographing them, and getting their names. During this period, scabs were visited by ministers and told to stop scabbing. Scabs were then called up by the union

anti-worker laws that existed. As it turned out the state AFL-CIO and assorted moderate politicians kept these bills bottled up in committee hearings during the strike, and they were never voted on.

## City Council Takeover

The strikers then made a major move to break the stalemate. On February 22, ten days after the strike began, over 800 strikers gathered at a city council meeting demanding that the council go over the mayor's head and meet their terms. The mayor was driven out of the meeting, as were most of the councilmen. The ones left formed a committee to decide what to do.

While these councilmen were "deciding" the strikers took over the giant council chambers. One man pointed to the City Emblem on the wall (which contains a cotton bowl) and talked about the history



and told the same. After that, other things happened.

The city administration then got some state legislators from the Memphis area to sponsor a series of bills in the State Legislature which would make it a felony to advocate or organize a strike of state, county or municipal employees as well as outlawing dues-checkoff in Tennessee for those employees. These bills would probably have had little effect, since the strikers were already not paying much attention to the

of slavery and of oppression of black workers in the United States. He announced that if the city didn't come across with the goods, there was going to be some "redecorating" done in the Council Chambers and in the rest of Memphis as well. It was then that the council committee said that it had agreed to meet the strikers' demands. With warnings of caution from some of the men there, the strikers left the chambers and went home.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

## FAILURE TO REMEMBER Continued from p5

view their role as analogous to campus organizers who spring students from the academy to swell the number of community workers.

The open door now created a new set of difficulties. The organizers had never made their purpose in Bellefonte clear to the kids. As a result, the kids saw the house simply as a place that was always available for a party — and they partied continually. The kids had been drawn to the staff by their openness. To close the door without explanation would be to forfeit their trust and friendship. "We couldn't get the chance to talk about the problem," says Dave, "because the only time we saw them was when they were drunk." The situation became a nightmarish cycle. The organizers would return from the twelve-hour shifts they worked to an ongoing beer party. The combination of work and party exhausted them so that they couldn't think straight, let alone talk the problem through. And silence gave consent to yet another round of parties. Toward the end it was impossible even to sleep at night.

The organizers couldn't understand the behavior of the kids who risked arrest unnecessarily by pulling off small burglaries carelessly and haphazardly, turned each other in, and even seemed to look forward to jail and the penitentiary. Hardest to take for the the organizers, they stole from the house whenever they could. "The problem," Dave says, "was that we had set up for ourselves a picture of how these kids should act in response to their situation, a picture or expectation which they never met primarily because we never made it and ourselves clear to them. ... The difficulty for us was the complete unreasonableness of our expectations — we hoped to destroy a lifetime of acculturation with a few weeks of contact — and our failure to recognize the impossibility of what we were asking."

## And Personal Problems. . .

To complete the project's rout, personal hang-ups were woven into political problems. In common with most new leftists, the organizers were committed to developing close personal relationships as a basis for effective work. They held frequent "soul sessions," where they talked frankly and personally about the problems the project faced. Unfortunately, friction which had existed before the students moved to Bellefonte was aggravated by the tension and closeness of the project. Because these old quarrels harmed the project the group tried to resolve them at their meetings. Instead, the people involved began to use the soul sessions as a cover for personal attacks. The bad feeling generated would have been enough in itself to cripple the project.

Finally, the group had to deal with a dominant personality, another problem that seems to be common in political groups. Only one person had organized before coming to Bellefonte; his ideas were at first accepted, in spite of reservations, on the basis of his experience. But he clung to his ideas long after the group had been convinced by their own experience that he was wrong. And the group, clinging stubbornly to consensus decision-making in the face of uncompromising stubbornness, was saddled with his notions.

Dave points out that the failure of the Bellefonte project was not caused by faulty theory or invalid techniques. There in nothing inherently wrong with house-office combinations, open doors, or organizing kids. He locates the failure in middle-class attitudes which can only be discovered with difficulty and rooted out with pain yet must be recognized and eradicated if organizing is to succeed.



# UNION BATTLE WON Con't from page 13

## Cops Attack

The next afternoon, the city moved to beat down the previous night's offensive by the strikers. The full council met in a second session, and again, hundreds of strikers showed up to pack the council chambers. All the same, the city council voted to over-rule the decision of the temporary committee. They also issued a declaration supporting the mayor and giving him full authority to handle the strike as he saw fit. Workers jeered and booed the council, and then left the chambers to hold a mass march through downtown Memphis, which the police at first refused to allow. But the strikers made it clear that they were going to march anyway.

The cops did decide to let them march, but as the marching strikers entered a downtown street, the police began slapping each other on the butt, wishing each other good luck, and pulling out their gas masks. Then a patrol car with five cops in it began swerving into the side of the march as it proceeded down the street, pressing the marchers against store windows and walls. When some of the marchers began rocking the cop car, the police charged the marching strikers from the side, shooting tear gas at them and spraying them with Mace. Isolated marchers were clubbed over the head and beaten bloody. When it was all over, several strikers were hospitalized and others had to be carried off by their brothers. Seven of the marchers were arrested: T.O. Jones on charges of "inciting to riot," another for "assault with intent to commit murder," and others on charges of "assault and battery," "disorderly conduct," and "nightriding."

## Injunction

On Saturday, February 24, the city administration put what it must have thought would be the finishing touches on the strike. The city obtained a new injunction against the strikers. It outlawed participating in, causing, authorizing, or inducing a strike against the city; made coercing of the city by striking, picketing, etc. to recognize the union illegal; and prohibited any picketing of city property. But it didn't work. The strikers responded by organizing a massive boycott of the downtown businesses, a boycott that resulted in a decline of retail sales in Memphis of more than 40% during the rest of the strike. The marches and mass meetings continued daily.

A few days later, the international organizers and representatives of the AFSCME were charged with violating the (new) city injunction. When the case got to court in the first week of March, the union's lawyer, Anthony J. Sabella, said, "As far as I'm concerned, these guys (the sanitation workers) officially left their employment February 12. Our position is that these men have quit. I'll admit the city has no obligation to put them back to work." In spite of these servile pleadings, the guys from the AFSCME's International were found guilty, and sentenced to 10 days in jail and a \$50 fine (the case was immediately appealed).

At this point the ministers and other Negro moderates took over the open leadership of the strike. The marches and mass meetings as well as the boycotts of the Scripps-Howard newspapers and the downtown businesses continued. As mid-March arrived, the city administration was being badly pressed by the strikers.

## Support

Unlike the New York sanitation strike, support for the Memphis strikers was constantly on the increase. At the predominantly white Memphis State University, a series of rallies in support of the strikers was held, led and organized by the Black Student Organization (BSO) and white radicals. At least 200 black and white students turned out in support of the strike, and many left the campus to march with the strikers.

Within the black community, the young high school students were becoming the spirit of the union drive. Black high school students were suspended from school for leading their fellow students out of the classrooms to join the strike marches. But the students marched anyway, singing as they moved down the streets with the strikers:

Pork chop, pork chop, greasy, greasy/  
We can beat Loeb, easy, easy./ Loeb shall, he shall, he shall be removed/  
Just like a can of garbage in the alley/  
Loeb shall be removed./ Freedom isn't free,  
freedom isn't free/ You've got to pay the price/ You've got to sacrifice/  
For your liberty.

Behind the sweeping support the strikers were receiving from their people, the city moderates, led by the AFL-CIO,

began to launch a recall drive which would force Loeb to run for re-election two years before his term in office expired. And the businessmen, mainly the insurance companies and the downtown retail stores, began getting cold feet. For while they had been actively fighting the strike ever since it began, it dawned on them that Memphis might be burned down if the strikers were crushed. With this frightening thought in the minds of the city's big business, a new group called "Save Our City" was formed to push for a settlement of the strike acceptable to the sanitation workers.

Pressure was immediately put on the city council which quickly passed a resolution urging the mayor and the union to resume negotiations and naming a mediator to direct negotiating sessions. While these two moves had little impact on the strikers, it had a major impact on the city administration. The city began to see itself becoming isolated in the face of the firm solidarity of the strikers and the black community while being hit by defections from the ranks of its own supporters (the big business community).

## Martial Law

At that point, the city made its final desperate moves to break the sanitation strike. They began recruiting scabs from nearby rural areas in Arkansas and Mississippi, rounding them up at 4:AM each morning, hauling them into Memphis in county penal farm trucks, then hauling them back home after dark. There were reports that inmates from the county penal farm were also being used on the garbage routes. Police got into the act as well; they were seen driving garbage trucks (this was in addition to other cops who escorted each garbage truck in a patrol car).

A vigilante group was organized through the county Sheriff's Department composed of racist middle class elements. For a fee of \$100, these racists were given a uniform, badge and gun, and were sworn in as "auxiliary deputy sheriffs."

Police cars manned with three cops (one armed with a machine gun, another with a telescopic mounted rifle, the third with a "riot" shotgun) began patrolling the city's black neighborhoods in large numbers.

Loeb then made his "final offer," evidently to try and win back some of the big business support he had begun to lose. The "offer" consisted of four parts: (1) all sanitation workers would return to work immediately and unconditionally; (2) the sanitation workers would issue a "no strike" pledge; (3) the city administration and the workers could then negotiate a settlement of the issues; and (4) all issues the two parties could not agree on would be submitted to a city-wide referendum in August, 1968.

The response from the strikers and the black community was not long in coming. The "final offer" was voted down by the strikers almost to a man. Cruising cop cars were stoned in the black neighborhoods. Loeb-owned businesses had their windows smashed, and some were fire-bombed. And many of the giant piles of garbage throughout the black communities were set on fire.

## Union Backers Bring in King

As was noted before, the main link between the strikers and the black community had come to be controlled by the moderate Negro leadership of Memphis.

One of the ministers said that if the moderates dropped the leadership, it would be picked up by the militants. And another minister, a white liberal, described their dilemma this way: "A lot of ministers are on the tightrope. We are trying to help the sanitation workers -- normally a pretty mild-mannered group -- assert their rights. And on the other hand, we are trying to hold down the young militants who want to tear the place up."

The moderates then did the only thing they could have done to maintain their control and yet continue the strike battle: they called in Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the A. Philip Randolph Institute. From them they got national publicity, more money, and a great deal of help.

King announced he would lead a giant parade through downtown Memphis on March 22, and the Negro moderates urged all Memphis workers to stay away from work and join the parade. As it happened, most Memphis workers did stay away from work that day -- because of a 16 inch snowstorm that paralyzed the city and forced the parade to be postponed until March 28.

## Non Violence Fails

When the parade began on March 28

it quickly dismayed the Negro moderates. People began shattering windows minutes after the 6,000 marchers set out through downtown Memphis. Young black demonstrators began pulling the placards off their picket sticks and using the sticks against display windows. As windows were broken, the black militants would melt back into the parade, then dart back out again as they passed another big display window. The people were not objecting. Then Dr. King from the head of the parade began shouting that the parade was over and was quickly hustled away from the scene.

The police massed ahead of the march put on their gas masks and started shooting tear gas into the demonstrators. Many retreated back to the Clayborn Temple, origin of the parade, but a few hundred young black demonstrators went forward and fought the police with fists, stones and sticks. It was an uneven battle -- the young people were clubbed bloody into the gutters, and those that could then retreated with the rest of the people.

As the police advanced upon the retreating marchers, they began shooting more tear gas into the thousands of people who had surrounded the already jammed Clayborn Temple. Gas seeped into the church itself, choking the many people packed inside. Outside, the clubbing and beating continued. People fled as best they could; finally the cops pulled back long enough to allow everyone to leave the area.

Within hours, there were more than 3,800 National Guardsmen in Memphis, mainly on occupation duty in the black communities. State police were rushed into the city; the city police force was put on emergency duty. President Lyndon Johnson, ever helpful, offered to send any number of Federal Troops the city administration might need to maintain "law" and "order".

## Double Murder

The same afternoon, a young black teenager was trapped by police, who had been after him on "looting" charges, and ordered to come out with his hands up. Over 15 witnesses reported that he did come out with his hands high over his head, and that one of the cops then shoved his riot gun into the kid's stomach and shot him. He died minutes later in the street and was left lying there long enough for the cops to place a knife near his outstretched hand for a photograph that was later used as "proof" that the shooting was an act of "self-defense."

That night, Memphis burned. Martial law was declared and a curfew was put into effect from 7:00 PM to 5:00 AM. The National Guardsmen continued their occupation. For the next few days, the cops ran wild throughout Memphis. Men reported that cops had broken into their homes without search warrants and beat them with clubs when they objected. Black people on the street for any reason were pushed around and abused by the cops. Anyone who objected was beaten to the ground and then arrested on charges of "resisting arrest," "assaulting an officer," "disorderly conduct," and other assorted crimes.

On April 4, Dr. King returned to Memphis to lead a second parade. But that evening, just before sunset, he was cut down by a sniper and killed.

## City Surrenders

In the wake of the King assassination, giant sections of major cities across the United States went up in smoke. LBJ's earlier offer of Federal Troops to the city administration was withdrawn; instead he sent the Undersecretary of Labor, James Reynolds, to Memphis with orders to settle the strike as soon as possible.

In Memphis, the city's real rulers were announcing in no uncertain terms that they had had enough. They commanded the city administration to settle the strike immediately. The Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL said in one of its lead editorials on April 13th: "It is no longer a matter of 'hold the line at any cost'."

On April 16th, the strikers in a wild

\* \* \* \* \*

\* — Fidel Castro on the rumor that King's killer had fled to Cuba:

\* "If that individual should get the absurd idea of landing in Cuba we would immediately put him at the disposal of the black movement in the United States, so that the revolutionaries might try him and give him the sentence he deserves. Naturally, we would not turn him over to the Yankee Courts. The Yankee Courts would be susceptible to the racists."

\* —GRANMA, April 28, 1968

victorious mood met to vote on a proposed settlement. The proposal was read. It was entitled "A Memorandum of Understanding," was to be in effect 14 months and contained a "no strike" clause as well as the following points: (1) an end to discrimination against black workers; (2) no discrimination against any worker because of strike activities; (3) a grievance procedure, but one leaving ultimate authority in the hands of the mayor or his representative for all laborers, drivers and crew chiefs belonging to it; (5) dues check-off on a voluntary basis to be channeled through the workers' credit union; and (6) a pay increase of 10¢ effective May 1st and an additional increase of 5¢ per hour effective September 1, 1968.

It was not all the men had fought for. Far from it. But it represented a clear victory, one which the men knew they had won, one from which new and stronger fights could be launched. The men voted almost to a man to accept the settlement, and the celebrations began again.

## Struggle Continues

The struggle that grew out of the Memphis sanitation strike is not over. The union announced that it is next going to organize the city's hospital and housing authority workers. The community-based supporters of the strike have decided to continue the boycott of the two Scripps-Howard newspapers and of all Loeb-owned businesses. They have also announced that they will continue fighting for demands which grew out of the union struggle: demands for better housing, better schools, and more jobs for the city's black workers.

The city administration has not given up on the war either. Although the strike settlement will cost the city no more than \$500,000 over the next 14 months, Loeb on April 17th urged passage of a series of tax bills that will net an estimated \$12 million. Among them were a \$3.00/month garbage collection fee and a half-cent increase in the city's sales tax.

The unspectacular grim struggle between the working people and the bosses and government of Memphis continues.

(Writer's Note: the above article on the Memphis garbage strike is based on numerous interviews and other information picked up in Memphis. I want to especially thank Dave White and Susie McDougal for their help in contributing important information and making essential points about the strike.)

## HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZER ARRESTED

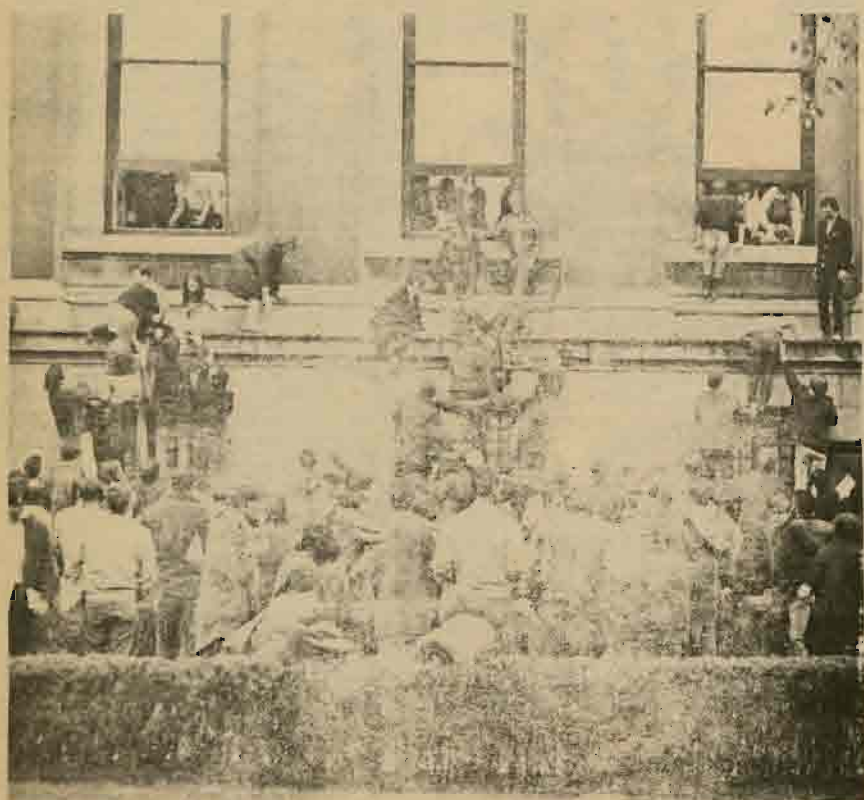
Bob Mandel, one of the Oakland Seven, was brought to bay by the Oakland fuzz again last week. Three plainclothesmen and four squad cars surrounded Mel's Drive-In in Oakland, two blocks from the Oakland Induction Center, and pounced upon their unsuspecting quarry. Mandel had just finished speaking at the anti-draft, anti-racism Stop The Draft Week rally at the induction center when the heat made their appearance. Mandel was arrested on a warrant issued the afternoon before charging him with five counts of "loitering on or about the premises of a high school." Bail was set at \$2500, an unheard of sum for a loitering charge, and, to add insult to injury, as well as to foster a little paranoia, Mandel was kept over night in isolation in a felony cell. The next day the D.A. agreed to reduce bail to \$500.

The arrest stems from high school anti-draft organizing the accused conspirator has been engaged in over the past three months. A small group of East Bay organizers have been helping high school students establish anti-draft unions in three Oakland area high schools. These draft unions were basic instigators of the High School Strike in the East Bay on April 26th and made the decision to have a dual focus around the draft and Huey Newton for the strike. Apparently the Oakland establishment got a little uptight when white students began to organize for the first time in Oakland schools and decided to eliminate the problem by eliminating the organizer. Their efforts failed, naturally, and the day of the Strike 800 young people from East Bay high schools staged protests at both the induction center and the Alameda County Courthouse.

Mandel expects to fight the case on first amendment grounds. His lawyer will argue before the court that being at a school to teach people about the draft just ain't loitering. The defense is being handled by the Oakland Seven attorneys. Contributions are needed and funds should be sent to the Stop the Draft Week (Defense Fund), 6468 Benvenue, Oakland.



# COLUMBIA Continued from page 1



## Hostage and Seizures

The tactics used to support these demands have been headlined all over the country. After the incident at the gym site, demonstrators marched on Hamilton Hall, seized it and held Dean Coleman hostage until demands were met. (After 24 hours they decided to release him because they didn't want to be responsible for his health.)

About 2 A M Wednesday morning, white students left Hamilton Hall while the blacks continued their occupation of the building, which they named Malcolm X Hall. They proceeded to Low Library and barricaded themselves inside President Kirk's office. Some students were appointed to "research" Kirk's files on the IDA, University Budget, the gym, etc. There was no hassle when a police expeditionary force breezed in to snatch up Kirk's \$400,000 Rembrandt and then left.

By Thursday morning four more buildings were seized. About 600 people held these 6 buildings until the following Monday night cop invasion. There have been no classes at Columbia since April 23.

## How They Did It

One veteran of the Columbia struggle told us how to seize a building. It sounded pretty easy. Only about thirty people were needed to invade the Mathematics Building in the middle of the night. They escorted maintenance personnel out. They then barricaded the doors with heavy steel desks, chairs, filing cabinets, and other metal and wood items. The windows were blocked with huge sheets of heavy styrofoam discovered in the basement. The Mathematics Hall Defense Committee feared that the cops would throw tear gas through these windows. Food and other supplies were brought through a carefully guarded window. Food preparation and medical facilities were set up and constant meetings were held to make sure all decisions were made democratically.

Each building was autonomous and developed its own sense of solidarity as the days of seizure wore on. A strike committee periodically sent runners out to coordinate activity. From the start,

## TELEGRAM

Columbia SDS asks your support. We will send speakers anywhere. Set up rallies, actions strikes, in support of Columbia's demands, on local racism, or repression issues. Contact Steve Komm. c/o Speakers Bureau, 311 Ferris Booth Hall, Columbia University, New York City 212-280-3603. Create two, three, many Columbias.

Mark Rudd Columbia SDS

rumors of cop invasion created an increasingly tense atmosphere, but no serious dissension among the rebels appeared. As the days wore on people became more and more committed to the buildings they occupied and solidarity increased.

## Women's Liberation Too

A Liberation News Service reporter writes: "I woke up Saturday morning to find a huge sign over my head which read 'Sarah Lawrence is Here for the Duration.' Sarah Lawrence? Sure enough, there were some twenty Sarahloo chicks spread out around the floor, mingled in with the Columbia and Barnard people. It was pretty funny to think that only three weeks earlier, there had been a big hassle with Linda LeClair at Barnard who had been 'discovered' living with her boy friend.

Here was a community voting, joking, holding out against the superstructure' a community talking, sharing meager food supplies and co-operating in night watch. At a defense committee meeting, several girls adamantly demanded to be allowed to participate on the night-watch. Hurwitz calmly explained that it would be a slight "security risk" if a group of "jocks" decided to try to bust in and kick the sleeping protestors out: they wouldn't feel intimidated by two girls on the window sill. However, the liberated women won out in Mathematics just as they did in Fayerweather, where a group of girls raised their voices to the cry of 'Liberated women do not cook.'

So men and women cooked together. The bathrooms in Mathematics were no longer segregated. Instead of the old 'Men' and 'Women' signs, they had signs reading 'Liberated John; Men and Women'. Inside the Liberated John was a community toothbrush, community band-aids, and community Tampax. It was a beautiful scene."

## Campus Support

Campus support for the rebels had grown steadily with the escalating blunders of the administration. It is true that the jocks organized to impede food deliveries to the seized buildings. But since no demonstrator was hungry as he was dragged out from the buildings, we can assume that the jocks were not very effective. Faculty tended to exaggerate the violence of the jocks so that they could argue for moderation in the name of forestalling violence between the two student camps.

On Thursday and Friday a campus referendum was held on the issues of the struggle. All those inside the buildings could not vote. The vote was on the six demands and approval of SDS tactics. 950 people voted a straight ticket in favor of the rebels. 500 voted a straight ticket against the rebels. About 2,000 more were generally sympathetic to the demands, but split on tactics.

After the cops were called in, there was no referendum. But all reports indicate that support swung decisively in favor of the rebels. The strike they called has been totally effective. Mayor Lindsay ordered the suspension of gym construction. The students have support for their refusal to negotiate as long as the administration threatens them with discipline.

## Community Participation

The most decisive aspect of the Columbia story is the close tie between the

student struggle and the black liberation struggle. Both targets, the gym and the IDA, are important in the community's struggle against racism.

The continuing struggle of Harlem against the gym set the political climate of the demonstration. Some people think that the university administrators put off calling in the cops because of the support the rebels had from Harlem. Black people, along with the white students, called the bluff of liberal racists. The head of the city's Human Relations Commission, Percy Sutton (Manhattan Borough President) called for amnesty and supported the student demands.

Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael came onto campus to support the rebels. Brown said, "These are our demands: if the Jim Crow Gym in Morningside Park is built it will be blown up. Amnesty for all students participating in these demonstrations here at Columbia. Institute for Defense Analysis must go. It is the tool of the government, the racist government,

to suppress the poor peoples of the world, Latin America and the ghettos of this country."

## What Next?

Monday night 628 people were arrested within several hours. (At Berkeley 3 years ago it took the cops 24 hours to arrest a similar number). The cops worked quickly, brutally. Over one hundred of their victims had to be hospitalized, but President Kirk was only concerned about the "inhumanity" of the litter in his office.

The rebels no longer occupy the buildings, but the struggle continues. The struggle will not be allowed to peter out into a traditional free speech fight. The issues of the gym and the IDA are too firmly implanted. Harlem's resistance to Columbia's "imperialism" will probably grow and help sustain the student movement on campus. ➔

# Pigs vs. Panthers Con't from page 16

in which the Panthers, armed with guns which they carried openly, demanded the dropping or modification of a new law designed to prevent blacks from possessing guns to defend themselves. The Panthers were there this time to expose the political nature of the Parole Board which has re-imprisoned Eldridge Cleaver.

On the steps of the capitol, Bobby Seale read the message that Huey P. Newton read there one year ago condemning the racist destruction inherent in American policy since the slaughter of the Indians and evident today in the destruction in Vietnam. Pointing to the massive arming of police forces around America, the Panthers condemned the attempt by State Assemblyman Mulford (notorious for other reactionary and racist bills and laws in California, including "open housing" opposition and bans on non-student and various political activity on college campuses) to "keep the black people disarmed and powerless".

Kathleen Cleaver, Communications Secretary of the BPP and wife of Eldridge Cleaver, read a statement demanding the release of Cleaver. She described how his parole was revoked before any charges were filed against him, 1 ag before the parole board could have conceivably met (at 2 AM on the night of the shoot-out), and his brutal treatment at the time of

the arrest and subsequently. She described the harassment of the lawyers and herself when attempting to visit Eldridge and the total isolation in which he is kept. Kathleen offered an explanation of their reasons for wanting Cleaver silenced and locked away: "Eldridge Cleaver initiated, almost single-handedly, the now massive support campaign for Huey P. Newton. He organized, coordinated, and consistently developed our coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party. The Political leadership he provided was of the highest and most sophisticated calibre. It is also key to know that it was not until after he presented our demand for a UN-supervised plebiscite to determine the status of Afro-America to the Peace and Freedom Party Convention in March, that the attempt to assassinate him was made. It was also after Malcolm X advocated taking our problem to the UN that he was assassinated."

The Peace and Freedom Party also spoke at the State Capitol and the Parole Board on behalf of Cleaver and the Panthers. Lenny Glaser, co-chairman of the PFP legal defense committee, who spent 3 years in California prisons for violating parole from a marijuana offense by participating in the FSM told of PFP plans to hold a conference of all the PFP lawyers in the state of California. They are planning to: 1) challenge the California Adult Authority (Parole Board) as unconstitutional in composition and action; 2) oppose the indeterminate sentence law, which by imposing vague sentences (1 to 10 years for example) gives total discrimination and decision-making power to the parole board, which is composed of men appointed by the current governor for short (4 year) periods and therefore subject to (all) political pressures; 3) oppose the censorship of mail, newspapers, and visitors to the prisoners, which now exist permitting prison authorities to ban books and newspapers they don't like, censor mail, and prohibit certain visitors whom they consider "undesirable"; 4) demand the end to arbitrary parole denial or revocation, which now proceeds without the presence of attorneys, with no written reasons necessary. Actions allowed and prohibited to parolees should be put in writing (which is not now done, allowing people to be re-arrested for committing acts for which their parole officers gave them verbal permission); 5) pay for work done by convicts; and 6) end discrimination against political prisoners, such as the Muslims, the Panthers, anti-war demonstrators, FSMers, etc.

Huey Newton's trial is now scheduled for June 10; massive demonstrations are being planned. ➔

Statement by Comrade

MAO TSE - TUNG

Chairman of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of China  
in Support of the

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# OAKLAND 7 FACE COURT -AND LIVE

OAKLAND — The Oakland Seven made their first major court appearance May 2. They are being tried for conspiracy to talk, in the words of one defense lawyer. This hearing was mostly legalistic: the defense asked the court to throw out the case for lack of evidence. The decision will be handed down May 17.

The major defense arguments are:

1) That the "conspiracy" is no more than a conspiracy to enjoy the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment. The Seven were engaged in ordinary organizing of a political demonstration. The acts they are accused of are those anyone who is organizing a political demonstration does. This is what makes it so dangerous. The DA is attempting to prosecute normal political actions.

2) The three misdemeanors the Seven are supposed to have conspired to commit: creating a public nuisance, interfering with a public officer, and trespass -- are either unconstitutional or inapplicable. The best example is the public nuisance law. The law reads, "Anything which is an obstruction to the free use of property or which disturbs the comfortable enjoyment of life or property of a considerable number of people is a public nuisance." What about men out repairing the streets? The crowds when a football game lets out? How could a person reading that law know when he is committing the crime of public nuisance?

3) That the war in Vietnam is illegal, immoral and unconstitutional and the Nuremberg Judgements obligate the defendants to protest against it.

4) That the prosecution has a "chilling effect" on First Amendment rights. By charging the Seven with conspiracy, the DA is intimidating others from exercising their free speech.

5) That the charge of conspiracy is so vague as to defy definition and is unconstitutional. The defendants' activities really fall under the "criminal syndicalism" law which was just found unconstitutional. Changing the label to "conspiracy" does not alter the unconstitutionality of the charge.

In his closing remarks, Attorney Bendich argued that the prosecutor didn't know the difference between political and criminal activity. He attacked the DA's argument that the Oakland Seven were the same as a group of people who conspired to rob a bank. The Seven did not plan among themselves to go down and commit a crime. They gave speeches, organized meetings, and passed out leaflets arguing that the draft was bad and that people should stop the induction center from operating. This is covered by the First Amendment.

Police Spies

Bendich also attacked the use of police spies. "The use of police spies and informers," he said, "is not only shameful; it is despicable and dangerous and must not be allowed. It threatens our most fundamental freedoms."

"If the District Attorney opposed the plans for Stop the Draft Week he should have gone to one of their public meetings and gotten up and argued against it." The audience in the courtroom broke into applause.

Assistant DA Jensen stuck to the argument that it didn't matter who they were or what the politics was, the demonstrators during Stop the Draft Week were criminals and the Seven planned it and they ought to be put in jail. He kept talking about how demonstrators broke a cop's leg. After he finished, Terry Cannon said, "Are we being tried for conspiracy or for breaking a cop's leg?"

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## DA's Letter

The feeling among the Seven and many of the audience afterwards was that the judge came in ready to rule against the defense, but the defense arguments convinced him at least to give more thought to his decision. The turning point may have come when Attorney Truehaft read a section out of the Grand Jury transcript. The section dealt with a letter DA Coakley wrote to the Berkeley Administration warning them that if they allowed Stop the Draft Week to use buildings on campus for meetings, they, the Administration, might be included in a charge of conspiracy.

This made it very clear that the DA's office was out to intimidate any and everyone who did not actively oppose and fight STDW. Any crime that could include people who disapproved of the act is a strange one indeed.

Attorney Ben Dreyfus said in closing, "What these people agreed to do was plan a political demonstration, not to commit misdemeanors. Whether others might engage in misdemeanors during this demonstration is not the issue." ←

photo: Jeff Blankfort



OAKLAND SEVEN MENACE Movement photographer outside courtroom where they face trial for conspiracy to talk. In back: Mike Smith, Reese Erlich, Jeff Segal, Bob Mandel, Terry Cannon. Down in front: Frank Bardacke. Not pictured: Steve Hamilton. Photographer had interrupted conspirators planning how best to break policemen's legs.

# Oakland Pigs vs. Panthers

During April the Oakland Police made new brutal and murderous attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party. The Panthers have withstood these attacks, and have organized, consolidated and grown.

## Day by Day Rundown

—April 3: Police entered the Church of Father Neal where the Panthers were holding a meeting. With forces surround the church 12 cops charged in, brandishing 12-gauge shot-guns. Apparently they were seeking Bobby Seale, who has been their main target since they imprisoned the Minister of Defense, Huey Newton. Not finding Seale, the cops left.

—April 5: Without securing a warrant or offering an excuse, San Diego police broke down the door of Panther organizer Den Denman, chairman of the Black-Brown Caucus of the Peace and Freedom Party.

—April 6: Panthers out gathering food for a picnic the next day were confronted by Oakland cops, threatened with guns. In the course of defending themselves, the Panthers sought refuge in a house, from which they were smoked, tear-gassed and burned out. When the two Panthers inside at the time — Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Hutton — came out, surrendering, with their hands up, the police shot and murdered 17 year old Bobby. Seven other Panthers were arrested near their cars or in other homes during the night.

—April 9: More harassment. Two Panther women putting up posters announcing the candidacy of Huey Newton for Congress and Bobby Seale for assembly on the Peace and Freedom ticket were stopped by 12 cops with rifles. Their car was searched with neither warrants nor "probable cause". Police cars constantly patrol the Newton-Seale campaign headquarters; Panthers have been physically prevented by police from putting up campaign posters, and Oakland residents have witnessed cops tearing down the posters.

—April 12: Funeral and memorial services were held for murdered Black Panther, Bobby Hutton. The service in Merritt Park, across from the Alameda County Courthouse, was attended by several thousand blacks and whites. James Forman of SNCC and Marlon Brando, who has recently taken an active interest in the struggle of the Panthers, were among those who came to Oakland for the memorial.

Later, the car caravan scheduled to go to Vacaville, where Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver is being held captive following the shoot-out, was cancelled. The Panthers had received reliable word of a planned massacre by the cops of any blacks who appeared in Vacaville. Police, sheriffs, highway patrol and possibly National Guard lined the highway, and Seale told the crowd, "We don't have the technical equipment to handle this, and we are NOT going to take our people in to be slaughtered."

After the meeting broke up, four Panthers returning by car to their office were stopped by two carloads of Oakland cops, again brandishing rifles. The Panthers were grabbed, handcuffed, smacked around, maced and threatened with guns placed at their heads. The pigs said the car the Panthers were driving looked like one used in a recent bank hold-up. The absurd charges were dropped

later in the week when (of course) none of the witnesses identified the Panthers as having been involved. But other miscellaneous charges growing out of the arrest were filed against one of the Panthers. All had spent several hours to several days in jail, been brutalized by the police. The Panthers lost a substantial amount of bail-bond money in securing their release.

—April 18: Bobby Seale, Kathleen Cleaver, and 20-30 members of the Black Panther Party staff attended a Stop the Draft Week meeting in Berkeley, seeking the active participation of militant white radicals in a series of protests and demonstrations. STDW agreed to work actively on the program. The STDW posters bearing the slogan, COPS OUT OF VIETNAM, COPS OUT OF THE GHETTO were taken by the Panthers and plastered around Oakland.

—May 1: Juvenile harassment. Junior Panther groups have recently been forming in some of the Oakland schools. Some liberal teachers and administrators have invited Panthers to come speak to the children, (who had mistakenly believed the Panther Party was simply a para-

military, street-gang type of organization) to explain their ten point program for the community. This was more than the Oakland power structure could take. When two white girls gave their parents as an excuse for cutting school and for possessing Free Huey buttons, the pretext that some black girls in their class "made" them buy the buttons, police moved in and arrested Melanie Bell, the 14 year old sister of a Black Panther Party member, and the 15-year-old niece of Huey Newton.

The girls were booked on charges of "extortion" and "assault", and held overnight in juvenile hall before being released the next day.

King Jr. High School, which the girls were attending, is a recently integrated school which up until now has been all white and is still predominantly so.

## Day of the Panther

—May 2: Black Panther Day. Following an early-morning Court appearance for Bobby Seale (in which the judge, commenting on the many letters he had received supporting the Panthers and stating a harsh sentence would be an "insult to the entire black community" or complaining that a mild sentence would be a "victory for the Panthers", affirmed "I don't want this to become a political trial!"), two bus-loads and a number of cars travelled to Sacramento.

This was the anniversary of the first Black Panther trip to the State Capitol

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