INFLATION

With this issue the MOVEMENT is forced to raise its prices for individual copies, subscriptions and bulk orders. This price increase is mandatory because the costs of printing and mailing have gone up drastically in the last two years. In addition the old price of the paper was computed in the days when the MOVEMENT was a 12, and occasionally 16, page paper.

So, starting with this issue the price of a single copy of the MOVEMENT will be raised from 20 to 25¢, Individual subscriptions by mail from $2.00 to $2.50 (3.00 for foreign) for 12 issues. Bulk rates for less than 10 will remain at 20¢ each; 11 to 99, 12.5¢ each, plus postage; 100 or more, $9.50 per hundred plus postage.

Even with these price increases the MOVEMENT is still not likely to become financially stable. No one on the staff yet gets paid, although several put in full time. We have been sustained in the past six or nine months by generous contributions from unknown friends, as well as by pledges from several MOVEMENT "sustainers". We hope that more people who think the MOVEMENT makes a contribution to the growing revolutionary struggle in this country will become sustainers. We can offer no gimmicks or rewards: only the knowledge that those who help will insure the continued publication of the paper. We urge all who care and can afford to help to fill in one of the sustainer forms below. Regular monthly income is what we need.

Anyone interested in helping to distribute the paper should contact the office nearest to them where bulk orders are available.

Finally and perhaps most importantly we would like our readers to begin to correspond with us more. We know we send out almost 15,000 copies of the MOVEMENT each month, but we get too little critical feedback from our readers. We would like to get critical comments on our articles, as well as compliments if they are deserved, although we will probably only print the former.

Let us hear from YOU.

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

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MURDERED IN L.A.

(see page 11)

JOHN HUGGINS

ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER

THIS IS THE HUEY P. NEWTON BIRTHDAY EDITION

Lao Tzu

People starve
If taxes eat their grain,
And the faults of starving people
Are the fault of their rulers.
That is why people rebel.
Men who have to fight for their living
And are not afraid to die for it,
Are higher men than those who, stationed high,
Are too fat to dare to die.
by Robert Avalian

A strike, when it is not a token tactical ploy in "labor-management relations", is in many ways like a miniature revolution. Struggle, instead of collaboration, is the order of the day. The strident充满challenges, new strategies of solving, blunting, or avoiding contradictions and confrontations give way to collective ways of facing them and fighting. Private property—at least that of the company and its scabs—ceases to be sacred.

Our whole set of values and assumptions grow out of the experience. Former "friends" turn into bitter enemies, and new strategies are sought out among the ranks of those who have been blacklisted and often fought against.

This is what we have been hearing and from with the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers (UAW) who are striking the Standard Oil refinery here in Richmond. When the strike began, as part of a nationwide walk-out against the whole old industry, it appeared to be a rather routine "square deal" that would be marked by nothing more than formal picketing and would be the point in a few weeks.

The union demands—$1.75 wage increase over two years plus increased retirement and medical benefits—gave no indication that this fight would likely tie in on serious political dimensions.

This notion was shattered almost immediately when police, first at the Shell plant in nearby Martinez, and then in Richmond at the gigantic Standard refinery, beat, harrased and arrested oil workers and their wives and kids on the picket line. Some credit for delaying the confrontation is due to students from SDS who joined the picket line at Stan­ford, helping to turn it from a harm­less decoration to a real obstruction of the plant, and forcing Standard officials to call out the cops. But the union picket lines, readily accepted by the most militant support and most of the workers on the picket line.

In reaction to the police strikes working class meeting of the County Central Labor Council was called to discuss the develop­ments. This meeting was to bring together a great number of values and assumptions to confront the County Board of Supervisors and local police authority and to threaten a general strike if the police strike does not follow through with the usual run-around from the politicians who promise to "study" the matter. While they were still studying, a couple of lions were introduced at the Standard refinery for allegedly throwing rocks at a scrap truck (they were charged with throwing an ex­plosive"flea knocks throwing"

Finally, the leaflet pointed out that the workers themselves were a very powerful as Standard was forced to call out the cops. Yet another leaflet pointed out that the workers themselves were a very powerful as Standard was forced to call out the cops. Yet another leaflet pointed out that the workers themselves were a very powerful and subject them to political analysis. The result was a fantastic weekend of police intervention and city-council footshuffling. After all, the very idea of what the basics of the workers wars, we tried to tie the police to. Both the SDS and the bay area and subject them to political analysis. The result was a fantastic weekend of police intervention and city-council footshuffling. The result was a fantastic weekend of police intervention and city-council footshuffling.

The people vs. Standard Oil

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22
The judicial system is the religion of bourgeois democracy. The Trial is its Passion Play.

On stage right of the passion play are the gates of Heaven, on the left the mouth of Hell. In between, the saints and devils and common people. The stage itself is in the shape of a cathedral: the medieval courthouse of the soul. The fate of the common man is at stake. The cathedral, the law, decides.

They are brought before those whose bodies the social values of the law: 69 middle-class. The origin of the jury system reassured a shift in power related away from the aristocracy and toward the merchant class. Our society is still in their possession; the law is in their hands; they are on the jury.

The country is not in their possession. Perhaps they think it is and perhaps they do not. This is crucial. If their class rebels, the revolution is at hand. If these twelve rebel, the Oakland Sevens go free.

Who are they?

A woman, 51, her husband a stainless steel engine in Oakland City Hall. What are her feelings about her son's work as a lawyer for Lockheed? "That's his deal, that's him." People have the right to dissent; she has no strong feelings or opinion about the war.

A black man, Post Office worker, his son, wounded in Vietnam, asked for news clippings about the draft. The Draft Week when it happened, featured home, his son told him, "These demagogues don't help the boys on the front lines."

A young man, 15, of initerate Eastern extraction. Divorced. I have feelings about the war, he was in the Air Force Reserve and is a young professional. He has pride.

A man 69, experimental machinist for the Defense Technology Lab in Santa Clara. For his job making models of secret weapons he has security clearance. Asked about the selective service system he said my father left Europe for the same reason, he didn't want to serve in the military either.

A 53 year old Portuguese heavy construction carpenter. Would he be prejudiced against hippie-type? "Years ago I had a beard too". Why does he lack an opinion about the war? "I haven't been personally affected". He is scrupulous and careful.

A Post Office worker, 40, On the war: I think it is possible for a country to make a mistake. Come too. He reads a great deal and served in the Pacific in World War II.

A middle aged woman, secretary for an electronics firm. "I thought the demonstrators were very enthusiastic, they were full of fervor, and I didn't understand it. I was surprised at their enthusiasm. A son and son-in-law work for the Navy.

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COMMENCE TO LOOK ABOUT

of Fremont, Hayward, Castro Valley——
our land and the proud force that wishes to replace it.
The end of the Passion Play will tell. They had to allow the
Holy Writ in the person of Judge Phillips, who may order them to bend to
their will. In the 1890's the use of contraceptive
industrialist, birth control was suspended and replaced by the
judges. Many small farmers, businessmen who shared a hatred of
more by the small farmers and turned to their own—"preaching judges.
They kept setting the bastards free. They rise to an acquittal, somethin
that Labor and the Democratic Party could be tried under
that Phillips got vastly upset. To allow a Nurem-
berg defense to allow the possibility of it being applied against him, Phillips
couldn't deal with that.

SELECTIVE PROSECUTION
If anyone has ever been selectively prosecuted, it is the group of the
Francis Oakley, the man who did it, was identified as "in the pocket of SBC"
we & I have enough courts to go around try all with whom he is connected.

Selectiv e prosecution is a legitimating defense, several Free People peo-
ple were acquitted on a charge recently of defacing San Francisco property be-
cause they proved that members of the Democratic and Republican parties were not arrested for putting up their posters.

A session is being set aside for argu-
ments on this.

THE TRIAL BEGINS
The Prosecution's opening statement was workmanlike and unimpressive. Jensen is not a fanatic, he's doing a job. This ac-
to account for the stoppage of some of his key witnesses; he hadn't trained them-
enough.

"This particular demonstration had as its purpose the commission of crime," he
opened.

So it is the purpose of Stop the Draft Week that is on trial, it is that.
There will be dramatic evidence accounts as to the trial. All the crim-
nal events were witnessed by from 250 to 500,000 people. No ballistics tests, the
bullets in this crime are leaflets printed in the thousands. The conspiracy took
place before microphones were on TV. The prosecution case has already taken place
before the Grand Jury. Jensen is trying to dissuade the same witnesses, no more ac-
cess than those who appeared a year ago on another floor in the same courthouse.
All the surprises are up to the defense. They cut and slash as a prosecution
witnesses, attacking their honesty, their facade, their self-image.

First prosecution witness, Raymond
Brown, deputy chief of police. At first
cool, his wash-and-wear personality be-
comes in the face.

GARRY: Did your men brutalize the press?
BROWN: No.

GARRY: Did your department hold
hearings on charges that you brutalised the
press?
BROWN: Yes.

GARRY: Mr. Brown, do you know what
a stool-pigeon is?
JENSEN: I object.

GARRY: How many stoolpigeons did
you have in the crowd?
JENSEN: I object.

GARRY: More than 5000...

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PROSECUTOR LOWELL JENSEN

DEFENSE: 

Mal: We're not just talking about any-
body, a Nuremberg defense helps if
you're RIGHT. And I'm prepared to
give you a right if you insist on it.

But if Mal is right, then Phillips is wrong. And if Phillips is wrong, he's a war criminal. When Judge Phillips said
that LBH and the Democratic Party could be tried under
the law, the prosecution got vastly upset. To allow a Nurem-
berg defense to allow the possibility of it being applied against him, Phillips
couldn't deal with that.

THE WAY IT SHOULD BE
It is difficult to criticize the way the
defense is going. At first there was a little
too much emphasis on the moralistic
motivation of the Seven; that is no longer
ture. It is a political trial in the best

sense.

The jury knows who the Seven are, what they stand for. By the end of the
defense case the jury will know why they organized STDW, why it was neces-

nary, what the war is about. They will be
be twelve people subjected to the most
carefully and hopefully passionate series of political arguments around.

What happens is a measure of how


capable the ideology and argument of the movement is in reaching members of
their class. It is not a final judgement, because the distorting mirror of the
courts makes honest discussion impossible and passion suspect.

The rising of a people is aided by black
and white photos with circles and arrows and a paragraph on the back. A trial stands in the same relation that
aspirations and terror of a political movement to the old-fashioned Passion Plays that
had to the death of Christ or to the tor-
ment in many souls.

Yet it is never the same play twice,
and I keep thinking, those are real
people in the jury seats and there are things to tell them both want and
to hate to hate. And if men have found freedom in prison chains, we must not
cease to feel that men may find truth in

an oppressor's court.

Ernest O'Shea

DIRTY LITTLE POLICE SP
James Bruce Coleman, OFFICER
James Bruce Coleman, known to
the Seven as James Bruce Johnson——his
to shut the mother down." And then
Steve Hamilton said, "We're going to
steal your notes, which he led the defense
out his notes, which he led the defense
into the trial, and ordered the

THE MOVEMENT
What's a shelter half? Half of a tent, usually carried by one soldier. When two soldiers get together, they have a shelter.

The Shelter Half in Tacoma, Wash­ington, is a place for two soldiers to get together. It's a coffeehouse where men from across the country and from all walks of life come together. They can relax, feel comfortable, and enjoy each other's company. The Shelter Half has been in existence since February 15, and during this time, it has seen its fair share of challenges and adventures.

One of the challenges the Shelter Half has faced is the harassment and vandalism that occurred on February 11. The shelter was closed for three days due to the vandalism. However, the staff and volunteers have remained committed to keeping the shelter open and continuing their mission.

Members of a black group in town organized a protest against the harassment. They carried signs and shouted slogans such as "KILL THE COMMUNE." With Vietnam, they have changed, and they are now reading LNS. He's not some hair pulling around here.

The staff at the Shelter Half is responsible for the coffeehouse. They are willing to work hard and have themselves overcome some of the challenges they have faced. They have been interested in making the place successful by continuing to provide a safe and welcoming atmosphere for all.

The Shelter Half has been a place for two soldiers to get together and enjoy each other's company. Their mission is to continue to provide a safe and welcoming atmosphere for all who visit the coffeehouse.
Before and during the Columbia rebellion, the SDS chapter faced situations very similar to those encountered by other chapters around the country. Questions of militancy vs. isolating yourself from the base, of arguing for a radical position on the university, of what to do when the base was ready to move, the difference between the verbal "base-building", non-struggle approach of the old-leadership and the "base-building" of the Action/Faction, and non-struggle guiding our chapter.

This promise of militancy and the aggressive approach should not be interpreted as a victory for the action side of the question vs. base-building dichotomy. In fact, action and education (verbal and otherwise) are complementary, accomplishing the same thing (call it "base-building", "organizing", "building the movement", whatever you like). A leaflet or door-conversing is no less radical an activity than seizing a building—In both cases the confrontation.

At Columbia we had a four year history of agitation and education involving forms of militancy vs. base-building vs. non-struggle guiding our chapter, the incorporation of a liberal-radical position on student education (verbal and otherwise) are completely united, two aspects of the same thing to anyone (since the action had "no political content").

Though possessing a "Marxist" analysis, they believed that the way support is gained is by going out to people and talking to them about area analysis. Various plebeies about the necessity to build the base before you take action, and the dangers of isolating yourself from the base were incessantly pronounced in the name of the "Marxist analysis". The word "politics" was used as a bludgeon with which to beat up people into upstate and to retrain control over the chapter. One example will illustrate this point.

...-confrontation- the radical analysis never got such a hearing, and a sympathetic one, as during the

and struggle guiding our chapter.
PAGE 8

THE MOVEMENT

MARCH, 1969

of students. This self-definition, however, led to the conclusion that we did not want to risk alienating the mass of other white students by confronting them, say, from behind a barricade. Part of our decision not to barricade must also be seen as a remnant of the earlier fluid and non-striker attitude common in the chapter.

The blacks, for their part, had decided that they would make a stand alone, as a self-conscious black group. This decision was also prompted undoubtedly by the lack of militancy on the part of the whites in Hamilton and especially our lack of discipline and organization.

After leaving Hamilton, a change came over the mass of white students, in and out of SDS. People stayed in Lower Library "because we can't abandon the blacks". Not only did they see the model for militancy in the black occupation of Hamilton, but they also began to perceive reality—a world outside their own—and the necessity to fight, to struggle for liberation, because of the situation in that world.

It was the action of the black students in Hamilton—a group outside the individual fragmented "middle-class" student group that wake up these students to the facts that there is a world of suffering, brutalized, exploited people, and that these people saw them as being willing to fight for freedom. Especially important in this realization was the power of the blacks, both manifest and dormant. Now the liberal idealists—the bystanders and the leadership—were shattered, and the mass occupation started by a handful of whites, the 22 who shaved in Low, gave in to the natural response of over 1,000 people who wanted to fight back against the oppression of blacks, Hamiltonians and themselves.

From another point of view, the militancy of the SDS whites forced others to reconsider their position and eventually to join the occupation. But the SDS occupation itself legitimized the right of the blacks, and the overwhelming presence of the black students and militants forced us to keep the image of the real world clear and bright in our minds. Because of the blacks, we recognized the immediacy and necessity of the struggle. Vietnam is far away, unfortunately, for most people, and our own pain has become diffuse and dull.

This point about the example and vanguard role of whites is not the whole story either. Other whites must also be stressed. When neutral or liberal or even right-wing students are other students, very much like themselves, risking careers, imprisonment, and physical safety, they begin to question the political reasons for which the vanguard is acting, and, consequently, their own position. Here, education and propaganda is essential to get people involved, and also the rationale for action. At no time is "organizing" or "talk" more important as before, during and after militant action.

One of the reasons why people joined on mass was the fact that white students with the same malaise, alienation, unhappiness about this society and their lack of options in it, saw a way to strike back at the enemy in the actions begun by a few. This was the same enemy; the ruling class and their representatives. At any place, at any time, blacks have been taking the lead and whites following—e.g., the Lodge Revolutionary Union Movement, which was unable to raise a white peasant in the UAW (see the MOVEMENT, December, 1968), and the Fort Hood 4.

In our own movement, when the realization was that not whites should sit back and wait for blacks to make the revolution, it is, rather, that we should study and understand the roots, necessity of, and strategy of the black liberation movement in order to understand our own movement should be.

At Columbia, our understanding of the dynamics at work was at best intuitive; we knew that the blacks and blacks had to organize their own, but we didn't know how this worked in practice—separate tactics, separate organization. At some schools, such as Kent and San Francisco State, the black students' strike in New York City, and numerous other cases, similarly showed the importance of black vanguard. This was the situation at all schools except in the Bay Area, where the blacks have been taking the lead and whites following—e.g., the Lodge Revolutionary Union Movement, which was unable to raise a white peasant in the UAW (see the MOVEMENT, December, 1968), and the Fort Hood 4.

The implication of this bipartot on the part of PLP is that blacks are too stupid to lead the vanguard control into re-conceptualization, and therefore, they should bow down to the vanguard and follow, and the blacks are already fighting for better schools. This is the motivation to advance beyond short-term self-interest or economics or reformism or any of the myriad other liberal errors.

Racism must become a conscious "black problem", and must be fought at every point. This was our belief at Columbia, when Columbia did look independent action against the Administration for its racism by disrupting the Martin Luther King Memorial service. The black students did not take part in this disruption, but the disruption did help shock the school into action, along with other factors, especially the demonstrations of the Harlem community against Columbia.

Similarly, at Kent State in Ohio, the demonstrations against the Oakland Pig Department (the Pigs in Ohio, the demonstrators against the police and the National Guard at Kent). The black students did not take part in this disruption, but the disruption did help shock the school into action, along with other factors, especially the demonstrations of the Harlem community against Columbia.

At Columbia, inadvertently sometimes, we did all three. At both Kent and Columbia, the black students were not neutral, either they were fighting together or they were fighting alone. When the black students were fighting together, they must be neutral and cannot be raised legitimately by whites as a "white issue".

At many places feel that blacks must initiate anti-racism struggles, and that they will follow in support. The origin of this feeling is both the desire to see blacks take leadership positions, a good thing, and also the attitude that racism is a "black problem" and cannot be raised legitimately by whites as a "white issue".

But any anti-capitalist or "revolutionary" program must fight in the interests of the most oppressed—the blacks and the Vietnamese—as well as the interests of the working class in general. Our movement must be consciously anti-racist if it is ever to advance beyond short-term self-interest or economics or reformism or any of the myriad other liberal errors.

The second point is in relation to the black movement is a parenthesis based on the oppositional ability of the white leadership. Blackclubs are often unwilling to take the leadership or vanguard position in a struggle, having had white leadership thrust on them for so long, or else feeling isolated (as they, in fact, are in many white schools), or else having assimilated traditional middle-class values of success. This was also true at many places feel that blacks must initiate anti-racism struggles, and that they will follow in support. The origin of this feeling is both the desire to see blacks take leadership positions, a good thing, and also the attitude that racism is a "black problem" and cannot be raised legitimately by whites as a "white issue".

Student Power

One of the things we learned at Columbia to the old SDS dictum, "People have to be organized around the issues that affect their lives" is really true. Not in the way it has always been meant, i.e., student interest type demands like dorm rules, bookstores, decisions over tenures, etc., but in the broadest, most political sense, That is to say, that racism and imperialism really are issues that affect people's lives. And it was these things that people moved on, not dorm rules, or the universitiy's failure to give security to the students, but the fact that blacks are fighting for better schools. This is the motivation to advance beyond short-term self-interest or economics or reformism or any of the myriad other liberal errors.

Racism must become a conscious "white problem", and must be fought at every point. This was our belief at Columbia, when Columbia did look independent action against the Administration for its racism by disrupting the Martin Luther King Memorial service. The black students did not participate in this disruption, but the disruption did help shock the school into action, along with other factors, especially the demonstrations of the Harlem community against Columbia.

Similarly, at Kent State in Ohio, the demonstrations against the Oakland Pig Department (the Pigs in Ohio, the demonstrators against the police and the National Guard at Kent) were used to disrupt the campus over archaic administrative procedures, lack of democracy in decision-making, and above all, an immense failure of communication and administration. It is unnecessary to document this beyond
referring the reader to any article about Columbia in TIME magazine.

In general, the Left itself has understood the primary of revolutions—anti-imperialist politics present in the core of the rebellion, but few have had access to our arguments concerning student power and 'restructuring' of the university, and many have believed either: 1) We admitted the necessity for reform and at least partially worked toward it, or 2) The failure of the movement led to the failure of Columbia SDS to respond to the mass movement for restructuring and reform. In other words, we were co-opted by the new administration and moved away from radical restructuring. Neither to the case.

Every militant in the buildings knew that he was there because of his opposition to racism and imperialism and the capitalist system that needs to exploit and oppress human beings from Vietnam to Harlem to Columbia. It was no accident that we hung up pictures of Karl Marx and Malcolm X and Che Guevara and flew red flags from the tops of two buildings. But there was no confusion over our position toward the university itself. We engaged in a struggle that had institutions far beyond the boundaries of the campus on Morgridge Heights—indeed, in fact, our interest was there, outside the university. We did not want to stop the university's 'moderate, racial and pro-imperialist policies, but what more? This uncertainty over future toward the university reflected a political confusion that only became visible as the radicals diamonded more among themselves and were faced with a greater number of self-appointed liberal reformers who 'wanted the SDS to respond to the mass movement for student power'—very much as Eric Mann does in his article. Self-proclaimed liberal leaders 'kept coming to the strike committee meeting that their consequences wanted restructuring and the strike committee was moved to lose their support and go it alone. Throughout the strike movement we considered the arch-liberal students for a Restructured University to be the main competition to the radical movement on campus.

After people have been exposed even peripherally to a movement that fights for meaningful goals—and at the conclusion of the above movement, the question was: how can we go back to their old liberal ideas of reform of institutions? We had under-rated the revolutionizing consequences of their movement and how deeply it underived all the liberal ones.

In our usage, the student, faculty, administration and trustees of Columbia University, and restructuring held hearings on plans to reform Columbia. Out of a University of 17,000, forty people showed up, Columbia College, the undergraduates liberal arts division, held elections for candidates for various restructuring committee. Out of a student body of 2,600, two hundred and forty voted. Don't blame the turnout on apathy—19% of the College was beaten in the demonstration last spring. The answer is clear—"re structuring" is not only irrelevant to radicals, it's irrelevant to everyone.

Analysis of the New York Times in both in out of the movement, are fond of saying that Columbia SDS failed to revive the strike because of Administration co-optation, Sandy Forst, in a celebrated Nazi article in ZE. H. W., wrote, "strike freaks as liberals take over", James O'Sullivan, writing in the student publication of New Left, also criticized this authoritative remark, "The SDS chapter has been baffled by a liberal DeW president who lacks a focus and a target outside students, they were not consciously revolutionary. This position on the university leads to a clear position on "restructuring". This is elements of the whole structure of what is at stake. SDS wants to set up a new educational system that would have no limits and democratizing the university are important task for the radical student movement", this second position is also important, much work was done by ad-lib liberal-radical groups on campus and those liberal-radical groups focused on radical forces which raises for basic-constituencies—young people, workers, historic tendency. And in the new strike committee itself. The new committee passed almost unanimously (zero dissent) the basic policy that the SDS had passed for a student committee on restructuring--was both because of a certain non-radical direction, and also because of the great feeling that the SDS leadership had that the SDS movement was going to stop the SDS leadership, as Eric Mann, in his article, devoted to the "issue of student power to the liberals and its representatives, the Board of Trustees and Administration, What we are radical structural issues, such as embodied in the IDA and gym demands. 2) On-campus reform issues, such as embodied in the IDA and gym demands.

The validity of campus reform issues implies an understanding of the tasks of a student movement which a different from ours at Columbia and also that of the most advanced students. The strike movement was the result of an eventual power base, involving all students around all their concerns, radical and reform. Its use was revolution as another one of their goals, they saw the movement as a step toward revolution.

The real danger despite the chorus of liberal warnings, was in watering down the politics and the tactics of the strike. This strike was radical strike committee knew this was the main strike committee, it had been established during the liberation of the building, it included two representatives from each building, and yet the result of the campaign to revise the strike committee of the liberal SDS, in the least important, Cordier administration, in the mass meeting with SDS and the new administration. The strike committee proposed a two part resolution: 1) Reform the strike committee, which was passed almost unanimously, (zero dissent) the basic policy that the SDS had passed for a student committee on restructuring—was both because of a certain non-radical direction, and also because of the great feeling that the SDS leadership had that the SDS movement was going to stop the SDS leadership, as Eric Mann, in his article, devoted to the "issue of student power to the liberals and its representatives, the Board of Trustees and Administration, What we are radical structural issues, such as embodied in the IDA and gym demands. 2) On-campus reform issues, such as embodied in the IDA and gym demands.

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The people in the buildings fought. Many were new to the radical movement, many were just learning—this was a time of openness, of new experiences and life situations. If ever the phrase “practice outruns theory” was true, this was such a time. People entering buildings, yelling “Up Against the Wall, Motherfucker,” fighting cops, committing their lives and careers to a movement for liberation—that was all new and unprecedented in political terms. During the liberation of the buildings, too, the frantic pace had kept discussion on too much of a tactical level (should we barricade?, should we negotiate with the cops?), often focused away from the broader questions that would tell people why, where this is all going, how this fits into a broader, worldwide struggle.

After the first, there was more time, yet other important factors relating to the formation of the coalition strike committee intervened: 1) The communites were kept together, but their function became more and more a combination veterans’ organization and discussion group rather than power source. In the buildings the knowledge that political decisions had to be made and no one else would do it held the discussions together. Now, through a system of representative democracy, and also the sharing of power with liberal groups, people to communites, feeling powerless, said, “so what?” The communites should have been given effective power. 2) The radical leadership was really the weakest element. Vis-a-vis the needs of the radical liberal groups, people in communes, feeling powerless, said, “so what?” The communes was totally wasted time since the Strike Committee, instead of being a source of strength to the constituency, the strike committee kept the leadership tied up instead of free to talk with, these problems are still unanswered, though the experiences of Columbia and San Francisco State do provide some ideas.

Significance of the Columbia Uprising

It is these notes I’ve tended to emphasize the errors we made in order to communicate some of the lessons learned during what was for all of us the most intense political organizing experience of our lives. The failure to establish mass, militant, long-term radical politics has at least in part been answered by the experience of San Francisco State and other schools. Martin Nicolaus writing in the MOVEMENT has also pointed out that the TWU/BSU movement at State has not yet been a true leader of the movement that has developed. This movement at Columbia, starting off with over 600 members the first day, has never been able to revive after the rebellion of the spring. Liberal politics were exposed as being false strength from the strike, was really the weakest element. Viva-rather than to radical consciousness, the strike committee kept the leadership tied up instead of free to talk with and “organize” the real base, working with the people, the real power, this denial of power to the militants and reliance on the coalition strike committee resulted in the lack of militancy which sealed the fate of the strike and kept it from becoming a struggle as intense as and drawn out as San Francisco State.

The confusion over the radical position on the university, and the function of a student movement to have a revolutionary movement had been to be cleared up by the revolutionary Youth Movement proposal passed by the Ann Arbor—Winter NC. The ideas in this piece have not been completely clarified still, but the departure from both student movement—in itself and also worker-student alliance politics is clear to me. This is not a time to sacrifice the ideals of the movement for those of the strike. The victory of the Columbia struggle, however, were great. It was the most sustained and most intense radical campus struggle up to that time, around the clearest politics.

At a time when the radical movement was the most disheartened and dis-appointed due to the victory of McCarthy, the Columbia rebellion broke through the gloom as an example of the power a radical movement could attain. It is no coincidence that the McCarthy movement at Columbia was breaking with the SDS at the same time. We broke the first line, but never again were able to revive after the rebellion of the spring. Liberal policies were supposed to as just so much shallow verbal and water effort when compared to the power of a mass radical movement, around significant issues such as racism and imperialism. The radical base, for the first time ever at one campus, attained a size in the thousands.

Nation-wide, Columbia and Chicago provided the models for militancy and energy which attracted thousands of students who had the hopeless aura of conventional politics. This was the time when the student movement was at the root of the buildings, yet just a few years later, a time when the campus movement was just a time, the student movement had been all但 was lost.

The content of that politics, the compromise and reformism of McCarthyism, was the content of the nation-wide coalition movement, though it held great potential for drawing more students to the movement. Perhaps the most important result of the rebellion, in terms of long-term strategy for the movement, was the creation of new alliances with students, non-student, community, and working class groups throughout the city. A chapter that had been mostly inward-looking and campus oriented suddenly opened up and began to realize the tremendous importance of the various types of back-up—support, tactical alliances, coalition-building possible with militant black students.

First of all was the tactical alliance with the black students in Hamilton Hall, some insiders, who were telling us that the white majority of students would not support us. This was described at the beginning of this article, but it’s worth while reiterating the tremendous importance of this revolutionary experience as a model for the different types of relations possible with militant black students.

Backing up the black students as a source of power, and to some extent behind the whites as well, was the role of the community outside the campus. The community was able to revitalize the neighbourhood, and the high school, and to increase the participation of radical black high school students. This force proved not only the greatest single deterrent to a police bust, but also provided a way for the university to provide an education for honorable men—Che Guevara. The rebellion trained new leaders, some of whom have left Columbia to provide other local movements with leadership. From my travels around the country, I've seen that the level of political discussion at Columbia is as high or higher than anywhere in the country, including the radical “center”—in the Bay Area. Though the number of militant students active in the campus is only slightly greater than last year, a terrible failure attributable to reasons cited above, a chapter member with many years’ experience recently commented that the entire undergraduate school and majority of the graduate school now recognize SDS as acting in their interest. This is perhaps the only campus in the country where the students see SDS as acting in their interest.

An internal change in the campus took the form of the wealth of experience absorbed by hundreds of individuals. It is almost a truism at this point to cite the incredible changes in consciousness that took place through the action (“Hollington is the best opportunity for a nuclear war” —Che). The rebellion trained new leaders, who have left Columbia to provide other local movement with leadership. From my travels around the country, I’ve seen that the level of political discussion at Columbia is as high or higher than anywhere in the country, including the radical “center”—in the Bay Area. Though the number of militant students active in the campus is only slightly greater than last year, a terrible failure attributable to reasons cited above, a chapter member with many years’ experience recently commented that the entire undergraduate school and majority of the graduate school now recognize SDS as acting in their interest. This is perhaps the only campus in the country where the students see SDS as acting in their interest.

Our strength was greatest at the time of our greatest militancy, it was also the time when the world was facing a nuclear war—fight. At that time we were willing to fight the horrors of the police bust and the right-wing reaction. In a sense it was a time when we wanted to accept the middle-class—class and middle-class students to fight against the leaders of the rebellion helped break down the antagonism of working people toward students fighting only for their own prestige (at least where the truth got through).

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For example, during the electoral campaign, some of us are willing to fight—fighting for the workmen of the world. This is the struggle of the workers against the rich, the struggle of the poor against the rich. It is the struggle of the workers against the rich, the struggle of the poor against the rich.

Above all, we learned almost accidentally the great truth stated by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, “Dare to struggle, dare to win.”

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BOBBY SEALE talks to THE MOVEMENT about
L.A. assassinations,
cultural nationalism,
exhausting all political means,
community programs,
black capitalism

THE MOVEMENT: Recently the Black Panther Party announced plans to hold national defense committees for the political prisoners. Bobby, would you tell us how this is going to take place and some of the thinking behind this program?

BOBBY: Huey’s birthday is on the 17th of February and we plan to hold the rally on that day and that weekend. We want people around the country to celebrate Huey P. Newton’s birthday and the Party is going to do its best, through its forty odd chapters around the country, to get out as much information as possible to people concerning the status of Huey’s case.

Just recently the California Supreme Court turned down a Black Panther defense committee bail motion that is now going to be sent to the U.S. Supreme Court. In addition there is a motion for mistrial also going to the Supreme Court. The basis for this mistrial motion is the fact that Green’s (a known police witness) testimony was changed by the District Attorney. The original statement he gave to the police department stated that he “Did Not GET A CLEAR LOOK” at who it was, but later Jenness, the assistant D.A. changed the statement saying that he did. The judge had to admit, while the jury was out, that Green’s statement was changed and that this information should be given to the jury, but it never really was. Later after the jury convicted Huey of THIRD degree murder, and not FIRST degree, the members of the jury stated that they didn’t know anything about the fact that Green’s testimony had been changed by Jenness. (For complete details on the Green testimony and other aspects of Huey’s trial see THE MOVEMENT, October, 1968). We feel that these are the key grounds for mistrial and that a mistrial will automatically warrant bail for Huey on this particular charge because the only thing they can charge him with is third degree murder (manslaughter) and not first.

I’d like to say too that we respect the fact that a lot of people came forth and stood for the position that Huey P. Newton should be set free. We’ve found out, now that all this is over, that the jury did have a lot of political pressure from the masses of the people out there, black, white and American-American who stood for the fact that Huey P. Newton should be set free.

We want to remobilize the people around the fact that Huey P. Newton must receive a material— that the battle is really not over just because some slick politicians did some lying and pulled some tricks in the courtroom. We should not stop and give up and say this is the end of it because with the forty some odd chapters of the Black Panther Party across the country and other organizations such as SDS, Peace and Freedom Parties and other organizations who understand the tricks that the pigs and the power structure are going to pull we can once again put pressure from the masses of people on the court. If we don’t they will just sit there and pull their same old lying tricks again and try and keep Huey P. Newton as a political prisoner for the next fifteen years.

DEFENSE COMMITTEES

What we want to do is set up definite committees across the nation—Newton/Cleaver defense committees. The International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver is the same as Huey’s defense fund drive. These groups are working and functioning to raise funds for the legal defense primarily. At the same time they are trying to educate the masses of people about political prisoners as a whole, all of them. We understand that Huey P. Newton is the key political prisoner in this country at the present time, Eldridge Cleaver, who has been forced into exile, is also highly significant. We have a lot of black people here in the party who have been charged with crimes and who are also political prisoners as long as they are within the confines of those jails and power structure puts up. We want people to be educated on a mass scale and the key issue is to get them to relate to the fact that we want Huey Newton set free. We want amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver and we want all black political prisoners, all political prisoners regardless of their color, to be set free. These people who are political prisoners are only trying to educate us to the true nature of this racist, decadent, exploitative, capitalist system.

We want these Newton/Cleaver defense committees to be ongoing. Their first objective should be to remove their cases and that is one of the purposes of the Free Huey birthday benefit celebrations. After that we want the Newton/Cleaver defense committees to hang together and build their committees so that they can go forward with the program to educate the masses of people until we free Huey P. Newton set free. Ongoing until we get amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver or until we free all political prisoners and begin to change this racist, decadent system.

L.A. ASSASSINATIONS

MOVEMENT: Recently in Los Angeles the Black Panther Party was attacked by groups other than the official police in the form of assassination of two key leaders, John Huggins, Director of Information of Southern California, and Alprentice “Bunchy” Carter, former Minister of Defense of Southern California.

BOBBY: The political assassinations, of course are directly related to this sordid, murderous system. As Brother Malaka, one of the new leaders of the chapter in L.A. says, “There’s a lot of (demogogic politicians), a lot of pig (racial police forces), and there’s a boar (avaricious businessmen) who committed the assassinations in Los Angeles are pork chops and all the pork chops are in fact the same as the pig. Now we know for a fact that the pork chops, the cultural nationalists in this country, are easily swayed and used by pig power structure. In Los Angeles it was the pork chops of the organization, O., led by Ron Karenga who is responsible for the political assassinations of two of our main leaders, John Huggins and Alprentice “Bunchy” Carter.”

This is not the first conflict between the Panthers and US. In the past they have been protected by the pigs. Over a year a group of members of US got into an argument with a Black Panther member and they started shooting at him. He drew out his gun and started shooting back and retreated into his house. There he continued shooting out the window, some neighbors called the police when they heard the shooting. Here’s this black headed US niggers standing out behind a car shooting in at the house and this Panther and a couple of his friends inside shooting back, defending themselves, when the pigs drove up. The righteous police forces gave up and left them standing outside the house. Finally they charged the house and arrested two of the three people inside, the other one escaping. It just shows that the pork chops of the organization are not going to get direct, actual protection from the racist pig department whereas we’ve been murdering black people in the streets.

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tell us things like, "I'm tricking the man out of some of this money." Well, the man is the biggest trickster in the damn world. He has tricked people out of whole countries, out of whole continents and here is this fool, this ignorant man coming down telling us he's tricking the man out of something. So we say that once we understand what class is all about we are going to have to show these fools that they're going to have to get some broader ideology.

POINT OF STRAIN

MOVEMENT: If we could delve into this a little further. As long as 6 or 7 months ago Eldridge predicted that there would be these kinds of resolutions by cultural nationalist groups working with the Man. We have always felt that one of the key points of strains between cultural nationalists and the revolutionary nationalists, led by the Black Panther Party, was over some of the ideological questions you have just raised. Specifically the Panther ideologists, mainly expressed by Huey, as the need for revolutionary nationalism coupled with the need for revolution in the white mother country. One day Newton talks to the MOVEMENT, August, 1968. Also available as a pamphlet in the MOVEMENT PRESS, 30 Grove St., S.F., Califormia 94102 or SDS, 1608 West Madison St., Chicago, IL 60612 - 350. Would you like to comment on this aspect?

BOBBY: The cultural nationalists have accused the Black Panther Party of being, I have to laugh at this, a "front for white radicals." And of course we are not a front for white radicals. We are in organization that represent black people and many white radicals relate to this and understand that the Black Panther Party is a righteous revolutionary front against this racist, decaying, capitalistic system. Our organization doesn't have any white people as members. If a white man in a radical group wants to give me some guns, I'll take them. I'm not going to refuse them because he's white.

Eldridge talked about the necessity for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country. I'd like to explain it more on a practical level. What's happening here is that it's impossible, as they say, for us to have control of the institutions in our community when a capitalistic system exists on the outside of it. When in fact the capitalistic system was in very very system that estranged us and is responsible for our continued oppression. So if we want to develop a socialistic system within the black community, we're saying in order to go to exist in the white community. We're saying that the white community, the mother country, is the father of racist, exploitative capitalists and it exploits black people in the black community. When black people spread the view of black capitalism all they're doing is strengthening the capitalistic system which is the very system that put us in slavery.

BLACK CAPITALISM

The cultural nationalists have a large tendency to relate to black capitalism. We say that's wrong. We're talking about socialism as a whole and not just black socialism. It would be absurd to go to Cuba and start talking about black socialism. The cultural nationalists talk about the third world. We talk about the colored peoples of the world but the same thing there are still going to be many many white people who are going to want to change the system because they are part and parcel of the development of mankind. If the third world and the majority of the poor oppressed people happen to be colored and they make a profound impact upon large numbers of white people about a new and better system where mankind doesn't exploit mankind then in fact this is positive, not negative.

The cultural nationalists don't understand that when the Black Panther Party has alliances or coalitions with white people it is with those white people who are basically opposed to the racist, capitalistic system. The cultural nationalists don't have enough sense to see this. These same cultural nationalists want to work down with the capitalist. They want jobs there in the poverty programs. They claim they are tricking the Man. They are working with the "REAL VARIETY" of people who have been oppressing them for 600 years. We are trying to make a profound impact on a lot of white people in this country and especially those liberals, leftists and radicals in the white community to understand what we're really saying.

The whites will have to go back and shoot their mothers and fathers who are across this country and around the world. That's exactly what it's going to have
to happen and we don't pull any punches on our end. If we see a black cop riding down the street menacing a black man or beating him, it's not the color of his skin but the actions and the thing he's doing that we're upset about, so we're going to have to kill him too. It doesn't make any difference what color the person's skin is, it's what the person is doing to people.

Basically cultural nationalists turn into Papa Doc, Papa Doc rules Haiti and oppresses the people. We can't have no cultural nationalists in this country who are going to run around and murder and brutalize and intimidate people just for some chitlins and change. And to engage in subjective analysis. This SUbjective analysis does not allow for some chickenshit chump change. And we can't have no cultural nationalists in this country who are going to run around and murder and brutalize and intimidate people just for some chitlins and change. And this subjective analysis does not allow for some chickenshit chump change. And we can't have no cultural nationalists in this country who are going to run around and murder and brutalize and intimidate people just for some chitlins and change. And this subjective analysis does not allow.

BOBBY: If any black man comes into the party and he's a black racist we say lets get a right to be a black racist, but he has no right to hinder the revolutionary program. And the revolutionary program is not at all color of a philosophy of black racism. It caters to a philosophy of revolutionary change.

PURGES

MOVEMENT: We raised this question because recent issues of the Black Panther Party have talked about internal purges in the party. Would you like to comment on this?

BOBBY: The internal purges in the party are primarily to get rid of people who are trying to practice a form of factionalism. The basic of this factionalism is opportunism. These people have been engaging in subjective analysis. This subjective analysis does not allow for proven scientific thought about revolutionary struggle, about class struggle. They are basically opportunists. An opportunist is one who will try to cause factions in the party. This may work on many levels: overtly spontaneously in an example. We have an organization, a revolutionary organization and this organization has rules, it has revolutionary principles and it adopts revolutionary tactics. The organization makes analysis objectively and NOT SUBJECTIVELY. It makes analysis from political theory as to how things are moving and what we should do to destroy the capitalist system. To maintain this we have a form of criticism and self-criticism within internal party operations. This is very important for each individual in the Party. Some of these haven't accepted self-criticism are basically opportunists and they will do things that are negative to the Party. CULTURAL NATIONALISTS AS A WHOLE CANNOT STAND SELF-CRITICISM, but it is vital for our party in order to keep us honest. To really be dedicated to revolutionary changes for poor black and oppressed peoples in this country.

SERVE THE PEOPLE

MOVEMENT: Have we been other aspects of the purge, such as an intensification in political education?

BOBBY: We have had a intensification of political education at this time. Many of the brothers who come off the block and go to school in the morning to be down at the churches and the barber shops, some of these brothers are not hip to reading sometimes, but the Party makes them read. This intensive political education is very necessary for them to learn, for them to know the theories, the revolutionary theory. They must have the theory down and the theory tells them how to place it into practice and by placing it into practice they learn many, many things. This is very necessary for us to do.

Presently the Party isn't taking in any more members, for the next three to six months we will be concentrating on raising the political understanding within the Party to a very high level. At the same time we will be going forth with our community programs.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

MOVEMENT: Which community programs are you concentrating on now?

BOBBY: The four key programs we are trying to implement are: the breakfast for children which is going on now, the petition campaign for the community control of the police, free health clinics in the black community, and black liberation schools in the black community.

Some people are going to come to terms with these programs reformist but we're revolutionaries and we think they call a reformist program is one thing when the capitalists put it up and it's another thing when the revolutionary camp puts it up.

Revolutionaries must always go forth to answer the momentary desires and needs of the people, the poor and oppressed people, we want the revolutionary struggle. It's very important because it strengthens the people's revolutionary camp while it weakens the gang of the capitalist power structure. The struggle is long and hard and we have found that the pigs will attack us and try to shoot us and try to kill us. They will use cultural nationalists to help them. They will try to stop these programs because the pig power structure has more power than the cultural nationalists. It knows that the revolutionary programs are putting forth are non-violent. So they try to undermine his program by using *Negroes* to infiltrate the movement.

MOVEMENT: Will you talk concretely about how a breakfast for children program weakens the pig power structure?

BOBBY: Yes. First let me explain what the program is. We have Black Panther Party members who get up at 6:30 in the morning to be down at the churches in the black community. Then they would head to the school kids by 9:30. This weakens the power structure because the business men in the black community are the ones who have to donate to this program. We hope that with all this going around the country—that of every dollar that a racist capitalist (or any kind of businessman, be he black or white) a penny of it is going to have to come back to the community. The very businessman who exploits the community must begin to give at least a penny. And it's organized in such a way that those pennies accumulate into a lot of food for every dollar and that food goes into the stomachs of the children in the black community.

SOCIALISM

This is a socialistic program. This is the way we take it away from the big business men. The big businessman, if they are honest, would have instituted this a long time ago as a means of making a profit on his camp and he might still try to co-opt this program and he will probably use some cultural nationalists to help him, but we're going to move it in the camp of the people.

We are making use of the churches in the black community to work for this program. They are the ones who have to donate one penny of every dollar for this program. This program also helps more people to take a long hard look at the Party. It is not a bunch of avaricious individualists; it's an organization working to destroy the capitalist system. We have Black Panther Party members who get up at 6:30 or 7:00 in the morning to be down at the churches in the black community. Then they go to school kids by 9:30 or 10:00. And it's organized in such a way that those pennies accumulate into a lot of food for every dollar and that food goes into the stomachs of the children in the black community.

The first pamphlet who says that I'm a bad man, I'm a nobody. We're going to take the black community--our boy from him. Why? Because he won't donate one penny of every dollar for this program. The breakfast is going to be for children. There's something materially valuable that must begin to go to the Party. They will relate to the fact that the Party is really serving the people. They go down there to work, they do this program together. They become involved because they are community people, and they have a need in the community. A preacher in any church (preachers have always brainwashed the black people) who can deny a breakfast for children program. There's a businessman who can deny a breakfast for children program. There's a businessman who can deny a breakfast for children program. And there's a politician who can deny a breakfast for children program.

SERVE THE PEOPLE

A revolutionary organization has to maintain and really serve the people and not just give them. And the people really see that we're not living up to the desires of the people. We're going to serve the people. We're going to give every penny we get to them. It's theirs--we say it's the people's money.

As they have said, "We are only like oxen to be ridden by the people." A strong declaration that the people can always use to serve them when crises comes forth. The Party tries to help solve their problems, to present a program, and assist the people and see that their basic political desires are answered.

These are the programs that we are working on. Free health clinics in the black community when we have the time. We are going to institute free health clinics. FREE health clinics in the black community. We've gotten some freedom working. Free breakfast for children. We've got some freedom working. Free breakfast for children. We've got some freedom working. Free breakfast for children. We've got some freedom working. But we've got freedom working. We've got freedom working. We've got freedom working. We've got freedom working. But we've got freedom working. Free breakfast for children. We've got some freedom working. Free breakfast for children. We've got some freedom working. Free breakfast for children.
of this earth has a right to live, therefore he has a right to work." That's basic.

That's why free health clinics, community control of the police, free-breakfast for the children. This is what freedom really is—and much, much more in the future. It's got to be materialistically valuable; it's got to be constructed and organized and got to relate to the political needs and desires of the people.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS

MOVEMENT: Tell us some of your thoughts about the liberation schools and how they are going to operate.

BOBBY: We plan to start teaching school children from high school all the way down to grammar school. We're trying to get some of the college brothers to work on this and some have responded. We feel that the first thing to be implemented had to be the breakfast for children program. But at the same time we know that the kids in the schools have got to be taught about themselves, their black history, the class system, and so on. So we know that the same bull shit they get now, so the black liberation classes will begin soon using the same churches in the afternoon after the kids get out of school.

We plan to have different programs for the different levels. At the high school level we will probably teach more about revolutionary principles. On the grammar school level we will probably teach more about black history. About the avatars pigs. We are going to teach little black kids how to identify not only a white pig, but also a black pig. We want to get rid of the Uncle Toms and the pork chop nationalists. That's very important. We're going to be talking about downing the class system, cultural nationalists and capitalists, both black and white, who are the same exploitative.

The pigs used the black bourgeoisie class, and a lot of the white liberals to perpetuate and strengthen their racist capitalist raps. They say that the government is "all right," and we don't give a damn. We want to run him out of business over here. If we can get the people to identify not only a white pig, but also a black pig, we can get rid of the Uncle Toms and the pork chop nationalists. Everybody's wondering about how we're going to keep the kids in the schools. We know from studying revolutionary struggle that when the kids are forced to get some of the college brothers who are black nationalists and that's all part of the people. Every capitalist that's in the community to pay for these programs? The power structure has made upon the people. The power of the black community and we don't give a damn what color he is, is going to do some thing to the black people. Mexican Americans can do the same thing. The poor whites too, if they just open their minds, can do the same thing. So it's not limited to black people only; these kinds of programs.

Everybody's wondering about how we're going to do get federal funds. No, we're not going for that. That bourgeoisie, that capitalist in the community that's been robbing us, we can get more frauds into. And that's where it's going to come from.

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BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701

MARCH, 1969

Internationalists because this is a revolutionary culture. To get them to understand this in a very broad sense. We want brothers who are black nationalists and at the same time internationalists. We have to understand that people just happen to be a moving van—these kinds of programs. The growth of the organization nation-wide and people just happen to be a moving van—these kinds of programs.

All political means: MOVEMENT: You have a petition campaign for a program of community control of the police. Tell us how this campaign fits into the strategy of exhausting all political means in the course of the struggle.

BOBBY: Through the use of the people's power. The people of the black community manifested in the Party. The internationalism in our community is subjected to the black community and we will run him out of business overnight if he doesn't want to go for it.

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people will have their consciousness raised. They will say, "We voted you out and now you're saying we don't have a right to vote you in." The people will say, "You're not a policeman anymore, if you acted in this community you're committing murder as far as we're concerned."

If we don't win, if we get less than 50% of the vote then we have a working force. That's a revolutionary force. That's a strengthening of the revolutionary camp. If we get only a quarter of the votes that's the foundation that the revolutionary camp is relying on in terms of moving around. We can still go forth and get more signatures and go for another ballot and continue to try and educate the people more.

Meanwhile, what's going to be happening? The pig power structure is going to make attacks on those who are trying to initiate the struggle. That's very important. Once they make an attack the people are going to get more pissed off and they are going to clearly see how just because we went through what they call a "legal process", that's supposed to be for the people, we get attacked and shot and murdered. That raises the consciousness of the people. By using all means to exhaustion the people became very clear as to what they have to do. The people themselves, at large, will run off and take the pig power structure and change the system; change the system for a better one.

ORGANIZATION'S GROWTH

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

BOBBY: The attacks that have come down against us have had some positive results, too. We gave the whole year of 1968 to the pigs and thank them for organizing our organization. Of course these attacks have also caused losses and considerable problems. In Seattle, three brothers have been killed, but there have been two pigs killed and nine wounded. In Denver they raided our office and in Newton they bombed the office. In New York there has been a lot of trouble, with the pigs jumping on the brothers.

They have tried to intimidate us. Each chapter has had the same problems that the central headquarters has had. But we've stood up against them and the organization is still growing. One of the key problems has been keeping the chapters supplied with our organ, THE BLACK PANTHER, the Black Community News Service. This is key because we know from studying revolutionary principles in this country in the late 1800's, that the organization can't exist without the paper, the organ, THE BLACK PANTHER, the Black Community News Service. Without it because we knew from studying revolutionary principles in this country in the late 1800's, that the organization can't exist without the paper, the organ, THE BLACK PANTHER, the Black Community News Service.
mama strike

Now in its fourth month, the strike at S.F. State goes on. It has incredibly survived a bust of historic proportions to finish the semeste-
ner with a third-long picking line. It has taken the Mother of all offshore strikes in the educational system, and the Brother of an ongoing labor strike. (see the story on page 3) It has resurrected parts of the moldering body of Bay Area radical-liberal politics, given birth to a promising student-teacher-labor-black-brown-yellow coalition of focus on politi-
cal. The off-campus power of the strike is several times and several kinds greater than a month ago, yet the ups and powers, hoping for a slim inside straight in the face of dimming odds, appear to have hardened their position.

On the campus itself, the major event has been a mass arrest Jan 23. For seven or two weeks after the campus reopened (Jan 6), student strikers led by the IWW-a-clone group accepted per-
tical ground rules laid down by the AFT. But the rules for the AFT-CLIO labor nonstintedness, these rules are revenue-
effort be futile: picketing on the perimeter of the campus, no more than 10 people between pickets, no obstruction of roads, no blocking of gates.

Despite grumblings within the ranks, this was acceptable to those who were working. Campus attendance student body as normal for the time of the strike. Student-teacher attitudes were swinging toward the off-campus, and the strike image was fading. There was, initially, no intention on the campus to escalate, and the IWW's tactical hand has been massive.'

By the third week, however, numbers were rising on campus and the campus 

strike began to take on a mass movement delinition perfectly. The white support- ers numbered in their thousands, while the more of picket manpower, were begun-
ging to pop up from all over San Francisco. This was the point when the 

strike moved to a new level. On Jan 6, the strike, high on the strength of the class struggle, began to grow in size and the law was left with no alternative but to cede to the growing movement. With the IWW's tactical hand, and the IWW's tactical hand, the strike moved to a new level.

Calling the law's bluff has paid off. Unable to get extractions for the strike, the law has been forced to fire all 270 of them, the Trustees 

in consultation with AFT membership, and indications are that Johns had no 

interest of letting it come to the rank 

file for discussion in any case. 

The deal fell, and the law was left with what he had already done: a picket at Standard, and a picket line so massive 

that no amount of semantics could re-

duce it to insignificance.

DRAGON-SLAYING AFT

Moreover the AFT has been whin-

ing lately about a new strike in an earlier resurging order, it has gone ahead and laid off the new man in the same order. And by continuing the strike in the size of the record, it has ultimately 

access to the off-campus, and instituting a function. The AFT has that that many other faculty members have 

also been frozen out, but no concessions 

have been made, however, on the due-

process clause. The AFT has refused to 

endorse the AFT, and the AFT's power 

seems solid for a lot more mileage, hoping to bring some money payments, 

and by financial aid, modest amounts from 

other unions. At a press conference to reassure the rank and file of its stand, the 

members of the AFT have said that the AFT's length for the rank and file 

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The AFT's stand has come despite 

paradigm changes. Workers at the the 

existence of the Berkeley strike has 

remarkably made. The Workers, now 

joined by the Teamsters, whose mode seems to be "opportunistic" since finding the AFT strike, have come together on a 

common project and legal community 

alliance. On January, February, a rally at the Labor Temple in SF's Mission 

district, with an international photo pull 

in 600 people of all generations to hear 

the area-wide united front organization 

to support the strike. Speakers from 

students, teachers, workers, retired 

professors, unions, and people from 

other organizations presented their 

case for the strike. The rally featured 

a wide variety of speakers and topics, 

including the theme of unity between all and 

students. The rally ended with 

a call for support and a pledge to 

continue the struggle.

LABOR LEADS A HANDB

Upheld, a small band of oil refinery 

workers in the long running strike at the Phillips oilmill. The effec-

ℰ蹐 on attitudes among the workers 

at the refinery has been significant. The strike has been on again and off 

again at the refinery for several months, and the workers have faced 

multiple challenges, including police 

violence, harassment, and attempts 

by management to break the strike. 

The workers have remained strong 

and united, and have continued to 

fight for their demands.

STUDENTS & WORKERS

Although the strike at S.F. State has been 

in the media for several months, 

there has been no major coverage 

of the strike in the national press. 

The strike has been a largely local 

movement, with some support 

from other unions and organizations. 

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from other unions and organizations.
Few issues in recent years have been as thoroughly confusing for the left to deal with as last fall's New York City teachers' strikes, and the struggle for community control of education that precipitated the strikes. For the most part radicals knew enough to oppose the strikes, and to express some interest in the new left's disagreements with old and two questions:

1) Is the struggle for community control potentially radical or necessarily reformist?; and
2) How should radical teachers in the public schools attempt to organize?—around what issues, in what organizational forms, etc.

At this point, radicals in the schools are asking these questions. The following questions that we were in September, December, or February: the points have become clarified over the past few months in the interests of developing a STRA-TAGIC political analysis of public edu- cation in New York (and elsewhere), it is useful to discuss them, even without more answers to them that differ.

We'll start with the easiest part—a discussion of the political nature of the U.F.T.'s strikes.

THE STRIKES

The first thing for radicals (and every­ one else) to work out is that the strike in New York City is that the United Federation of Teachers' purposes was not to promote the success of the public schools, teachers. Rather, the strikes were the ultimate expression of a conflict that is even more widespread, and that is the political reorganization of public education, and to understand that the struggle for community control of education is one of the potential organizing strategies for making the left prominent.

Mr. Shanker, Mr. Naumann, and the radicals who support them (as teachers) have the right to teach—in that school are fucking up those heads should not make much difference; that teachers should have the right to job security, if he thinks the struggles of the kids are important; that they can improve education for their children are the actions of a "new left". At least, this is an admission I asked a group of teachers why they supported the strike. Practically in uni­ on they replied, "Think of what will happen if THEY take over". Donning my most naive, ex-college student mask, I asked them "why". They were expected I got some camouflaged racist response, "enlightened" or "trust the system" or "extremists playing on the fears of the people". Instead, the answer was simply, "the nigger".

Transfer of teachers to another dis­ trict is a routine procedure when done by the central Board of Education or a'strike District Administrator. Whether it should or shouldn't be in the interest here—the point is simply that the U.F.T. has never considered transfer of a teacher is a violation of his or her rights. Once it was done by a Black and Puerto Rican local governing board because the teachers were racists, the U.F.T. screamed the teachers were fired and the process was in mortal danger. And it wasn't simply the fact that they were being transferred, but the basis of POLITICAL criteria that upset Shanker—last spring HENRIETTA of anti-war teachers were fired (not transferred) for participating in the demonstration against the war, and the union didn't lift a finger to help them.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

Understanding the radical nature of the strikes does not necessarilly mean radicals have to support community control. With a few exceptions, radicals who support the struggle for community control for a political strategy have to adequately explain the context in which middle-class radicals who don't understand the content of the strike. The political is inexplicable until it is securely and accurately carry our our expense.

The basic points for radical support of community control lies in three related (and others) say that in the process of and there are four points that can ally with Blacks, so that the ultimate battle power go out on line, classes.

The struggle for community control can be a basis of unity between students, parents and teachers. In an article ("Community Control as a political strategy", David Friedman distin­ guishes between an "advocative" and a "community" in much the same sense as the Central Board. It's a struggle on the part of teachers as employees of the, There is no notion of being the "truest" teachers, or of the "purest" teachers, or of the "only" teachers.

The way for whites to deal with the problem is simply that the V.F.T. is not a "truest" teachers, or of the "purest" teachers, or of the "only" teachers.

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The way for whites to deal with the problem is simply that the V.F.T. is not a movement, that it couldn't even if it didn't want to. This means that PART of the reason the Black community is in struggle is not to implement as it goes along, cannot realize what's happening, would accept sell-outs as the ultimate battle power go out on line, classes.

But one can tell that with a movement approach there are dangers in this approach. It's been argued that the fact the students do not accept the ultimate battle power go out on line, classes.

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The answer to this dilemma for radicals must be to form an independent community-oriented teachers' group or community-controlled school. The teacher must be able to show students that their power will have to be totally assumed by the community. If we are seriously fighting the system and the social system as a whole, the struggle to improve education is for both Stuyvesant and Irving to fight racism, because the teachers would otherwise be doing their part (more effectively with smaller children). From the teacher's point of view, the same racist books in the same dehumanizing social-educational climate, the same obedience-mandating rules, in the same oppressive administration, then the totally authoritarian teacher-student relationship is the 100% class relation.

TOTAL ASSAULT ON EDUCATION

A real radical movement in the public schools would mobilize every aspect of what passes as education in the present context. There are buildings, the race lunches, the overworked cafeteria workers, the teachers who are not really teachers but peons with the crisis in public education is not just a result of a system of buildings, the rotten lunches, the overworked cafeteria workers, the teachers who are not really teachers but peons with the crisis in public education is not just a result of a system of "solutions", but also the lies that the NyU TDS is working with community groups and high school students in the area, as well as doing organizing at their schools of Ed. We're also working with a number of different high school groups around the city, helping to develop programs for organizing at Seward, Washington Irving, and other schools. Our biggest success so far in this area has been to help the kids from Stuyvesant (a nearly all-white school, academic honors boys high school) and Washington Irving (a nearly all-black and Puerto Rican lower-track girls high school) plan and pioneer programs that are supportive of a pro-community teacher being transformed out of Irving. The kids are both for Stuyvesant and Irving to fight for the community system that is screwing both of them (in different ways) by demanding the jilting of the two traditional social forces that are oppressing the kids and making them miserable do the same to the teachers and wherever groups like TDS can succeed in organiza-
by John Bancroft

AIM, the American Independent Movement, was formed in 1966 to run a peace candidate, Bob Cook, for congress in New Haven. The organization combined Yale peace group people with SDS community organizers who had been working in a black neighborhood. They ran a fairly typical campaign: most of the talk was about Vietnam, and money ($40,000) and time were lavishly spent in fairly standard ways.

Cook got about 3% of the vote.

After the election a retreat was held for all the people who had worked on the campaign. The usual statements were made about the need to carry on the work, but in this case people really seemed to mean it. A wide-ranging discussion about what the future of the organization should be began. They wanted a group oriented toward local electoral activity. Others set up a Bobby Kennedy for 68 committee. Still others, perhaps most, wanted AIM to become a project-oriented organization. The last approach won out. The issues and activities were defined (urban renewal, education, a newsletter, a printing press, and electoral politics) and the work began.

The transition to a multi-issue group that actually did organizing work was a slow one. First the organization was all talk, plans, coordination, and little substance. But as time went on various projects did evolve.

URBAN RENEWAL

Perhaps most notable was AIM's urban renewal project. This issue is a key one in New Haven for several reasons. The city, with its "liberal and advanced" administration, is supposed to be a model of the great things that can be done with urban renewal. In fact, it is a model of how urban renewal can be used to tear down troublesome neighborhoods, make money for corporations, separate the ghetto from the university and turn the city into a work and play place for the suburbanites, while making it an intolerable place to live for any people who have survived the bulldozers.

It was important to debunk the "model city" myth, not only because it was a national model, but because people in New Haven had fallen for it. With the exception of black people (who knew exactly what was happening to them) New Haveners thought the program must be good, and that any personal inconvenience it cause was an unfortunate byproduct.

AIM's actions on urban renewal came at just about the right time to cause a quick and visible reaction. The renewal program was in the process of destroying white neighborhoods as well as black areas. At the same time it was becoming more and more obvious that Mayor Lee, supposedly a man of the people, was actually a puppet for Yale. For this and other reasons he was beginning to fall out with the Italians in the Democratic Party. AIM came along just in time to take advantage of this split. Finally, at about the time AIM began its urban renewal activities, the city's program had been becoming less and less acceptable to the people. It was being offered on the basis of a few transplant projects. The renewed area were brought into this phase of the operation. AIM people also went door to door and discussed the whole issue of destroying neighborhoods for public interest. For the first time, substantial contact was made with white working class people around a community issue. Also for the first time, AIM people began to make contact with aldermen, who they found not only incredibly receptive to their visits, but also quite willing to change their position when shown how unreasonable urban renewal plans were. It was hard to estimate the significance of this kind of dealing, but in any case it did happen on occasion that AIM people wrote position papers that the aldermen would turn adopt and propose.

When the vote on the garage came up, AIM had done such effective work that the aldermen, for the first time in a long while, actually came close to voting down one of Lee's plans. The vote was 14-13 in favor of the project, heart-breaking in the short run, but an incredible result when considered in its context.

Later, AIM people were even more encouraged. In an urban renewal (a new Haven neighborhood was designated as a renewal area) AIM people (who had been working there for three years) managed to write a black-white coalition which took over the model cities

EXPOSURE AND EDUCATION

Two urban renewal actions best illustrate the way in which AIM was successful on this issue. In one campaign, simple exposure was enough to cause a serious problem in the city's program and provide a good deal of education on the issue itself. AIM simply took the city's press release that a new park in the city's downtown area would be open to the public and put up a signs directing people to the area. This was placed under a vacant house, on the street where public barrio kids came and played.
FULL-TIME STAFF

Perhaps the biggest change in the last two years has been the increase of full-time staff in the organization. There exists now a group—call it a cadre if you wish—of people who spend all of their time on AIM. Many of these people are using the office of the organization, and while they are spread pretty evenly over different projects, they coordinate their work closely, help each other out when necessary, and see each other a great deal socially.

Most of these people come from two sources. Probably the greater number came to New Haven because of Yale, but have also joined AIM. The other group is made up of people who have been recruited specifically to come to New Haven to work for AIM, and have started to do political work as soon as they got off the bus. Distinctively the latter source is increasing faster than the former which means the organization is becoming less elitist, attracting new people who did not previously consider themselves political intellectuals.

Many of these full-time people could be classified as radical professionals, although they do not think of themselves as such. They are people who work for the organization as a whole (as opposed to some of the projects) and help build the organization. They are often involved in collective organizing.

PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY

Least this picture seems too rosy AIM does have some serious problems. As this description reflects AIM is short at the moment on strategy. There is a feeling among many staff people that our actions are too short-sighted. While we sometimes ask ourselves that we are making small gains in the short-run, our actions, if the same thing continues, are a sort of accomplishing little or nothing and at worst are greasing the wheels of the system.

This came up most clearly at a gathering a while ago between some AIM people and friends of theirs who knew AIM in AIM days. Most of these non-AIM people were other organizing professionals, doing support work for student-organizing, or were between activities. When the AIM people described the group was rather mystified because it was so different from what anyone else was doing. Some people could not even identify the organization. When it was pointed out that we were into the beginnings of achieving power on the community level, furthermore proceeding at local radical work where others had failed, to describe it seemed as if we were beating a horse, community organizing, that had been dead for two years. By this view, AIM strategy amounted to organizing among several different community and group constituencies, all of which would, in some mysterious way, achieve power on the local level. The criticism was made that it was so different from what AIM people did, and in fact many indications that it had never happened anywhere. If this was the case, the argument went, the only solution was to believe in going to do these kinds of work in areas where there is no resistance, and see it. It seemed as if we were beating a horse, community organizing, that had been dead for two years. By this view, AIM strategy amounted to organizing among several different community and group constituencies, all of which would, in some mysterious way, achieve power on the local level. The criticism was made that it was so different from what AIM people did, and in fact many indications that it had never happened anywhere.

The 1968 CAMPAIGN

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The strike at Mission High School in San Francisco is an important outgrowth of the strike at San Francisco State College. The class basis of the demands, the protracted nature of the struggle, have all led to an increasing polarization of the San Francisco community, and as a result, groups like the Mission High TWLF and BSU have had a chance to develop and mature in their strategic and political understanding of what is to be done.

Not long after the strike at SFSU began, organizers in the Mission District sought to develop support for the strike at Mission High School, especially from the student body at Mission High School. Several rallies were held after school every Monday in Mission Dolores Park across from the school. While the attendance at the rallies was not large, there's little doubt that the attention of the students was stirred by the strike at SFSU, especially by the Third World Liberation Front. Realizing that students at Mission were more concerned with the Mission High School TWLF and BSU have had a chance to develop and mature in their strategic and political understanding of what is to be done.

THE STUDENTS

Mission High School has about 2050 students: 450 blacks, 680 whites, 750 latinos, and 75 chinese. Its students came from families with the lowest incomes in the city, averaging $3500 per family. The latinos are the poorest of the ethnic groups, averaging some $3500 per family. The unemployement rate for male spanish-speaking residents of the Mission District is as high as 18%; half of those lucky enough to find jobs are found in three minimal employment categories: operatives, service workers and laborers.

Thirty-nine percent of the students at Mission are to illegal, that is, they have learned, or are now learning, English as a second language. There are no programs at Mission to help these students, outside of standard remedial language instruction. The churning system in the schools, based as it is upon the realities of intelligence tests, biased for those of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois white training, leaves little hope to the average student at Mission. The teaching staff, poorly trained and poorly paid in comparison with the whiter schools in the district, offers little encouragement to the student body by bringing in the police and launching a series of arrests. While this did take the leadership out of action -- the harder than hell to get out of the Youth Guidance Center if your parents don't come - the administration was able to misinterpret the new militancy of even the most docile students who faced with a line a cops. The police action politicized a whole lot of students and involved many while students had been only peripherally involved, hallies and democrats were involved in joining together in an effort to deliberate on the administration sets up a job placement center in the city, who acts in liaison with the police on one hand, and the Board of Education, newsmen, people just passing by (cars, clothes, etc.) are all ways that students are co-opted away from uniting the students of all races. The riot repression is swift and effective. Los Angeles rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car, Houston rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car, San Francisco rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car.

THE DEMANDS

The new semester began with the strike on Mission High School, and the student body was united in fighting against the strike. The following day, the administration presented a group of community people presented 17 demands to the Board of Education, giving the Board a 10 day period to deal with the demands. The demands included the following: 1) that the school be closed, 2) that the school be turned over to the Mission High School TWLF and BSU, 3) that the police be removed from the school, 4) that the school be run by community people and students, 5) that the school be run by community people and students, 6) that the school be run by community people and students.

BIG BIZ & COPS

Increasingly, the schools of San Francisco, particularly the working class high schools, are balanced by the control of the police on one hand, and the Board of Education, newsmen, people just passing by (cars, clothes, etc.) are all ways that students are co-opted away from uniting the students of all races. The riot repression is swift and effective. Los Angeles rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car, Houston rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car, San Francisco rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car.

The tension and the frustration of the students brought it closer to home.

THE STRIKE

The frustration and the frustration of the students was great. They were fighting against the police, the strike. The current strike at Mission grew out of a fight between the black and latino students.

When the police "Tactical Squad was called in, the students rallied under the leadership of the TWLF in fighting the cops, demanding that they be pulled out of school. The BSU called a strike for Monday, January 20th. The strike was called, the police took over the school, staging a "showdown." The white students, on the other hand, realized their fragmentation and immaturity by coming up with nothing. We say the fight against racism and the new militancy of even the most docile students who faced with a line a cops.

Secondly, the administration sought to develop bilingual programs and programs of ethnic studies have been met with criticism from other faculty members and indifference from the administration.

THE POLICE

The new semester began with the Mission High School TWLF and BSU, and the student body was united in fighting against the strike. The following day, the administration presented a group of community people presented 17 demands to the Board of Education, giving the Board a 10 day period to deal with the demands. The demands included the following: 1) that the school be closed, 2) that the school be turned over to the Mission High School TWLF and BSU, 3) that the police be removed from the school, 4) that the school be run by community people and students, 5) that the school be run by community people and students, 6) that the school be run by community people and students. The police action politicized a whole lot of students and involved many while students had been only peripherally involved, hallies and democrats were involved in joining together in an effort to deliberate on the administration sets up a job placement center in the city, who acts in liaison with the police on one hand, and the Board of Education, newsmen, people just passing by (cars, clothes, etc.) are all ways that students are co-opted away from uniting the students of all races. The riot repression is swift and effective. Los Angeles rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car, Houston rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car, San Francisco rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car.

PROBLEMS

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In return for all this, the school administration sets up a job placement center in the city, who acts in liaison with the police on one hand, and the Board of Education, newsmen, people just passing by (cars, clothes, etc.) are all ways that students are co-opted away from uniting the students of all races. The riot repression is swift and effective. Los Angeles rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car, Houston rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car, San Francisco rioters were arrested for merely standing in front of a police car.

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Recess board to investigate the mental qualities of the defendant.

The Trial Begins

Wilfully disobey an order which was never heard?...'

there is reasonable basis for further inquiries into the sanity of the accused...

ponder this difficult point. At this juncture Law Officer Robinson took advantage of his position and the singing protestors could have barely heard the message and almost certainly could not have understood it...'

the singing protestors could have barely heard the message and almost certainly could not have understood it. ...Army psychiatrists recommended psychological discharges for five of the six men.

The Trial Begins

Only Peter Lawrence Reibel, 21 and Louis Ursprungtaki, 21, have faced trial so far since lawyers for the other four received contempt orders. During their hearings, the prosecution emphasized the men's failure to obey orders. Maj. Hap Sood, 26, was found guilty of mutiny after a deliberation of only 35 minutes and sentenced to 15 years...'

We express solidarity with our fellow servicemen who are still in the military, among others, are unable to resist actively. We will do all in our power to help all those who resist in the same way—DESERT.

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But on February 13 another case of the Presidio 27 congested the court martial—this time without any delays—and without any publicity. Saavy Dean Sood, 26, was found guilty of mutiny after a deliberation of only 30 minutes and sentenced to 15 years hard labor. His civilian attorney, Paul Halvacs, is planning to appeal. The trial took five full court days...

To charge...· Mutiny as an offense which has its roots in the harsh admiralty laws of previous centuries, is an absurdity. The trial of the Presidio 27, on the other hand, is a demonstration of the fact that Army psychiatrists can commit such atrocities...'

The top brass will relentlessly forge ahead with the case, and regardless of how the matter is resolved, the Army now has been brought into civil court over charges of cruel treatment in the stockade.

DESERTER'S MANIFESTO

Montreal, Quebec
December 15, 1968

We, American Deserters living in Montreal, in opposition to the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, have banded together to form the American Deserters Committee. We Deserters and associates view ourselves as an integral part of the world-wide movement for fundamental social change. We express support and solidarity with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Black Liberation struggle at home. We are prepared to fight side by side with anyone who wants to bring fundamental social change to the U.S.

Our aim is to help U.S. Deserters and draft resisters gain more political outlook towards their own actions—to show them that desertion and draft resistance are in fact political moves. Forced to live our lives as political exiles, we view ourselves as victims of the same oppression as the Vietnamese and the American people, not only the minority groups, but also the broad masses of American people who are becoming more aware of the need for change.

We will work to develop the political consciousness of American Deserters and to form a well-educated and determined group which will have a clear understanding of U.S. internal and international policies, especially those which effect Canada and Quebec.

We express solidarity with our fellow deserters who are still in the military, among others, are unable to resist actively. We will do all in our power to help all those who resist in the same way—DESERT.

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NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOLS

cont'd from page 17

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THE MOVEMENT

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NEW YORK CITY is falling apart. No words can describe the extent of the frustration, rage and hatred felt by the Black and Puerto Rican communities over the police brutality being committed against their children and themselves. This spring, there will likely be riots at many schools, strikes over the cessation of the forty-five minutes per day extra-use time for the Shaker teachers, and increased "vandalism" throughout the Black and Puerto Rican schools.

These things will happen without any "help" from TDS or any other largely white radical group. It would be a severe mistake to romanticize the violence that will probably happen—very little of it is likely to be explicitly political, very little organization will probably bebuilt around it in the short run, and the repercussions it brings down upon the black communities will likely be very severe. But these rebellions will happen, and that's a good thing.

The way the organized left (like TDS) should relate to them is certainly not to condemn them, but not just to clap our hands in glee either. Though we will have little to say about their occurrence, we may have much to say about their eventual direction—not by imposing our leadership upon them (which would be impossible anyway), but by building a radical political base among teachers that the Black and Puerto Rican communities and students can relate to. That is the task of radicals in the public schools now and for some time to come.
German SDS Repressed

Following a series of militant mass demonstrations during the past two year in West Germany the legal system has stepped up its repressive campaign in recent months against that country's extra-parliamentary opposition. The militant actions have variously been directed against the West German government's support for the United States aggression in Vietnam, the drafting and passing of the emergency legislation, the violently anti-student campaign of the powerful Springer Press, the elaborate state visit of the Shah of Iran and the authoritarian chaos of the West German universities.

Thousands of trials against the participants in those demonstrations are now under way or being prepared by district attorneys all over the Federal Republic of Germany. Hardest hit is the German SDS. According to a recent communication from Danny Cohn-Bendit, who is now studying in Frankfort and working with the SDS, more than two thousand trials are being held against members of the SDS and some of the prosecutors are demanding sentences of up to ten years in prison. Since the entire membership of this organization is probably less than three thousand it is clear that the campaign is directed primarily against the SDS.

HELP

The movement in Louisville is in need of at least four organizers. Most importantly we need a woman organizer interested in working with young girls and possibly young married women and an organizer in a working class community. She would be part of work that is now going on. Second, we need a high school organizer to work with the SDS, more than two thousand trials are being held against members of the SDS and some of the prosecutors are demanding sentences of up to ten years in prison. Since the entire membership of this organization is probably less than three thousand it is clear that the campaign is directed primarily against the SDS.

The SDS has the highest membership dues of all West German political student organizations, but since it receives little money from elsewhere it is also, at present, one of the poorest. Most of the other university based political organizations receive indirect subsidies from government programs. So the SDS is not only threatened with the removal of most of its funding members, but also with being forced into unprecedented financial debt for high legal defense costs. The prospects are even more dismal since West Germany has no liberal or left organizations of lawyers comparable to the ACLU and the Lawyer's Guild in this country.

A law is now being debated in the West German Bundestag which would enable police to exercise preventative arrest against persons "strongly suspected of being about to break the law. The rightist proponents of the law and the left-liberal and radical opposition are in agreement that the law would be applied in the case of political demonstrations. Preventive arrest against demonstrators has already been practiced in Hamburg and Berlin without legal sanction.

One of the more publicized examples of how the political justice of the West German courts works was the case of Fritz Teufel, which arose out of the demonstration against the Shah of Iran on June 2, 1967. Teufel, one of the more colorful members of West Berlin's notorious Commune No. 1, was arrested on June 2, and held in jail for five months on suspicion of throwing a rock during the demonstration. He was held, without being formally charged, on the basis of the accounts of two policemen, whose testimony at the trial six months later proved to be mutually contradictory. At the trial he was acquitted since the evidence was overwhelmingly against the charges of the prosecution and there was a great deal of public attention focused on the case.

At the same time, the police officer, Karl-Holm Kurras, who shot a student in the back of the head and killed him in that same demonstration, was never taken into custody and questioned before his trial. This gave him plenty of time to make sure that his story concurred with various police witnesses and he was also acquitted.

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Take away the sign 人 (man) from the sign 囚 for prison,
Add to it 無 (probability) that makes the word 國 (nation)
Take the head-particle from the sign 意 for misfortune:
That gives the word 忠 (fidelity),
Add the sign 丁 for man (standing) to the sign 意 for worry
That gives the word 優 (quality).
Take away the bamboo top 竹 from the sign 龍 for prison,
That gives you 龍 (dragon).

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