

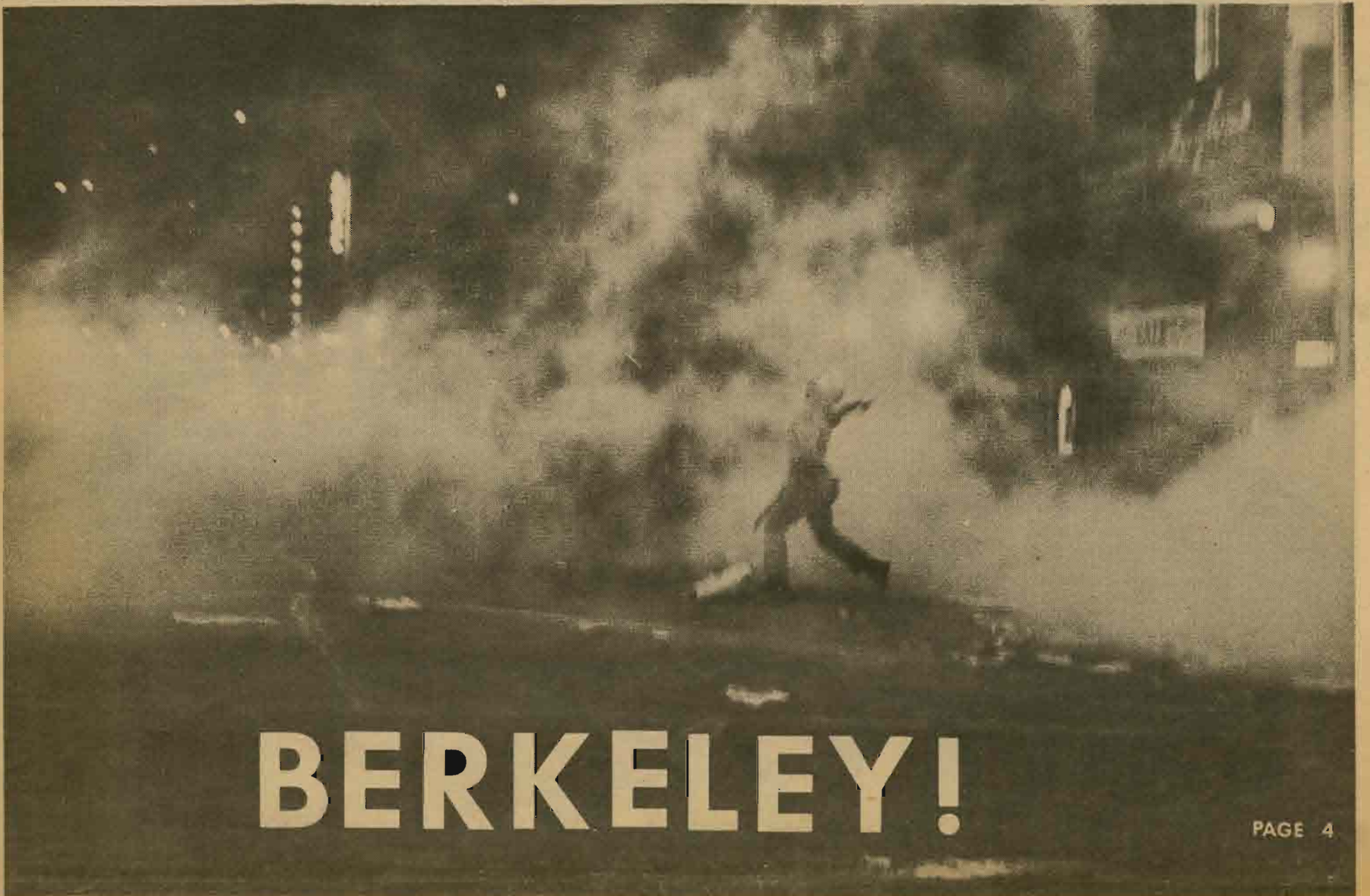
MOVEMENT

AUGUST 1968

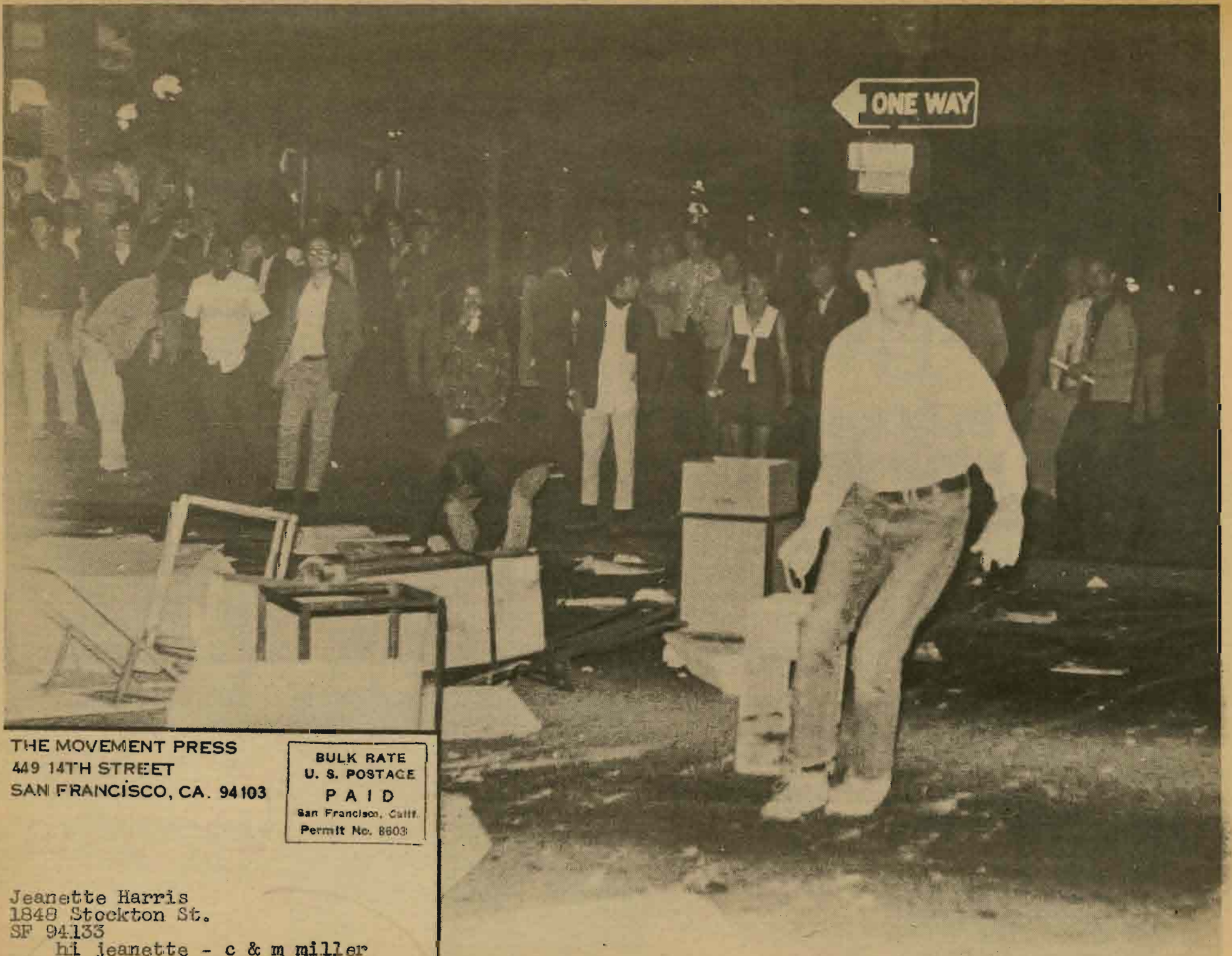


VOL. 4 NO. 7

CLEAVER FREED P. 10
HUEY SPEAKS FROM JAIL P. 8



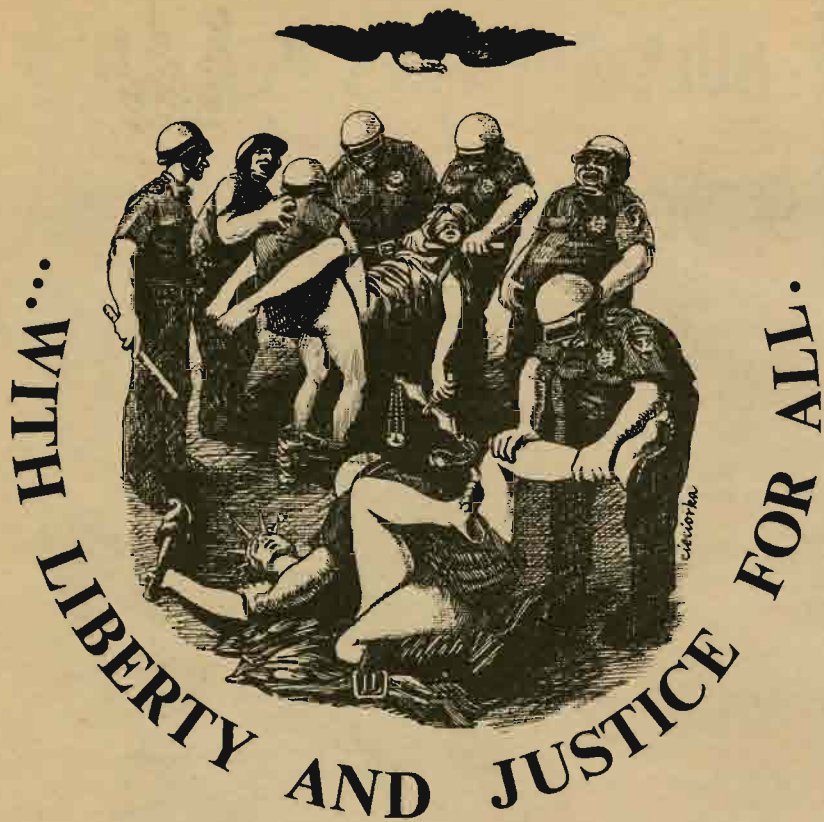
PAGE 4



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

BULK RATE
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
San Francisco, Calif.
Permit No. 8603

Jeanette Harris
1849 Stockton St.
SF 94133
hi jeanette - c & m miller
10 67 8



Washington -- Testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 27, long-time red-hunter Ed Montgomery of the San Francisco Examiner alleged widespread subversive activity preceding the September, 1966 ghetto revolt in the Hunter's Point section of San Francisco. The hearings are part of an irregularly scheduled series looking for "communist influence in riots," according to committee chairman Edwin Willis (D-La.). Of particular concern to Willis, when he was able to stay awake, was the "dissemination of inflammatory propaganda" and charges of police brutality.

Montgomery dug back to the anti-HUAC demonstrations of May, 1960 and earlier to document his charges that "racial agitation by reds is evident over a long period of time". The Hearst reporter listed names of those arrested at San Francisco civil rights demonstrations at Auto Row, Sheraton-Palace and Mel's Drive-In, and found involvement in "inflammatory propaganda" from the Communist Party, People's World, Progressive Labor Party, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, Anarchist Society, Poor People's Campaign and other groups, many of which no longer exist. Several officers of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union were listed among those "on the scene" of the civil rights demonstrations, and several "war on poverty" officials were criticized for allegedly "covering up" for rioters.

No new information or charges were made except that Montgomery, at one point, claimed knowledge regarding the bombing of the DuBois Clubs' head quarters. He did not elaborate and the committee did not pursue the point. A final example of "obscene, inflammatory" material used to incite riots was given to the committee by Montgomery. It was a drawing by Frank Cieciorka of police officers raping the statue of liberty and

the blindfolded justice symbol. That will go into the committee's files, but will not appear in the record, as it was judged too offensive.

Willis praised non-rioting "colored-folks" and said that "Roy Wilkins is one hundred per cent American." The hearings are scheduled to continue indefinitely.

by Hardy Frye

Sacramento, California -- "Come back here, you pig" was the cry from participants in the Poor People's March June 18th. Contingents of poor people from Fresno, Sacramento and the Bay Area held rallies and demonstrations at the state capitol here to coincide with the national rally being held in Washington by SCLC.

On the morning of June 18, about sixty people from the Fresno area held a rally on the west side of the capitol building, then went to visit their local representative. Later that afternoon people from Sacramento and the Bay Area had a march and rally. Speakers were Leon Ralph from Watts and Assemblyman Willie Brown from San Francisco. Brown said that the legislature had not listened to him talking about the plight of the poor, and that the only thing which would make them listen was for poor people to "go in and raise hell". Brown backed down on this statement later, after pressure had been put on him.

Waiting for Reagan

All day long the groups had been trying to get Governor Reagan to speak to them. Reagan had told the press that he would not speak to a bunch of "bums", a statement he later learned to regret. Hearing that Reagan was holding his weekly news conference, the poor people got wise and decided to attend. They were not allowed inside the room, so they began singing

and clapping and hollering for Reagan to come out to them. They later learned they had made capitol police uptight enough that the news conference had been cut short and Reagan spirited out the back door.

Apparently Reagan figured he could do a rerun of his performance with the march against tuition last year. He came stalking out of the capitol, grabbed the microphone and began to talk. Most of the liberals were happy that he had responded to their pressure, but the poor people listened to what he was saying and were less responsive. When the governor decided his lecture was not being properly appreciated and decided to retreat, the crowd shouted after him, "Wait a minute, you pig, we want to talk to you; you're a liar." As Reagan retreated, the poor people pushed forward, alarming the security guards. The crowd reached the large capitol building doors just after Reagan entered and would not let the guards close them. The governor headed for the elevator. The crowd followed. Finally guards managed to clear the small black children with him. He later told the press this was to keep the children from getting hurt. He took both children to his office and gave each a bag of jelly beans. This seems to be the governor's response to poor people -- jelly beans.

On to the Committees

The poor people were not yet through with Sacramento. They roamed through the capitol shouting for Reagan to come out. It was later learned that he had left the building at the insistence of his security guards. There was some confusion of plans. Some people wanted to go back outside and have another rally, others wanted to stay in the building. Finally someone spoke up: "You people have to make up your minds what you want. Reagan doesn't make the laws and appropriate the money, the legislature does. Reagan is just one flunky in the whole damn machine. What we should do is demand to speak before committees and our legislature. If they won't listen, disrupt the whole damn works."

The poor people then moved through the building, spreading disruption. Someone was heard to shout several times, "take anything you want, it all belongs to you anyway."

After giving a hard time to capitol police and sergeants at arms in meetings, the ways and means committee finally listened to a representative from the poor people. This speaker made it clear that the poor people's groups did not appreciate the run-around they had received.

As they left the building, one demonstrator was heard to tell a guard outside Reagan's office, "Tell Reagan he's not playing with Indians in one of his westerns or his Borax show; he's dealing with us now, and we ain't bullshitting."

her ability to combine these two schools is where her real talent lies. Back around 1954, in one phase of the development of his style, Ray too missed gospel patterns with pop lyrics and melodies and created a series of excellent recordings which he still does today. (Some of the early examples of this are available on "The Ray Charles Story", Vol. Two, Atlantic 8064). Of course this gospel overtone is not the limit of all of Aretha's offerings, but it plays a big part in most of them.

On the new LP, Aretha again recreates one of Ray's early classics, "The Night Time Is The Right Time". The first one she did was "Drown In My Own Tears" which was more successful than the new attempt as she added a good deal to it and didn't just recreate it.

"You Send Me", Sam Cooke's biggest seller is on the new album too and is truly one of its high points. Here she not only recreates a song but revises and adds a completely new dimension to it. For the first time on any Aretha album a stereo trick is used on this song. (If it's not a technical fuck-up which I'm sure it's not, though these have been unexcusably present on previous Aretha releases). The last half of the song is masterfully arranged and doesn't let up until the all too soon fade-out.

"See Saw", "You're A Sweet Sweet Man", "I Take What I Want", and "A Change" are all similar in beat, and that is a common complaint about the record. But the beat is the only similarity. Each song tells a different story and all are musically tight and rocking.

Despite the criticism, the people at Atlantic and Aretha are still turning out first rate material and they know it. All one can ask for is MORE!

Sound Scene

BERGMAN ©

CHRISTOPHER

Aretha Franklin, now recognized as perhaps the most productive and exciting female singer going, never really came into her own on disc until she signed with Atlantic. There, much care was taken to get the best material and accompaniment to complement and encourage her bounding talent. With the exception of most of the cover photographs, the records have all been superb products as a whole. "Aretha Arrives", her second for Atlantic, was the only album that didn't put some kind of plastic image of Aretha on the cover. But the recording itself is the important thing.

"The latest, "Aretha Now", is bound

to be a controversial record, having already met with some heavy criticism in the musical press. The criticism, however, is mainly irrelevant and incorrect, spoken from an angle with little bearing on the actual experience of listening to the album.

The album opens with "Think", also a single release; it is solid and driving but perhaps a little ambiguous in statement. I've heard several suggestions as to the meaning of the words. Most frequently it is assumed to be a statement to the white man. The Freedom chorus certainly bears this out, as do many of the other lyrics: "I ain't no psychiatrist, Ain't no doctor with degrees, But it don't take too much IQ to see what you're doing to me. You better think, think about what you're tryin' to do to me." Or "You need me and I need you, Without each other there ain't nothin' you can do." These phrases also could apply to a personal thing and thus the disagreement. The song was written by Aretha and her husband.

I was surprised to see the next song on the album. Aretha has never sung dinky, thin songs, always something with guts. But there it was, "Say A Little Prayer", that recent Dionne Warwick hit. But as I listened to it I heard one of the things that makes Aretha so great. The ability to take a song and shape it with her originality and skill so that it means something, so that it sounds like the truth. With this skill she has something in common with Billie Holiday. She too would take an ordinary, perhaps over-sentimental song and turn it into a believable musical testimony.

As on her previous Atlantic releases, none of the songs are completed with one recording. First they record her voice as she plays the piano with the rhythm section. The background voices (supplied by the Sweet Inspirations) and the horns are added later. It proves to be a good method.

I think one of the main things in Aretha's music that gives it its irresistible power and drive is its ever present gospel influence. Similarities in the structure of much of Aretha's music can be found in the Staple Singers, Mahalia Jackson, and other gospel noteables. Ray Charles and Dinah Washington were Aretha's main influences from the pop music world, and

CHICAGO BLACK STUDENTS SEIZE HIGH SCHOOL

By the Chicago MOVEMENT staff

On June 4, the students at all-black Parker High School took over the school. The action was begun by a group shutting down the lunchroom, followed by the occupation of the administrative office, and the locking in of the principal. The activist students, supported by the entire student body and a few teachers, then announced that the school would be closed until Superintendent of Schools James F. Redmond agreed to meet with the students to discuss their demands. According to Sylvester Phillips, spokesman for the Black Afro-American Organization, which organized the takeover, "We just told the teachers to get out of our school."

The demands put forward by the students include: repair work and decent equipment in the science labs, modern machinery in the business department, adequate supplies for the teaching of art, the introduction of new books and the revamping of the curriculum in the English, History and Social Studies Departments, including instruction in black cultural heritage.

The school take-over was the latest in a series of protests which began with a walk-out on April 5, the day after the assassination of Dr. King, and included two more in May.

was held in June of student leaders, Dr. Redmond and the school principal. While the meeting took place at the Board of Education building, several hundred students marched on the street with signs listing their grievances.

At an assembly in the school the next day, student leaders reported that some of the demands had been met and others refused. The students responded with a spontaneous boycott of the school for the last week.

On June 12, a student rally in a south side park was broken up by the police, who arrested eleven people including several of the leaders from Parker. The arrested were held overnight and maced several times while in their cells. Phillips told the MOVEMENT that after repeated mactings, "The stuff was so thick in the air, we were almost used to it, and we told the guards to come back and give us some more." Parents and others from the community packed the court the next day and cases were thrown out.

The students are using the summer months to expand the BA-AO into other south side ghetto high schools. Some are talking of shutting all the black schools down until they are no longer "invisible" to the city.

CURSING ESTABLISHMENT SEIZES MEDIA

By Todd Gitlin

MONEY DOESN'T TALK, IT SWEARS -- Dylan

Your eyes might have been stabbed by the page one headline in a recent San Francisco Examiner: "CURSING NY HIPPIES SEIZE TV STATION -- Foul Talk Goes on the Air -- 6 Men, Woman Arrested -- By United Press International and Associated Press".

Between them, each with their vast chain of bureaus and thousands of Trained Personnel, these two giant "news"- "gathering" corporations were able to assemble this blood-curdling tale:

"NEW YORK -- A score of loud-mouthed hippies, shaggy, bearded and screaming obscenities, took over an educational TV station while thousands of viewers watched in their living rooms."

"The intruders burst into the basement studios of station WNDT-TV, across First Avenue from the UN, during an 'underground press' interview late last night. They knocked down a guard and punched their way past two members of the station staff, totally disrupting the program."...

"When the intruders were asked what they wanted, one replied, 'We're here to break down the barriers of panel discussion shows.' Another said simply, 'We want in.'..."

Now, just as a guerrilla is explained by the system that drives him into final opposition, so is what happened June 25 at WNDT-TV perfectly well explained by the Examiner story. But not the way the Examiner meant it. And the Examiner is no mere benighted bush-league villain. The Chronicle's story the next morning was in a lower key just as confused and confusing, and the New York Times headlined, "20 Hippies Invade TV Show and Shout Obscenities on Air." The media, sure enough, as a whole, were the message -- but not the way McLuhan understands, either.

No one has to study Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man -- though it would help -- in order to read between the lines. Anyone who has ever been billyclubbed or Maced by a cop only to read that his peaceable demonstration was "violent" and that Law Enforcement Officers used "necessary force" (if the fact that cops used force at all was deemed Fit To Print), anyone who has been in Vietnam and returns to hear on the radio that "our boys' morale is high," any Columbia insurrectionary who reads the Times accounts -- anyone who has lived an event, a place, a mood from the inside, and knows and insists he knows what he saw, heard, felt despite the sonorous, three-button interpretations of Information Specialists; anyone, in short, who has held to the slightest shred of his own intuition and judgment knows that the media lie.

They lie daily, they lie in patterns, they invent lies and peddle the powerful's, maybe they apologize and they lie again, by commission and omission: they lie, we might say, chronically, predictably. They lie by conspiracy (the handling of D.A. Garrison), they lie by implication ("Communist" equals archdemon), they lie by diversion (at least Miss California gets close to Jesus Christ), but mostly they lie by telling what they imagine to be the truth. They lie because of the code of their objectivity, because they have learned not to see, hear, feel, not to believe in the inside of a fact, not to doubt that their leaders lie and their textbooks lie and their teachers equate blue-eyed rock-stable property-gagging manifestly-destined 5% interest America with truth. They lie finally because they can do no other, because they need their lies, for the crude but quite serviceable reason that lying is their livelihood, brings in advertising; and -- never forget this better concealed, more insidious reason -- because the very particular slant of their lies numbs their audience into nodding befuddlement, makes consumers of men and masses of publics, makes packaged try-harder Americans of puzzled disgruntled people.

And the chronic liar who from time to time tells the truth is no more credible, for who can tell? We may be grateful for small exceptional favors, if we can detect them -- that Examiner interview with Huey Newton "wasn't

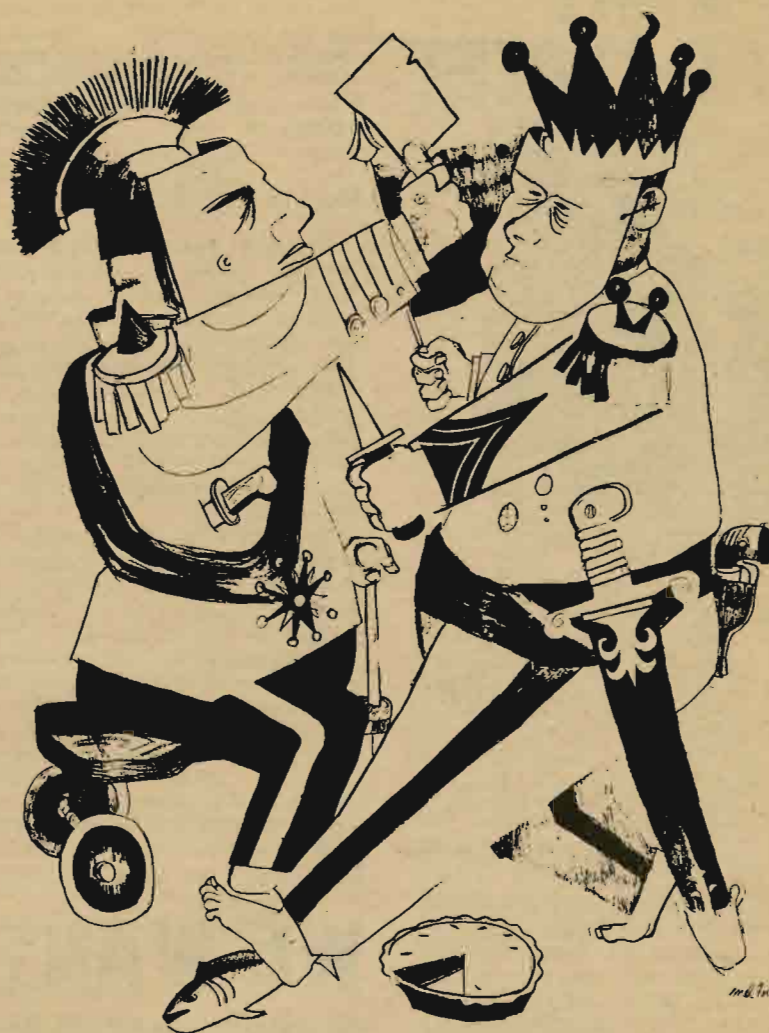
bad," I thought last Sunday morning: a grudging and to me demeaning tribute -- but the pattern is still bare -- threadbare -- for all who will look, and no less

The cultural guerrillas who for some 15 minutes liberated a small zone of the New York airwaves had come naturally to such thoughts, and thoughts pushed them to action. Most had grouped around Newsreel, a project founded early this year by New York filmmakers determined to make and distribute films addressed to The Movement, The Underground -- films which engaged political reality from within it, who asked the questions of it that an activist would ask, who reported demonstrations (October at the Pentagon, the Jeanette Rankin Brigade, Up-Against-The-Wall-Mother-fucker's dumping of garbage at Lincoln Center) and organizing projects (Resistance, Boston Draft Resistance Group) not only thoroughly, but with an eye to conveying experience to people prepared to apply its lessons.

The country is fairly crawling with filmmakers who refuse to sever their talent from their commitment, their eyes from their more vital organs: a San Francisco group is already at work. Newsreel, like the underground press, has flowered, and for the same reason: they exist to sensitize and serve those of us who refuse to consume the indigestible products of our enemies.

But to declare yourself fully it is necessary to do more than Your Thing, because Your Thing is circumscribed and absorbed and eaten in a million ways by their spongy, 50,000-watt, 1-million-circulation Things. The German SDS knew this well last spring: they took after Axel Springer, right-wing tycoon publisher, as if he were simply manufacturing poison. It is intolerable to manufacture poison, they reasoned, even if someone else is allowed to make antidotes.

Newsreel took on a more elusive and therefore striking target, and they hit the mark directly. ABC, CBS, NBC would have been sitting ducks -- even former FCC Commissioner Newton Minow had consigned them to a "vast wasteland." Money-making enterprises pure and simple, purchasing rigged polls to justify their spewing forth of canned pap, dispensing "news" in interchangeable pellets (usually placebos), reserving the most meager shreds of creativity for commercials, the networks have left many highly-placed people with empty feelings and headaches beyond even the far reach of Excedrin. CBS News Chief Fred Friendly had quit in 1966 when higher-ups refused to jerk the morning's soap operas to broadcast the Fulbright hearings live, and written a book, "Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control," denouncing narrow-minded bureaucrats. What Friendly proposed instead were broad-minded bureaucrats, administering higher-toned culture in gilded eyedroppers to higher-toned people -- broadly speaking, the upper middle class. Meanwhile McGeorge Bundy's Ford Foundation had argued for a publicly-financed TV channel, a fourth network devoted to "public affairs" and symphonic civilization; and lo and behold, we have PBL, Public Broadcast Laboratory. (The alacrity with which PBL zoomed into regular existence tells you something about where power is lodged.) No commercials, well-mannered critiques of the war -- not yet of the lustful imperialism (another curse word!) that powers this war and the next -- sympathetic treatments of black power: but that's just it. PBL offers TREATMENTS, renditions, slicked through the detached cinematic retina. The upper middles don't want to relinquish their position, only to secure it more firmly by adjusting its sights, "taking account" of "new realities." Typical board member: James Restin of the New York Times, who blandly bemoans the plight of the Empire and hopes Senator McCarthy will



goose it back into gear. Poor James. So much for "new realities."

And thus NET, the National Educational Television network, a string of stations -- WNDT-TV, New York, KQED-TV, San Francisco, etc. -- that have popped up over the last few years to form an oasis in the wasteland. NET has distributed Felix Greene's "Inside North Vietnam," Saul Landau and Richard Moore's pro-Castro "Report on Cuba." Only the wasteland seeps into the oasis; the oasis ignores its location only at great peril. Almost everything is packaged for the most painless consumption, tailored to cramped time-formats, stripped of the sharpest edges; NET does not, cannot promote and elaborate the shattering idea that it is possible for Americans to live a different way. Instead it offers a channeled switch-off for the good people whose most elementary sensibilities will not allow them to stomach the Big 3 networks. American television, they will conclude, is indeed an open marketplace; let the buyer only beware, and he will be rewarded. NET is the lollypop after the \$2.50 haircut, the last meal on Death Row.

I exaggerate, but to a point. Consider the rebuttal: "But it's worlds better than CBS." But there is a principle at stake: the airwaves belong to the people; not grudgingly, not in boiled-down concessions, not forever subject to broad-minded censors who balance politics as if they were a diet, but as a matter of right. The right to say so before a microphone, for the titillation of an audience trained only to be flattered by novelty; is not the issue. The issue is the right to exercise the right, not proclaim it.

So the Newsreel people chose WND-TV to make their point. The occasion was a panel discussion on the underground press, moderated (very precise word) by a protégé of James Restin. The guests (no doubt as to who owned the house) were Allen Katzman, editor of the East Village Other, Jeff Shero, editor of Rat, and Marvin Fishman of Newsreel. And a few minutes into the show, other Newsreel people entered the studio, began shouting telegraphic versions of their views: "The establishment press lies! TV is free!" Under the circumstances, on hostile ground in an unaccustomed medium, they resorted to slogans; but then they assumed the show had been zipped off the air, couldn't know the studio was still transmitting. Why it did remain a mystery: were the technicians friendly?

The nervous moderator was just as oblivious. "Why did you do this?" he asked, when the noise level had settled. "This is what the underground media really is," Fishman said, "and no established media can convey what the underground wants to convey. You've got a format; the underground doesn't work according to your format. The underground works, operates and creates in a whole different manner. We go to Columbia and we work on the inside where the action is. We go to Resurrection City and we work on the inside.... We cannot work as the media does, behind the line of the police."

He went on to talk about a show illuminating Positive Features of the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto, and Jeff Shero defined a central principle of the Newsreel-Underground approach: "If you want to do

a show on Bedford-Stuyvesant, you have an open camera and let anyone who wants to sit down and talk -- gang kids, dope pushers, anyone."

Then the bombshell. "And," said Jeff, "I can't say 'fuck' on this TV station." Extra consternation in the studio.

"If you're doing a show on Bedford-Stuyvesant, people have to express themselves in their own language -- not in the language of the establishment."

Fishman added, "When someone goes on TV, he is expected to use the language of TV. He can't say 'fuck' on the air because it's considered bad taste. But the fact of the matter is, he uses 'fuck' a great deal -- not for its own sake. He uses it in the natural course of how he lives."

But probably no one was listening any more. Probably no one heard Jeff Shero go on to ask whether NET had broadcast evidence liberated from Grayson Kirk's office of the tie between Columbia and the Institute for Defense Analyses, evidence of Columbia as realtor and holding company. Probably no one heard the answer, "No," let alone pondered the implications. Scandal blurred substance, most likely: after all, this was the no-feedback medium, there was no chance to read the watching armchair faces, say "Wait a minute now, you don't understand, OK, we'll explain."

And the infantry was on its way to retake the hamlet, to clear and hold. Word got to the liberators, and most cut out, melted back onto the street. Seven were a little slow in leaving, and were arrested, charged with (1) burglary, breaking and entering with intent to commit a felony, namely: (2) rioting. Maximum penalties, seven years on the first charge, four years on the second.

This is serious business, this business of clearing the air. Everything has gotten more serious this year, which is another way of saying that the stakes, those intangible and preoccupying stakes we carry in our heads, are climbing; what we once found tolerable we can no longer blink. "Provo tactics" not so long ago seemed innocuously cute, the raw precious stuff of stories with which to regale your friends for months to come. No longer. Working through the implications of theory in real life, always risky in the abstract, has become a matter of concrete risk and practical planning, a constant tension. Who knows what was in the minds of the medical students who in 1957 seized a radio station in Havana, held it momentarily before falling, shot dead in the streets where markers today commemorate them?

Do not mistake me: We are not riding the crest of a revolutionary wave; we are only -- ONLY, but this is no small feat: staking out our own history, defining precedents, opening space for new objectives, lighting new energy-fuses. Vague formulations all, for the holding of cultural and physical territory is something we know little about.

But as we come to reckon seriously with the cultural artillery of the oligarchy as with our own walled-off culture, the liberation of WNDT-TV, half-assed and incomplete and problematic as it was, may stand as one more cracked foundation stone on which the New City may yet be built. ■

WE WANT THE STREET



The scene: A long-haired guitar player strolls like the Pied Piper up University Avenue. At the same time a rally with speeches and tactical discussion is going on in nearby Provo Park, and the police have completely sealed off the Telegraph Avenue area that has been the scene of beatings and tear gas, barricades and rock-throwing the night before. The Pied Piper is singing Dylan's song "The Times They Are A Changing".

Behind the guitarist several hundred people follow, and before the corner is turned they have broken almost all the windows on a two-block stretch. The cops are not prepared, their resources are in the Telegraph curfew area, the sun is not yet down. Before the cops come, over \$5,000 worth of damage has been done. This took place on Sunday, June 30th, and followed two days of conflict.

Friday Night

On Friday night the YSA (Young Socialist Alliance) called a rally to express solidarity with French students and workers. It was held on Telegraph Avenue south of the Berkeley campus. The rally was co-sponsored by many other groups, including the Peace and Freedom Party, the Black Panther Party and the MOVEMENT.

About an hour before the rally was scheduled to end (it was a dull rally) Mayor Wallace Johnson and the police decided to show solidarity with the French cops. Traffic was moving along Telegraph and all indications were that the rally would soon break up, when the cops declared the gathering an illegal assembly and ordered the people to disperse.

The YSA leadership tried to get people off the streets and onto the side-walks, but the cops wanted people home. Lines of police moved down the streets, and the people moved back. There were intense debates raging: should we leave the area or should we stay in the streets and confront the cops? The argument became one of rights, of Telegraph being ours, of resentment against authority. Many people were tired of continually listening to militant rhetoric which led to chickenshit action. People felt that at some point they would have to stop running from the cops, and that this was the time and the place.

YSA said something about a march away from the campus toward Oakland, and left, but nobody followed. Leadership went to the people in the streets.

Chemical Agents

A police bullhorn announced that if the area was not immediately cleared, "chemical agents" would be used. Since then, word has come out from the Alameda County Jail, where certain political prisoners are held, that the Alameda County Sheriff's department was mobilized long before the rally. A rumor about this apparently contributed to the crowd on Telegraph. The cops were out to attack.

And they did. Suddenly the sound of the explosion of tear gas canisters and grenades. The crowd scatters at the initial police thrust, but the night is young. People are not going to be run off the streets without a fight.

Barricades and Bonfires

The cops thought everything was over, as did some of the people who were dispersed. But barricades were erected, cars rolled out into intersections, and bonfires blazed. One bonfire was set in front of the campus. A flimsy barricade was erected there. People broke street lamps. Stone bicycle racks were smashed into throwable chunks. Periodically the cops would charge with gas and the people would retreat to the campus. At least one fire was set on the campus itself and the windows of several buildings were knocked out.

There was a cross-section of people involved: fraternity members were taking care of business along with young black

men, long-haired hip types and politicians. Finally the cops moved with more gas and drove the people to the west end of campus. A fire was started but the cops moved in again. Barricades, rock throwing went on till 1 AM. People involved felt a new sense of defending their community against an enemy who did not belong there.

More Gas on Saturday

Berkeley was tense all day Saturday. A rally was called for the evening. At 7:30, 200-300 people gathered on the edge of the campus. The rally turned into a march down Telegraph to the area where it had begun the night before. Some small barricades were erected. Sound equipment was brought in and people talked about France, the situation in Richmond (where a black rebellion raged for three days), and the right to the street.

Berkeley's mayor, Wallace Johnson, creator of the "Eagle Policy" on Vietnam ("an eagle is neither a hawk nor a dove") tried to pull a Lindsay as he walked on the street, protected by two hippie-garbed cops. Johnson was chased out of the area by those not interested in his brand of bullshit. He returned and promised a "compromise", but when he got the mike he said only that he was willing to discuss the Constitution if people would move into a parking lot. The consensus was to stay in the street.

Disputes arose over the tactical problems posed by the barricades (would

WE WANT THE STREET



they hinder escape?). The crowd was diverse in make-up. A rock band played on one corner and people danced, burned incense, sat in the streets, smoked grass. At one head-high barricade people were angry and serious. A young cameraman alked by with camera in one hand, rock in another. Some people were getting ready. At the barricades stockpiles of rocks were collected and paper was piled up for burning.

We're Surrounded

Many did not notice just how ready the police were getting. The Highway Patrol, Alameda County, Berkeley and Oakland cops were there. Unmarked cop cars, some Thunderbirds, cruised the scene. All traffic had been sealed off from the area. At 11:45 the attack began.

The people were surrounded. Cops moved in from all sides, the barricades began to get in the way, and the tear gas was used in far greater quantities than the night before. The side streets were gassed as well, and people caught up blind alleys often ran out to find cops jump out of cars and beat heads. Some people ran to the campus but it was sealed off by Berkeley cops and the California Highway Patrol. The cops were cool, methodical and vicious in their beatings. About 40 people had to be taken to the hospital. People were running scared, fear was in the air with the gas, but there was not only fear.

There was anger. Windows were smashed and buildings (mostly condemned apartments where no one lives) were set on fire. Rocks were thrown at the cops and at least one molotov cocktail was thrown. Witnesses report that it was thrown at a line of cops who were sealing off the campus. One highway patrolman's uniform caught fire and he was seriously burned on the legs. About a dozen cops were injured.

The cops patrolled, six to a car. In this way they could hustle 18-24 men to

any call in no time. The necessity to remain very mobile in the face of this tactic was soon understood.

Fish in the Water

Many people were sheltered by friendly residents and a few businessmen, who provided them with wash rags for gas, shelter, and a back door exit. The issue to these shelterers was not the "excesses" of the students, but the cops' brutality. Many older people from all walks of life were caught in the police trap. The community feeling of protection was such as to invite comparisons of people on the streets with fish in water.

The streets were cleared by 2:30. The city manager declared a state of emergency in the city (using a war-time ordinance) and declared the whole area South of campus a curfew area. The curfew went into effect on Sunday, from 7 PM to 6 AM in the 60 square block area that comprises the student-hippie ghetto.

The Whole City Curfewed

On Sunday a meeting was held in Provo Park, outside of the curfew area. But the window breaking and the Pied Piper of University Avenue changed all that. Highway Patrolmen flooded into the area. They cruised in goon squads: six to a car, each car with a megaphone. For an hour or so they did little more than announce "Move on or be subject to arrest."

At around 9:00, when it became clear that people, walking around in small groups, were not getting off the streets, the entire city of Berkeley was placed under curfew and the dispersal began.

There was no single large crowd of people so the police moved in small groups. There were arrests, but little widespread brutality. Object: clear the streets and protect the businesses.

By 10 PM the town was quiet. No one walked in the streets. The University Avenue freeway exit was blocked by the California Highway Patrol. There were checkpoints at every main drag. Once driving inside the area there was only occasional harassment. After 11 PM the town was sealed off from the outside. There were at least ten cops at every barricade. Berkeley was a jail.

To the City Council

On Monday the curfew was still in effect. A rally was held where it was decided to ask the City Council for permission to hold a rally on Telegraph on the 4th of July.

Monday night saw some police brutality on Telegraph, as police chased people into restaurants, and left them beaten on the street. A large number of curfew arrests were made. An explosion at a police guardhouse on the campus broke the windows.

The nights of city-wide curfew and police brutality had provoked many people. For eight hours on Tuesday the City Council caught a lot of shit. The events had caused a lot of money to be spent. The curfew was "provisionally"

WE WANT THE STREET

BECAUSE IT'S OURS!



lifted. The Council offered a parking lot for the July 4th demonstration. The offer was rejected.

On Wednesday the City Council changed its mind, deciding that rock bands on Telegraph weren't such a bad way to celebrate July 4th. At a mass meeting Wednesday night this was declared a victory. And so the meeting discussed the rally.

Why Walkout?

Not discussed were the political goals and future strategies in light of the Council decision. This failure prompted a walk-out of those who were concerned with organizing groups for further action. Those who walked out felt that the City Council and the leadership had successfully diverted a fantastically vital movement into an Independence Day party.

On the 4th of July, Telegraph Avenue was filled with thousands of people, many rock bands -- the works. There were no cops -- ministers directed traffic. There was some disagreement over the monitors keeping people off the roofs.

The section of the program reserved for political speeches fell on mostly deaf ears -- people wanted the bands back. Originally scheduled to last until 10 PM, the gathering was permitted to last until 12, and there were no incidents after that time.

Open Revolt

That's the story. Chronology cannot catch the building of group and community spirit and tactical intelligence, or the political significance of what some have termed the first white rebellion. Energy now seems to be directed at the Free Huey demonstrations on July 15th.

What will develop from the events in Berkeley is unclear. But one thing is sure... the people on the streets were in open revolt.

We'll soon shake your windows
And rattle your walls
For the times they are a changin'!

REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY

Sunday night in Berkeley, two demonstrators found themselves in the streets far from home when the city-wide curfew was declared. One of them had been in the Progressive Labor Party for a short time, and although he had quit the party in disgust, he had maintained his friendships with Party members. So he headed for the nearby house of one of his PL "comrades," whose wedding he had attended two weeks before. Berkeley PL was having a meeting there when he knocked and asked for sanctuary from the cops. The answer: sorry, our meetings are closed, you can't come in.

from the S.F. Express Times

DON'T FOLLOW LEADERS WATCH THE PARKIN' METERS

by Arlene Eisen Bergman • Joe Blum

At one point during the second night at the barricades an old Berkeley politico approached one of us and said -- "thank god I found another political person. I thought I was the only one here."

Not true. There were lots of political people on the streets. They were all there except for the old-time politicians who were at home, at their traditional caucuses, trying to figure out "how to give direction" to the people on the streets.

Street People

On the streets and in the discussions of small groups of people talking about their OWN action, it was hard to draw the usual distinction between "hippie" and "new leftie". They merged into one -- people in motion. Many young black people joined the white people in action. For the first time there was no tension between black and white. White people finally got a taste of the martial law that is the rule in black ghettos. And all of us were linked by a common determination to take what was ours.

The politics of this struggle could never be reduced to a set of demands. Maybe that's why some old sectarians, whose main function has been to formulate demands for various demonstrations, couldn't understand what was happening. Political demands are not the same as political goals. Nor are political demands the same as political attitudes that have grown from a long Berkeley political history.

Political Context

This was our first experience in mass violent resistance. While the street battles started spontaneously, they did not start in a political vacuum. The Bay Area has a history of eight years of political agitation and turmoil, that has produced a large radical community. The anti-HUAC demonstrations in the 60's. The desegregation demonstrations at the Sheraton Palace Hotel and along Auto Row. The FSM in 1964 and the VDC that followed. The induction center demonstrations last year, where students erected barricades for the first time and at least passively resisted police power. Finally, there was the Fairmont Hotel demonstration, a peaceful picket of Rusk, which turned into a massacre when police clubbed and maced demonstrators en masse.

Agitation and education have come with all these demonstrations and organizing activities so that a lot of people in the street in Berkeley must be considered fairly sophisticated politically. Others, including younger people, have developed an anti-cop attitude through osmosis and by virtue of their own experiences including busts for curfew and pot. So in one important sense, Berkeley this past week was a beginning of a new kind of outburst against an accumulation of grievances against American society.

Whenever we see a cop, there is a feeling of hate and disgust and outrage in all of us. During demonstrations in the past, there was also a feeling of impotence. This time we conquered that feeling. We aggressively fought back. It wasn't a matter of waiting for a confrontation with the cops. It wasn't a matter of looking for an opportunity to display romantic heroism.

People fought back partly because they were tired of backing up and dispersing in the face of cops; in the face of authority. As Huey Newton pointed out from jail: Just as the Vietnamese peasant must attack the ordinary soldier in order to attack U.S. imperialism; we have finally learned that we must attack the ordinary cop to attack the system that is oppressing us.

It all started with a rally called to show solidarity with the French students. The rally was boring, even though the speeches were super-militant. After listening to an hour's ranting about resistance to the system, a lot of people thought it was time to put this rhetoric and theory into practice.

Turf Battle

The Berkeley struggle was also a turf battle. It is difficult to generalize about this battle because the groups who fought the police included people who gave different meanings to their actions.

For many it was an ordinary kind of turf battle. There was a street to be defended. Telegraph Avenue is the geographical focal point of their community. The cops invaded it. They defended it. They retaliated against the cops after the cops attacked them. When the traditional political leadership tried to set the tone of the struggle they were talking to and got the most response from these street-

defenders and the liberals in the community. They translated the turf battle into a "freedom of assembly" issue.

For others, the turf battle was different. They felt no special allegiance to the Avenue, except that it was friendly territory where you could get a wet rag and shelter when the action got too rough. For these people the issue was ownership and control. Their attitude was more aggressive. There was a street to be TAKEN. They smashed windows on University Avenue as well as Telegraph Avenue as a challenge to commercial property. A few little stores were attacked but this was discouraged, and the bulk of the damage was done to large establishments; banks, auto dealers etc. They attacked the cops because the cops protect the property.

Street-Takers

These "street-takers" deeply resent the reduction of their struggle to a free speech issue. Their leaflet is worth repeating:



photo: SF Newsreel - Ma & Hardesty

"After 5 years of free speech fights in Berkeley, After 3 nights of street fighting, Countless injuries, Innumerable arrests, Heroic struggle,

The people of Berkeley have finally won the right of Free Assembly on Telegraph on July 4, 1968. WHAT THE FUCK. Did we fight for this shit? YSA, etc. held a rally, and THEY are fighting for their right of free expression. That was one reason why WE were out on the streets. But it's not the only reason. We were fighting the cops because they and the society they represent oppress us continually, and in every aspect of life."

In another leaflet and in the wall poster/newspaper, BARRICADE, which they put out, the street-takers went further: "We have not yet liberated Telegraph Avenue, let alone the larger community. The cops are still armed and ready to attack. The local draft board still operates. There are still cars and parking meters and outrageous prices and low wages on Telegraph. Our brothers still face jail sentences. The University is still controlled by the banks whose windows we smashed ... We don't want business to go on as usual.

"We cannot petition the City Council for community control. It is not a demand that can be brought to Mayor Johnson for legal approval. That would be as absurd as petitioning Mayor Johnson for his own ouster from office. We don't make trivial demands or petitions. We raise enough hell in this town to demonstrate our power to take control. This is our goal and until we have it, it is meaningless and dangerous to declare victory!" The YSA etc. proclaimed victory once the City Council granted them a permit to have an all day happening on Telegraph July 4.

This BARRICADE article points out the irony of how the old political leadership, in fact, diluted the politics of the struggle. It defined itself as a challenge to "Law and the Established Disorder". (headline in the BARRICADE)

At the meetings that convened after two days of street battle, the traditional leadership interpreted the struggle. The issue is "freedom of assembly". They gave endless reports on negotiations with the City Council. When people wanted to discuss politics and what would happen after the carnival on July 4, they were ruled out of order. A list of speakers had to be drawn up for a rally.

The self-appointed negotiating committee negotiated the struggle into a strategic cul de sac. They got their carnival on July 4th. That was the only demand they pushed. Earlier, wider demands were passed, but never mentioned again by the negotiating committee.

Boomerang

It would seem that they wanted everything to end on July 4th. Actually, we know that their perspective was larger. The problem was that their old-left-style strategy boomeranged. They were trying to speak to two sets of "masses". The first set included the liberal merchants, ministers and city-councilmen. The second set included the people on the street. While speaking to the first set about freedom of assembly and the reasonableness of holding a carnival on July 4, they lost the ear of the second set.

The politicians didn't want things to end July 4, but the liberals did. In order to remain the titular head of the real masses who wanted to maintain the momentum of the struggle, the politicians launched another slogan. July 4th, they raised a huge banner across Telegraph: "Free

Speech, Free Assembly, Free Huey". "Free Speech and Free Assembly" was for the liberals. "Free Huey" (not "fair trial for Huey") was for the radicals, who will be demonstrating at the start of Huey's trial next week. The slogan is incongruous. It represents the dilemma of the old-style politicians.

It was almost funny watching these old politico types staging a pseudo-psychedelic carnival on July 4th. They were trying to manipulate the "cultural revolution" in much the same way that Madison Avenue does.

New Political Forms

Throughout the struggle their style contrasted dramatically with the new political forms that grew up around the street battles. The old politicians held the mass meetings complete with irrelevant agenda and TV cameras. Street-takers met in

small groups, some called affinity groups, where they planned their actions and discussed their political significance. In some areas which had been invaded by the cops, block organizations for self-defense organized spontaneously. The old politicians were monitors and negotiators (with the cops) and "spokesmen" (to the press and city council). The street-takers carried on the battle.

The old political forms are obviously inadequate to this new kind of resistance. We all know that one of our organizing problems has been the rapidity with which new people get turned off by old organizations.

Affinity groups, sometimes called cell groups, have grown partly as a reaction against the old-time elitist, dull organizations. In Berkeley, they were the form most adapted to street battle. Small groups of close friends developed trust and solidarity necessary for illegal street action and meaningful political discussion.

But organizational problems don't end with affinity groups. They may have a tendency to be clannish, without intending to. The virtue of organizing spontaneously from the bottom can also be a problem. How to expand? How to bring in new people?

Also, it is hard to coordinate affinity groups. They have the virtue of wanting to get out of the mass-meeting-mass-demonstration bag, but they also give the impression that everyone is just doing their thing. In Berkeley, the affinity groups knew what they wanted to do and why, but they had problems communicating it. They had an alternative to a July 4th carnival strategy, but no way to organize the masses of people who were grooving on Telegraph July 4. Their disgust with mass meetings was justified--but once they walked out of the meeting, they left the old politicians' de facto leadership unchallenged, and made it easier for the politicians to manipulate the rest of the people.

The old politicians were able to capitalize on a groundswell movement that they could not produce. They were irrelevant during the first days of the street battles. But they did succeed in gaining a monopoly in articulating the meaning of the struggle by Monday. (The BARRICADE did not come out until July 5). Whether or not new political forms can keep control of similar groundswell movements that occur in the future is an important question.

White Watts

The Berkeley street battle taught us and the establishment quite a few political lessons. We demonstrated to ourselves that we had the guts to fight. We gained a sense of comradeship that grows out of struggle. We gained a better understanding of how authority, law and order, all rest on martial law. Most importantly we demonstrated that we had the power to call the shots if only for a brief time. We learned that our own old political forms must be abandoned when they no longer are able to provide the leadership in new conditions.

In short we are learning to adopt ourselves to the struggles that must be carried on. The battles in Berkeley represent a big step forward in our resistance to the system. New political forms have been molded. These new political forms must remain conscious of their shortcomings and be refined or they will find themselves in the same position as the old politicians in the next big struggle.

It is difficult to speak about Berkeley in terms of victory or defeat. There were big advances and many mistakes. One thing is certainly clear. We have the potential to organize a meaningful resistance to the establishment that will force them to watch their backs whenever the colonies, both here and abroad explode. It is a lesson they will ponder carefully. We must do the same. ■



photo: International American News Photo

IN REVOLUTION ONE WINS OR LOSES

FRANCE

by Jean-Pierre Lentin

Editorial note: Jean-Pierre is a 19 year old student in Paris. He warned us that "there's a lot of marxist words in this article and I heard that marxist words are banished from the American vocabulary. But you must remember that (1) In France, all radical students are marxist. (2) Marxist words are fashionable -- even the non-marxists use them".

Gaullism and French capitalism are at the root of the crisis of May 1968. DeGaulle's efforts to renovate French capitalism have had notable consequences. The standard of living of the masses has been drastically reduced to permit costly investments. Reconversions and concentration of industry have produced a permanent insecurity in employment.

This system can no longer allow intermediary classes, and much less, the workers, to have a voice in national decision-making. It has silenced the voice of parliament as much as possible and replaced it with a strong executive, DeGaulle.

The university has also been a victim of the transformation of French capitalism. The university reform begun four years ago was designed to train technocrats with no consideration for real education. (For more background, see The Movement, July 1968)

The Left Before the Crisis

The French Communist Party (PCF) lost all revolutionary perspective a long time ago. Its only aim is participation in a "government of the left." On the basis of electoral victory it would achieve the "authentic republic and true democracy". Its real goal is its own self-preservation. The PCF has abandoned the goal of socialist transformation of society, except in its pious rhetoric.

The union federations, the CGT subservient to the PCF, the Christian and Social Democrat Unions, are marked by their willingness to compromise. They no longer question the structure of society. Indeed, they are even incapable of effectively leading a reformist struggle against the bosses (which is at least possible for moderate German and U.S. unions). Strikes are always limited to individual companies, or when they are on the level of the industry or nation, they are grossly ineffective affairs which last an hour, or at most a day. From time to time the unions organize a national day of protest to remind the employers of their presence and to give the workers the illusion that they are being defended.

The student movement up until 1968 was scarcely more militant than the rest of the population. The student union, the UNEF, which had its hour of glory during the war in Algeria organizing the most resolute struggles, was more and more losing its base. In addition to a union of the right, the FNEF, which was created in opposition to it, it encountered the growing opposition of the rightist tendencies within the organization itself.

The only force of real resistance in the country was the radical students, constituting certainly a minority (4000-5000), but giving some spark to university life. An important fact to note is that all the groups of radical students are Marxist-Leninists (situated obviously to the left of the PCF). That is to say, all of them recognize the necessity of proletarian revolution, of the preponderant role of the working class, and of a revolutionary workers party.

The Situation — Early '68

It wouldn't have been possible to predict the May revolution at the opening of school in 1968. But in retrospect, some signs were there.

The students, for the first time in many years, begin to express their discontent with force. During the entire first session, strikes and demonstrations take place. The UNEF grows in size.

The working class also shows signs of militance. The government makes a series of decisions which strike hard at their standard of living. "Savage" strikes (that is to say, strikes called

without union leadership consent) take place in Mans, in Lyon, and especially in Caen, where the first workers' barricades are raised in 1968.

As the year progresses, student agitation becomes stronger. Radical groups see their bases growing. Agitation is especially concentrated on Vietnam and it grows under the influence of the German students after the shooting of Rudi Dutschke. Finally, foreshadowing what is going to happen in May, the students at Nanterre start the first demonstration of "global resistance against society", under the guidance of the March 22 Movement.

March 22 Movement

The March 22 Movement is a coalition of organizations and of individuals including anarchists, trotskyites, and maoists. Their agitation goes beyond the framework of UNEF and centers itself directly in the political arena -- the struggle is against capitalism in all its forms. It engages in theoretical discussions, diverse agitations and provocations.

The March 22 Movement then included one-tenth of the ten thousand regular students at the University of Nanterre. The leader of the Movement is Daniel Cohn-Bendit. He is a brilliant orator and remarkable organizer, endowed with an authority over the masses by virtue of his personality alone. Daniel is an anarchist.

France is moved by the agitation at Nanterre. The government closes the university and arrests five leaders of the Movement; a fatal decision which was to spark the crisis of May 1968.

The Demonstrations

Thursday, May 2 - The University of Nanterre is closed by the government.

Friday, May 3 - A meeting of protest is organized in the courtyard of the Sorbonne (territory forbidden to the police.) The government arrests five hundred militants. The police brutally try to break up the meeting. (The numerous tactical mistakes made by the government is one of the themes of all the events in May). Spontaneously, in a way that no militant would have dared to hope for, a demonstration takes form. Demonstrators resist. The first student barricades appear. Balance sheet of the day: two or three thousand participate. Fifty wounded in three hours of fighting.

Monday, May 6 - UNEF organizes a demonstration against Friday's repression. Ten thousand participate to the cry of "down with repression. Free our comrades." Towards late afternoon they pour out in front of the Sorbonne which is occupied by police. Six hours of battle. More than 800 injured -- at least half of them cops.

Tuesday, May 7 - A new demonstration organized by UNEF, which announces three demands: liberation of all political prisoners, re-opening of Nanterre and the Sorbonne, withdrawal of police from the Latin Quarter. Fifty thousand people are massed behind red flags marching

up the Champs Elysees singing the International. Then they return to the Latin Quarter where harassment continues all night. It is at this moment that one begins to speak of "urban guerrilla warfare".

Wednesday, May 8 - More UNEF demonstrations. Fifty thousand, among them numerous workers and teachers. UNEF wants to prove that it can stage a peaceful demonstration if it so desires. The government promises that if the disorders stop, it will concede to the demands. The demonstration disperses, not without the resentment of a great part of the demonstrators.

Thursday, May 9 - The government only agrees to the re-opening of the University at Nanterre. Several thousand students in a meeting that evening decide to continue the battle.

Friday, May 10 - The famous "night of the barricades". Demonstrators, who fill

left them cold. Third, there is a deep-seated alienation which leads the youth to challenge all traditional values.

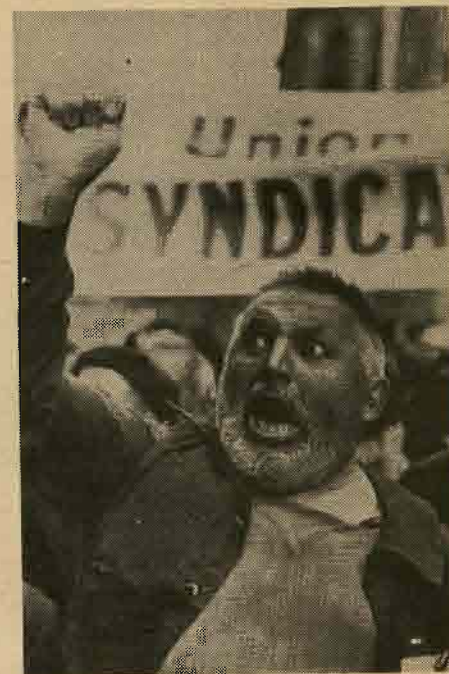
The entire nation is outraged by Friday's brutality. The students' and workers' unions decide together to hold a day of demonstrations and a general strike in Paris for Monday. This is the beginning of a new phase of the battle. Until May 13, the thing was a student affair. About 15% of the people who manned the barricades were young workers, but in the following weeks workers make up more than half of the forces.

End to Student Isolation

From the beginning of the struggle, the students had a sharp awareness of their isolation. Alone, they could only be a pin prick in the side of Gaullist power and could not even get satisfaction



Elie Kagan



the Latin Quarter, decide not to leave it until the three demands are satisfied. Several thousand people, students and workers, surround themselves completely with barricades and wait. Numerous individuals and organizations try to intervene with the government. It is DeGaulle personally who gives the order not to concede. At two in the morning the attack on the barricades begins. The resistance lasts six hours. The cops show unprecedented brutality -- systematic clubbing (including residents of the Quarter), the use of incendiary grenades, and toxic gasses forbidden by the Geneva Convention. Balance sheet: hundreds injured, many very seriously. It is even possible that some were killed.

How is it possible that such a large mass of ordinary students, outnumbering completely the radical minority, found themselves in the street? There are three reasons. Police brutality provoked mass indignation and student solidarity. This pushed many moderates and apolitical students into the struggle. Second, the students found in these violent acts a means of expressing their discontent, while traditional UNEF action, with its bureaucracy and lack of inspiration, had

of their own immediate demands. On the other hand, to the extent that they desire the total upheaval of society, they clearly saw the need for participation of workers in the struggle.

Also, from the beginning, a call to the working class burst forth spontaneously. The slogan, "student solidarity with the workers" echoed constantly. When students marched, the few sympathy demonstrations by workers on the passage of the marchers were wildly applauded. It is here that we find again the influence that the radical student groups exercised on the mass of students.

On the morning of May 10th, all eyes and all hopes of the students were turned toward the working class.

May 13

At the call of all their unions, students, workers, teachers, a million of them, find themselves in the streets of Paris, walking or marching in place for hours, stupefied at their own number.

Everyone is united against DeGaulle, "ten years is enough". "Happy Birthday mon general". "Kick out the DeGaulle".

The unions would have liked everything to stop there. But after long discussions while marching about the reformist strategy of the union, the students succeeded in keeping the workers with them.

At 7:00 P.M., at the agreed-upon dispersal point, the unions' attempt to prevent the workers from joining the students who are holding a meeting-debate in the park. Nevertheless, several thousand workers come to see for themselves what these "adventurers", anarchists and leftists look like. (The Communist Party had been ranting against the students in its newspaper for days, alarmed even by the fact that we were preventing "serious" students from working.)

The size of the demonstration is most significant. While various national days of protest organized by the CGT brought, at most, a hundred thousand people to Paris, the agitation of the students brought out ten times that number. What does this mean? Doubtless, a real discontent exists in the working class which was brought to the surface by the cops' massive brutality against the students. The established unions appeared to the workers as timid and ineffective. Student demonstrations provided the workers with a new stimulus to express their long suppressed anger.

At the meeting that night of May 13, students and workers decided to continue the struggle.

Occupation of the University

With this first new uprising of the workers, a new style of struggle by the students appears. In a short time, the pattern becomes traditional; an assembly of students decrees the occupation of a university building and immediately committees are created.

The committees represent a new achievement in the struggle. Students meet in groups, anywhere, to discuss anything. Quickly the discussions become organized. Rooms are assigned. The membership of the committees is posted. The work of reflection and of confrontation which will last several weeks, has begun. The students are aware of their mission. They must contest all the bases of society. They must develop a new university which

of their struggle. They declare definitively that their struggle is the workers' struggle against the bourgeois society through its instrument: the university. The workers are urgently invited to all the schools; they come, out of curiosity, admiration, out of solidarity or as a result of contacts made on the 13th of May. In these committees, they discuss the unions, the Communist Party and the revolution. But something is missing. The workers who come are a minority. At the factory gates, the students encounter indifference, embarrassment, and incomprehension. The students themselves are still awkward with the workers. Rapport is difficult. All of these hesitations will be swept away by the new phase of the struggle, the strike.

Occupation of the Factories

Wednesday, May 15, the first factory goes on strike, workers occupy the buildings as they did in 1936. Thursday, May 16, Renault, the largest company in France, does the same. All industries, little by little, follow suit -- then the service, the banks, the insurance companies, the department stores, etc. By May 22, there are 9 or 10 million strikers, half of them occupying their buildings, the largest strike movement ever seen in France.

The occupations take place largely without the consent of the unions. At the beginning, in most cases, it is the young workers, not old-time union members, who urge the union representatives to act. If the union refuses to take the initiative, the young workers call meetings of all the others. The workers alone take initiative and even shut themselves inside the plants to force the unions to follow.

After observing the extent of the movement for several days, union leadership tries to take a lead in order to control the movement. Henceforth, it will be the unions who call the strikes. But the unions act only at the plant level, and they have never "officially" called for a general strike.

The unions are concerned that the increase in salaries has fallen behind the increase in cost of living. They want the workers to be struggling for a few more points in the percentage scales.

occupied factory. Centers in each school send out groups to each factory of a region with food, money and other supplies. At the end of each day, the different groups meet to synthesize their actions. In these committees everyone works together. The marxist groups direct activity and all students discover the dynamics of revolutionary action.

The organization of material solidarity is only the first task of the action committees. The real aim is ideological -- the communication and development of a revolutionary ideal. There are numerous tasks. When a local union is timid, the committees try to strengthen the organization of those against the union. When the strike works, the students talk with workers (who usually accept the students quite readily) about the problem of the unions and existing political parties.

Whenever possible, the students try to integrate the most radical workers into the action committees, to create an action committee within the company with workers and some students who are radical. The purpose is to have regular discussion to try to formulate a strategy that goes beyond the weakness of the traditional unions -- to bring together the most radical workers of the same plant, of the same branch of industry, and thereby break the isolation of each plant which had been cleverly maintained by the CGT.

The action committees have sometimes been successful in establishing a counter-power in the industry -- that is, they have re-opened the plant under the direction of the workers themselves and for the profit of the strikers. For example, the factory CSF made transistors and walkie-talkies for the use of strikers and students. Student-worker committees also directed the organization of a city (provisions, garbage disposal, fight against speculative pricing, etc.).

The action committees are a new type of union in the struggle of the most radical workers and students. They have organized several tens of thousands of people in all of France. In Paris there are 400 such committees. They hold a general assembly, have elected a steering committee which is immediately recallable, and started a daily newspaper, "Action", which publishes 50,000 copies.

stration. While DeGaulle announces his referendum on "participation", all Paris is bathed in fire and blood. Barricades are thrown up in every quarter. The Bourse (financial center) and police stations are ravaged.

Balance sheet: two dead, hundreds wounded.

On Monday, May 27, the workers in the largest companies unanimously reject the piddling agreements that the union leadership obtained. The slogan "Government of the People" becomes more and more general. Monday evening sixty thousand students and workers meet in the Charlety stadium where diverse revolutionary tendencies affirm the possibility of taking power. On Tuesday, May 28, Cohn-Bendit returns to France despite the police and speaks at the Sorbonne.

The State is completely undone. The police are disabled; their unions issue communiques in which they ask the government not to force them to confront the strikers. The bourgeoisie is stupefied; the "liberal" newspaper "Le Figaro" writes an editorial favorable to a government of the left, which now appears the only one capable of avoiding the worst. On Wednesday, May 28, the pressure of its rank and file is so strong that the CGT, which had been hostile to any demonstration, calls the workers to the streets. Three hundred thousand cry "Government of the people!"

During all these days, the working class, without any doubt, could have seized power. The bourgeois state no longer existed. The masses were ready. The

only factor missing was a revolutionary leadership. The Communist Party, whose members are the majority of the most radical elements of the working class, backed down. The unions, totally inert, went on negotiating with a government that the people as a whole wanted to overthrow by any means necessary.

Thursday, May 30, DeGaulle pounds his fist on the table. He demands that order be re-established and throws the left some electoral crumbs. The established left, to save its own face, jumps eagerly at the upcoming elections. The Communist Party and the CGT suddenly forget their momentary lapse -- a pop-



is not the instrument of capitalism; they must reflect with new spirit on all problems.

Under these conditions it is impossible to take exams. This question will be the subject of numerous debates. As soon as one speaks of challenging exams a crowd of moderate and timorous students presents itself, hostile to all change; the discussion bogs down. There is fear that the blow will be fatal for the student movement. But finally radicals extricate themselves from the situation: one after another in all the schools the moderates are vanquished. The principle of suppression of the exams in June is accepted. Strike committees and school groups are elected. The discussions continue. They begin to work out a revolution for the university.

Parallel to these discussions another type of organization takes form: the student-worker-action committee. They answer the need to put in practice the beautiful ideas of the solidarity with the workers' movement. They begin at Nanterre: the students are going to distribute leaflets in front of the factories of the region explaining the meaning

They do everything possible to remove from the workers' struggle any trace of revolutionary confrontation with the economic system.

However, the occupation of the factories represents in itself an act of violent negation of capitalist notions of the sanctity of private property. The most militant faction of workers, the one that draws all others behind it, is creating a political strike, a revolutionary one. Political because they want to get rid of the Gaullist regime. (This object is explicit, especially in the strikes in relatively well-paid sectors). Revolutionary because many have understood that they are engaged in a struggle that can only be terminated by a total defeat of the bourgeoisie -- the complete elimination of the boss, without which all that is gained will be taken away.

Student/Worker Action Committees

Student action committees focus their attention on the occupied factories. Students organize material campaigns of solidarity in the entire region of the

Their platform calls for revolutionary action in the struggle for socialism and refusal to compromise with established unions and parties.

The action committees are characterized, above all, by their style of direct democracy. Each committee is autonomous and freely develops its political line. Each committee decided whether or not to accept the decisions of the steering committee and adopts the tactics and propaganda which suits its situation best. There are action committees in the schools, in the neighborhoods, and in the plants. This revolutionary organization has arisen from the bottom in the course of a struggle which has politicized students and the mass of workers.

The Revolutionary Situation

The government obtained a vote of confidence from the National Assembly and forbade the return of Cohn-Bendit. On Thursday, May 23, several thousand students began a spontaneous demonstration, with barricades. On May 24, the day of the DeGaulle speech, the UNEF and the action committees call for a demon-

ular government! They declare that the workers only fight for their "legitimate rights". They plunge into the electoral battle with relief, knowing quite well in advance that they will be defeated. They separate the issue of the strike (with its claims and its protest) from politics (which is the "privilege" of the Congress). They show, if proof was still needed, that they have completely abandoned all revolutionary perspective.

From May 31 onwards, the bourgeoisie recovers its wits. The strikers are still out, but the State is reconstituted. Everybody becomes Gaullist once again and the extreme right joins the chorus. The franc gains some points on the foreign markets. The press begins its campaign of intoxication and talks about the upcoming return to work. The action committees immediately answer with a broad campaign of disintoxication by means of counter-press releases, newspapers, posters, wall newspapers, and the like.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

HUEY NEWTON TALKS TO THE MOVEMENT ABOUT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CULTURAL NATIONALISM, SNCC, LIBERALS AND WHITE REVOLUTIONARIES

THE MOVEMENT: The question of nationalism is a vital one in the black movement today. Some have made a distinction between cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. Would you comment on the differences and give us your views?

HUEY P. NEWTON: There are two kinds of nationalism, revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is first dependent upon a people's revolution with the end goal being the people in power. Therefore to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and your end goal is the oppression of the people.

Cultural nationalism, or pork chop nationalism, as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction instead of responding to political oppression. The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that the African culture will automatically bring political freedom. Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists.

Papa Doc in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He's against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but for him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends.

The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of black people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and it's not advantageous in many respects. We believe that culture itself will not liberate us. We're going to need some stronger stuff.

Revolutionary Nationalism

A good example of revolutionary nationalism was the revolution in Algeria when Ben Bella took over. The French were kicked out but it was a people's revolution because the people ended up in power. The leaders that took over were not interested in the profit motive where they could exploit the people and keep them in a state of slavery. They nationalized the industry and plowed the would-be profits into the community. That's what socialism is all about in a nutshell. The people's representatives are in office strictly on the leave of the people. The

wealth of the country is controlled by the people and they are considered whenever modifications in the industries are made.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary Nationalist group and we see a major contradiction between capitalism in this country and our interests. We realize that this country became very rich upon slavery and that slavery is capitalism in the extreme. We have two evils to fight, capitalism and racism. We must destroy both racism and capitalism.

MOVEMENT: Directly related to the question of nationalism is the question of unity within the black community. There has been some question about this since the Black Panther Party has run candidates against other black candidates in recent California elections. What is your position on this matter?

HUEY: Well a very peculiar thing has happened. Historically you got what Malcolm X calls the field nigger and the house nigger. The house nigger had some privileges, a little more. He got the worn-out clothes of the master and he didn't have to work as hard as the field black. He came to respect the master to such an extent until he identified with the master because he got a few of the leftovers that the field blacks did not get. And through this identity with him, he saw the slavemaster's interest as being his interest. Sometimes he would even protect the slavemaster more than the slavemaster would protect himself. Malcolm makes the point that if the master's house happened to catch on fire the house Negro will work harder than the master to put the fire out and save the master's house. While the field Negro, the field blacks was praying that the house burned down. The house black identified with the master so much that when the master would get sick the house Negro would say, "Master, we're sick!"

Black Bourgeoisie

The Black Panther Party are the field blacks, we're hoping the master dies if he gets sick. The Black bourgeoisie seem to be acting in the role of the house Negro. They are pro-administration. They would like a few concessions made, but as far as the overall setup, they have a little more material goods, a little more advantage, a few more privileges than the black have-nots, the lower class. And so they identify with the power structure and they see their interests as the power structure's interest. In fact, it's against their interest.

The Black Panther Party was forced to draw a line of demarcation. We are for all of those who are for the promo-

tion of the interests of the black have-nots, which represents about 98% of blacks here in America. We're not controlled by the white mother country radicals nor are we controlled by the black bourgeoisie. We have a mind of our own and if the black bourgeoisie cannot align itself with our complete program, then the black bourgeoisie sets itself up as our enemy. And they will be attacked and treated as such.

MOVEMENT: The Black Panther Party has had considerable contact with white radicals since its earliest days. What do you see as the role of these white radicals?

HUEY: The white mother country radical is the off-spring of the children of the beast that has plundered the world exploiting all people, concentrating on the people of color. These are children of the beast that seek now to be redeemed because they realize that their former heroes, who were slave masters and murderers, put forth ideas that were only facades to hide the treachery they inflicted upon the world. They are turning their backs on their fathers.

The white mother country radical, in resisting the system, becomes somewhat of an abstract thing because he's not oppressed as much as black people are. As a matter of fact his oppression is somewhat abstract simply because he doesn't have to live in a reality of oppression.

Black people in America and colored people throughout the world suffer not only from exploitation, but they suffer from racism. Black people here in America, in the black colony, are oppressed because we're black and we're exploited. The whites are rebels, many of them from the middle class and as far as any overt oppression this is not the case. So therefore I call their rejection of the system somewhat of an abstract thing. They're looking for new heroes. They're looking to wash away the hypocrisy that their fathers have presented to the world. In doing this they see the people who are really fighting for freedom. They see the people

who are really standing for justice and equality and peace throughout the world. They are the people of Vietnam, the people of Latin America, the people of Asia, the people of Africa, and the black people in the black colony here in America.

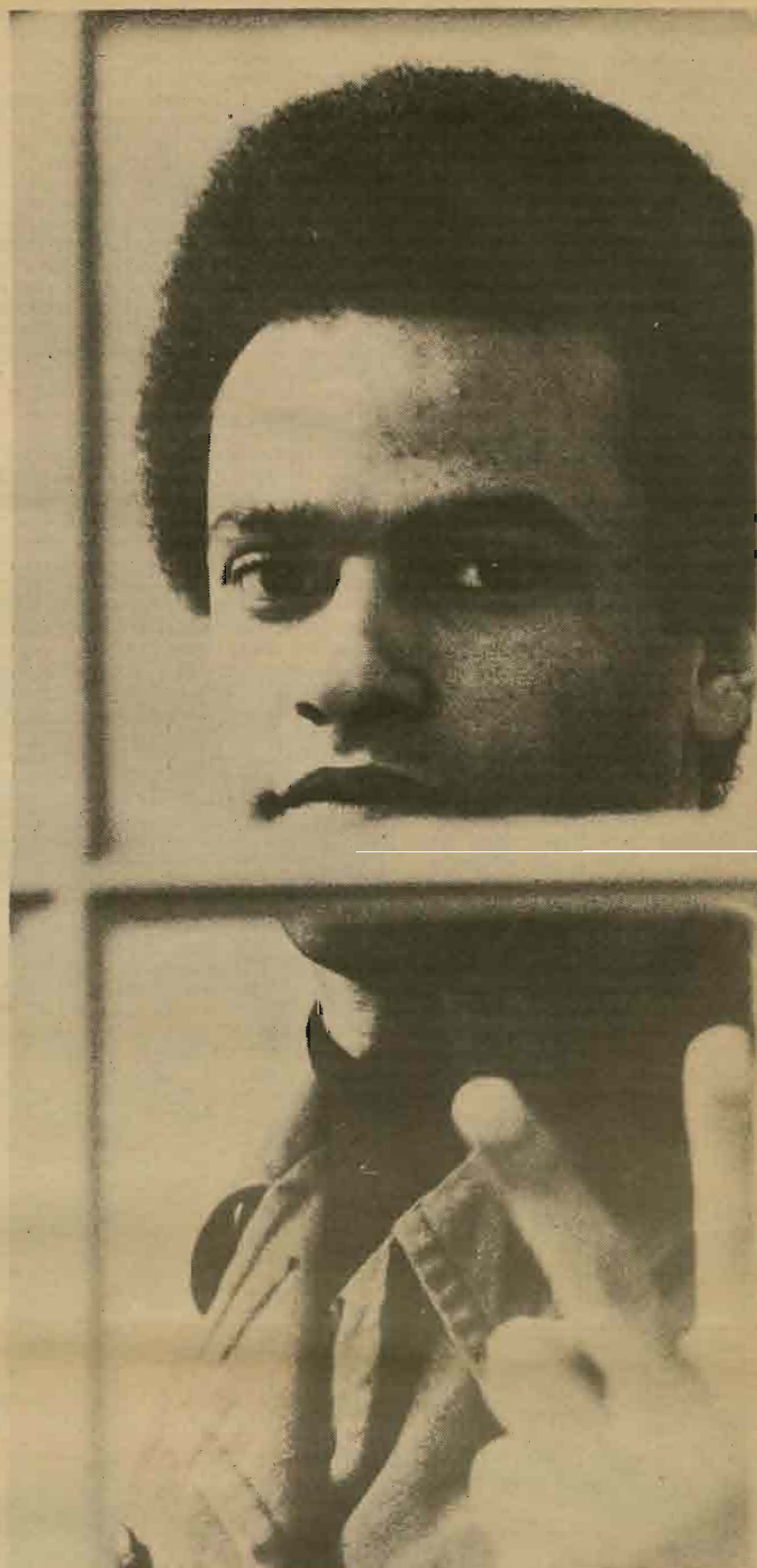
White Revolutionaries

This presents somewhat of a problem in many ways to the black revolutionary, especially to the cultural nationalist. The cultural nationalist doesn't understand the white revolutionaries because he can't see why anyone white would turn on the system. So they think that maybe this is some more hypocrisy being planted by white people.

I personally think that there are many young white revolutionaries who are sincere in attempting to realign themselves with mankind, and to make a reality out of the high moral standards that their fathers and forefathers only expressed. In pressing for new heroes the young white revolutionaries found the heroes in the black colony at home and in the colonies throughout the world.

The young white revolutionaries raised the cry for the troops to withdraw from Vietnam, hands off Latin America, withdraw from the Dominican Republic and also to withdraw from the black community or the black colony. So you have a situation in which the young white revolutionaries are attempting to identify with the oppressed people of the colonies and against the exploiter.

The problem arises then in what part they can play. How can they aid the colony? How can they aid the Black Panther Party or any other black revolutionary group? They can aid the black revolutionaries first by simply turning away from the establishment, and secondly by choosing their friends. For instance, they have a choice between whether they will be a friend of Lyndon Baines Johnson or a friend of Fidel Castro. A friend of Robert Kennedy or a friend of Ho Chi Minh. And these are direct opposites. A friend of mine or a friend of Johnsons. After they make this choice then the white revolutionaries have a duty and a responsibility to act.



photos by Jeff Blankfort

The Imperialistic or capitalistic system occupies areas. It occupies Vietnam now. They occupy them by sending soldiers there, by sending policeman there. The policemen or soldiers are only a gun in the establishment's hand. They make the racist secure in his racism. The gun in the establishment's hand makes the establishment secure in its exploitation. The first problem it seems is to remove the gun from the establishment's hand. Until lately the white radical has seen no reason to come into conflict with the policemen in his own community. The reason I said until recently is because there is friction now in the mother country between the young white revolutionaries and the police. Because now the white revolutionaries are attempting to put some of their ideas into action, and there's the rub. We say that it should be a permanent thing.

Black people are being oppressed in the colony by white policemen, by white racists. We are saying they must withdraw. We realize that it is not only the Oakland police department but rather the security forces in general. On April 6 it wasn't just the Oakland police department who ambushed the Panthers. It was the Oakland police department, the Emeryville police department and I wouldn't be surprised if there were others. When the white revolutionaries went down to close up the Army terminal in October 1965 it wasn't the Oakland police by themselves who tried to stop them. It was the Oakland police, the Berkeley police, the Highway Patrol, the Sheriff's Department and the national guard was standing by. So we see that they're all part of one organization. They're all a part of the security force to protect the status quo; to make sure that the institutions carry out their goals. They're here to protect the system.

As far as I'm concerned the only reasonable conclusion would be to first realize the enemy, realize the plan, and then when something happens in the black colony--when we're attacked and ambushed in the black colony--then the white revolutionary students and intellectuals and all the other whites who support the colony should respond by defending us, by attacking the enemy in their community. Every time that we're attacked in our community there should be a reaction by the white revolutionaries; they should respond by defending us, by attacking part of the security force. Part of that security force that is determined to carry out the racist ends of the American institutions.

As far as our party is concerned, the Black Panther Party is an all black party, because we feel as Malcolm X felt that there can be no black-white unity until there first is black unity. We have a problem in the black colony that is particular to the colony, but we're willing to accept aid from the mother country as long as the mother country radicals realize that we have, as Eldridge Cleaver says in SOUL ON ICE, a mind of our own. We've regained our mind that was taken away from us and we will decide the political as well as the practical stand that we'll take. We'll make the theory and we'll carry out the practice. It's the duty of the white revolutionary to aid us in this.

So the role of the mother country radical, and he does have a role, is to first choose his friend and his enemy and after doing this, which it seems he's already done, then to not only articulate his desires to regain his moral standard and align himself with humanity, but also to put this into practice by attacking the protectors of the institutions.

MOVEMENT: You have spoken a lot about dealing with the protectors of the system, the armed forces. Would you like to elaborate on why you place so much emphasis on this?

HUEY: The reasons that I feel very

strongly about dealing with the protectors of the system is simply because without this protection from the army, the police and the military, the institutions could not go on in their racism and exploitation. For instance, as the Vietnamese are driving the American imperialist troops out of Vietnam, it automatically stops the racist imperialist institutions of America from oppressing that particular country. The country cannot implement its racist program without the guns. And the guns are the military and the police. If the military were disarmed in Vietnam, then the Vietnamese would be victorious.

We are in the same situation here in America. Whenever we attack the system the first thing the administrators do is to send out their strongarm men. If it's a rent strike, because of the indecent housing we have, they will send out the police to throw the furniture out the window. They don't come themselves. They send their protectors. So to deal with the corrupt exploiter you are going to have to deal with his protector, which is the police who take orders from him. This is a must.

MOVEMENT: Would you like to be more specific on the conditions which must exist before an alliance or coalition can be formed with predominantly white groups? Would you comment specifically on your alliance with the California Peace and Freedom Party?

HUEY: We have an alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party. The Peace and Freedom Party has supported our program in full and this is the criterion for a coalition with the black revolutionary group. If they had not supported our program in full, then we would not have seen any reason to make an alliance with them, because we are the reality of the oppression. They are not. They are only oppressed in an abstract way; we are oppressed in the real way. We are the real slaves! So it's a problem that we suffer from more than anyone else and it's our problem of liberation. Therefore we should decide what measures and what tools and what programs to use to become liberated. Many of the young white revolutionaries realize this and I see no reason not to have a coalition with them.

MOVEMENT: Other black groups seem to feel that from past experience it is impossible for them to work with whites and impossible for them to form alliances. What do you see as the reasons for this and do you think that the history of the Black Panther Party makes this less of a problem?

SNCC and Liberals

HUEY: There was somewhat of an unhealthy relationship in the past with the white liberals supporting the black people who were trying to gain their freedom. I think that a good example of this would be the relationship that SNCC had with its white liberals. I call them white liberals because they differ strictly from the white radicals. The relationship was that the whites controlled SNCC for a very long time. From the very start of SNCC until here recently whites were the mind of SNCC. They controlled the program of SNCC with money and they controlled the ideology, or the stands SNCC would take. The blacks in SNCC were completely controlled program-wise; they couldn't do any more than these white liberals wanted them to do, which wasn't very much. So the white liberals were not working for self-determination for the black community. They were interested in a few concessions from the power structure. They undermined SNCC's program.

Stokely Carmichael came along and realizing this started to follow Malcolm X's program of Black Power. This frightened many of the white liberals who were

supporting SNCC. Whites were afraid when Stokely came along with Black Power and said that black people have a mind of their own and that SNCC would be an all-black organization and that SNCC would seek self-determination for the black community. The white liberals withdrew their support leaving the organization financially bankrupt. The blacks who were in the organization, Stokely and H. Rap Brown, were left very angry with the white liberals who had been aiding them under the disguise of being sincere. They weren't sincere.

The result was that the leadership of SNCC turned away from the white liberal, which was very good. I don't think they distinguished between the white liberal and the white revolutionary, because the white revolutionary is white also and they are very much afraid to have any contact whatsoever with white people. Even to the point of denying that the white revolutionaries could give support, by supporting the programs of SNCC in the mother country. Not by making any programs, not by being a member of the organization, but simply by resisting. Just as the Vietnamese people realize that they are supported whenever other oppressed people throughout the world resist. Because it helps divide the troops. It drains the country militarily and economically. If the mother country radicals are sincere then this will definitely add to the attack that we are making on the power structure. The Black Panther Party's program is a program where we recognize that the revolution in the mother country will definitely aid us in our freedom and has everything to do with our struggle!

Hate the Oppressor

I think that one of SNCC's great problems is that they were controlled by the traditional administrator: the omnipotent administrator, the white person. He was the mind of SNCC. And so SNCC regained its mind, but I believe that it lost its

**"TO BE A
REVOLUTIONARY
NATIONALIST
YOU WOULD BY
NECESSITY HAVE
TO BE A
SOCIALIST"**



political perspective. I think that this was a reaction rather than a response. The Black Panther Party has NEVER been controlled by white people. The Black Panther Party has always been a black group. We have always had an integration of mind and body. We have never been controlled by whites and therefore we don't fear the white mother country radicals. Our alliance is one of organized black groups with organized white groups. As soon as the organized white groups do not do the things that would benefit us in our struggle for liberation, that will be our departure point. So we don't suffer in the hangup of a skin color. We don't hate white people; we hate the oppressor. And if the oppressor happens to be white then we hate him. When he stops oppressing us then we no longer hate him. And right now in America you have the slave-master being a white group. We are pushing him out of office through revolution in this country. I think the responsibility of the white revolutionary will be to aid us in this. And when we are attacked by the police or by the military then it will be up to the white mother country radicals to attack the murderers and to respond as we respond, to follow our program.

Slave Masters

MOVEMENT: You indicate that there is a psychological process that has historically existed in white-black relations in the U.S. that must change in the course of revolutionary struggle. Would you like to comment on this?

HUEY: Yes. The historical relationship between black and white here in America has been the relationship between the slave and the master; the master being the mind and the slave the body. The slave would carry out the orders that the mind demanded him to carry out. By doing this the master took the manhood from the slave because he stripped him of a mind. He stripped black people of their mind. In the process the slave-master stripped himself of a body. As Eldridge puts it the slave master became the omnipotent administrator and the slave became the supermasculine menial. This

puts the omnipotent administrator into the controlling position or the front office and the supermasculine menial into the field.

The whole relationship developed so that the omnipotent administrator and the supermasculine menial became opposites. The slave being a very strong body doing all the practical things, all of the work becomes very masculine. The omnipotent administrator in the process of removing himself from all body functions realizes later that he has emasculated himself. And this is very disturbing to him. So the slave lost his mind and the slave-master his body.

Penis Envy

This caused the slave-master to become very envious of the slave because he pictured the slave as being more of a man, being superior sexually, because the penis is part of the body. The omnipotent administrator laid down a decree when he realized that his plan to enslave the black man had a flaw, when he discovered that he had emasculated himself. He attempted to bind the penis of the slave. He attempted to show that his penis could reach further than the supermasculine menial's penis. He said "I, the omnipotent administrator can have access to the black woman." The supermasculine menial then had a psychological attraction to the white woman (the ultra feminine freak) for the simple reason that it was forbidden fruit. The omnipotent administrator decreed that this kind of contact would be punished by death. At the same time in order to reinforce his sexual desire, to confirm, to assert his manhood, he would go into the slave quarters and have sexual relations with the black women (the self-reliant Amazon). Not to be satisfied but simply to confirm his manhood. Because if he can only satisfy the self-reliant Amazon then he would be sure that he was a man. Because he doesn't have a body, he doesn't have a

penis, he psychologically wants to castrate the black man. The slave was constantly seeking unity within himself: a mind and a body. He always wanted to be able to decide, to gain respect from his woman. Because women want one who can control. I give this outline to fit into a framework of what is happening now. The white power structure today in America defines itself as the mind. They want to control the world. They go off and plunder the world. They are the policemen of the world exercising control especially over people of color.

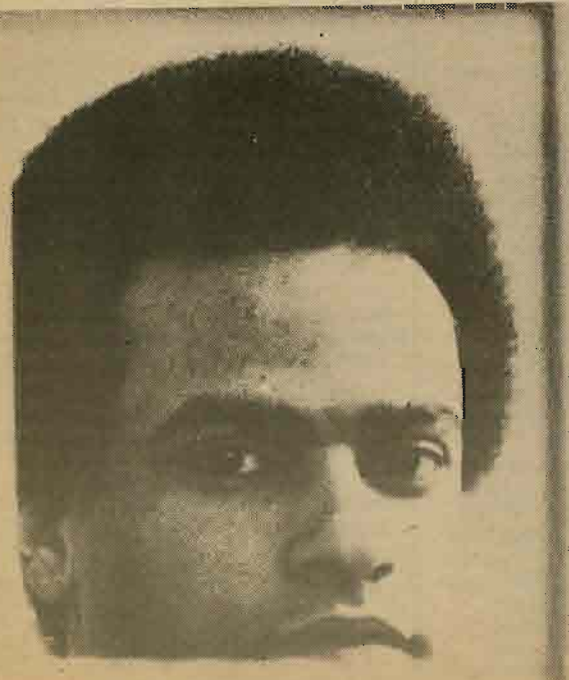
Re-capture the Mind

The white man cannot gain his manhood, cannot unite with the body because the body is black. The body is symbolic of slavery and strength. It's a biological thing as he views it. The slave is in a much better situation because his not being a full man has always been viewed psychologically. And it's always easier to make a psychological transition than a biological one. If he can only recapture his mind, recapture his balls, then he will lose all fear and will be free to determine his destiny. This is what is happening at this time with the rebellion of the world's oppressed people against the controller. They are regaining their mind and they're saying that we have a mind of our own. They're saying that we want freedom to determine the destiny of our people, thereby uniting the mind with their bodies. They are taking the mind back from the omnipotent administrator, the controller, the exploiter.

In America black people are also chanting that we have a mind of our own. We must have freedom to determine our destiny. It's almost a spiritual thing, this unity, this harmony. This unity of the mind and of the body, this unity of man within himself. Certain slogans of Chairman Mao I think demonstrate this theory of uniting the mind with the body within the man. An example is his call to the intellectuals to go to the countryside. The peasants in the countryside are all bodies; they're the workers. And he sent the intellectuals there because

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

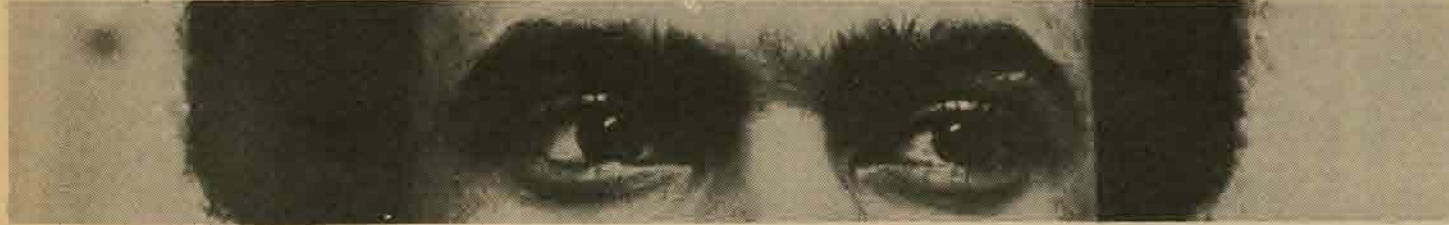
**"WE DON'T HATE
WHITE PEOPLE,
WE HATE THE
OPPRESSOR: IF
THE OPPRESSOR
HAPPENS TO BE
WHITE, THEN WE
HATE HIM."**



I think that this is a revolutionary thing in itself. That's political power. That's power itself. Matter of fact what is power other than the ability to define phenomenon and then make it act in a desired manner? When black people start defining things and making it act in a desired manner, then we call this Black Power!

MOVEMENT: Would you comment further on what you mean by Black Power?

HUEY: Black Power is really people's power. The Black Panther Program, Panther Power as we call it, will im-



plement this people's power. We have respect for all of humanity and we realize that the people should rule and determine their destiny. Wipe out the controller. To have Black Power doesn't humble or subjugate anyone to slavery or oppression. Black Power is giving power to people who have not had power to determine their destiny. We advocate and we aid any people who are struggling to determine their destiny. This is regardless of color. The Vietnamese say Vietnam should be able to determine its own destiny. Power of the Vietnamese people. We also chant power of the Vietnamese people. The Laotians are talking about Latin America for the Latin Americans. Cuba Si and Yanqui, Non. It's not that they don't want the Yankees to have any power they just don't want them to have power over them. They can have power over themselves. We in the black colony in America want to be able to have power over our destiny and that's black power.

MOVEMENT: A lot of white radicals are romantic about what Che said: "In a revolution one wins or dies . . ." For most of us it is really an abstract or theoretical question. It's a real question for you and we'd like you to rap about how you feel about it.

HUEY: Yes. The revolutionary sees no compromise. We will not compromise because the issue is so basic. If we compromise one iota we will be selling our freedom out. We will be selling the revolution out. And we refuse to remain slaves. As Eldridge says in SOUL ON ICE "a slave who dies of natural causes will not balance two dead flies on the scales of eternity." As far as we're concerned we would rather be dead than to go on with the slavery that we're in. Once we compromise we will be compromising not only our freedom, but also our manhood. We realize that we're going up against a highly technical country, and we realize that they are not only paper tigers, as Mao says, but real tigers too because they have the ability to slaughter many people. But in the long run, they will prove themselves paper tigers because they're not in line with humanity; they are divorced from the people. We know that the enemy is very powerful and that our manhood is at stake, but we feel it necessary to be victorious in regaining ourselves, regaining our manhood. And this is the basic point. So either we will do this or we won't have any freedom. Either we will win or we will die trying to win.

Mood of Black People

MOVEMENT: How would you characterize the mood of black people in America today? Are they disenchanted, wanting a larger slice of the pie, or alienated, not wanting to integrate into a burning house, not wanting to integrate into Babylon? What do you think it will take for them to become alienated and revolutionary?

HUEY: I was going to say disillusioned, but I don't think we were ever under the illusion that we had freedom in this country. This society is definitely a decadent one and we realize it. Black people are realizing it more and more. We cannot gain our freedom under the present system; the system that is carrying out its plans of institutionalized racism. Your question is what will have to be done to stimulate them to revolution. I think it's already being done, it's a matter of time now for us to educate them to a program and show them the way to liberation. The Black Panther Party is the beacon light to show black people the way to liberation.

You notice the insurrections that have been going on throughout the country, in Watts, in Newark, in Detroit. They were all responses of the people demanding that they have freedom to determine their destiny, rejecting exploitation. Now the Black Panther Party does not think that the traditional riots, or insurrections

that have taken place are the answer. It is true they have been against the Establishment, they have been against authority and oppression within their community, but they have been unorganized. However, black people learned from each of these insurrections.

They learned from Watts. Ensure the people in Detroit were educated by what happened in Watts. Perhaps this was wrong education. It sort of missed the mark. It wasn't quite the correct activity, but the people were educated through the activity. The people of Detroit followed the example of the people in Watts, only

they added a little scrutiny to it. The people in Detroit learned that the way to put a hurt on the administration is to make Molotov cocktails and to go into the street in mass numbers. So this was a matter of learning. The slogan went up "Burn, baby, burn". People were educated through the activity and it spread throughout the country. The people were educated on how to resist, but perhaps incorrectly.

Educate Though Activity

What we have to do as a vanguard of the revolution is to correct this through activity. The large majority of black people are either illiterate or semilliterate. They don't read. They need activity to follow. This is true of any colonized people. The same thing happened in Cuba where it was necessary for twelve men with a leadership of Che and Fidel to take to the hills and then attack the corrupt administration; to attack the army who were the protectors of the exploiters in Cuba. They could have leafleted the community and they could have written books, but the people would not respond. They had to act and the people could see and hear about it and therefore become educated on how to respond to oppression.

In this country black revolutionaries have to set an example. We can't do the same things that were done in Cuba because Cuba is Cuba and the U.S. is the U.S. Cuba has many terrains to protect the guerrilla. This country is mainly urban. We have to work out new solutions to offset the power of the country's technology and communication; its ability to communicate very rapidly by telephone and teletype and so forth. We do have solutions to these problems and they will be put into effect. I wouldn't want to go into the ways and means of this, but we will educate through action. We have to engage in action to make the people want to read our literature. Because they are not attracted to all the writing in this country; there's too much writing. Many books makes one weary.

Threat from Reformers

MOVEMENT: Kennedy before his death, and to a lesser extent Rockefeller and Lindsay and other establishment liberals have been talking about making reforms to give black people a greater share in the pie and thus stop any developing revolutionary movement. Would you comment on this?

HUEY: I would say this: If a Kennedy or Lindsay or anyone else can give decent housing to all of our people; if they can give full employment to our people with a high standard; if they can give full control to black people to determine the destiny of their community; if they can give fair trials in the court system by turning over the structure to the community; if they can end their exploitation of people throughout the world; if they can do all of these things they would have solved the problems. But I don't believe that under this present system, under capitalism, that they will be able to solve these problems.

People Must Control

I don't think black people should be fooled by their come-ons because every one who gets in office promises the same thing. They promise full employment and decent housing; the Great Society, the New Frontier. All of these names, but no real benefits. No effects are felt in the black community, and black people are tired of being deceived and duped. The people must have full control of the means of production. Small black businesses cannot compete with General Motors. That's just out of the question. General Motors robbed us and worked us for nothing for a couple hundred years and took our money and set up factories and became fat and rich and then talks about giving us some of the

crumbs. We want full control. We're not interested in anyone promising that the private owners are going to all of a sudden become human beings and give these things to our community. It hasn't ever happened and, based on empirical evidence, we don't expect them to become Buddhists over night.

MOVEMENT: We raised this question not because we feel that these reforms are possible, but rather to get your ideas on what effects such attempted reforms might have on the development of a revolutionary struggle.

HUEY: I think that reforms pose no real threat. The revolution has always been in the hands of the young. The young always inherit the revolution. The young population is growing at a very rapid rate and they are very displeased with the authorities. They want control. I doubt that under the present system any kind of program can be launched that will be able to buy off all these young people. They have not been able to do it with the poverty program, the great society, etc. This country has never been able to employ all of its people simply because it's too interested in private property and the profit motive. A bigger poverty program is just what it says it is, a program to keep people in poverty. So I don't think that there is any real threat from the reforms.

MOVEMENT: Would you like to say something about the Panther's organizing especially in terms of the youth?

HUEY: The Panthers represent a cross section of the black community. We have older people as well as younger people. The younger people of course are the ones who are seen on the streets. They are the activists. They are the real vanguard of change because they haven't been indoctrinated and they haven't submitted. They haven't been beaten into line as some of the older people have. But many of the older people realize that we're waging a just fight against the oppressor. They are aiding us and they are taking a part in the program.

Jail

MOVEMENT: Tell us something about your relations with the prisoners in the jail

HUEY: The black prisoners as well as many of the white prisoners identify with the program of the Panthers. Of course by the very nature of their being prisoners they can see the oppression and they've suffered at the hands of the Gestapo. They have reacted to it. The black prisoners have all joined the Panthers, about 95% of them. Now the jail is all Panther and the police are very worried about this. The white prisoners can identify with us because they realize that they are not in control. They realize there's someone controlling them and the rest of the world with guns. They want some control over their lives also. The Panthers in jail have been educating them and so we are going along with the revolution inside of the jail.

MOVEMENT: What has been the effect of the demonstrations outside the jail calling for "Free Huey"?

HUEY: Very positive reactions. One demonstration, I don't remember which one, a couple of trustees, white trustees, held a cardboard sign out the laundry window reading "Free Huey". They say people saw it and responded to it. They were very enthusiastic about the demonstrators because they too suffer from being treated unfairly by the parole authorities and by the police here in the jail.

Open or Underground

MOVEMENT: The Panthers organizing efforts have been very open up until this point. Would you like to comment about the question of an underground political organization versus an open organization at this point in the struggle?

HUEY: Yeah. Some of the black nationalist groups feel that they have to be underground because they'll be attacked. But we don't feel that you can romanticize being underground. They say we're romantic because we're trying to live revolutionary lives, and we are not taking precautions. But we say that the only way we would go underground is if we're driven underground. All real revolutionary movements are driven underground. Take the revolution in Cuba. The agitation that was going on while Fidel was in

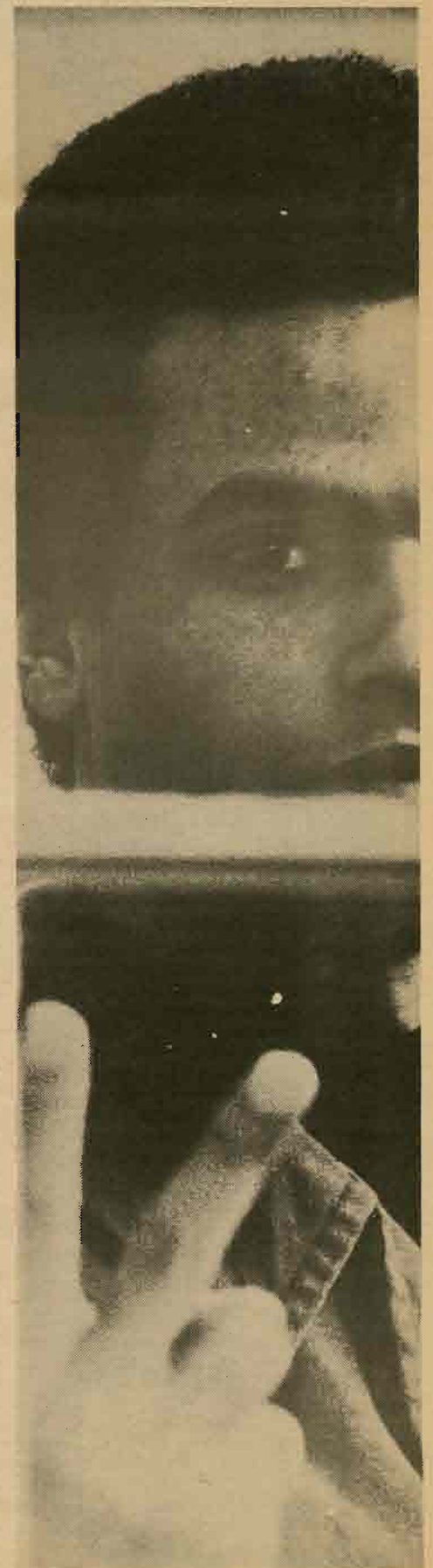
law school was very much above ground. Even his existence in the hills was, so to speak, an above the ground affair because he was letting it be known who was doing the damage and why he was doing the damage. To catch him was a different story. The only way we can educate the people is by setting an example for them. We feel that this is very necessary.

This is a pre-revolutionary period and we feel it is very necessary to educate the people while we can. So we're very open about this education. We have been attacked and we will be attacked even more in the future but we're not going to go underground until we get ready to go underground because we have a mind of our own. We're not going to let anyone force us to do anything. We're going to go underground after we educate all of the black people and not before that time. Then it won't really be necessary for us to go underground because you can see black anywhere. We will just have the stuff to protect ourselves and the strategy to offset the great power that the strong-arm men of the establishment have and are planning to use against us.

White Organizing

MOVEMENT: Your comments about the white prisoners seemed encouraging. Do you see the possibility of organizing a white Panther Party in opposition to the establishment possibly among poor and working whites?

HUEY: Well as I put it before Black Power is people's power and as far as organizing white people we give white people the privilege of having a mind and we want them to get a body. They can organize themselves. We can tell them what they should do, what their responsibility is if they're going to claim to be white revolutionaries or white mother country radicals, and that is to arm themselves and support the colonies around the world in their just struggle against imperialism. But anything more than that they will have to do on their own. ■



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

The Communist Party

From now on, whether we like it or not, retreat has set in. Before examining this phase, it is worthwhile to try and answer one important question: Why has the Communist Party refused to seize power? We said before that the CP no longer realistically thought that it would overthrow France's capitalist regime. It is conditioned by long years of total submission to the Soviet Union (which had twice before prevented a revolution in France -- in 1936 and 1945 -- in order to protect her own security and her foreign policy). The party is bureaucratized and completely isolated from any grass roots influence. The party, as a political force, is nothing but an apparatus of cadres and bureaucrats, whose only social goal is self-preservation. For the Communist Party, revolution means a jump into a terrifying adventure. The word "revolution" is only kept in public speeches in order to win the confidence of the working class.

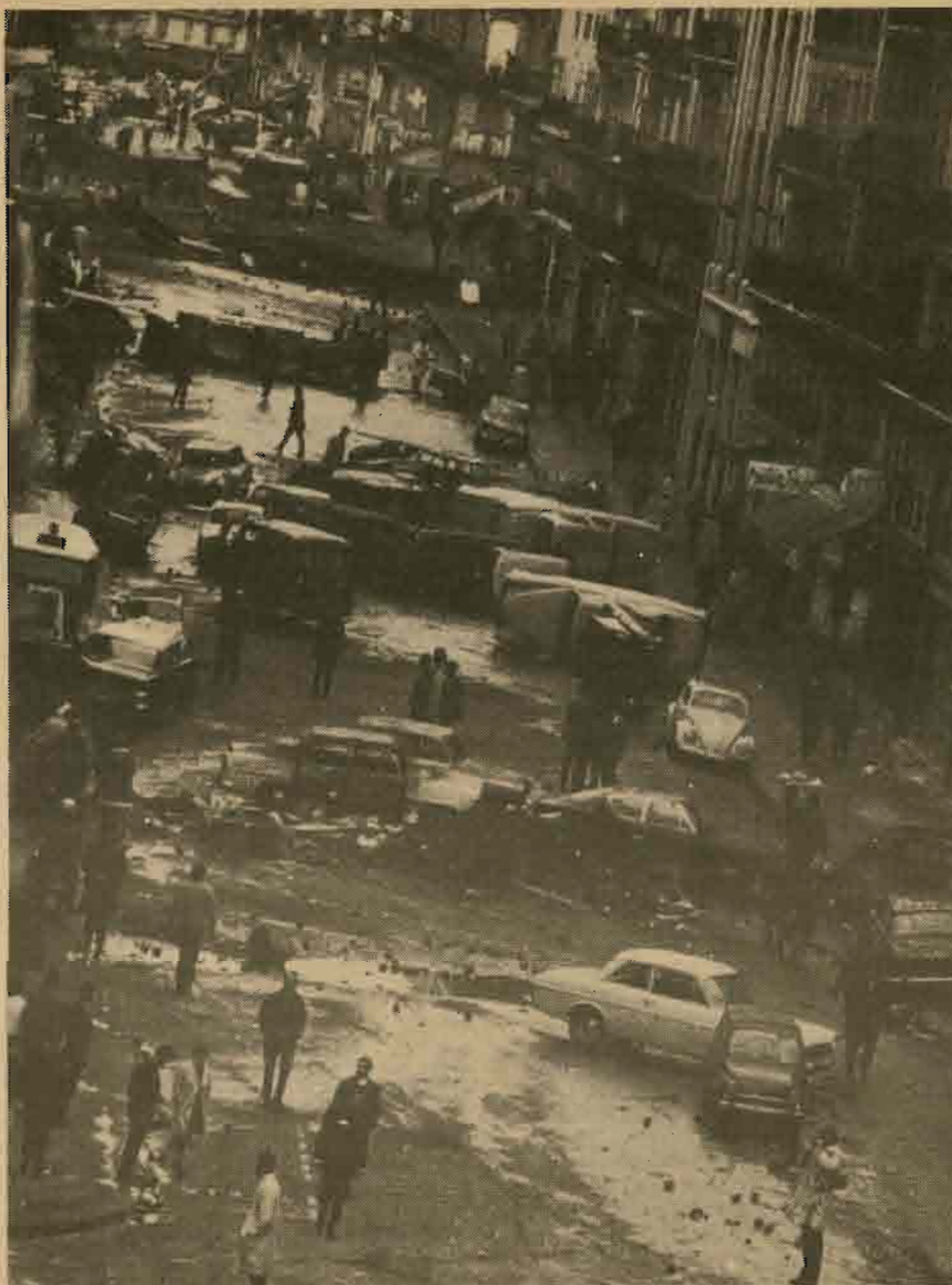
The Communist Party policy was not to organize an insurrection. It didn't try to ensure the generalized seizure of control over the means of production on the part of the workers. Its policy was merely to force deGaulle to resign and to form a coalition government with the non-Communist left. But the Communist Party backed down even before this modest policy. If the Party gained power in the midst of a climate heated by social struggle it would have inevitably been pushed towards a series of policy measures that it did not wish to take. The only strategy that the French left is presently capable of coping with is victory at the polls; that is seizing power in a "cold" social climate. Ironically, it refused to seize power on this occasion; the Party knew very well that it could not possibly win the next elections.

The Last Struggles

On Friday, May 31, forty thousand students and extreme left wing workers -- the tendency represented by the action committees -- stage a peaceful parade. The slogans are: "Elections -- betrayal!"; "Popular government, yes -- Mitterand, Mendes, no!"; "Socialist revolution!".

The economic situation is beginning to recover; some industries return to work; the shortage of gasoline ends and people can leave for their weekend outings. The press announces a massive return to work for Monday or Tuesday. In fact, nothing of the kind happens. The workers prolong the strike as long as they can. But the most clear-sighted analysts on the extreme left know now that it is only a matter of days, that everything is through, at least for this time.

The control of the economy must be recaptured by the bourgeoisie. To hasten the process, the government decides to attack. They choose the toughest sectors, those who are still on strike, the "strike rails": metal workers, automobile workers. All through the night of Saturday, June 8, the police attack the Renault factory at Flins, in the area surrounding Paris. The students leave immediately for Flins. The government blocks the



roads between Paris and Flins. Nevertheless, hundreds of students manage to get there and there are demonstrations and rallies. The police sweep out these meetings and finally the unavoidable happens. During one of these operations against a group of students eating their lunch on the grass, they drown a student after heavily clubbing him. Monday, June 9 and Tuesday, June 10, the police attack the Peugeot factory in Sechaux. They shoot into the demonstration: two dead. In the evenings of those days, the last huge demonstrations take place in Paris. People shout: "They killed our comrades!"; "DeGaulle Murderer!"; "Government of murderers!". The last struggle is carried through in style. No more barricades, or not as many (they became a much too easy target for the police); but a lot of Molotov cocktails, which people threw at the cops from the top of the roofs. The cops are forced to withdraw in this spectacular battle, which produces relatively few injuries but a lot of material damage.

During this time, the country slowly goes back to work, unwillingly, because the people know that the agreements obtained bear no relation to the demands, and because the people feel that every demand that has been fulfilled bears no relation to what they could potentially obtain.

The Repression

The government decides to strike. Assured of the absolute indifference of the CP -- which is only too happy to get rid of the revolutionaries -- the government bans all the revolutionary groups, arrests the militants, expels hundreds of foreigners suspected of having engaged in political activity. Right now, the government is trying to launch a sensational trial against "international conspiracy", and arms-smuggling from Germany and Cuba. This would allow it to jail some of the leaders for months or years.

Needless to say, the government's way of reasoning is simplistic: by hitting the organized groups, it hopes to prevent another explosion of discontent on the part of the masses. This is a mistake. The triggering of this crisis has been largely spontaneous and not caused by any organized groups. The next crisis will follow the same pattern. On the other hand, by suppressing the leadership, the government hopes to annihilate the groups; to prevent their incipient unification. This is another mistake. Most of these groups had been preparing for underground life for a long time.

Repression is going to toughen them, and hasten the badly needed reorganization. Another mistake is that the government hopes to discredit the trouble-makers. But this has considerably strengthened the prestige of the revolutionary groups with the mass of students and, above all, with the workers. Their membership keeps growing rapidly and their influence increases. The government has recaptured the Sorbonne and will probably do the same with all the other universities. Its intention is to prevent the students from meeting, discussing, organizing their action, and from carrying on the summer project of a "University of the People". But, once again, it is a mistake: the students will always manage to find a place to meet if their determination persists.

Reorganization

There have been serious problems posed by the division of the militants into a multiplicity of groups, often separated by theoretical shadings rather than real differences. Some promising reorganizations have emerged, during the retreat and during the last period of repression. The first one is the "Comite d'Initiative pour un Mouvement Revolutionnaire" (Initiative Committee for a Revolutionary Movement), consisting of several groups to the left of the CP. It is not an organic union, but a federation to prepare a broader union within a revolutionary movement.

The second organization is the action committees. Today more than ever before, these committees are a political force. They gather all revolutionaries through action at the base. They cannot be banned because their informal and flexible structure would make any such measure ineffective. Today, the action committees have the leading role in agitation, public propaganda, preparation of posters, leaflets, rallies, demonstrations, and spectacular actions. They are concentrating on a broad campaign of denunciation of the parliamentary regime, showing that the elections won't solve anything.

A Partial Defeat

Despite the apparent defeat, many tangible things have been gained by this movement. In the first place, a series of reforms: in the university, in the arts, in the theater, in television. Above all, there remains a spirit, a style: a mass of documents, films, reportages, works of art, political manifestoes, graffiti, cartoons, posters. There are proofs of the intellectual creativity awakened by the movement.

The students won't find it easy to go back to the quiet routine of their usual studies, which prepare them to become the cadres and the docile watchdogs of capitalism. The workers aren't going to accept so eagerly the treacherously sweet speeches of their union delegates. All men who still have some ideals left aren't going to return to a mediocre daily life with resignation, after we were so close to the great upheaval. If Marx is right in saying that ideas, once they have entered the mind of the

masses, become material forces, then the future is promising.

Those who still believed in democracy and peaceful legality, those who had forgotten the horrors of the Algerian war, have been forced to reconsider their optimism. What we saw defies imagination: systematic and savage clubbings, in the streets (including people who were not demonstrating), in the paddy-wagons, in the police stations, even in private houses, especially against girls and colored people (racism has been constantly present in this repression), looking to hit the head, the teeth, the kidneys, the sexual organs, often with many cops "working" on one lone victim; tortures in the police stations, rapings in police stations and private houses, tremendous injuries by gas grenades, use of forbidden chloric gases; a 17 year old high school student drowned, with his head cracked. All this clearly reveals to everyone the repressive character of the capitalist state.

Another crisis is unavoidable, whether it is a matter of months or years. If French capitalism doesn't quickly reform itself to catch up with the concessions it made to the workers, it will suffer an unprecedented economic crisis because of the international market situation. On the other hand, if it annuls the concessions, the working class will not stand by passively. Then too, the revolutionary action committees, which include thousands of workers, will continue to exist. It is also likely that the return to school in the Fall will be marked by major disorders.

Lessons

We have learned that the Communist Party is counter-revolutionary. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore it. If we want to find a truly revolutionary solution to another crisis, we will have to find a way to counter-balance its influence. The will of the masses is not sufficient to carry through the revolution. We need a national organization to organize the seizure of factories, to run the factories for the workers' profit, to assault the power of the state, to fight the army if it tries to take over key industries and to organize a governmental transition.

The revolution of May 1968 has demonstrated the realistic possibility of a proletarian revolution in an advanced capitalist country -- in a "consumer society" where workers are supposed to be content and well-integrated into the status quo. From now on, any strategy which assumes the apathy of the masses and the impossibility of revolution must be reconsidered. Without a depression, without a war or national catastrophe, the working class created a situation so serious that the state hardly existed -- in which power was within reach of our hands.

One last question: What kind of society do we want to build in place of capitalist society? One of the most remarkable aspects of our revolution is that it has clearly revealed a relatively coherent image of the society of the future. A form of socialism that has nothing to do with the totalitarian, bureaucratic, technocratic, single-party regimes which sometimes call themselves socialist. A form of socialism where decisions are effectively made by workers, and not a party bureaucracy, albeit the best in the world. The state will not be the new boss.



PEACE & FREEDOM VOTE COUNT

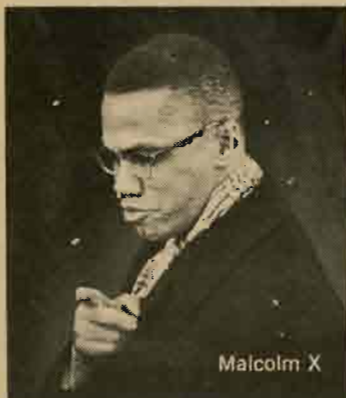
According to results received from the Peace and Freedom Party, a number of the write-in candidates have received enough votes to receive their party's nomination and qualify for positions on the ballot in the November general elections.

In the 7th congressional district Huey Newton received 3,191 write-in votes. In the 11th assembly district Bobby Seale received 1,797 write-in votes.

In the 16th assembly district David Rymn received 1,395 votes.

In the 18th assembly district in San Francisco, Kathleen Cleaver received 598 votes. There has been some controversy concerning alleged attempts by voting officials to discourage write-in voting in this district.

POWER POSTERS



Big 16"x20" Posters, striking lithographed on heavy paper. Quant. _____

Malcolm X \$1.25
Stokely Carmichael \$1.25
H. Rap Brown \$1.25
Muhammad Ali \$1.25
LeRoi Jones \$1.25
Set of 5 (One of ea.) \$5.00

Enclosed for _____ Posters

Name _____
Address _____
City/State _____
Zip _____

Dealer inquiries invited

POWER POSTERS

63 N. 13th St. Phila. PA 19107

AMERICA THE TRIVIAL

(This month's column has just one item: a column from the Society page of the SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE by Joan Chatfield-Taylor, Fashion Correspondent)



Women's Wear Daily sketch

New York

America's designers have responded to the schizophrenic mood that intelligent American women are in.

On the one hand, there is the fact that many women are richer and have more leisure time than ever before. But it is obvious that this personal well-being is no excuse for euphoria.

There are the harsh realities that invade the lives of every woman. Violence is one of these. Poverty is another, and most intelligent women didn't need Resurrection City to remind them of the masses of people who can only dream of an existence filled with luxuries.

This coming fall's clothes reflect the current mental state in America.

There are utterly fantastic clothes-escapist clothes-in the most luxurious fabrics imaginable.

Does she dream of being Natasha in czarist Russia? She can; there are plenty of regal velvet dresses and fur trimmings. Going further south, there's the glittering luxury of the Middle East.

The accessory of the year is the jeweled belt, often worn with dresses that are already glittering and gleaming with embroidery and jewels and metallic threads.

But this fall's fashions aren't all fantasy. There's a definite trend toward realism, particularly in the daytime clothes.

AMERICAN FASHION IS FULL OF THE KIND OF QUIET SUITS THAT A WOMAN CAN WEAR TO A MEETING WITH GHETTO RESIDENTS WITHOUT FEELING OSTENTATIOUS. The good grey suit is back, usually with an easy skirt and a slightly fitted--if not belted--jacket; Dior-New York calls one of theirs "San Francisco".

For the most part, the fantasy clothes are for evening, and the realistic clothes for daytime--a sensible arrangement that enables a woman to show her responsible side to the community, and keep her luxury-loving, escapist feelings for her private life. ■

THE SAD TALE OF THE BOSTON FIVE

by Michael Ferber

Boston -- During the month of the Spock Trial, Boston was the scene of continuing resistance to the draft. On the day the trial began, the Arlington Street Church offered symbolic sanctuary to a convicted draft-refuser and an AWOL Vietnam veteran. Two days later thirty guys returned their draft cards in a public ceremony. At the end of the second week another Unitarian - Universalist Church (in Providence) granted sanctuary to two resisters. During the third week a guy and a girl, prompted by the conviction of Berrigan in Baltimore, poured black paint on the 1-A draft files in the state office in downtown Boston. During the last week, 100 Harvard seniors said they would not go, and the majority of the Radcliffe seniors vowed their support.

Surprises

This kind of activity is the best response to indictments such as the one which put us on trial. The trial itself was less encouraging. However, there were two pleasant surprises in the otherwise predictable verdict of the jury June 14. Marc Raskin was acquitted altogether, and we were all found not guilty of conspiring to counsel the turning of draft cards.

Raskin's acquittal is a modest legal and political victory; it won't seem quite so easy now to indict and convict for draft conspiracy anyone the government chooses. The two not guilty findings are mainly a moral victory. We had argued that we were not in the business of twisting anyone's arm, putting direct pressure on anyone to risk his future in order to swell the ranks of the Resistance, and the jury seems to have understood. We can take some comfort from the verdict, but not much.

Four of us were found guilty of eight of the ten charges in the indictment, all of them "conspiracy". We hardly knew one another until the indictment. Our every act was accompanied by TV cameras. Our being found guilty of conspiracy poses a serious threat to the anti-war, black power, and even civil rights movements. The law states, as Judge Ford made very clear in his "charge" to the jury (which they followed), that the ordinary meaning of the word "conspiracy" is nowhere near the legal meaning. The conspiracy law may have been originally intended to combat organized crime in the ordinary sense (Mafia, etc.), but as it is now structured it can be used against any two or more people who agree to commit a crime, no matter how tenuous the agreement (as in our case) or how minor the crime (as in the Oakland Seven case).

Political Defense

How are we to fight conspiracy indictments? Like any of the growing number of political indictments they must be fought on political as well as legal grounds. But since the conspiracy law as law is more complex, more insidious, and more susceptible to challenge within the courts than many others (such as draft-refusal laws), a court case should be used not only for publicity (which is all that draft-refusers can realistically expect) but for legal reform, which would benefit the movement and dissent in general. We chose to fight a thorough legal battle, limited only where the legal arguments might conflict with the moral and political principles of the anti-war and anti-draft movements. There were a few times when we may have seemed to sell out the principles to the legal arguments, or at least some people have said so, but I don't think we really did. I'll explain with a couple of examples.

None of us had any idea we would be indicted for conspiracy. I thought I would be drafted, I would refuse, and then be indicted for that; or I might have been indicted for returning my draft card. Some of the others thought they might be indicted for counseling, aiding, and abetting, for they had challenged the government, almost ritualistically, to a legal confrontation. But conspiracy? Well, we were naïve.

After the indictment, some of us first had the impulse to plead guilty but to challenge the legality of the war and the draft. We were told that was impossible. Then we considered pleading not guilty but confessing to all the facts as alleged, and then challenging the legality. This made more sense. But when we became fully aware of the nature of the conspiracy charge and its threat to the movement, we opted for a major legal case. We

decided, on the one hand, to try to challenge the war, the draft, and the apparent violation of the First Amendment (the "symbolic speech" argument), and, on the other, to attack carefully the government's grounds for the conspiracy itself.

It was soon clear we would have little choice. A month before the trial Judge Ford ruled out as "not justiciable" any questions of the war's legality. And within a few days of the beginning of the trial the judge hooted down all references to symbolic speech. We were allowed to discuss the war and the draft only in so far as it revealed our intent. (If our intent could be proven to be "non-criminal" then certain possibilities would be open to us).

Precision

Caught in this situation, we could be as radical and inflammatory as we wished in describing our beliefs, but we had to be carefully precise about our contacts with each other. There seemed to us to be more than one meaning to the word "agree", for instance, so we had to make

sure that when we intended one meaning we were not implying the other and thereby admitting the conspiracy. So occasionally we appeared evasive during our clumsy attempts to be precise.

Another problem had to do with "counseling". All of us had all along refrained from urging anyone to turn in his card or refuse induction, and this we did out of moral or religious scruples rather than fear of the law. We did not think we had actually "counseled" resistance, though we supported and encouraged those who had made up their minds. While in practice this may sometimes amount to the same thing, there is usually a difference, and our intentions were clear. But of course this led to more hair-splitting and apparent equivocation.

Appeal

We will appeal, of course, and there are a variety of grounds available. We might persuade the Appellate or Supreme Court to re-open an issue closed to us, such as "symbolic speech", the legality of the draft, or the legality of the war. A more reasonable hope is a decision that would tighten the requirements for proof of a conspiracy, perhaps exempting certain forms of "mass-media conspiracies" that are likely to occur in protest movements. Finally there are a number of technicalities that might acquit us, such as the rather odd way a jury is chosen. Even if it is a technicality that acquits us (if anything does), it will be a victory, for it will seem harder to the government to prosecute conspiracies, and it might encourage those whose activist zeal was dampened by the indictments. ■

THE RUBIN BUST

by Stewart E. Albert

This is the year that makes paranoids into realists. The leading representatives of the white and black liberal establishment, Kennedy and King, have been murdered. The father of permissiveness, Ben Spock, is found guilty and faces five years. Black revolutionaries like Rap, Huey, and Eldridge are being openly persecuted by the Man, and Bobby Hutton has been killed. There is the trial of the Oakland Seven, and now one of the founders of the Vietnam Day Committee and the project director of the march and two-day siege of the Pentagon, and steering committee member of the Yippies, is busted on a felonious possession of marijuana charge, in a part of New York City where the drug is more common than tobacco and coca-cola.

Jerry Rubin was in his apartment in the late afternoon of June 13, when cops knocked on the door and told him that they were investigating a homicide charge in the Bronx. Jerry asked them to pass a search warrant under the door, and they refused. When Jerry opened the door, three cops came in.

The real purpose of their visit was Jerry's politics. A poster of Fidel Castro was ripped from his wall, Jerry's files were ransacked, and the pigs spent the next hour and a half asking him about why he went to Cuba without permission, why he hates the government, and what the Yippies plan to do in Chicago.

Jerry was then taken to the station house in an unmarked car. The cops made his two calls for him (he was not allowed to make them himself) and reached his girl-friend, Nancy Kurshan, who came down to find out about the bail. Nancy was arrested when she tried to leave on the same charges as Rubin. (The charges were later dropped without reason.) Nancy was interrogated at length about her politics, with heavy emphasis laid on her being Jewish, her views about Israel, etc.

Around eight-thirty, Jerry was taken to the courthouse. As he was being put

into the jail, one narco took him aside and beat him around the head, then turned him around, and kicked him in the base of the spine. Jerry was put on \$1000 bail, the bond was raised the next day, and Rubin was set free.

Jerry was in a great deal of pain at this time, and the Yippies rushed him to a hospital where he was x-rayed. The doctor told him he probably had a broken coccyx, and to come back if the pain continued.

The general facts of the case are pretty well-known by now. They are not really what is involved here. What is involved is politics, Rubin, and the movement to destroy the Man's power, none of which the Man likes. Jerry is involved in a plan to bring a hundred thousand rebels to Chicago, and despite the disagreements you may have with that, the impact of such a demonstration on this country cannot be ignored. To have the whole bullshit ceremony of American democracy held up for the sham that it is at the time when everyone must be made to believe it is something Humphrey, Johnson, and their corrupt henchmen could never take quietly.

Radicals should not confuse themselves about the other issue that is involved here. To those who say that political people should not smoke pot, it has to be said that when the police come after you because of your politics, even if you never smoke grass, that's no protection against being busted for it.

The seriousness of the case becomes clearer when you consider that William Kunstler is Jerry's attorney. Kunstler is Rap Brown's attorney, and he NEVER takes "pot busts". He sees this police action as one of political persecution, and that is the basis on which he is defending Jerry.

We are going to have to fight this case in the same way that we have fought the persecution of the Black Panthers and the Oakland Seven. It seems clear now that either Humphrey or Nixon will be President, and it also seems clear that the efforts to crush our movement are going to increase. Do you get the message? New York Yippies have. ■

MDS : AMA INCURABLE PANTHERS HEALTHY

by Jerry Densch

San Francisco -- Despite a mighty effort, the American Medical Association found it impossible to completely ignore representatives of the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) and the Poor People's Campaign (PPC) who seized the platform at the opening session of the AMA's recent National Convention here. Dr. Donald Goldmacher and medical student Peter Schnall of MCHR, and Jimmy Rogers of PPC delivered, despite deadened microphones and a prior refusal of the AMA to allow them to speak, an indictment of racial discrimination within the medical profession, its lack of concern for the health needs of the people, and its preoccupation with protecting the status and bankbooks of its members.

MCHR is, partially, a result of the irresponsibility of the AMA. It is an organization formed by health professionals and others, concerned with dealing with the crisis in medical care which this country faces.

Mississippi Summer

It was first formed in July of 1964 as an emergency medical service for civil rights workers in Mississippi. That summer over 100 people from medical and related fields provided care for injured and sick Summer Project volunteers. Activities in the South were soon expanded to include development of rural health centers and mobile health units, health education, aid to community workers in developing health and medical programs, and surveying medical needs and documenting discriminatory patterns in health services in the South.

Moving North

A change in the focus of activities and some radicalization has occurred with the recognition that problems are rooted much more deeply in American society. It is not simply a question of racial segregation in the South. Functioning MCHR chapters are now located in a dozen large cities, mostly in the North and East, with affiliated groups and individuals scattered across this country and into Canada.

In Boston the MCHR gives medical examinations to men vulnerable to the

(previously AMA conventions have been met merely with picket lines) was also the result of the convention's location. The Bay Area organization is one of the most radical and active of MCHR locals. Although only recently constituted as MCHR, activity by health professionals has gone on here for some time, and since 1967, when Health Professionals for Peace was formed, health workers have engaged in an almost constant series of activities. Work was done on the Peace Torch Caravan, on Proposition P (a city referendum calling for withdrawal of troops in Vietnam), and a vigil in Union Square. Work was then done on registering people (about 1,000) into the Peace and Freedom Party. Involvement in the October Stop the Draft Week in Oakland tended to radicalize the organization as some thirty or forty doctors and nurses operating a medical aid station there saw, and a few felt, the Oakland cops in action.

Sensing a need to deal with broader issues than simply the war, in late February of 1968 a chapter of MCHR was formed. The Bay Area organization and individuals within it have acted around a multiplicity of issues. The use of MACE, often for the sheer joy of it, by cops across the country and evidence of the ill effects of this "humane" weapon brought many doctors to question its use. Dr. Larry Rose, a San Francisco eye specialist, and others found that definite eye damage could result from contact with MACE. Their research and the resultant publicity have forced the government to admit the possible dangers of MACE. Some large police departments, including Oakland, have discontinued its use, at least temporarily.

Realizing that a disproportionate number of poor people are drafted, in part because they can't afford to have possible physical or psychological problems certified by a doctor, national MCHR has decided to provide free exams for indigent draft-eligible men. Bay Area MCHR is developing a roster of medical personnel for this purpose.

In Time of Rebellion

A problem almost constantly under discussion at the Bay Area meetings is the possibility of open rebellion and massive police repression in the Black communities, and ways of dealing with the

"do we work with the power structure" must also be discussed with the realization that MCHR simply hasn't the resources to deal with every need.

Despite such political and technical problems, plans are being made to provide for emergency medical care in the event of civil disorder.



Dr. Philip Shapiro

Panther Allies

Bay Area MCHR has given unequivocal support to the Black Panther Party in the Party's attempts to organize the Black communities. Individual interest in the Panther's efforts was transformed into group action by the murder of Bobby Hutton and the arrest of Eldridge Cleaver and other Panthers by the Oakland cops on April 6.

Just over a week after the shooting, in a press conference, MCHR called for professional help and announced their "support for the Black Panther efforts to organize the Black community into an effective economic and political unit", and to "condemn the obvious attempt by the Oakland establishment to harass and brutally repress, by whatever means, the legitimate goals of the Black Panthers". A plan to form volunteer groups of white professionals to patrol the Black communities in an attempt to stop police brutality was abandoned at the request of the Panthers, who doubted whether the cops would be any more lenient on white supporters than on the Panthers themselves.

Response to Call

The call brought a tremendous response from both medical and non-medical professionals, including doctors, psychiatrists, dentists, nurses, social workers, lawyers, teachers and secretaries. Some fifty or sixty calls were received the first day and nearly 200 letters in the first couple of weeks following the press conference.

Lawyers, of course, were urgently needed, and were immediately assigned to work with Huey Newton's lawyer, Charles Garry. Writers went to work with the International Committee to Secure the Release of Eldridge Cleaver, nurses began teaching first aid in the Black community, doctors and dentists began doing free work for Panthers when needed and secretaries began doing various types of office work.

Everyone who responded was asked to send messages to the Adult Authority asking for Cleaver's release (which has finally been secured -- see story, p.) and to give financial aid. A bail fund, not a part of MCHR but operated by MCHR's chairman, Dr. Philip Shapiro, was able to supply \$5,000 bond for the release of Panther Weldon Wade. Money is still being raised to release the three Panthers remaining in jail as a result of the April shoot-out (and may be sent to 2519 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco).

The MCHR also works closely with the John Brown Society. The society tries to educate medical people and others in the white community regarding racism, Black Power, and the Black Panther Party. Persons wishing to speak on these subjects and groups wishing to obtain speakers are being referred to the John Brown Society.

The alliance of Bay Area MCHR with the Panthers is primarily due to the work of the group's chairman, Dr. Philip Shapiro, who is co-chairman of the International Committee to Secure the Release of Eldridge Cleaver. That many white professionals share Shapiro's concern and have not, as he puts it "bought the current mythology about the Panthers" has been demonstrated by the response to MCHR's call for support and by the

record-breaking attendance at MCHR's May 1 meeting which was addressed by members of the Panthers. In turn, a number of Panthers, including Bobby Seale and Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver further showed what Dr. Shapiro calls a "mutual trust and respect" between the two groups by walking MCHR's picket line outside the AMA convention.

Dealing with America

National MCHR and the Bay Area chapter have gone a long way beyond single-issue orientations. Many young health professionals and medical students, as well as a few of the older professionals, are beginning to realize that the total brutalization of society must be dealt with.

Although the AMA voted to allow the disciplining of local medical societies which discriminate against Black doctors, it is hardly likely to implement any of the substantial economic demands presented by NCHR and the Poor People's Campaign. These include establishing a priority for the poor in health programs, extension of Medicare to cover all medically indigent people in the US, medical teams to be sent into poor urban and rural areas, comprehensive neighborhood health centers, inclusion of poor people in health planning programs, and training of poor people for jobs in the field of health care.

In contrast to the AMA, MCHR promises to become an increasingly positive force in pressing for solutions to the medical and human problems of the people. MCHR promises to work not only for the people, but with the people. ■

PIGS PERVERT

The Oakland Pigs have managed to pervert even California's anti-lynching law.

Three of Oakland's Black citizens were charged with attempting to violate the anti-lynching law after they allegedly tried to rescue one of their brothers from the clutches of the cops. The pigs were able to perpetrate this little bit of Oakland justice due to the wording of the law, which says "the taking by means of a riot of any person from the lawful custody of a peace officer is a lynching."

The three were also charged with resisting arrest and attempting to rescue a criminal in the custody of police, while the person the cops had originally gone after was charged with "crimes against the executive power of the State" for allegedly having resisted arrest.

SNCC Press Release

SNCC REORGANIZES

Within the past two years repression against the Black community has increased to the point where we are now faced with the question of whether or not we survive as a race of people. Along with this repression, we have witnessed the intense persecution of militant Black leaders such as Max Stanford, Huey Newton, Stokely Carmichael, Cleveland Sellers, Herman Ferguson, and H. Rap Brown, who served as Chairman of SNCC from May, 1967 until June, 1968.

In order to better deal with this repression and persecution and to better continue our struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, at our annual staff meeting held in Atlanta, June 11-15, decided to restructure the organization.

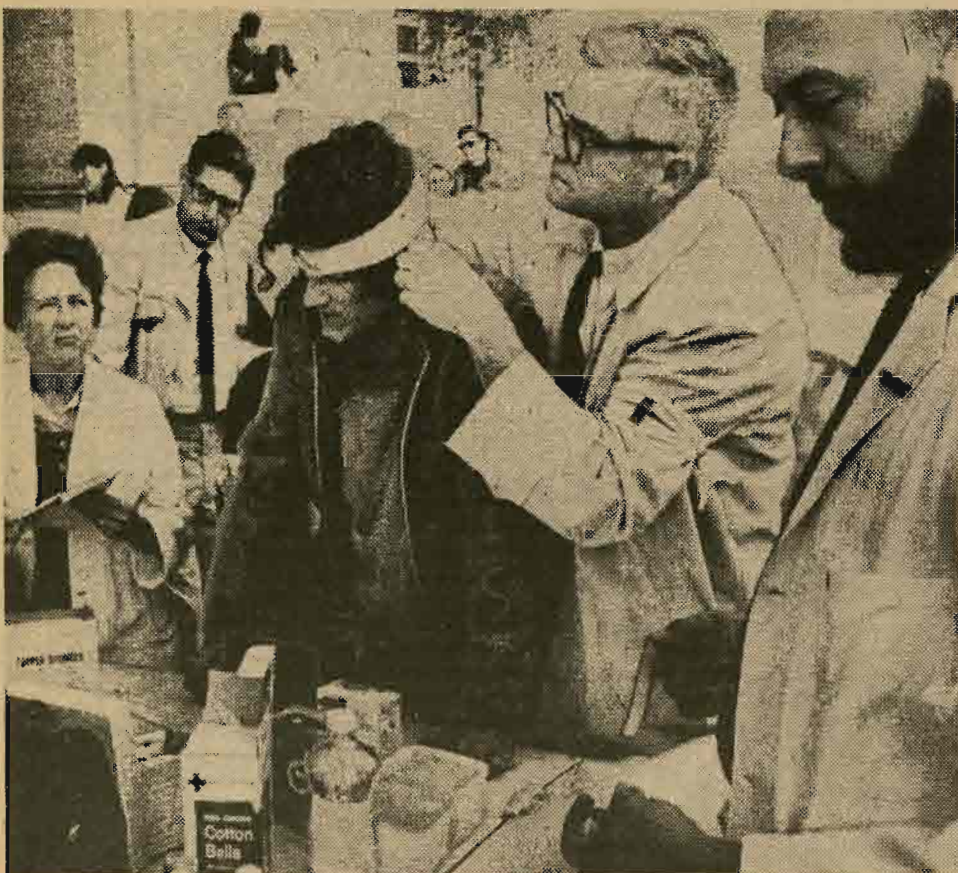
The following people were elected Deputy Chairmen of SNCC:

George Ware of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Johnny Wilson of New York City
Donald Stone of Atlanta
James Forman of New York City
Bob Smith of Atlanta
Brother Crook of Los Angeles
Former Executive Secretary, Stanley Wise of N.C. and Louisiana

Other Deputy Chairmen will be elected later. Phil Hutchings of Newark was elected Program Secretary.

Rap Brown continues to be active in the organization.

Some of the crucial issues discussed at the staff meeting included: (1) creation of a national mass political party, (2) anti-war, anti-draft activity, (3) formation of liberation schools, (4) southern student unions. Knowing that police repression will be increased and intensified this summer in the Black community, SNCC also discussed survival refugee stations throughout its projects and defense units.



Health Professionals for Peace treat injured demonstrator at October '67 Stop the Draft Week.

draft. Medical teams served each of the liberated buildings at Columbia University. There was also an emergency program to care for the injured during the revolt in Washington DC in April.

In support of the PPC, in addition to providing aid and medical care in many cities through which the PPC travelled, MCHR provided a large trailer to serve as a health center for Resurrection City and two or three hundred health workers in Washington. As of early June some 1700 of the total of perhaps 2400 residents of Resurrection City had been treated.

In San Francisco

The confrontation with the AMA, though perhaps the result of changing times,

resulting injuries. The wide range of individual politics within the organization creates a great deal of tactical discussion. (The failure of the AMA to deal with pressing social issues has driven many politically moderate doctors to seek an organization which is of some social relevance.) Should MCHR, in the event of a riot, serve the people in the community wherever needed without regard to the wishes of the cops, or should they first bargain with the power structure in order to be allowed in the jails to treat wounded prisoners? Should the organization tie itself up doing things which should be done by the city but are not, or should they leave these voids open with the possibility that they won't be filled? These questions, much more complex than simply

MOVEMENT CLASSIFIEDS

SEATTLE: There will be as many as seven different community Draft projects. Contact Fred Lonideer, 1020 North 36th Street, Seattle, ME 2-3692.

PORTLAND: A Draft project will reach out to the community. Contact Roger Lippman, Reed College, Portland, Oregon, PR 4-9472.

CALIFORNIA: The co-ordinating center for Northern California is the Movement office, 449 14th Street, San Francisco. For Southern California it is the Los Angeles Regional SDS Office, 510 1/2 Hoover Street. California enterprises include the Northern California Draft Project (Contact Steve Gompertz, 1824 Hearst Avenue, Berkeley); San Diego Draft work oriented toward the working class (Contact Fred Gordon, P.O. Box 449, Del Mar); a new People Against Racism group in Palo Alto (Contact Peter D. Ware, 1590 Bay Road, East Palo Alto); an SDS labor committee work-in in San Diego (Contact Stephen P. Wenger, 2922 Fairmont Ave.); the Glendale Anti-Draft Union (Contact Larry Lombert, 9748 Pinewood Avenue, Tujunga); and a work-in in Berkeley (Contact John E. Poole, 1627 Oregon Street).

NEW MEXICO: Work will go on in relation to the Alianza. Contact Jim Kennedy, 10407 4th Street N.W., Albuquerque.

ST. LOUIS: There is work on a newspaper, a Draft resistance union, and some new community projects. Contact Lebowitz 816 Eastgate, VO 2-2732.

CHICAGO: There are a number of Draft and community groups working through the summer that will need people to work with them. (Contact the National Office, 1608 West Madison Street, Room 206, 666-3874.) The National Community Union is running its training school through the summer. Folks will be expected to take part-time jobs and do some work in the community. Applications for that school can also come through the National Office. There will be a Chicago work-in project with folks getting jobs, meeting to analyze their work places and their experiences, and developing leafleting and other programs. (Contact Earl Silbar, 312-664-3556.)

CLEVELAND: The Cleveland project needs folks to go to work in plants, live and organize in a white working-class community, work with a working-class-based Draft resistance union, and do Draft counseling and work around racism in middle-class white areas. Contact Tim Hall, 10606 Euclid Avenue, Room 310.

MINNEAPOLIS: Draft resistance work will reach out to the community. Contact Twin Cities Draft Information Center, 1905 Third Avenue South, Room 208.

WASHINGTON D.C., MARYLAND AND DELAWARE: There are good draft projects in several places, especially in D.C. Contact the D.C. Regional SDS Office, 3 Thomas Circle Northwest.

THE SOUTH: There is a good project in North Carolina, and others seem to be developing in Arkansas, Virginia, and possibly in Florida. Contact the SSOC Office in Nashville, or the National SDS Office.

NEW YORK CITY: There will be Draft work, a series of programs coming out of the Columbia Liberation School, and high school activity. Contact the New York Regional SDS Office, 131 Prince Street.

BOSTON: There is good Draft work in several places in the Boston area. (Contact the BDRG, 102 Columbia Street, Cambridge.) There is also a work-in similar to the one in Chicago. (Contact Debbie Levenson, 101 Magazine Street, Cambridge.)

DETROIT: There will be a work-in whereby participants can get involved in an on-going community project. There is also Draft work going on throughout the summer. Contact Dave Wheeler, 1172 West Hancock.

EAST LANSING: Work-in. Contact Mike Price, SDS Office, University of Michigan, P.O. Box 382.

ALL OVER THE U.S.: Peace and Freedom Movement needs community organizers, full or part-time. Full-time people will receive room, board, and \$5.00 per week! Contact Peace and Freedom Summer Action, P.O. Box 881, Berkeley, Calif.

RECALL REAGAN

Live in California?
Feelmessed over?
Folks who'd like to hand some of Reagan's stuff back to him are working on a Recall Reagan campaign and need to collect nearly 800,000 valid signatures of voters by July 31. If you'd like to help, write to the Los Angeles Recall Reagan Committee Inc., Headquarters - 16917 Ventura Blvd., Suite 5, Encino 91316 - Phone 788-3063 or 872-1028.

WORKERS RUN HOSPITAL

Topeka -- Black workers in the State Mental Hospital in Topeka, Kansas went on strike on June 19 in protest over the institutionalized discrimination in the hospitals.

There were some trade union issues involved. The highest pay for an aide was \$1.82 per hour, and the average pay was \$370 per month. 70% of the workers are black, and they are kept in low-paying jobs through an established structure. They have no training programs, no collective bargaining, and most have to work two jobs.

On the 19th, the black workers presented a list of demands calling for community control, a 35% increase in pay, new specifications, more training of unskilled workers. When the demands were refused, the black brothers took over the hospital. They did not stop the functioning, rather they said that their experience qualified them to run the place, and so they did.

As a result, 60 black workers were suspended. 42 of them remain on suspension.

The strike has been given wide community support. The local SDS chapter is also working with the rebels. On July 8, approximately 500 folks marched to the state capitol to present the demands to the governor.

They are still waiting.

page one photos: upper : Jeff Blankfort;
lower: International American News Photo

NEED MONEY?

Be a sales representative for a socio-political-satirical new poster line. Ideal for individuals and organizations. Write for complete poster profit kit: GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, Box 427, Wayzata, MN 55391

MOVEMENT
CARS
GET
LOTS OF LOVE
AT
Earl's
VOLKSWAGEN
1830 SAN PABLO AVE.
BERKELEY



Hand cieciorka

WHO ARE THE REAL CONSPIRATORS?

A MOVEMENT staff writer was recently arrested for draft refusal. While being booked, he overheard the Federal Marshals who had arrested him rapping.

"I was just down in Oakland last month," said one.

"What's going on?"

"The Oakland Police told me there's going to be a big riot this summer."

"How did they know?"

"They're going to start it."

"Oh, yeah?"

"Yeah. Their plan is to bust all the black militant leaders in the early summer and then start a riot to pick off the rest of the agitators."

The Marshalls were liberals. They agreed that that was "going a little too far."

GETTING READY FOR THE FIRING LINE

A pamphlet about community organizing, drawing from the experiences of the JOIN Community Union in Chicago. By Mike James. Order from THE MOVEMENT. 10¢.

THE MOVEMENT is published monthly by The Movement Press, 449 14th St., San Francisco, CA 94103 415-626-4577.

EDITORIAL GROUP: Arlene Eisen Bergman, Lincoln Bergman, Joe Blum, Terry Cannon, Bobbi Cieciorka, Jerry Densch, Kris Dymond, Peri Gilbert, Mark Hardesty, Carol Herzenburg, Karen Jo Koonan, Brooks Penney, Morgan Spector, Buddy Stein, Karen Wald, Fred Weinstock, Dave Wellman.

CHICAGO GROUP: Kathy Archibald, Jim Cartier, Les Coleman, Hilda Ignatin, Noel Ignatin, Mike James, Ed Jennings, Lennie Joyce, Peter Kuttner, Fran Rominsky. c/o SDS 1608 W. Madison St., Chicago, IL 60612 312-666-3874

LOS ANGELES: Bob Niemann, Bill Vandercook 1657 Federal Ave., #5, Los Angeles, CA 90025 213-478-9509

BROTHER-IN-EXILE: Jeff Segal

SUBSCRIPTIONS: \$2 per year; in bulk, \$7 per hundred per month.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MOVEMENT

INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS
\$2 for 12 issues

BULK SUBSCRIPTIONS.. (PER MONTH)

1-10 20¢ each
11-99 10¢ each + postage
100+ 7¢ each + postage

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

I enclose \$ _____ for _____ subscription(s).

MAIL TO THE MOVEMENT 449 14th ST.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94103

GIANT POSTERS!

MALCOLM X and CHE GUEVARA

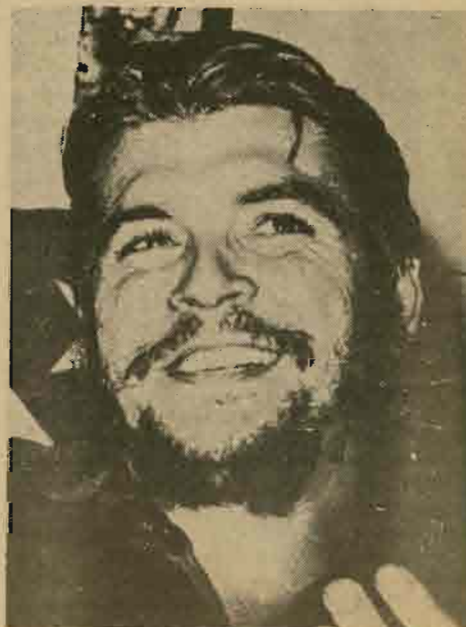
\$1.00 EACH.

ONLY 75¢
to Movement
subscribers.



(22 X 28 inches)

SPECIAL BULK RATES



DIG IT

...bia, when you
... what you're doing
... and how you mean
... how they can help, keep the news
coming, steady, you have 70 years
of media conditioning to combat, it is a wall
you must get through, somehow, to reach
the instinctive man, who is struggling like a plant
for light, for air

when you seize a town, a campus, get hold of the power
stations, the water, the transportation,
forget to negotiate, forget how
to negotiate, don't wait for De Gaulle or Kirk
to abdicate, they won't, you are not
"demonstrating" you are fighting
a war, fight to win, don't wait for Johnson or
Humphrey or Rockefeller, to agree on your terms
take what you need, "it's free
because it's yours"

These are transitional years and the dues
will be heavy.
Change is quick but the revolution
will take a while.
America has not even begun as yet.
This continent is seed.

advocating
the overthrow of government is a crime
overthrowing it is something else
altogether. it is sometimes called
revolution.
but don't kid yourself: government
is not where it's at: it's only
a good place to start:

1. kill head of Dow Chemical
2. destroy plant
3. MAKE IT UNPROFITABLE FOR THEM

to build again:
i.e., destroy the concept of money
as we know it, get rid of interest,
savings, inheritance
(Pound's money, as dated coupons that come in the mail
to everyone, and are void in 30 days
is still a good idea)
or, let's start with no money at all and invent it
if we need it
or, mimeograph it and everyone
print as much as they want
and see what happens

declare a moratorium on debt
the Congressional Congress did
"on all debts public and private"

& no one "owns" the land
it can be held
for use, no man holding more
than he can work, himself and family working

let no one work for another
except for love, and what you make
above your needs be given to the tribe
a Common-Wealth

None of us knows the answers, think about
these things.
The day will come when we have to know
the answers.

are you prepared
to hide someone in your home indefinitely
say, two to six weeks, you going out
for food, etc., so he never
hits the street, to keep your friends away
cooly, so they ask no questions, to nurse
him, or her, as necessary, to know
"first aid" and healing (not to freak out
at the sight of torn or half-cooked flesh)
to pass him on at the right time to the next
station, to cross the canadian border, with a child
so that the three of you
look like a family, no questions asked,
or fewer, to stash letters, guns, bombs
forget about them
till they are called for, to KEEP YOUR MOUTH SHUT
not to "trust"
even your true love, that is,
lay no more knowledge on him than he needs
to do his part of it, a kindness
we all must extend to each other in this game

there are those who can tell you
how to make molotov cocktails, flamethrowers,
bombs whatever
you might be needing
find them and learn, define
your aim clearly, choose your ammo
with that in mind

It is not a good idea to tote a gun
or knife
unless you are proficient in its use
all swords are two-edged, can be used against you
by anyone who can get 'em away from you

it is
possible even on the east coast
to find an isolated place for target practice
success
will depend mostly on your state of mind:
meditate, pray, make love, be prepared
at any time, to die

but don't get uptight: the guns
will not win this one, they are
an incidental part of the action
which we better damn well be good at,
what will win
is mantras, the sustenance we give each other,
the energy we plug into
(the fact that we touch
share food)

the buddha nature
of everyone, friend and foe, like a million earthworms
tunneling under this structure
till it falls

POEMS BY DIANE DI PRIMA