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# MOVEMENT

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# LETTERS...

To the Editor:

I believe that Bob Avakian is very wrong in his evaluation of the role of students in the political economy ("Strike Against Imperialism", April, 1969).

Avakian writes that "(students) have very definite class origins--mainly the middle classes..." Wrong. The vast majority of college students in the United States come from wage and salary earning families. A handful come from the handful of independent professional families still left in the United States; fewer still come from farm-owning families; only a tiny minority come from the corporate bourgeoisie, and those that do go to the elite schools which still train students to rule the country, not to become technical-administrative workers in either big business or the state bureaucracy. A sizeable minority (I don't know how many, because to my knowledge there are no data on this) come from the ten million-odd families who own their own small businesses. But remember that most of these businesses are units of family subsistence, not units of capital accumulation. And remember that most of the latter are partly or totally dependent on big capital, and in no meaningful sense are independent.

Avakian writes that "students...are, by definition, in a transition stage, relative to the means of production, and occupy no definitive class position." Wrong again. Most students, especially those in the state colleges and universities, but including many students in the so-called private universities (which are really Federal Universities, due to Federal government subsidies), are in fact apprentice workers, undergoing training for skilled working class jobs for the corporate bourgeoisie as a whole. They know it; anyone who has spent much time, including myself, around the colleges, knows it; Avakian apparently doesn't know it. One small example; in the past decade over 98 per cent of San Jose State College graduates took wage or salary employment in private business or the state bureaucracy.

Avakian refers to students as "intellectuals (who) are able to discern the decaying nature of American imperialism..." Wrong again. Students are not intellectuals, and the vast majority would be the first to point out this simple fact. They are trained for jobs, not educated into critical thought. Only a small minority of students "understand" imperialism; only a small minority can be expected to become critical intellectuals, organizers, and/or agitators.

Avakian writes that "the student movement has grown up and developed in support of the Third World liberation movements". Partly true, partly wrong. Avakian is guilty of selecting certain facts that fit his thesis, and ignoring others. Doesn't he remember the recent great debate about whether or not students should continue to agitate around their own self-interests? Well, there was such a debate; many people took part in it; it still isn't resolved. Dozens of local chapters of SDS began around "student issues", including issues that I would bet that Avakian sneers at, such as dorm hours. On many campuses right now, the main issues are firing of professors, the main activities organized around these firings. Only by a great stretch of the imagination can these be termed "third world issues".

All of which leads to Avakian's implicit put-down of student activities which are not "the tail on the dog of the third world liberation movements" (my quote). My own view is that any and all anti-"establishment" student activities are progressive, and deserve support. There is a danger, of course; in the fight to "purify" the colleges and universities, sometimes (in some communities, frequently) there is lost sight of the "democratization" of the colleges and universities--that is, movements demanding open admissions, the end to "tracking systems", etc. The point is not to put-down student-oriented actions. Nor is the point to uncritically support (or mount) anti-imperialist, pro-third world activities. The point is to skillfully synthesize qualitative demands based on the needs of the apprentice workers and quantitative demands based on the need for all poor people, especially minority people, to open up higher education for all.

Fraternally,

James O'Connor  
San Jose State College

To the Editor:

The April issue of the MOVEMENT seems especially to invite comment. Not only the general movement but the paper itself this year reflect something more of purposeful action and intent than could be found a short time ago.

Perhaps it is possible that the new movement has grown big enough and self-confident enough to pose and begin to solve those underlying problems which proved to be beyond the capacity of the old left and thereby created the need for a new left.

The weight of our task can be felt by stating it in the negative. No group or party has yet solved the problem of creating a stable revolutionary movement or organization with a substantial mass following or even the promise of massive working class support in a modern imperialist power. There are promising efforts, as in Japan, but no solid result yet.

If there is not yet any such solution, then it is absurd to think that the reason is that the entire left, old and new, has overlooked some definite answer already worked out in the Classics of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao. Nor is it any more plausible that such an answer has already been found, but the revolutionists are simply inept at making it work.

In fact, the existence of the new left has always implied these two negatives. To find a positive, the new left turned to Fidel, Che, Ho, Fanon and Mao. There it has found inspiration, but few specific clues until recently as in the case of the Black Panther Party. Recently the new left has more and more found that capitalist imperialism in the U.S. does really have the basic features analyzed by the classic Marxists. But in spite of this there is still not evident that revolutionary role and vanguard party which the integration of Marxism with the class struggle of the industrial workers surely ought to produce.

## LINK-UP

At first the new left made the opposite turn and looked for a substitute revolutionary force, the various lumpen theories, the guerrilla in the streets fantasy, counter-institutions, youth army etc. But lately there is the third trend to "link-up" with the workers.

But the meaning and terms of the link-up are far from clear. And so it will remain just as long as the link-up seen as the aim, for it is not the goal, it is a means for a more profound goal, which is to re-create a revolutionary movement among industrial workers, not on the old basis that failed but on a new basis. To do this one should know why the old way failed and something about the alternate way to succeed.

A necessary starting point is the recognition of the inseparable fusing of the future of the domestic class struggle and that of the anti-imperialist struggle of all oppressed peoples and the revolutionary movements world-wide.

Recently violent efforts have been made to separate the U.S. and the world scenes and there have been theories of "racism" as opposed to the politics of Black Liberation. Such ideas always existed, but now they have become a basic issue among the activists. An alternate form of this is taking domestic struggle as the central issue and opposing that to action supporting Vietnamese, African, Asian, Middle East Liberation struggles for all sorts of reasons. In effect, there has formed a trend of anti-anti-imperialism.

A second form of the debate is to treat the domestic anti-capitalist class struggle as different from and more "revolutionary" than the anti-imperialist battles. This also departs from reality and conceals the real problem which is the absence of a significant revolutionary workers movement in our country. Further, this fact demonstrates not only an adaptation to domestic exploitation, but even far more explicitly to imperialist oppression at home and every where else. The causes and the circumstances of this adaptation must be discovered and exploded, but we can state flatly that in the U.S. there can be no anti-capitalism that is genuine unless it is first of all anti-imperialist.

So it becomes vital to be very specific in understanding that the idea of

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by Gerald Lefcourt  
and Mark Rudd

Because of the growing power of the Black Panther Party in New York and the ruling class's inability to cope with the deteriorating situation in Fun City's social institutions, the Black Panther Party has found itself the victim of a conspiracy by Lindsay, District Attorney Frank Hogan, and the mass media to destroy the Party. According to the ridiculous indictment produced by Hogan and his grand jury, 21 Panther members and leaders conspired to commit murder and arson by blowing up various police stations, the New Haven RR tracks, department stores filled with Easter shoppers, and the Bronx Botanical Gardens for good measure. Ransom for each of the 21 has been set at \$100,000.

No evidence other than the flimsiest circumstantial sort is offered by the good D.A., but, in reality, none is needed: the Panthers, being in the vanguard of the black liberation movement, are guilty of anything for that fact alone, and just as important, the Panther scapegoat is necessary to build up racism and divert people's attention from the real crisis in the city.

The one starting point for any analysis of the attack on the Panthers is the recognition that crises in New York's social institutions--schools, hospitals, welfare, housing, universities, taxes--are developing at a rate much faster than normal in this city, already uninhabitable for the working-class. In a sense, the deterioration that moribund imperialism is causing nation-wide is concentrated and magnified in the nerve center of the monster itself.

#### STATE OF SIEGE

Not only do the schools, for example, function objectively as prisons, but now all pretense to "education" has been dropped thanks to the racist teachers' strike of the first two months of the school year. Parents in black and Hispanic communities are demanding community control, while high school and junior high students are trying to break out of the repression-tracking cage they are caught in. All expectations hold that this spring will see the greatest blow-up in history in the schools. Already the School is countering unrest with repression--armed cops patrol every school and some are in a state of siege. Lindsay himself has gone on record

blaming the situation on "outside agitators".

Welfare, too, is in a state of collapse. While many clients do not even have case-workers, services are being drastically cut. Last fall special grants for furniture and clothes were standardized at an unlivable level, and just two weeks ago the food allotment for children was cut from \$0.85/day to \$0.60, thereby saving \$128 million. All this in a city with some of the highest prices in the country. Welfare rights groups are growing stronger and more militant, yet still no response is forthcoming from the city's power structure.

Black and Hispanic communities are also demanding adequate health-care, instead of the over-crowded, understaffed, filthy holes known by the ruling class and middle classes as "city hospitals" and by the people as "slaughterhouses". Mental health workers at Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx as well as medical workers at Harlem Hospital have joined with the community to demand better facilities and community control, so that the hospitals serve the needs of the people, not the big private university hospital empires that control them.

#### URBAN REMOVAL

Urban renewal destroys thousands of low-income dwellings and replaces them with middle-income units, as on the Upper West Side, while hundreds of thousands of buildings rank as substandard or slum units. Rents are on the rise, apartments are unobtainable and inadequate, and the housing crisis con-

tinues. What is the city power structure's response? More middle-income apartments. What is the ghetto residents' response? Tenants unions and rent strikes.

In a city where almost one fourth of the work force is employed by city and state governments, the Taylor Act denies public employees the right to strike and imposes a fine of two days wages for every one day struck. Remember the growing poverty of the local governments due to the fact that wage-earners are over-taxed to support imperialist armies and corporate profits, and consider how much conflict this repressive act produces.

The President of City College and 27 department heads resigned because the State Legislature refused to grant adequate funds for the City University to open in the fall. Thousands of students marched on Albany last month, and SDS has been out interpreting the budget cuts to fellow students and the community at large.

Last, but not least, the city sales tax, the most regressive of all taxes, went up to a whopping 6% on April 1. On April 2, the indictment for conspiracy was handed down against the 21 Panthers.

#### SPRING OFFENSIVE

Counterposed to this decay and crisis in New York's social institutions the radical movement is poised for a spring offensive: high school students beginning to unite to shut down their racist, exploitative prisons, parents demanding control over these same schools, welfare mothers tearing up the bureaucratic centers which hold power over them, hospital workers and community leaders kicking the city administrators out and running services themselves, tenants fighting urban renewal, or with-

holding rent until buildings are cleaned up, college students demonstrating against budget cuts and for open admissions. And in every struggle, to varying degrees, the Black Panther Party has been central in interpreting the situation, helping in organizational work, providing the backbone for militancy and struggle. Panthers have been active at the St. Nicholas Welfare Center shutdown in Harlem, the Lincoln Hospital struggle in the Bronx, P.S. 46 community control fight in Harlem, and in their own program of providing breakfast for children in Harlem.

The Black Panthers have increasingly been providing both ideological and practical leadership, and have attracted the most committed and militant young people. In short, they have been building their base in the communities and schools of Harlem, Queens, Brooklyn and White Plains, among other places.

Just as bad, from the ruling class' point of view, is the fact that the revolutionary ideology of the Panthers has led them to reject racism and cultural nationalism and to build alliances with revolutionary elements in the white community. The Panthers and various other movement groups in New York were, at the time of the bust, in the process of planning a May Day demonstration at the Criminal Court Building demanding the freeing of all political prisoners and cops out of the schools, among other things. Of the six Panthers who attended the first planning meeting, called by SDS, three are now in prison on the phoney conspiracy charges.

#### SMEAR CAMPAIGN

The class D.A. Hogan represents is losing its grip on New York. As the city falls apart, they need to strike out at the people's revolutionary leaders and also to generate racism. Hogan, in an 11 AM press conference, timed to make the evening papers and TV coverage, was saying to the people of New York, "Here are the infamous reverse racist Black Panthers, who want to kill you as you do your Easter shopping, 'as part of an overall plan to harass and destroy those elements of society which the defendants regarded as the power structure' (from the indictment)".

Hogan's contorted logic made excellent fuel for racist fears, especially when accompanied by headlines like "SMASH PANTHER BOMB PLOT" (NY DAILY NEWS). Part of the conspiracy against the Panthers included convicting them before trial both by raising slander and by making them agents of the international Communist Conspiracy. The day after the indictments, the case was kept as lead story by such headlines as, "cops; cuba helps panthers grow!" (NY DAILY NEWS) which introduced stories implying that not only money, but also direction comes from Cuba (while the NY POST sees the money coming from China and only funnelled through the Cuban Mission to the U.N.) That same day, the NY TIMES reported that two Cuban Mission officers had been denied re-entry permits by the State Department, though it admitted that formal action declaring the two officers persona non grata was not taken because the U.S. could not prove espionage. The next day was even better: "SEEK PANTHER LINK TO STOLEN YOUTH FUNDS". It seems that certain unidentified pig sources had leaked the fact that they are investigating any possible connections between the Panther Party and \$2.7 million stolen from the Neighborhood Youth Corps (one of the more popular and useful N.Y. scandals). Nothing has been heard about this matter since, though the reactionary Spanish press ran the headline even better than the DAILY NEWS: "TIE PANTHERS TO THEFT FROM THE POOR"

#### CONSPIRACY

This whole conspiracy (Hogan's and his friends') coordinates well with the nation-wide plot to destroy the Panthers.

It is no accident that Huey P. Newton and George Murray are in prison, Eldridge Cleaver is in hiding, Bobby Seale has just been added gratuitously to the Chicago Conspiracy indictments, 19 members of the Chicago Party are being indicted following a shoot-out with the Blackstone Rangers, and dozens of other brothers are in prison on trumped-up charges and excessive bail. The ruling class must react to a revolutionary threat with repression: it is within this context that Hogan's "psychedelic freak-out", as one brother called it, must be seen.

So far, we've given very little attention to the details of the indictment. It is really Hogan's conspiracy which is

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# YOUNG LORDS SERVE-AND PROTECT

BY Hilda Vasquez Ignatin  
Young Lords Organization, Chicago

How did a Latin street gang in Chicago develop into a political group that recognizes the need to build a vanguard revolutionary group of Latin Americans?

The Puerto Rican colony of Chicago is on the north side of the city, Division Street, scene of the 1966 rebellion, runs down the center of it. There are some black people with more and more moving in, and a large number of Anglos (mostly Polish home owners) who live in the area. Throughout the area there are at least fifteen gangs and clubs with many members and sympathizers. Their ages range from 12 to 27, with each person belonging to only one group.

The Young Lords Organization (YLO), centered in the Lincoln Park area, is the first of these youth groups to move in a positive, conscious political direction. They see the need for unity with other Latin groups, and seek to implement it. They are seeking to build an organization that can build mass consciousness and prepare the way for fundamental, necessary changes. They understand that to be relevant and effective they must be both politically advanced and prepared to defend the Latin colony and its people.

How did it happen? In the hope that the story will be helpful to people organizing in Latin American communities across

terested in "helping" them--mostly by getting them to play basketball at a local church even though most of the guys had problems with police, parole officers, drugs, and all the rest.

In 1964 "Cha Cha" Jimenez was elected chairman of the Young Lords. He was one of three who were still around from the original founders. At that time the group began having social activities at a local YMCA. At one of these gatherings trouble broke out over girls, glue-sniffing, and hassles caused by confusion over membership in the various branches of the organization. A lot of guys got busted, including "Cha Cha", and had to do some time. In 1965 "Cha Cha" got out, organized the club again, and started a group of Lordettes who had their own chairwomen. More socials than before were part of the revival.

Early in 1966 Orlando Davila, another of the original seven, took over as chairman. His term was short, since some of the Young Lord leaders and many of the members were out of Chicago or in jail and the organization suffered. During this time the YLO

now included Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Anglos, and other Latins in the area.

A series of fund raising socials was held in February. Money was used to hold a community summer picnic, co-sponsor a drug education program, give a "Month of Soul Dances" with the Black Stone Rangers, give Christmas food-baskets and toys to needy families, and try to get an office for the organization. But through all this time members of the YLO began to realize that often they were acting like social workers, not getting at the root causes of the community problems.

One of the things that taught YLO members that an attack on the root causes of their problems was first necessary, and second possible, was the development of relations with groups from other communities and parts of the country. Meetings with people who were conducting other kinds of struggle, who had experience in organizing, and also those who were facing similar problems helped YLO to broaden its goals.

For example, in October YLO was invited to take part in a meeting with all Latin organizations and organizers in Chicago. One thing that was discussed was a possible Educational and Training Program for the Latin community with emphasis on youth. (Chicago has 100,000 Puerto Ricans, 190,000 Mexicans, and 60,000 Cubans). At the city meeting people from YLO met with other organizers and formed strong links with some of them. As a result a YLO member went to an International Conference in Canada. Through this broadening of contact, YLO became informed about what was happening in the rest of the country with other Latin groups who were engaged in struggle.

## A NEW MILITANCY

In December of 1968 YLO found that three realty companies in the area (Bissell, Crown, and Romano) were planning to move out all the Puerto Ricans from the community. These companies were figuring to buy up the buildings with Latin bars, grocery and clothing stores, and convert the buildings so that other businesses would occupy them and so the people who the Latin businesses served would move. Puerto Ricans didn't go for that shit, and the windows of the realty companies were busted three different times.

One of the realtors (Fat Larry) started making the rounds of Latin families and storeowners waving a gun in their faces and trying to get them to say that YLO had broken the windows, talking about how he was going to blow some Puerto Rican brains out. Because of his harassment of families YLO decided to mobilize a demonstration and go talk to Fat Larry. On January 11, community people and YLO marched outside the realty office carrying posters while "Cha Cha" went into the office to see

connection between the real estate company, the political machine of the community, and the local banks. The leaflet asked people to support YLO when future actions were taken. The research, the facts that got out in the leaflet were important in winning the support of the Latin colony and its allies.

In January the all white Community Conservation Council (CCC) which deals with "urban renewal" met. Latins from the area attended the meeting along with the Young Lords. When the members of CCC saw the Young Lords, they got uptight, decided there was no quorum present and told some of the CCC members to leave. Seeing what was happening the Latins got pissed off. Not only weren't they represented on the CCC, not only were they never told of the meetings which decided which houses in their community would be torn down and which remain, but the CCC was now refusing to meet in their presence. Too much! An argument broke out which resulted in overturned chairs, a broken display, and shattered windows.

It was clear: if the CCC could not or would not serve the community and be under the control of the community, it could not exist. The next month the CCC voted unanimously (after plenty of pressure had been applied) not to meet again until the committee had a majority of Latin and Afro-American representatives.

## ENTER THE PIGS — OINK OINK

The day after the community showed the CCC they meant business "Cha Cha" was picked up by the police while rapping to some guys on a street corner. He figured it was for the CCC disturbance, but when they got him to the station he was told, "we just want to talk to you... we want to open lines of communication to the community." It was the standard ploy and "Cha Cha" didn't bite--no communication.

So the pigs pulled out two old warrants and busted him on them. In 1967 he had been told that the warrants had been cleared in court, but that didn't make much difference. The bond was \$2500. The money was raised and "Cha Cha" was out in three hours. But he said the pigs had been talking to each other about the realty company and CCC thing, making sure he heard them talking, but they didn't have charges to use against him---yet.

That night there was a Community School Planning Committee meeting to elect officers which took place at a local high school. Among the blacks, whites and Latins elected was "Cha Cha", who was elected vice-president. During the meeting people became aware that there were at least 14 plainclothes pigs in the crowd, who admitted who they were only after being recognized and pointed out. Then someone came in and said there



the country this article will discuss the development of the YLO up to the present time.

## GANG YEARS

The Young Lords were formed in 1959 by seven youths. At that time many Puerto Ricans were getting beaten up by white gangs in the area, so the seven formed their own gang for protection. The main purpose and activity was fighting with Italians, "Billigans" (hillbillies), as well as other Latin gangs for control of hang-outs, streets, turf. The club grew large and powerful quickly, and formed branches in surrounding areas and high schools so other Latins could join and have hang-outs of their own.

During the gang years the YLO was plagued by social workers who were in-

managed to open a coffeehouse called Uptight #2. But by the summer of 1967 the coffeehouse was the only remnant left of the Young Lords.

## A NEW ORGANIZATION

In January 1968 "Cha Cha" returned to Chicago, reorganized the Young Lords, and incorporated the Lordettes in the YLO. As in earlier reorganizations, the purposes of the group shifted with this reorganization. Reflecting the tensions within society, the growth of movement in minority communities, the lessons learned from pigs and prisons, and especially advances and struggle in the black community, YLO sought to unite the people in the community to fight for improvements. Unity meant that YLO

Fat Larry.

Larry pulled out a .38 pistol and a machine carbine. He held one in each hand while his sidekick called the pigs. Ten squad cars were on the scene instantly, to "protect" Larry and his guns. The pigs searched "Cha Cha" while Larry kept him covered, and other pigs dispersed the people outside. Like "Cha Cha" later told a group of community people: "When you have money, the pigs are on your side. You can buy the right to threaten people with guns, especially if the people you threaten are Puerto Rican or poor".

The next day YLO put out a leaflet informing the rest of the community of what had happened, detailing the

were twelve squad cars outside the building. People were mad. A local minister who attended the meeting, Bruce Johnson, later went to see the local police commander about it.

"IF THIS KEEPS UP I'LL . . ."

Johnson told Police Commander Brash that such police presence hardly encouraged a peaceful and democratic meeting and was especially unfortunate since men like the Young Lords were actively participating in these types of community activities. The commander said he wasn't going to have a repeat of what happened at the CCC meeting, that he would have police at whatever meeting the YLO attended to make sure



trouble was stopped before it began. After all, his job was to protect property, and citizens would have to get used to police at meetings attended by the Young Lords. Until he was convinced that YLO was capable of respecting property and exercising creative, responsible citizenship, police would be where the Young Lords were.

Commander pig was sorry that this disturbed citizens, but after all, he had a job to do. He indicated that if the Young Lords and "Cha Cha" continued to do what they had been doing then he would find a way to put "Cha Cha" or anyone else who acted that way into the pen for good.

And not long afterwards the commander tried to do just that.

## THE BUST

On January 30th "Cha Cha" took a friend to the welfare office. The two of them and other recipients had been there all day with no result. At closing time the women decided they would stay there until they were taken care of, and someone accidentally knocked over a coffee pot.

The Assistant Director of the Welfare office shoved two women aside in order to rush over and protect sacred Cook County property. "Cha Cha" went up to him, shoved him and said, "Push ME, mother fucker". The pigs were called and the assistant director pressed assault and battery charges.

When taken to the police station there was another warrant for his arrest, sworn out by the director of the CCC. The pigs searched for needle marks on his arms and legs, and questioned him about draft resistance. Then he was jailed on the two charges: assault and battery (\$5000 bail); and mob action (also \$5000). A thousand bucks had to be raised to get him out. It was raised the same night and he was bailed out.

The next day representatives of various organizations and churches met to discuss police harassment as part of the political repression of the Young Lords. The group decided to raise money for YLO and to set up an on-going bail fund for the Lincoln Park area. The group talked about sending a delegation to Commander Braash. In the end it was decided that those who wanted should go to the monthly Police-Community workshop, which would be held in two weeks.

## POLICE COMMUNITY WORKSHOP

The meeting was scheduled to start at 8, but people started coming at 7:20. YLO came with signs: WE WILL NOT TOLERATE PIG ABUSE. PIGS NEED SPORTS CENTERS TO KEEP THEM OFF THE STREET AND END VIOLENCE. YLO SERVES AND PROTECTS. HANDS OFF CHA CHA. Guys put the posters up on the wall and the meeting was ready to start.

By 7:30, 300 people were in a room seating only 150. YLO had mobilized

mander. Chairman "Tom" refused to consider the motion, and loud jeers broke out. People began to yell, "We demand our rights! We demand our rights!" Commander pig and "Tom" conferred. An uncomfortable commander then agreed to answer questions, "if he could". Before he started he called for a sergeant to come in, while plainclothesmen were taking pictures like crazy. People demanded they stop, called for a vote. The Commander was reluctant. The vote was unanimous. They stopped taking pictures.

## SKINNING THE PIG

Reverend Johnson began the questioning by repeating what commander pig had said to him about putting "Cha Cha" away for good. Braash said he didn't remember saying that and continued to feign ignorance of events in the community. People were yelling, "lying pig", and assorted "mother-fuckers" after every answer. The only straight answer he gave was, yes, they were most likely investigating the YLO. He said police probably came to YLO in answer to anonymous phone calls. Someone asked him if police could function without little old ladies calling up to tell them about "crime and violence".

He was asked about the killing by a pig of a 15 year old black youth a few weeks before. He said, "according to the officer's report, a call came in saying a burglary was in progress. When the officer arrived at the scene it was dark. The officer 'heard' the youth charge at him with a knife and shot him in self-defense". Commander pig was satisfied with the officer's conduct.

Uncle Tom figured his Commander had suffered enough indignity and tried to end the meeting. He ignored a motion passed to continue the meeting. The meeting ended--the first where the Young Lords and community people had done a fine job of exposing the real criminals and murderers in the streets of our communities.

The establishment press picked up on the meeting. Their reports explained regretfully that the confrontation had prevented two officers from receiving awards for shooting burglars.

Political and police harassment hasn't ceased. Since the meeting YLO members, including "Cha Cha" have been picked up often, usually released once at the station. In some cases money has had to be raised to bail out those who were held for crimes like upside down license plates. If January and February are any indication of what 1969 will be like for Puerto Ricans in Chicago then the answer of the Young Lords is... "Right on Brothers!"

## THIRD WORLD UNITY

On the weekend of February 15-16th YLO and BAD co-sponsored a Third World Unity Conference. B.A.D. stands

the coalition. The Young Patriots have been organizing white youths and community people around similar issues as YLO has and are working a few blocks north of Lincoln Park.

These meetings have resulted in a coalition of support between the groups for future actions against the pigs of Chicago.

## A YLO NEWSPAPER

The Young Lords have also begun publishing a monthly newspaper. The paper is in both Spanish and English, and has many articles on local struggles and problems. In addition there are articles like: "Chicago Blacks Mourn Malcolm," "Uptown Confronts Pigs", reprints from the Black Panther paper, well written articles on Nixon maneuvers, millionaire tax dodges, Cuba, Latin history and national liberation struggles.

An editorial called "Why a YLO newspaper?" says, in part, "A Latin American Movement is developing in Chicago for the purposes of putting an end to the injustices, suffering and exploitation which is forced upon our people. YLO considers itself as part of that movement--a movement that wants a new society in which all people are treated as equal; a society whose wealth is controlled and shared by all its members, and not by a few; a society in which men and women view each other as brothers and sisters and not as people to be exploited and hated." After speaking of police brutality, community control, jobs, housing, and imperialism and the need to overcome tendencies toward reformism in the Latin American movement, the editorial hopes that the tool of a newspaper can help aid the development of political consciousness in the community and in YLO, help develop revolutionary goals, people, strategy and contacts.

The editorial ends: "The YLO newspaper exists for the benefit of the Latin American community. We welcome all news items and suggestions as to how to make YLO serve more effectively."

## MORE ORGANIZATION

As the Young Lords Organization demonstrated to the Latin Colony that it was truly committed to protecting the interests of Latins in Chicago, its support grew. Many young people and adults wanted to join. But YLO felt that it needed to clarify the path it was taking, to strengthen itself to more effectively tackle the job that had to be done.

YLO realized that its members had to develop greater political consciousness and sophistication if they were to help provide leadership to the Chicago Latin movement. Thus, YLO again reorganized.

During the next few months before summer, YLO will spend most of its energies in educating itself: learning

what needs to be done to change it.

Besides setting up study groups for all its members and training in karate, YLO will participate in Latin activities that require protection from the pigs and in co-sponsoring events that aim at educating the people as to what is happening and what Latins need to do in order to resolve the present situation. By the middle of the summer, YLO should be prepared to work out a more systematic offensive against the injustices plaguing the Latin colony.

There are 350,000 Latins within the city of Chicago, and 12 million Latins in the U.S. (not counting the 2 and 1/2 million in Puerto Rico). In light of their objective conditions, it is clear that basic change in this country, and thus throughout the world, will require the mobilization and leadership of brown people--as well as black people. The developing Latin struggles for independence and freedom in the Southwest, in Puerto Rico, and in the northern cities will be a key part of the present revolution.

TENGO PUERTO RICO  
EN MI  
CORAZON



VIVA  
YOUNG  
LORDS

CITY LAW  
DOES NOT  
PERMIT  
PIGS  
ON THE STREET

VENCEREMOS

LATIN  
POWER  
TO  
LATIN!  
PEOPLE!



Latins while a group called the Concerned Citizens of Lincoln Park had organized Anglos...all by word of mouth. Apparently pig "intelligence" hadn't been hip to it in advance, and they were falling all over themselves trying to deal with the scene.

People filled the seats, the aisles, sat on tables and desks, lined up double against the wall so everybody could get inside. For the time being, the people had taken over the police station.

At 8 the minutes were read. Then a Puerto Rican "Tom" tried to introduce the scheduled speaker. Latins yelled at him, "Shut Up Uncle Tom!". A minister moved that the agenda be changed because people had questions for the Com-

for Black, Active and Determined and is a group of young black men and women organizing in and around the Cabrini housing projects, just south of the Lincoln Park area. BAD has been organizing for over a year, in high schools as well as the community. The theme of the conference was "Non-Whites and Latins Unite in the Third World". Several workshops were part of the program, along with speakers from BAD, YLO and the Chicago Black Panther Party. Plans for further talks and discussions were set up between the three groups.

At a later meeting of the groups, the Young Patriots, a southern white group from the Uptown area became part of

more about the capitalist system in the U.S. and its effects; the results of American imperialism in Latin America, especially Puerto Rico and Mexico; the interests being served by the educational, welfare, health and "protective" institutions in local communities; and learning from the experiences of revolutionaries like Huey Newton, Albizu Campos, Jose Marti, Che Guevara, and others. In addition, YLO will reach out to other Latin groups and individuals and recruit the most politically advanced people in order to develop a network of Latin organizers throughout the city that coordinate their activities and share similar understanding of what is happening in this country, in the Third World, and



# internationals lay oil slick on chevron strike

by Bob Avakian

The oil workers' strike against Chevron (Standard Oil puppet) ended abruptly last week. It was sold out by the fat cats who make up the international bureaucracy of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Under the misleadership of the past President O.A. Knight, the international apparatus of the union was using the members' money (mainly dues) to collaborate with the Central Intelligence Agency and was receiving in turn, funds from several C.I.A. feeder foundations.

The current President, A.F. Grosspiron has supposedly severed these open ties with the bosses' government but it is obvious from the actions of the pickard flunkies under his direction that the union bureaucracy continues to work for the benefit of the bosses.

Two weeks ago the Chevron workers received official notice from the company that, under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, they would be permanently replaced by scabs if they did not return to work by Friday, March 28. This achieved the intended result of causing a deep split within the ranks of the union.

## STANDARD'S WHORE

The "International Representative" of the union, who had been dispatched to oversee the conduct of the strike, seized upon the Taft-Hartley provision. He began caucusing with small groups of strikers, trying to persuade them that the local leadership had lost sight of the immediate issues of the strike and was going to steer them all to disaster. This "friendly persuasion" was a clear indication to the Chevron workers that they might soon be left on their own, to sink or swim, without the weekly strike benefits from the international that had enabled them to hold out against the financial and political power of imperial Standard Oil.

At the same time, the International Representative set out to sabotage the boycott against Standard Oil. The boycott had been gaining momentum--gathering support not only from working people and students, but from local labor fat cats who were embarrassed into giving some token of assistance to the embattled oil workers. The OCAW International insisted that the boycott be limited to Chevron Chemical Company products, since it would be "immoral" (!) to boycott Standard Oil, now that the union had signed an agreement with the Standard refinery. In other words--forget the murder of Richard Jones (a picket who was run over and killed by a Standard tanker during the strike); forget the militant strikers who still face criminal charges, pressed by the Standard-controlled D.A.'s office; forget the union-shop at Chevron Chemical; forget the most active pickets whom Chevron is firing for "illegal acts"; just be sure not to disrupt the sweetheart agreement between the union fat cat whores and Big Daddy Standard.

From the beginning of the oil strike the strategy of Grosspiron and his cronies has been to preserve, at all costs, their jurisdictional authority. Above all, not to do anything that might force the oil oligopolies to try to eliminate the union altogether, rather than just weaken it. At the same time they tried to put themselves in a position to claim a victory in the strike. So, instead of keeping all the oil workers out until each bargaining unit had won its demands, the International negotiated one-by-one, leaving the Shell and Standard workers in California out on a limb until the last.

Then the International Representative concentrated his efforts on the El Segundo Standard Refinery in Southern California--the weakest of all the OCAW locals--encouraging the men to settle for an inferior contract. When the El

Segundo workers did vote to accept this agreement, the International refused to authorize it. The result was predictable demoralization among the local rank and file, who went back to work anyway, without a contract. The strength of the local was completely smashed. Only its bureaucratic shell and dependent relationship with the International were left intact.

## MORE SELL-OUTS

Next the International Representative returned to northern California. Pointing to the El Segundo disaster (which he blamed on the rank and file), he argued that the refinery workers had better hurry up and settle before the company, swelled with arrogance, offered an even worse settlement than the El Segundo workers were forced to accept.

At the same time he worked with the leadership of the Shell Oil workers in Martinez (OCAW 1-5, 25 miles from the Richmond Standard Refinery) to get the rank and file to return to work without a contract, slow down production from within, and wage a boycott against Shell. When they went back in, however, several of the most militant members were fired. They walked back out, but without real support from the International, they could not revive the strike and were forced to return to work again.

The International has also reduced the boycott of Shell to a paper farce (placing Shell on the "unfair" lists in labor journals that many union members don't even bother to read).

With the Shell strike out of the way, the International Representative could turn his full attention to sabotaging the struggle of the 300 Chevron union workers to save their union shop. The Standard refinery workers ignored his advice and stayed out long enough to win back the jobs of all union members. (see the MOVEMENT, April, 1969). But thanks mainly to his efforts the Chevron workers are back in the plant without a contract, without a union shop and without four of their most militant members who were fired for allegedly smashing windows, slingshooting scab trucks and other acts that gave the strike the measure of power it did have.

## THE WORKER'S STRUGGLE

The Chevron workers did not go back in without a bitter internal fight. On Saturday, March 22, a rally was held in front of the Chevron plant to protest the murder of Richard Jones. At that rally, which was co-sponsored by our solidarity committee, I gave a speech urging the Chevron workers to resist the pressure to go back to work without a union shop. I pointed out that strong unions were the only day-to-day defense working people have against their boss. But I also argued that in order to really win the strike and begin to deal with the all-around exploitation and oppression by the bosses and their government, we would have to join forces with the black peoples' movement, the student movement and peoples movements all over the world who are struggling against the same beast. I reminded people that the District Attorney had refused to prosecute anyone for Richard Jones' murder and that this clearly demonstrated the hold Standard had over the "legal" system. I pointed to the cop cars across the street and added emphatically

that Standard not only controlled the cops and used them to break strikes, but used them to occupy the black community, where people are daily subjected to terror and even murder by the pigs. I also pointed out that the bosses use international cops to murder people who try to take the resources of their own land from companies like Standard. And I stressed the crucial role the students and others who identify politically with the world-wide resistance movement had played in supporting the strike and helping to get the boycott going.

The speech was very well received by the 50 or so Chevron workers at the rally--who represented the most militant and advanced workers. After the rally a union meeting was held to discuss the Taft-Hartley termination threat by the company. Many of the men and women who had been at the rally took the lead in the fight to stay out and continue the strike. On several occasions heated argument led directly to an exchange of blows.

So, although the motion to continue the strike narrowly carried, the sides were so bitterly divided that those who had been convinced (largely by the International Representative) that the strike would fail and they would be fired, refused to accept the majority decision and walked back in the next Monday. This broke the back of the strike. The rest of the workers had no real choice but to return to work without a contract and rely on a massive boycott to pressure the company into giving them back their union shop.

When the OCAW International squelched the boycott, the Chevron workers, who still have not signed a new contract with the company, were left with little besides their own determination--with-out which no lasting victory can be consolidated in any case.

## LOCAL LEADERSHIP

So far I have talked exclusively about the sell-out role of the Union International. The role of the local leadership is more ambiguous. First of all, it is important to note that, with the exception of the Secretary-Treasurer, Jake Jacobs, all the local officials (including the President of the local) are workers themselves, employed full-time in the plant. So there is not the kind of contradiction between workers and officials that exists in many union locals. This may be the result of the former influence of the old (non-revisionist) Communist Party, which played the leading role in organizing the OCAW in the 1930s.

Secondly, the present leadership of Richmond local 1-561 has been very open in accepting support for strikes from every quarter. This openness is probably due, in part at least, to the relatively weak position of the local, which has less than half the 2000 refinery workers organized. But the local leadership does deserve credit for resolving this contradiction by actively seeking support and, in this strike, even forming principled ties with the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State. The local leadership did everything it could, within the framework of the OCAW, to wage a serious strike, push the boycott of Standard Oil in order to get a decent settlement, save the union shop at Chevron and the jobs of militant pickets.

On the other hand, when the framework of the OCAW, rigidly controlled by the sell-out International, conflicted with the need to extend the strike and the boycott, the local leadership was not willing to say "screw the International". Had they done so, the International would almost certainly have moved to take control over the local directly by putting the local under "trusteeship".

To continue the strike under these circumstances would have meant deepening the alliance with the TWLF and going all out to link up with the student movement and, even more importantly, with the black liberation movement. At

the same time they would have to overcome the inevitable resistance of the labor bureaucrats to win support from the ranks of working people. The rank and file also faced the problem of being unprepared for such an all out, protracted struggle. But at least part of the blame for this lies with the leadership of local 1-561, which failed to rally strong support for a wildcat walk-out last year which erupted when a militant young worker was fired. The wildcat ended in the firing of 27 militants who went out in solidarity with him.

## ANTI-COMMUNISM

But the most important tendency which restrained the local leadership is their opposition to proletarian political ideology (Communism) and, of course, their resistance to furthering this consciousness among the workers. Without this consciousness it is impossible to see beyond immediate economic exploitation by the boss, or to place the lessons of even a long, bitter strike--the use of police as strikebreakers, the rigged nature of the legal system, the puppet character of the politicians, the one-sided reporting of the press--in a perspective that ties them together with the oppression of workers in other industries and class strata, students, black people and the colonized peoples of the world. Without this consciousness it is impossible to identify the single source of all this oppression--the imperialist system--and to conceive of the possibility of an alternative system based not on exploitation and oppression, but on cooperation and common struggle.

Without this understanding, workers are continually forced on the defensive, conceding to the bosses ever more power to determine the battlefield, the time of battle and weapons. There's also the trap of supporting one set of slavemasters against another, instead of fighting to end the whole system of slavery.

At one point during the strike, after my first article in the MOVEMENT appeared (March, 1969) Jake Jacobs cautioned me against writing things that put the strike in the same framework as the struggle of the Vietnamese, and other oppressed peoples, against Standard and its imperialist cronies. "Our members will read that and think it's Communist and get turned off," he warned. But the ability to see their struggle as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism is exactly what working people need most.

Our job as Communist revolutionaries is not only to help our fellow workers win any immediate battle with the boss, but to arm them with a broader understanding of the system that makes that battle necessary and of their crucial role in smashing that system and replacing it with one based on their needs and the needs of the majority of the people. If they see that as Communism and are turned off, our job is to help them overcome that bourgeois prejudice, not to give in to it.

Of course, not all working people are on the same political level and some can obviously be won to a Communist position much faster than others. But unless we put forward the most advanced ideas, within the framework of support for the immediate fight, we will never reach the advanced workers--who alone are the motive force that can lead the intermediate and even backward workers in the sharpest struggle and raise their political consciousness.

## UNITY AND STRUGGLE

Our approach to the local union leadership has been one of unity and struggle. Unity on the basis that they were really trying to win the strike and were willing to reach out to the student and third world movements, in principled coalition. And struggle on the basis that they ultimately kept the tactics of the strike within bounds acceptable to the International and tried to keep the politics that developed out



of the strike within bounds acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

Even though the local leadership has gone along with the International's anti-boycott edict, we are working with SDS nationally--which passed a resolution at its last National Council--calling for a boycott and all-out support for the Chevron workers--to keep the boycott going and to organize demonstrations and other harassing tactics against Standard.

We did not take Jacobs' advice on playing down anti-imperialist propaganda, but in our articles, leaflets and conversations with the workers, tried to bring Communist politics to the forefront. In fairness to Jacobs, it must be said that while he discouraged us from this type of propaganda, he did not publicly oppose us in carrying it out. We are now forming study groups with the most advanced guys (reading about and discussing the Panthers and black liberation, Vietnam and imperialism, the fundamentals of Marxist economics and the Thought of Mao and the Cultural Revolution). We are trying to make these groups study-action collectives, so that the people involved can apply what they are learning to the day-to-day issues that come up inside the Standard plant and to larger political questions like the Vietnam war, the schools and the cops in the community.

In the plant organizing is difficult because the Standard refinery is spread out like a city and it is difficult to make contact with workers in other divisions who may be literally miles away.

In the early stages of the strike we brought together several black workers we had met with members of the Richmond Panthers, and hopefully a black caucus will be developed. On Saturday, April 19, the Panthers and representatives of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit (DRUM, EL-RUM, etc.) are holding a revolutionary labor conference. We will be bringing a number of workers to that meeting so that the advanced white workers will have a chance to meet with black workers from Standard and Chevron and work out some plans for coordinated action in the plant and in the community.

## OUR SHORTCOMINGS

In summing up our experience in the strike we felt that there were a number of shortcomings in our work--some avoidable, some inevitable, given objective circumstances.

During the first month of the strike we spent several hours each day on the picket line talking with the rank and file workers. But as we became more familiar to the union leadership and they began to rely on us for help in the strike--even to the point of plotting strategy--we tended to cut down on the time we spent on the picket line, although we did hang around the union hall and talk to the workers there. At first we tended to hold back on our full political perspective for fear of isolating ourselves. Even as we got to know the workers better we had to struggle to overcome our timidity and tendency toward seeking the lowest common denominator. The lively and generally high-level discussion we got into when we did put forward our full politics was the best encouragement and guide to avoiding revisionism.

Although we did raise the question of black liberation and helped win support for the TWLF at S.F. State, we were not able to focus this question into concrete conditions of white supremacy within the plant and the union. Specifically at Standard, black people, who were not hired until recently, are low down on the seniority list and therefore are concentrated in the lower paying jobs. If we had been working in the plant ourselves before the strike--or had contact with and developed a collective among advanced workers there--we would have been in a position to raise preferential seniority for blacks as a central demand of the strike.

## FUTURE STRATEGY

This will be one of the major focuses of our work in Standard and in the other plants in Richmond where we develop contacts and cadre. Our strategy for plant organizing is to concentrate on basic production industry where large numbers of black workers are grouped, and develop collectives among the advanced white guys, who will lead the fight for support of black caucuses. If there is no black caucus we will try to steer the most advanced black workers to the Panthers and work closely with

them, either in one caucus or in coalition.

Our experience with the oil strike has also tended to bear out our tentative conclusion that younger white workers are less hung up in white supremacy. Also, although their trade union consciousness is sometimes less developed than that of older workers, their political instincts are usually far more radical. They are more willing to seize the initiative in a struggle. For these reasons we believe the younger white guys will form the backbone of the collectives we are building in the shops and the community.

The younger guys also relate readily to the student movement. On several occasions when hundreds of students joined the picket lines, young workers led groups of students in militant action, including a charge inside one plant, which netted the General Manager of Chevron Chemical and two other company officials.

## STUDENTS NOT SHOCK TROOPS

Some misunderstanding has apparently been created concerning the role of the student mobilizations on the picket line. The PL-led student-worker alliance in this area--which was actually the first student group to join the picket line--ended up withdrawing from active strike support and criticizing us for encouraging hundreds of students to mass at the Standard plant and help shut it down.

The essence of their criticism seems to be that the students were acting as "shock troops" for the workers, rather than forcing the workers to rely on their own strength to win the strike. We are specifically accused of taking the strike out of the hands of the workers and turning it over to the students. "Student-worker alliance" is good they say, only if it is on a small-group basis (and presumably only if it is led by PL).

First of all the "shock troops" argument draws a false distinction because, as I have already indicated, young workers were actually leading students in militant action. (PL and its sympathizers may have been thrown off here because many of these younger workers have beards, moustaches, sideburns and long hair. Apparently PLers think that all workers are smooth-faced and burr-headed).

On the other hand, there was clearly a contradiction between the younger workers and the older workers. The younger workers were more active and willing to take more risks in the strike. The older workers have accumulated more seniority, find it difficult to work their way into a different industry, and consequently were intimidated by the threat of termination and by the company cameras that recorded every act of the pickets. Most of the older workers recognized the significance of militant student support and, if they were not willing to join in militant action they were at least inspired to stay out longer.

Given this contradiction, would it have been better for the students--who had relatively little to lose by following the younger workers--to say to the older guys: well if you're not willing to be fired, we can't act as your shock troops, so you'll just have to lose the strike? Again, PL and its political supporters would have students form an "alliance" with the working class by pitching not only their politics but their tactics to the level of the more backward workers.

Our approach was to mobilize as many students as often as possible, but to stress to the workers that the success of the strike still depended primarily on their. For example, at the union meeting the day before the first mass student mobilization, we put out a short leaflet which called attention to the upcoming mass mobilization but concluded:

This show of community support and increased militancy will be a powerful tool in helping win the strike. But it's still up to us to show our own strength--on the line and every day until Standard is forced to give in. The company will never recognize that our demands are just until it becomes too costly for them to fight us. Tomorrow morning is the time to up the ante on Standard and its scabs. Every union member and supporter should be on the line. If we stick together, we're gonna win.

THE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

Our assessment is that it was a great advance--although not a worker-student alliance for the overthrow of

imperialism--for the students to join the picket line at Standard. Many students who turned out for the mass mobilizations did return in smaller groups and spent considerable time exchanging experiences and political ideas with the oil workers. And as I wrote in the last article, the anti-imperialist ideology--the support for the liberation of oppressed peoples--that the students brought to the picket lines will ultimately be of the greatest value to the workers.

## STUDENT CLASSES?

In the last article I put forward a cursory analysis of the position of students in society and drew a few conclusions about the role of the student movement in defeating imperialism. This analysis, while correct in several aspects, was not wholly adequate. It is true that most, though certainly not all, university and college students (and certainly not the majority of junior or community college students) come from the middle classes: from the families of small businessmen, professionals and skilled workers, who tend to be more petty bourgeois than proletarian.

Students as such are in a transitional class position. They do not stand in any direct relation to the means of production. Although many will become skilled workers, they cannot be considered "apprentice workers" because they do not create any value, no surplus value is extracted from them, they receive no direct compensation, as students, for their efforts, and they are in fact forced to pay for their training. They do absorb value as students--but this does not define them as workers. The exception to this, of course, is the minority of students who are at the same time teachers, lab technicians, research assistants, or on scholarships, etc.

Certainly the great majority of students who are now active in the student movement are from the middle classes. How can we explain this? The material base lies in the new technology (sometimes called "automation") which has been introduced by the monopoly industries over the past few decades. The effect of this technology has been to reduce the absolute as well as the relative number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and create whole new categories of skilled jobs.

Within the working class, white workers generally have experienced an upward mobility into these more highly skilled categories, while black workers (many of them migrating from the rural South) have become increasingly concentrated in the unskilled basic production categories. At the same time, many of the skilled jobs cannot be handled without increased education, so the sons of more privileged workers are forced to go to college in order to insure steady employment and the possibility of rising to even more privileged positions. These students tend to be very vulnerable to the concentrated dosage of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology they get at school, because it does seem to correspond to their objective position. The limits of their mobility are in fact temporarily receding.

On the other hand, the children of the "independent" petty bourgeoisie tend to have the opposite experience when they get to a college or university. Because these institutions have been converted into service centers and training schools for the corporations and the corporate state, (rather than grooming schools for the future owning and managing elite), the methods of mass production and massive bureaucratization have been adapted on a large scale.

So the "independent" petty bourgeois kids find that the first thing that is compromised at college is their independence, and this is also true in the society for which they are being trained. As a result of going through college they may make more money, but they will be forced into an institutionalized, bureaucratized work situation as teachers, scientists, engineers, etc. because these functions are being brought more and more under the direct control of the corporations and the state. In short petty-bourgeois, individualist, ideology tends to lose much of its credibility.

The first reaction of "middle class" students to the loss of their individuality and privilege was to fight to preserve them. Hence the rallying cry of the Free Speech Movement at U.C. Berkeley was, you can't do this to US--you can't turn US into adjuncts of the machine. (Witness Mario Savio's famous speech before the big Sproul Hall sit-in.)

These students increasingly discovered, through confrontation and struggle, that the "factoryization" of the university was rooted in the basic structure and development of society. Some students, unable to cope with this realization, "dropped out". But many began to investigate more thoroughly the nature of the system that had created their own alienation.

Students, while they are not renaisance men (or women) are still intellectuals. They read widely and synthesize what they read. They tend to be the first group in society that detects the possibility of fundamental changes in the social order. In this period of the decline of imperialism students who came to understand that the imperialist system would not allow them full development as individuals, began to identify with the oppressed peoples of this country and world who are driving imperialism up against the wall. They found in these peoples' movements the concept of a new society and a new man, embodied in both the collective struggle of the people and in the leaders of their revolutionary movements. Many activists in the student movement have learned from these liberation movements the importance of Marxism-Leninism--the science of revolutionary struggle to defeat imperialism and build socialism.

We believe the task of revolutionary students is twofold: spread the anti-imperialist student movement to working class colleges and high schools; and develop Marxist-Leninist cadre who can leave school and integrate with the most exploited sector of the working class, the industrial proletariat. In both these ways, the student movement can aid in the development of a revolutionary united front against imperialism, led by the working class, and of a vanguard Communist Party based on the most oppressed and exploited--black people, Latinos and the industrial proletariat.

I have spent so much time on the student movement because, although our work in Richmond is with the working class, we recognize the crucial importance of a revolutionary student movement and of linking this movement up with the working class. Our experience in the oil strike has shown that this can be done and that far from retarding the development of revolutionary struggle and ideology among workers, it can help to push that development forward.

## ENTER WOMEN

There is one final question that arose in the strike which is of general concern to the movement and is of desperate importance to the working class, women's liberation. While a number of women workers at Chevron and many wives of oil workers played a very active, militant role in the strike, many more tended to act as a brake. For example, the majority of the women at Chevron were most vulnerable to the pressure of the company's termination threat and most susceptible to the International Representative's treachery. They formed the backbone of the back-to-work move that finally disintegrated the strike.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

## RED PAPERS

What has Mao got to do with making the revolution in the US? Do we need a Marxist-Leninist Party? Is the working class the vanguard?

READ the RED PAPERS, a pamphlet published by the Bay Area Revolutionary Union. It includes: "Statement of Principles of the Bay Area R.U.", "Against the Brainwash: A Defense of Marxism-Leninism", and "Serve the People".

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--Correspondence Committee of  
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# PALESTINE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

## AL FATEH

While constant military confrontations take place on the borders of the Arab territories occupied by imperialist Israeli forces during the June blitzkrieg, an Arab nationalist liberation movement, Al Fateh, operates behind Israeli lines. Various slandered or ignored in the media, Al Fateh here presents its position. The statement below is a press release dated January, 1968.

The Palestine Revolutionary Liberation Movement (Al Fateh), in this first general international communique to the world press, wishes to clarify certain misunderstandings concerning its operations and the nature of the struggle now being waged by the Arab Palestinian people against the Israeli invader.

The Palestine problem is essentially the problem of an entire people, the Arab majority of Palestine, uprooted and expelled from their homeland in order to permit the establishment of Israel. As a result, before the June 1967 aggression, nearly a million and a half Arab Palestinians were forced to live as refugees in numerous camps throughout the Arab World, surviving 300,000 inside Israel have been grossly discriminated against by that regime and denied jobs and educational opportunities and every human right. For two decades Israel has denied the Arab refugees' continual requests to return to their homeland.

### UN POWER

At first the expelled, suffering Palestinian people looked to the United Nations to resolve their tragedy. However in 20 years this international organization has failed to resolve their problem. Moreover, its many resolutions stating that refugees should be allowed to return to their country or receive compensation were never implemented. All this time, Israel continued to elaborate and perfect its expansionist plans. These were expressed in the 1956 Tripartite aggression when Israel occupied Sinai and the Gaza Strip for four months in defiance of the U.N.'s admonition to withdraw. They were revealed beyond a doubt once again after the June aggression when Israel occupied and boasted of its unlawful annexation of the Western Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip, the southern portion of Syria and the holy city of Jerusalem in defiance of all international law and in complete contempt of the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Conventions and the Declaration of Human Rights. Today the United Nations has revealed its inability to impose a just solution to the Palestinian tragedy, by failing to reach an agreement concerning the withdrawal of the aggressor from the occupied territories.

### MORE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

It must be admitted that over the years several Arab leaders have exploited the Palestine problem for their own benefit. Moreover the successive Arab Summit Conferences have failed to give the Palestinian people their due support. Similarly it must be acknowledged that the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) headed by Ahmed Shukeiry failed to liberate Palestine. Although progressive Palestinian elements genuinely wanted the latter organization to represent the Palestinian people, certain reactionary forces tried to use it to dominate the Palestinians. Today the PLO, this pseudo-liberation organization, is no longer playing any significant role in the liberation of Palestine. The reason being that it did not spring from the masses themselves but was artificially imposed from above.

The suffering and frustration of the Palestinian people over the years gave rise to a new, truly popular dynamic Palestinian liberation movement which expressed the people's revolt against the Israeli invader. Al Fateh (the Palestine National Liberation Movement) which was forced to operate clandestinely in the occupied land began in 1965 to carry out overt guerrilla operations sabotaging Israeli military and strategic installations in order to weaken and unnerve the oppressor who was threatening our people's very existence as a nation as well as menacing the entire Arab World. Until the June 1967 aggression, these operations -- which received immediately the enthusiastic support of the Palestinian Arabs throughout the Arab World -- had to be waged from the outside. However, the six-day war and the catastrophic effects it had on the entire Palestinian population inside and outside Israel brought about new conditions in their struggle to liberate their homeland. Ironically enough, due to the new border which Israel now claims for itself, the Palestinians found themselves confronting a common Zionist enemy entirely within the territorial boundaries of former Palestine. Moreover, the fascist repression which Israel began to implement against the Arab inhabitants after the cease-fire engendered a resistance movement similar to that in Vietnam. This popular rebellion against repression is being admitted by Israel. Its proportions and concrete manifestations can no longer be ignored or denied by Israeli spokesmen.

photos: penny schoner



CONCENTRATION CAMP, UNRWA STYLE



FUTURE PALESTINIAN GUERRILLAS



### A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Immediately after the aggression, Al Fateh began clandestinely organizing the Arab people in the newly occupied as well as formerly occupied territories, and encouraged them to have confidence in their own ability to liberate their homeland. Led by their vanguard, the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Al Fateh), they are now resisting a vastly superior military enemy in their midst by every means at their disposal: strikes, non-cooperation, boycotts of Israeli goods, denunciation of repressive measures and annexations, etc. Under Al Fateh's coordination, political and religious personalities have refused to implement the enemy's decrees, teachers are refusing to reopen the schools and school children are staying away from classes so long as their homeland is dominated by this hostile power.

During this post-aggression period, Al Fateh's armed wing, Al-Assifa, has also been intensifying its military and sabotage operations against Israeli installations including military camps and stores, electric power plants and railways, in order to undermine the enemy's economy and weaken its ability to dominate our people. Israel's industrial plants, printing presses, administrative centers and paramilitary kibbutzim now being implanted in the newly occupied zones are also being attacked by Al Fateh's commandos causing great damage and casualties and increasing tension in Israel. Our people have realized that no other course is open to them if they are not to live in slavery.

The occupation of all Palestine by Israel made possible one of Al Fateh's most important long range objectives -- the transference of all its military bases into the occupied homeland. This transference has now been completed. From these many well-hidden, well-stocked bases, Palestinian commandos -- most of them dedicated peasants and students -- are now operating dozens of times daily throughout the old and newly occupied areas. No part of Israel, no Israeli installation, no Israeli target is out of their reach and that regime may henceforth expect the steadily increasing disruption of its colonialist existence in the weeks and months to come. This undermining of the Israeli Zionist existence will continue until Palestine has been restored to its rightful owners, the Palestine Arabs, who have lived on this land alongside the Jewish minority uninterruptedly for 4000 years.

Al Fateh, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, wishes to point out, however, that its operations which today enjoy the support of the entire Palestinian people, are in no way aimed at the Jewish people as such, with whom they lived in harmony in the past for so many centuries. Nor does it intend to "push them into the sea." This resistance and the liberation movement Al Fateh is coordinating, is aimed solely at the Zionist-military-fascist regime which has usurped our homeland and expelled and repressed our two million people, condemning them to life of destitution and misery.

Al Fateh also wishes to correct once and for all Zionist insinuation that this "terrorist" movement is inspired and directed from outside by such countries as Syria, Jordan and Algeria. Under the conditions existing in the Middle East today, no such foreign-imposed movement could long survive for it would soon be rejected by the people. On the other hand, the Palestinian people's liberation movement has arisen out of their desperate frustration and deep aspirations for liberty, justice and dignity in their own self-administered historical homeland. To this it owes its strength.

The world should recall that those who have suffered most of all from the Israeli existence for the past two decades are the Palestinian people. And the world should note that those who are today taking up arms to engage wholeheartedly, unitedly and courageously in combating the brutal Israeli oppressor in guerrilla warfare, under the leadership of Al Fateh, are the Palestinian people. Their reaction to the napalm bombings, strafings, evictions, summary executions, plundering, brutality, imprisonment, desecration violations and countless other crimes of fascist Israel in recent months has been this spontaneous people's armed upsurge in defence of their dignity and their usurped rights. The movement Al Fateh is leading is the organized expression of this people's liberation struggle whose counterparts are to be found throughout the world, wherever fascist and imperialist aggression is being waged -- in Vietnam, South Africa, Angola, Bolivia or elsewhere. In occupied Palestine as in these countries the humble, ordinary subjugated people are taking up arms in self-defence and for the eventual liberation of their homeland.

Today, the Arab people of Palestine have decided to take their destiny into their own hands. Today, with arms and courage they are restoring their own lost dignity. Tomorrow, following a long tenacious struggle at the cost of many martyrs, -- a struggle which will undoubtedly have the support of the entire Arab liberation movement and the progressive peoples of the world -- they will restore their beloved homeland, Palestine. Al Fateh and the entire Palestinian people wholly believe in their just cause and their ultimate victory. And they also know that on the day the flag of Palestine is hoisted over their freed, democratic, peaceful land, a new era will begin in which the Palestinian Jews will again live in harmony, side by side with the original owners of the land, the Arab Palestinians.



## "...keep up the pressure!"

On April 6, Easter Sunday, 50,000 marched in San Francisco against the war and in support of the Presidio 27. At a rally on the Marina Green Terry Hallinan, the lawyer for 14 of the GIs, spoke. Several weeks before at an earlier rally he had spoken about the conditions in the Presidio stockade that led to the sit-down, singing demonstration. This time Terry, due to begin a defense in the general court martial the next day at Fort Ord, layed down something about the military system of injustice.

Terry told the crowd he had majored in American history and that one of the fundamental things he had been taught was that the United States, unlike many other countries, had no feudal traditions. But that ain't true...from the beginning all the way to now the U.S. has had at least one feudal institution and tradition --the U.S. Army. See, back in revolutionary times there had been a system of dual power for a while, with a British colonial apparatus existing alongside an embryonic government structure composed of colonialized people, getting in practice for the takeover.

And there had been this one committee that was supposed to write up new Articles of War. People felt the old way wasn't in keeping with the coming thing, was aristocratic, pledged to the Queen. But who was chairman of this committee? John Adams...an aristocrat himself. And the Articles of War that were adopted weren't revolutionary documents like the Declaration of Independence or the Bill of Rights. Here's what John Adams himself said about them in notes taken at the time:

THERE WAS EXTANT ONE SYSTEM OF ARTICLES OF WAR THAT HAD CARRIED TWO EMPIRES TO THE HEAD OF MANKIND, THE ROMAN AND THE BRITISH, AND THE BRITISH WAS MOSTLY A LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE ROMAN. IT WOULD BE IN VAIN FOR US TO SEEK IN OUR INSTITUTIONS OR THE RECORDS OF WARLIKE NATIONS FOR A MORE COMPLETE SYSTEM OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE. I THERE

FORE MOVED THE ADOPTION OF THOSE ARTICLES OF WAR VERBATIM.

That's exactly what our articles of war are about, and that's what the men inside the Presidio stockade are facing and that's exactly why they took this courageous and heroic act to protest and bring to the attention of the American people.

So GIs, whether they join up or are drafted have no rights, they don't have the same constitutional rights that everybody else in the country has. No due process. No free speech. It's not a system of justice, it's a system of discipline of the commanding authority. Let me tell you what these young men face.

### WESTMORELAND'S PROTEGE

The commanding officer at the Presidio is General Stanley Larsen. Now Larsen is a protege of Westmoreland, and came back from Viet Nam in 1966. When he got back he held a press conference in Washington and told how he had invaded Cambodian neutrality and how the U.S. would continue to invade Cambodian neutrality. He came to the Presidio about three months before the 27 demonstrated, in order to put things in order, to stop once and for all this anti-war nonsense and restlessness among the troops. He's the convening authority of the court martial. Over the advice of his own investigating officers (2 of 3 recommended that charges be reduced to disobeying an order) he decided to charge the men with article

94, mutiny, which can be a capital offense.

And he decided to convene the court martial in Fort Ord. He did it because he knew I had a lot of witnesses who would have trouble getting down there to that 37 man courtroom way off from everywhere. I'm gonna move for a change of venue, back to San Francisco, but it'll fail 'cause Larsen has that power too. And he won't move it back because he figures the Army won't get a fair trial in the Bay Area. And they wouldn't either...look at all of us here.

But his reasons for moving it are even more insidious and cruel than that. He knows I've got 16 psychiatrists willing to testify at the trial and that they might find it difficult to come down. They are volunteering 'cause the men ain't got no money. But more than that. When an enlisted man is court-martialed he has a right to have one-third of his court martial panel be made up of enlisted men. When Congress passed that they called it "trial by a jury of one-third of your peers." These enlisted men are invariably the "lifers", the E7s, E8s, and E9s. And Fort Ord is a boot camp, a training camp and these E7s, E8s, and E9s, at Fort Ord are DRILL INSTRUCTORS, the most brutal and sadistic of all lifers. That's why Larsen moved the court martial down there.

Larsen also can assign the type of court martial...it's at the discretion of the convening authority to say whether a special court martial will be held (no sentence above six months) or a general court martial. And he also NAMES THE MEN WHO TRY IT, who the jurors are. And when his handpicked board returns a verdict and sentence, it goes back to him. And he has the power to approve it or modify it in any way he wants.

So it's not justice, it's discipline.

### REAL HEROISM

I don't have to tell you what took place at the protest. Just to say that Senator Allan Cranston has said that in the three months before the protest there were 54 suicide attempts at the stockade. Imagine the bestial conditions that could cause that. And you know what the protest was. Twenty seven sitting down in a peaceful demonstration, singing freedom songs like "We Shall Overcome", trying to read grievances about the conditions at the stockade. People have been shocked by the sentences already handed down.

This demonstration was an alternative to violence. Other prisoners wanted to kill somebody or burn something down. Why if it was non-violent did the Army react like it did? The Army had good cause to react because the peaceful demonstration more than a riot challenged at its roots the system of military justice.

That's why I say that THESE TWENTY SEVEN YOUNG MEN ARE AMONG THE GREATEST HEROES OF OUR GENERATION. And foremost among the 27 are the 14 men at Fort Ord who have stuck with me as their attorney, have not tried to worm their way out or make deals. Everyday somebody says to them...get rid of Hallinan and it'll go easy, cop a plea, get a light sentence. Not one of

them has done it. Nobody. Because they don't want a deal, they want justice. Justice for themselves, for the 27, and for all GIs. And they're gonna get it. They're gonna get it.

It's a stacked deck against them. Stacked. But that doesn't matter. We are going to get an acquittal. Because its more than 14 or 27. No matter what the army does it can't stop this, can't stop the spreading movement to build a democratic army which is arising in this nation, arising up from deep within the Army.

### NO STOPPING IT

The 27, their fathers, their fathers, for 200 years have been the victims of the system of military discipline. But it's a new era now, a new generation. And they're calling attention to it to the nation and the world. THERE'S NO WAY THE ARMY CAN STOP THIS MOVEMENT ONCE ITS REACHED INTO THE GIs. They can't stop it. Can't, when a mother like Ginger Bunch (mother of the man who was murdered by a Presidio guard just before the protest) has said NO. My son was murdered and I'm gonna show why. Murdered by the U.S. Army, by Larsen and Presidio officials.

They can't stop it. Because who are these 27, these 14? Some people might think they're nuts, or troublemakers, or peaceniks. But they're part of the GI subculture. Their average age is 19, the average grade they reached in school is 10th grade, there's only one high school grad among the 14, and his parents are both Air Force lifers. Five of the 14 have parents who are either retired or present lifers in the service. They're the drop outs, the poor white drop outs, from the suburbs, the little towns like San Leandro and El Cerrito. The guys who pumped gas into your cars when you passed through.

These are the people who said NO! These are the people who sat in, who demanded that the nation put an end to the military system of justice, put an end to it. I'm going to close but before I close I want to ask everybody to stand up, rise to their feet and give an ovation for these men, for these heroes inside the Presidio Stockade.

The ovation began. The next day the Fort Ord court martial began. The motion for change of venue was denied. As of this writing the court martial panel has just been whittled down, as lawyers for both sides made use of the challenges given them to pick a panel from the group of judges selected by General Larsen. Terry asked if any of the panel had strong feelings against psychiatrists, if any of them would be affected in their judgement if a "scandal was part of the case". Newspapers stressed the mysterious "scandal". What could it be? Meanwhile the Army took the press on a tour of the stockade facilities to show off the advanced conditions there, and one official said that guys in the stockade had life easier than regular enlisted men.

The Army's got the power. A court martial is not only stacked...the dealer's got a gun to the head of every player. But the Army's running scared. And the defense is fighting every step of the way. It's up to all of us to keep the pressure up.



PIGGIFICATION PROCESS





photo: nacio jan brown

# KEEP ON TRUCKIN'

II

TO THE OAKLAND SEVEN FROM THE OAKLAND TEN THOUSAND

I

When I went for my physical  
At the induction Center  
They were doing construction work.  
So us poor victims had to enter  
Through a side door to the pounding of jackhammers  
Like the pounding in our heads.

But at the sound of one big blast  
Which sorta shook us up at first  
(We didn't snap on what it was)  
It had hardly passed when  
One cat turned to me, and flipped a V, and said  
Hope it's those demonstrators at it again.

Like during, what'd they call it?

Stop the Draft Week, a year ago.  
Yeh, that was it. They raised all kinds of hell.

Yeh, I was down here then.  
Hey man so was I. I came down and ran around, even though  
I missed work. Hell No We Won't Go, we said.

And look at us now...where do you work?

Down at that auto plant in Fremont.

I told him that I knew the seven dudes  
They busted for conspiracy  
And when he asked what kind of guys they were  
I told him they were all good cats...  
They had problems just like you or me  
But they had a lotta guts,  
And wives, and lovers, and plenty of friends.  
Told him they were into different things  
But they'd been picked out, were on the line,  
And that I didn't know what would happen to them.  
We both agreed they should be free.

Hey man...you see the doctor yet?

Uh Uh. How you tryin' to get out?

Aw man...dig this lineup for the slaughterhouse.  
Sure hope it's those demonstrators at it again.

That was a while ago,  
And tonight the Oakland Seven were acquitted.  
Innocent of conspiracy  
Guilty of raising an issue  
That the jury could well understand:  
With a son in Nam  
Dollars down the drain  
Defeat upon defeat  
Deception on deception  
Caught napalm-handed  
A grandson going to be drafted  
Ghettoes going up in flames  
Every movement shame  
A brother dead.

Tonight the Oakland Seven were acquitted.

A victory to treasure  
In an as yet too small collection  
And Charlie Garry knows his stuff.  
Nobody says the courts are just,  
Just that there's nothin like a line  
Whose time has come.  
And that constant education  
Can cut through obfuscation,  
And that we still got some rights.  
Tonight the Oakland Seven were acquitted.

A victory  
But still a long long ways to go.  
Where will the 7 go?  
Where will we 10,000 go?  
Maybe in different directions  
Maybe head towards the same place  
In different ways  
But one thing remains  
Once they were all there together  
With us ten thousand  
And they were right  
And we won  
A victory.

New cases coming up  
New battles  
We'll remember this then.  
New battles  
But raise your fist  
In happiness tonight  
For the Oakland Seven.

And hope it's those demonstrators at it again.

Lincoln Bergman



# JOIN THE CONSPIRACY

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** Eight brothers were recently indicted by a Chicago grand jury for conspiracy to organize the mass demonstration against the Democratic Party Convention in August. One of the eight, Tom Hayden, here outlines probable strategy for the counterattack.

Politically, our concept of defending ourselves does not involve defending ourselves in a narrow sense. We don't contemplate demonstrations in our behalf or the traditional forms of "Save the Chicago 8" or anything of that kind. We want to press on with our attack against the War in Vietnam, against the universities, against racism and not be tied up by the conspiracy charges.

We think that one reason the government puts down these charges is that even if they don't hold up in court, they will have sort of a chilling effect on the defendants and force us to modify our activities. We don't intend that. We don't intend to turn political inward. We want to simply attach the issue of our defense and repression in general to the basic issues--the issues of race and class and imperialism.

We are probably going to use the term "conspiracy" to define ourselves, because we see this as the major definition that the government is trying to impose on us. We want to desanctify the concept. Take away the fear people usually associate with conspiracy. Through mimicking the term and encouraging everyone in the country to join in the conspiracy to destroy the kind of government we have, we think we can show how absurd the term is. This will make its use by the government less possible in future cases.

## ISSUES OF THE CASE

We want to make sure we win our case in Chicago not by narrow technical maneuvers in the courtroom, al-

though we think the law is unconstitutional, even in the framework of capitalist law. We want to make our case a public matter. We want to use our case to go over once again what the basic issues raised in Chicago were. We want to win our case on the basis of widespread popular support. We want the case to be a landmark in helping to overturn the Daley machine in Chicago and set back the forces of repression everywhere.

In order to do this, we'll have to define the issues quite differently from the way they'll be defined by the judge. The grand jury has already reduced the issues to a case of violence on the part of two extremes--ourselves and the police. We're going to have to bring into the courtroom the fact that the real conspiracy in Chicago was planned by an element of the ruling class, including President Johnson and others associated with him, as a direct attempt to intimidate the anti-war movement and the revolutionary movement in this country.

In other words, we don't want to make it seem like Mayor Daley is the Bull Connor of the North--that it was a mistake on the part of Daley that made all the trouble in Chicago. We don't want

to make it seem like there was just some violence on both sides. Those are the ways the liberals and conservatives are going to define the case. The liberals are going to support us and put the blame on Daley. We want to show that the policemen who were indicted were only acting on Daley's orders and Daley was only acting on general orders, written or unwritten, of the people who run this society.

This case opens up the possibility for a lot of speaking and travelling around the country on the part of black and white revolutionaries together. We can use the fact that Bobby Seale was indicted to cement an alliance between Black Panthers and white radical groups all over the country. It will also extend the influence of the Panthers in the black communities because Bobby Seale and the leadership of the Party may have to spend a good deal of time in Chicago during the trial. That will strengthen midwestern regional activities of the Panthers.

## PREPARATIONS

A defense office has opened in Chicago and there will probably be one in New York. These offices will do fund-raising, put out educational materials on the case and conduct some other work that we consider important to our concept of a political defense.

First of all, we want to use this case, which will get a lot of publicity, to publicize the numerous cases of repression on local and state levels around the country. One way of doing that is putting out a survival-oriented newspaper which will tell people the state of cases around the country, the state of appeals, who is in jail and give people the addresses of local groups, etc.

In addition to the survival paper, we want to team up with members of the Oakland Seven and the Black Panthers and do a lot of travelling to different regions of the country to sit down and talk with movement groups about the concept of political defense. We want to desanctify the courts, focus movement pressure on the courts, and we want defendants to see their lawyers as technicians and not as authorities. They have to mobilize support far beyond the courtroom and not depend on deals.

People will have to think about defending themselves in court, instead of having a lawyer. This is an obvious necessity because of the situation that the movement is in--getting more and more into the shadow of domestic fascism. This means that we are going to have to win the support of the people. We are going to have to identify the courts as part of the class system. We're going to have to rely on ourselves for our own defense much more in the future. We're going to have to pull things together, rather than letting individuals and small groups be picked off and have their cases obscured.

In addition to the newspaper and the travelling, we also want to internationalize this issue--to bring to the attention of world opinion all the political prisoners in this country, from the GIs in the stockade to students being kicked out of schools to people who are in jail on pot busts. We expect to organize support in other countries.

We may pick a focus, maybe a week in the fall, in which to have teach-ins, rallies and demonstrations where all these issues of repression are brought to the surface in local communities. We'll send around a lot of speakers and information, so that everybody during that week, gets a good idea of what's going on.

## CONTINENTAL TEAM

Charles Garry and William Kunstler are the main lawyers. Mike Kennedy, Jerry Lefcourt and Leonard Weinglass will also work on the case. The trial begins September 24. Arthur Kinoy is going to be sort of the constitutional theoretician for the case and he may serve as the informal coordinator for all cases of this type around the country. This is necessary because it's clear that the existing strains on legal resources are going to continue to increase, as repression escalates.

The important thing about the lawyers is that for the first time in the last few years, you have really the major movement lawyers in the country getting together on a continental basis, with the inclusion of the New York lawyers and Charles Garry, and with Kinoy playing kind of a major strategic role. This is a major unification of lawyers against the pattern of repression. This is a key organizational development.

## Panthers from page 3

significant. The indictment, however, somehow ties up a series of unconnected and unproven crimes into one grand conspiracy to commit murder, attempted murder, arson, etc. The core of the 11 count indictment runs as follows:

It was the plan of the defendants that they would survey and 'reconnoiter' a number of sites including police stations and department stores that would become targets of the bombing activities. These preliminary 'recons' would enable the leaders of the groups to establish priorities so that a bombing could be ordered and carried out immediately. Accordingly, the defendants agreed that police would be bombed first, the department stores would be bombed second and the Bronx Botanical Gardens the last.

## EXPOSE DA'S PLOT

The National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party replied with both scorn and the correct revolutionary analysis:

Concerning the charges, every Black Panther Party chapter and leadership knows that we would not waste dynamite on the blowing up of some jive statue, simply because even if a statue was blown up that would not put any food into our people's stomachs. Second, the Party would not blow up railway stations and department stores simply because some of our own poor people would be killed and we know this is completely wrong when it comes to organizing the people against the demagogue politicians, the avaricious businessmen and the racist pig police forces. They are the enemies of the people of America, be they white, brown, black, etc.

The movement's response to the frame-ups has been amazingly together, given the diversity and size of the New York left. With only hours notice several hundred people, from all types of groups, showed up at the Criminal Court Building to demonstrate support for the 21. Almost 200 people had to be ejected

from the courtroom because of "over-crowding". The next day, well over 400 people demonstrated at the court building, then marched to the Women's House of Detention. Leaflets were prepared for high school students, college students, and even the general public shopping at department stores. One such general leaflet, prepared by the SDS Regional Office, and distributed in quantities of tens of thousands, reads in part:

### BOMB PLOT OR DA'S PLOT?...

The Black Panther Party is an organization of black people fighting WITH the workers and community people of N.Y.C. and in ALL our interests. They have been active in struggles to keep the hospitals open, to get better education for ALL our children, and against the budget cuts in City Universities. They have set up free breakfast for school children, and self-defense programs in black communities.



WHY, THEN, WOULD THEY WANT TO BLOW UP STORES WHERE BOTH BLACK AND WHITE WORKING PEOPLE AND THEIR CHILDREN GO TO SHOP?

WHY DO D.A. HOGAN, CITY HALL, THE PRESS WANT US TO BELIEVE THAT THE BLACK PANTHERS WERE PLOTTING TO BLOW UP THE PEOPLE?

Lindsay and the men who own and control this city know that New Yorkers are angry. They know that people in this city are sick and tired of paying more and more taxes for LOUSY schools, LOUSY hospitals, LOUSY services. They ALSO know that people are beginning to DEMAND that the city provide decent housing, health

care, and education. And they know that the Black Panther Party was active in these struggles--that the Panthers stood with the people and said, "The City must serve the PEOPLE!"

By this frame-up, they hope to pit the blacks against the whites and to crush the most effective leadership within the black community.

BUT THE PEOPLE OF THIS CITY WILL NOT BE FOOLED!

## MOBILIZATION

One pitfall of "defense" movements is consciously being avoided in the mass defense of the Panthers. That is, the tendency to eclipse on-going offensive program with all the "defensive" talk about repression. Because the Panthers are, indeed a vanguard, we try to relate that concept to the notion of a working-class revolutionary movement, talking about how the Panthers' program, and our own program, fights in the interests of all the people. We discuss in our work the origins and use of racism, the maintenance of the black colony, and the need to defeat imperialism. We continue to speak about repressive and exploitative class schools, all the time relating that back to the repression of the Panthers and oppression of the black people. Repression, thus can be turned around and used as offense, as, for example, in the slogan: FREE THE PANTHER 21, JAIL THE REAL CRIMINALS!"

The mass defense of the Panthers in New York City can be viewed also as an opportunity to unite the fragmented left around support of the group which almost everyone agrees is in the vanguard. High School groups, SNCC, SDS, welfare rights groups, workers from Lincoln Hospital, the RAT, Newsreel, LNS, YAWF, the American Servicemens Union, ISC, YSA are publicly uniting to demand FREE THE PANTHER 21. For example, it was a coalition of these groups that turned the left liberal peace march of April 5 into a militant demonstration in support of the Panthers and national liberation for Vietnam. This loose coalition is also planning a mass demonstration for Friday, April 11, at the ransom reduction hearings. (See right.)

## LATE NEWS

At the ransom hearings in New York for the Panther 21, the people took the offensive, while the ruling class attempted to hide its piggish nature behind the last of its "sacred" institutions, the courts. The 21 "criminals" are being held in prisons dispersed around the city, in three separate boroughs, thus making it difficult for the lawyers to get to see their clients, a basic right in the ruling class constitution and one they are usually so proud to talk about. But thousands of people are no longer so easily fooled and it was this group that turned out, over 2000 strong, including 250 uniformed Panthers to denounce the arrests and detention.

The lawyers for their part placed themselves squarely within the politics of the movement in the streets and for that they face serious repression, in the form of disbarment proceedings and contempt of court (maximum sentence for the latter, six months in jail, for the former, permanent loss of one's steady work.) The three lawyers under attack are William Kunstler, Gerry Lefcourt and Arthur Turco. Their crime was to prepare a legal brief which stated the truth. Simply that the ransom (bail) was a form of preventive detention, and in addition was only one in a series of tactics which make up a nationwide strategy to smash the Black Panther Party across this nation.

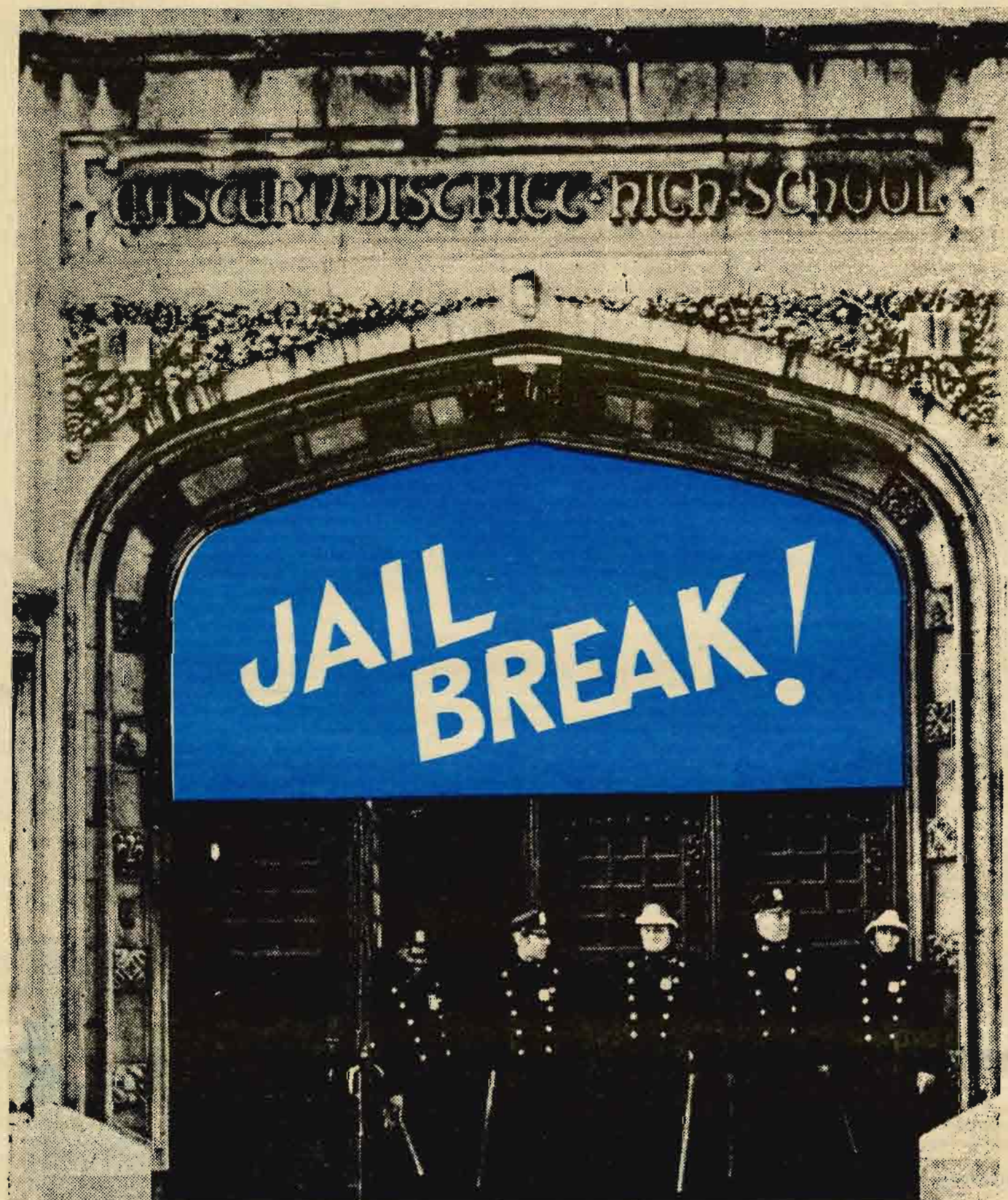
The white vanguard in New York has taken to the streets on three occasions in less than two weeks and showed up in force at the Ransom reduction hearings. None were allowed into the Criminal Courts Building at 100 Center Street. The bulk of the demonstration showed that it knew where the real power lies and rather than confronting stiff police repression at the courts marched on Chase Manhattan Plaza in the middle of Wall Street. On the way windows were smashed and some limousines were attacked. Serious battle losses were few.

Two exceptionally piggish acts occurred within the sanctified court building itself. The first in the courtroom, where the judge refused to allow the defendants in the case to be brought from their dispersed prisons around the city to a hearing to get them released.

The second occurred in the lobby, where Abbie Hoffman, one of the "Conspiracy" (Chicago 8) was viciously attacked by pigs while he was in a phone booth. Abbie was in the building to make a court appearance. He was charged with felonious assault.

# FLASH!





**EDITORIAL NOTE:** More and more movement people are focusing their organizing energies on the high schools. The following piece represents an attempt by NY SDS to talk to high school people. JAILBREAK is one example of the type of agitational literature being designed for high school struggles. The MOVEMENT hopes that people working in the high schools in other areas will also send us their ideas and write-up their experiences.

Every day now a new insurrection breaks out in one of the prisons of the New York City School system. In February, at Lane High School in Brooklyn, clashes between white and black students led to the occupation of the school by New York police. To prevent further trouble, 700 students, mostly blacks, were suspended, expelled or transferred. At Washington Irving in Manhattan, a demonstration of 300 girls demanding more police protection in the schools was attacked by the cops. Two girls were beaten and arrested. Irving students are now demanding pigs out of the school.

In March, trouble hit Taft High School in the Bronx. Andrew Jackson in Queens, Eastern District in Brooklyn, Canarsie, J.H.S. 73 and a dozen other schools. At Taft a black student leader was expelled for distributing black student union newspapers. A demonstration demanding the student's re-instatement was again attacked by cops. Three students were beaten so severely they had to go to the hospital. Taft students now demand cops out of the school, no more suspensions and expulsions and re-instatement of student leaders. When three Jackson students affiliated with the Black Panther Party tried to break up fights between black and white students they were suspended. And when black students at Eastern District High School demanded the firing of a racist dean and an end to oppressive conditions within the school, the administration responded by

sending 50 more pigs into the school.

And the outbreaks aren't just happening all over New York City. In Plainfield, New Brunswick, Franklin and Teaneck, black students from New Jersey are revolting against racist history courses, racist teachers and oppressive school conditions. High school students in Denver, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and San Francisco are struggling against lousy schools and racist administrators. In each case, the authorities try to blame the problems on "outside agitators" or "disruptive students". Lindsay calls for more cops, new "security officers" and more repression. High schools students can't be fooled that easy. We know the real outside agitators are the Board of Education, the racist UFT teachers, and the cops. We know the real causes of the demonstrations are the miserable conditions within the schools. We don't have to be told what the problems of our schools are. Our everyday experience tells us that. But if we're going to make any real changes in the school, if we're going to build a strong movement, we have to understand not only HOW our schools are fucked up, but why they're fucked up.

#### SCHOOLS SERVE RULING CLASS

Schools have always been used to meet the needs of those who control society. In early America, schools turned out preachers, teachers and politicians. At the turn of the century, schools were used to

give immigrants the minimal skills needed to work in a factory. Today schools meet a variety of needs. The men who run the country need engineers, technicians and bureaucrats, teachers and case workers to administer and service the American empire. They also need secretaries, clerks, mechanics and factory workers to produce profits for them. Finally, they need soldiers to fight their wars, menial workers to do the shit-work and unemployed people to provide a readily available cheap supply of labor.

To understand our schools today, we have to understand how they're used to meet those needs of the rulers of America. Tracking is the main mechanism used to insure that the schools meet those needs. In New York City, tracking works in several ways. Some schools offer three courses of study: an academic program which prepares you for college; a commercial or vocational program which supposedly trains you for a job; and a "general" program which prepares you for nothing except unemployment, the army or a miserable job in the garment district. Examples of this kind of school are Benjamin Franklin High School, Seward Park, Taft, Brandeis and others. In all these schools, blacks, Puerto Ricans and, to a lesser extent, white working class youth are shoved into the general and vocational tracks while a few middle class white students follow academic courses.

Other schools are one track only. Almost everyone who graduates from Bronx High School of Science and Math or the High School of Music and Art goes on to college. Bronx Science is 94% white and Music and Art is 75% white. Food and Maritime, a vocational school, sends almost no one to college. Students are trained on a World War II Liberty ship for jobs that have been eliminated by automation. Furthermore, Food and Maritime is 75% black and Puerto Rican and blacks and Puerto Ricans are generally excluded from the maritime unions.

The tracking system is clearly racist, that is, it systematically discriminates against blacks and Puerto Ricans. More than 60% of the total high school population of New York City is nonwhite, yet blacks and Puerto Ricans make up only 36% of the academic programs in the city. Of that 36%, almost 20%, or more than half, do not graduate, are forced to drop out. Though the tracking system screws blacks and Latinos worst, it comes down hard on white working class kids too. Chelsea Vocational High School, which also trains kids for jobs that don't exist, is 53% white. Lafayette and John Jay High Schools, both schools with lots of poor white people, have drop out rates more than twice as high and college acceptance rates less than one third of Brooklyn Technical High School and Stuyvesant High School, both schools which train white kids from more wealthy families.

Tracking starts way before high school. It starts when you walk into first grade. If you don't meet the standards set up by the administrators, then you're shoved into the lower tracks. That means if your face is black or brown, you go into the lower track. It means if you come from a "good" neighborhood you go into the higher section. And the longer you're in lower tracks, the worse your education gets. Because slum kids, black and white, spend their elementary years in terrible schools, they're told they don't know enough to get into the better schools --so they spend another six years in miserable schools.

Tracking is also used to keep up the myth that education is the road to equal opportunity. Teachers tell us if we work hard, we'll get into a better track, a better job or a better neighborhood. That's bullshit. How many kids do you know who have transferred from the general program into the academic? The fact is that the men who run this country NEED a whole mass of badly educated people. Otherwise where would they get soldiers for Vietnam, workers for the garment district or drivers for the transit system? This does not mean, of course, that G.I.s, garment workers or bus drivers are stupid or even that in a decent society these people would HAVE to be badly educated. Blacks and Puerto Ricans don't get lousy jobs because they have a bad education. They get a bad education because bosses need them for lousy jobs. The people who run the schools figure they'd be wasting their time and money if they gave a good education to people doomed to unemployment, the army or bad jobs. And so no attempt is made to give lower track kids even a minimal education.

We also have to understand how tracking is used to promote racism. It pits white students against blacks for the higher tracks and later the places in college and the better jobs. It teaches white students to think that because there is someone in a lower position than they are, THEY don't have to fight against the school. White students are also taught that they have a certain position to DEFEND against black people. Racism and white supremacy are used by administrators to prevent whites from joining with blacks to fight their common enemy, the principals, the Board of Ed and Lindsay, who are, after all responsible for maintaining the oppressive schools. A good example is Canarsie High School where white students fought AGAINST blacks instead of joining WITH the black students in their fight against the oppressive conditions in Canarsie.

Similarly, tracking is used to keep women in a sub-ordinate position in our society. Girls are pushed into bullshit "home economics" and secretarial courses. Black, Latin and white working class girls are sent into the general program or to the vocational schools where they are trained either for non-existent jobs or the most menial jobs for which women are paid consistently lower wages than men. General programs prepare girls for nothing so they are forced to become baby-producers, collect welfare or work for inhuman wages.



Tracking serves the ruling class by turning out the people needed to perform certain tasks and by keeping class divisions in the schools. Another function of the high school is to "socialize" us, to deform our minds so that we will not question the existing order. What's taught in the classroom, the way it's taught and disciplinary regulations all serve to turn out the kind of people needed to keep America the way it is.

In history classes, we're not told how the colonists destroyed the Indian people in order to build America. We're not taught about the black slaves' heroic revolts or about the struggles of black people for freedom for the last 100 years. And we're not taught about the long battles of working people for decent wages and unions. What we are taught is anti-communism, that America is always right, that America is a democracy, "the land of the free and the home of the brave". And there's a reason why the schools lie to us and feed us all that bullshit. Because if every black student knew and understood the history of black struggles, there wouldn't be anyone who'd listen to Tricky Dick's crap about "black capitalism" or "war on poverty". And if working people understood, for example, how white racism was a trick of the bosses to keep black and white workers fighting each other, then they'd get hip and stop playing the Man's game. And if all of us didn't believe we had to smash those commies everywhere, how could the Pentagon fool people into killing or being killed by their Vietnamese brothers and sisters?

Schools also have to teach us not to ask too many questions. So the teacher stands in front of the classroom, gives for 45 minutes, then MAYBE answers a few questions, if you ask politely. But if you challenge the teacher, if you try to put forth a different opinion, then the teacher very quickly turns into a cop who tells you to stay in your place. And there's a reason for that, too, because if we learned to think we might start asking why we had to fight in Vietnam and why Rockefeller makes 3 million dollars a year more than a subway conductor and why American troops have fired on American people in Newark, Detroit, Washington and Chicago.

If we believe schools are places where we get educated, then some of the Board of Ed rules seem pretty crazy. Why can't we wear coats or hats in school if we want to? Why do we have to show our program card if we want to take a piss? Why do we have to wear certain clothes? Why can't we pass out leaflets? What do any of those rules have to do with getting an education? Absolutely nothing. But schools are NOT places to educate us, they're institutions to fit us into the proper slot and to teach us to accept authority which is against our interest. Then those rules make sense. Because we have to learn not to question our bosses, not to question the army lieutenant, and not question the system. Then we'll be good soldiers, good factory workers, or good secretaries. And that's exactly what the ruling class needs.

When we understand that the schools are not educational institutions, but political and economic institutions whose purpose is to force us to accept America the way it is, then we realize that the recent outbreaks in high schools are not only angry students fighting against lousy schools, but they are fighting also against a whole system. And that's what makes Lindsay, Donovan and the pigs so uptight. THEY understand that if the high school movement isn't stopped soon, it's going to turn into a much bigger stronger movement that attacks the whole system. This system is one in which a very few people own most of the wealth and control all the corporations, schools, hospitals, army and even the government, while most people are poor, working for the rich people and have almost no power in any institution. They understand all that and that's why there are 100 cops in Taft High school, that's why 700 "trouble makers" were expelled or transferred from Lane High School and that's why Lindsay is sending security officers, narcos and piglets (police cadets) into every school in the city. We have to get hip to what's at stake too.

What's happening in the high schools in New York City is part of a much bigger situation happening all over the world. Wherever people fight for freedom, the U.S. government has to put them down. The cops in the high school are part of the same system which requires more than half a million American troops in Vietnam. Despite the phony Paris peace talks, the American Air Force is dropping more bombs on South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia than ever before. And the

National Liberation Front is still winning. U.S. soldiers are fighting guerrillas in Bolivia, Thailand, Guatemala and Peru. All together now, the New Action Army has bases and men in 64 countries. U.S. imperialism, the economic, political and military system by which America dominates most countries in the world, continues to expand, to search for new places to invest and for more profits, and continues to exploit and oppress people all over the world. But things aren't looking too good for the rulers of America—all over the world people are starting to fight back.

So in response to this crisis in U.S. imperialism, the government has to tighten up here at home: more soldiers, bigger draft calls, more missiles (like Nixon's new ABM project), more people for war industries, more technicians and bureaucrats to administer the empire, less money for education, welfare, poverty projects and other pacification programs and more taxes for our parents. Rockefeller's 5% budget cut is part of that tightening up.

And in reaction to this tightening up, more folks are starting to fight back here at home. The new struggles are being led by the blacks--rebellions in Watts in 1965, then Newark, Detroit and Washington D.C. And there's trouble within the U.S. Army at Fort Hood, Fort Dix, the Presidio in San Francisco and a hundred other bases. Every military stockade in the country is overcrowded and most of the prisoners are blacks. Also, we've seen struggles for community control of education, the formation of the Black Panther Party and more wildcat strikes by working people than ever before. Finally, we've seen the student movement grow from a peace and civil rights group into an anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement that has led militant struggles at Columbia, Chicago, San Francisco State, Duke University, Wisconsin and in high schools in New York, L.A. and New Jersey.

Because of these escalating struggles here at home, the ruling class of America has to use more and more violence to maintain itself. Cops now occupy black communities full time. There's very heavy repression of black militants and white radicals and lots of talk about law 'n order (like Nixon's new preventative detention act, aimed at blacks and young people), more young people are getting busted than ever before, especially working class kids. New laws preventing working people from striking are being passed. And, of course, there are whole herds of pigs in our high schools.

### BUILDING A MOVEMENT

When we understand that the problem in the high schools is part of a much bigger problem, when we understand that our schools are fucked up because America is fucked up, then our tasks become clearer. Until we destroy that system which depends upon oppression and exploitation, until we destroy capitalism, neither our schools nor our society can be free. So our goal must be to build a mass movement, a revolutionary movement which sees itself as part of the international movement to eliminate U.S. imperialism and U.S. capitalism. In America, that movement must include the most oppressed people, blacks, Latins, Chicanos, and the most powerful people, the workers, black, white and every other color, who after all, produce the goods that keep this country running. Obviously building that movement will be a long hard struggle, but any student movement that's serious has to have as its strategy fighting in the interests of working people to help to create and become part of a working class revolutionary movement.

In the past there have been several obstacles to building a strong mass movement in the high schools. 1) First, until recently, the white middle class high school movement has fought for its own self-interest at the expense of other students. That kind of struggle has been waged with the demand for "student power". The demand for student power understands that students are powerless, that's true. But the real question is not whether students should have

power, obviously they should. The real question is what student power is used for. Sometimes student radicals have demanded the "right" to draw up dress codes or the right to sit on certain committees. That kind of demand is very dangerous. Principals like nothing better than for students to regulate and discipline other students. It's like the plantation owner using the house nigger to oppress other slaves. It makes the principal's job easier. That's why last December, those Mickey Mouse student government "leaders" were appointed to the Board of Ed Committee on Student Rights. In short "student power" has often meant that a small group of middle class kids demand special privileges for themselves. That serves to divide middle class kids from working class kids, which is exactly what the administration wants. We must see student power as a tool with which to attack the common oppression of ALL students and to unite students against their enemy. When student power is used to demand pigs out of the school or the firing of a racist teacher, then it's a real good thing.

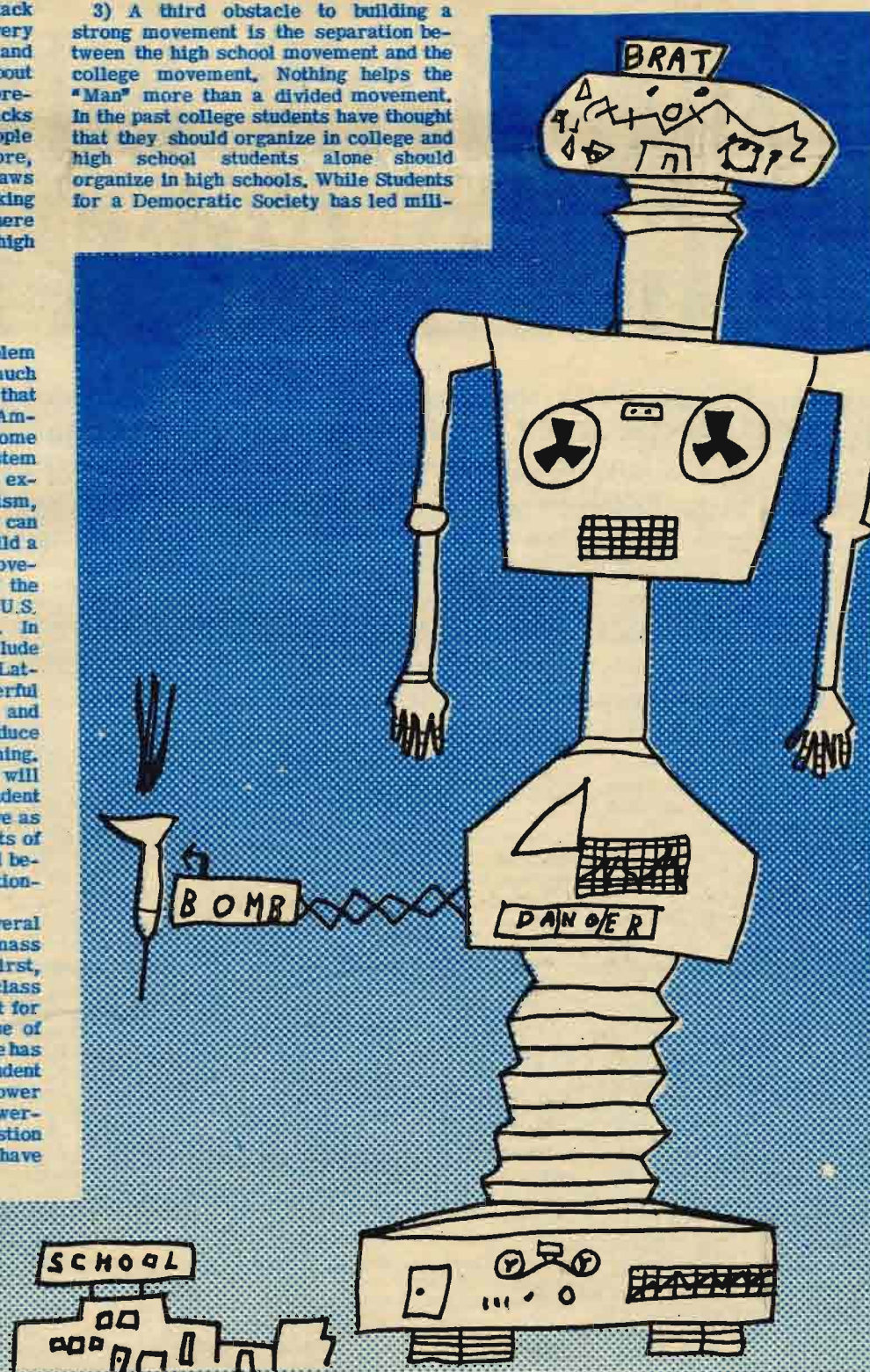
2) Second, we should decide which of our problems are most important. While there are a million things wrong with our schools, from terrible food in the cafeteria to captive lunch periods, from tracking, cops in the school, and racist teachers to suspensions, dress codes and boring classes, we should raise only the most important and serious issues. Some people say you start with little issues and build up. But experience has shown that doesn't work. Students will be willing to fight long and militant battles only over issues that really count--like tracking and expulsions and suspensions. Further, we must explain to all students that only by attacking the CAUSES of problems can we make any real changes. We must explain that the ROOTS of the petty problems lie in the much broader problem of the function of the school in society. So we must choose demands that will educate people about the true nature of the prisons run by the Board of Education.

3) A third obstacle to building a strong movement is the separation between the high school movement and the college movement. Nothing helps the "Man" more than a divided movement. In the past college students have thought that they should organize in college and high school students alone should organize in high schools. While Students for a Democratic Society has led mili-

tant struggles against racism and the war in Vietnam at Columbia, San Francisco State, Wisconsin and hundreds of other schools, SDS is only now beginning to see the need for an ongoing struggle in which college and high school students fight together against the whole oppressive educational system and the ruling class which it now serves. The fat bald men who run the schools are organized. Principals from all over the country meet together to plan repression of student protests; college professors do research on high schools; and principals conspire with pigs, the Mayor and others. If we're going to win we have to get just as organized. Now, a hundred men, the Board of Ed and the principals, can run the school system because they are well organized. If the half a million students in New York City were together, they'd need an army to stop us. We have to learn from each other, trade experiences and help each other out. We can't be afraid of the outside agitator charge. People who have been through different struggles can really help us out. Until every pig and principal is out of the schools, we'll need outside agitators.

4) Finally, and most important, white racism has prevented us from building a strong movement. Almost every high school action in New York City in the past year has been led by blacks or Puerto Ricans--Brandeis, Food and Maritime, Haaren, the November-December strike, Taft, Eastern District etc. And that's no coincidence. Black students have led the struggles because they are most oppressed by the schools, because they understand most clearly the nature of the schools and how to fight against that. Very often white students have failed to support black and Latin students' demands because they have thought that the black struggle was separate from their own or that the demands of the black students were not in their interest or even went against their real interest.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19



Drawn by a nine-year-old student at one of Ann Arbor's elementary schools.  
Reprinted from NEW LEFT NOTES



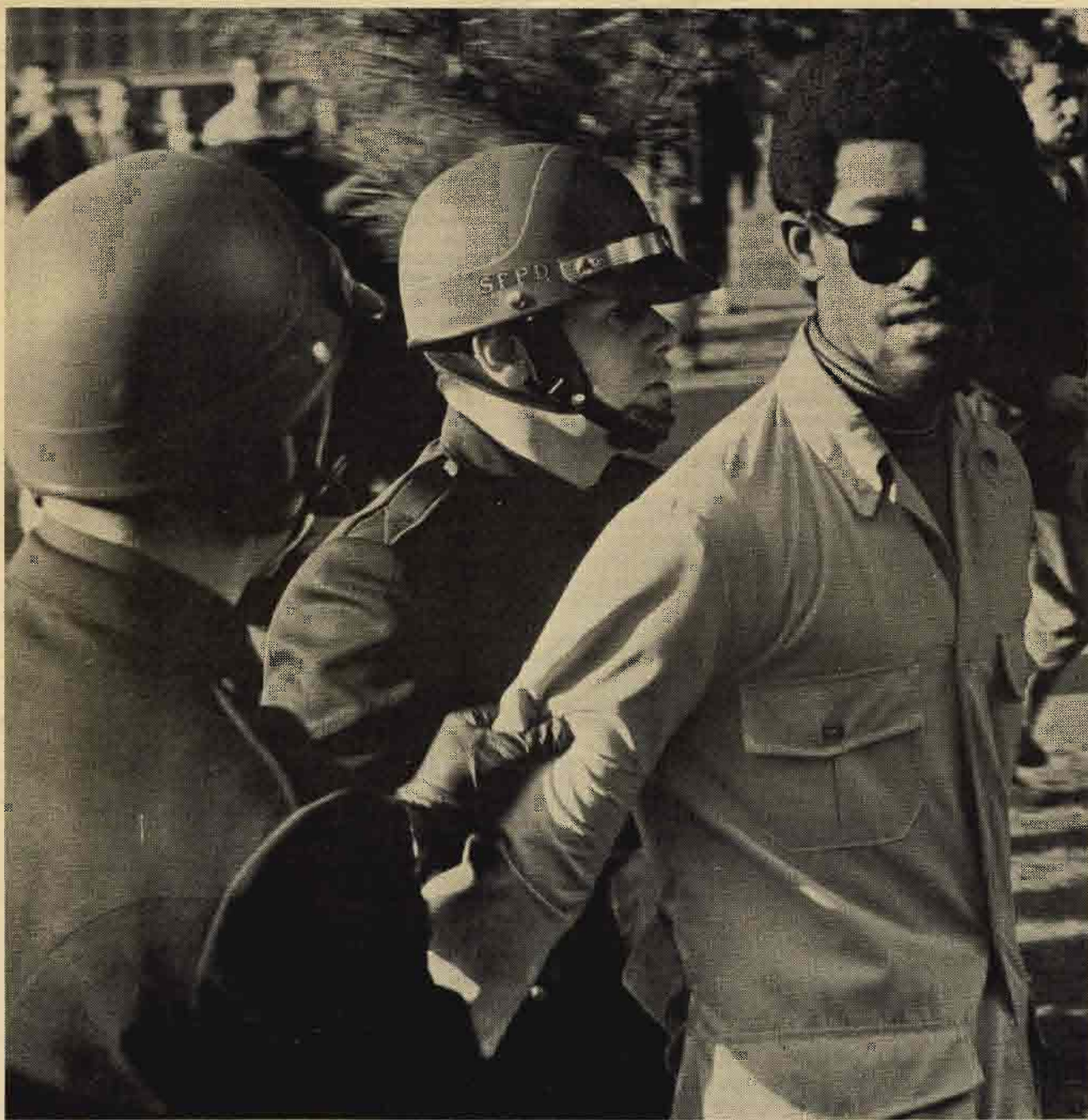


photo: nacio jan brown

# STRIKE OVER BUT STRUGGLE GOES ON

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** While the strike at S.F. State has faded from national headlines, the Third World Liberation Front continues to struggle for the implementation of their demands. A few weeks after the pickets were withdrawn, we talked to TWLF leaders about the current status of the struggle, where they are going from here and the lessons they feel people can learn from their experiences.

Tony Miranda spoke for the brown constituency of TWLF, Nesbit Crutchfield for the black constituency and Mason Wong for the Asian constituency. All three are members of the Central Committee of TWLF. Juan Pifare represents LASO (Latin American Student Organization), also affiliated with the TWLF.

**MOVEMENT:** Why did you begin to talk with the administration?

**TONY MIRANDA:** After Christmas break, Hayakawa appointed what became known as the select committee, which was composed of five faculty members and one administrator. He appointed them, supposedly, to implement the fifteen demands, and he supposedly delegated the authority of the college to them. This is the understanding that they had.

They sent us one proposal to sit down and talk with them and we sent back three preconditions: (1) that they put a moratorium on student disciplinary proceedings; (2) that George Murray and Paul Namasaki be included in the discussions (that they either be freed from jail or that discussions take place in jail); and (3) that they have enough authority to implement all fifteen demands.

They mucked around a bit for a while, then they sent us back a letter saying that they could do number (1), but not numbers (2) and (3); then they sent another letter saying they could do number (3), but not numbers (1) and (2). What finally happened is that they met with George and a couple of other people down at the Hall of Injustice, and they also had an ex-officio representative of the trustees there, a lawyer by the name of Larry Robinson, attorney for the trustees and the chancellor's office.

We went through about two weeks of dealing with these people and it became pretty apparent that they had no concept of what kind of power they had, and

they had no knowledge of the college as an administrative bureaucracy. And they didn't have the understanding or the skills to really deal with the issues involved.

**MOVEMENT:** Did you reach any real settlement?

**TONY:** We finally came to a settlement agreement, which they signed. When we signed, it was with the understanding that Hayakawa would sign also. On the Friday before signing it (March 14), we went into Hayakawa's office, because he was splitting to go have dinner with Nixon, and he said that he would not act on any decisions affecting student disciplinary hearings until the 11th of April, at which point he would then, seemingly, decide whether to act upon them, suspend them, reconsider them, or end them. So far Hayakawa has ignored the agreement.

## WATERSHED

**MOVEMENT:** The main point of contention is these disciplinary hearings?

**TONY:** This was what was put forward in a couple of cases by Hayakawa and by other individuals. But he has also come out with very contradictory statements. At one time he said he agreed with the essence of the School of Ethnic Studies and with community involvement, and at another news conference he said he wasn't in agreement with it.

The student disciplinary proceedings is one of the bones of contention. It's also one of the things we have to hold firm on, because of the role of the courts, and because the strike began to enter into a decline, around, or just prior to, the big bust (i.e. late February-early March). The bust was on the 23rd, and I'd say by around the first week of March people began to wonder what was happening.

**MOVEMENT:** You see the bust as a kind of watershed in the strike?

**TONY:** I think so. I think one of the main things that happened was the people weren't politically ready to go to jail, they really weren't. The mass bust was a mistake. For that reason. Not because of the tactics involved, but because certain people who were arrested weren't ready for it or ready for the consequences of the actions which were necessary.

**MOVEMENT:** Why, then did you decide to risk a mass bust?

**TONY:** The tactic of the mass rally on campus which we had not had for 2 and 1/2 months was necessary on a couple of counts. One was to bring focus back to the campus, to show where the struggle was. Second, to delineate between the teachers' strike, which was involved principally in the tactic of the nonviolent picket line, and the student strike. Third, for an informational purpose, to tell people exactly what was happening, which could only be done in a rally, and in the location of the campus, and to show physically as well as verbally where we were at.

The goal of that tactic was not by any means a mass arrest. The mass arrest was the consequence. When I say it was a mistake, I don't mean that coming out to the campus to hold the rally was a mistake; I say it was a mistake politically in that people had not been prepared sufficiently to accept the consequences of that action.

I don't think it would be fair to say that the majority of people were not well prepared, but I think a sufficient number were not ready for that. People who had been involved, let's say, in the marching around the quad, in the thousands, were prepared to do that act, but not prepared to receive the consequences for it, either in the jailhouse or in the courtrooms or in the county jail.

## IMPLEMENTATION

**MOVEMENT:** Where is the struggle at now?

**TONY:** The struggle is on two levels. One is within the college itself, namely the formulation and implementation of the programs. We have to deal with the bureaucracy, because no matter how explicit your demands are, no matter how broad an area they cover, you're going to have to still fall back within the institution to implement them. This assumes your demands are centered around implementation, which ours were.

What we're engaged in now is the struggle to implement those demands within the institutional facilities, and in fighting against the institutional facilities. It's a myth to think that you can lay out ten demands or fifteen demands or however many demands you want and have them granted on April one whatever year it is, because demands, if they're real demands, are building-steps; they're not an end, they're a beginning.

**MOVEMENT:** Can you give us some detail on the programs you're working to implement?

**TONY:** Yes, one is the structuring of the school of ethnic studies. The administration has in mind a traditional dean-cum-department chairman-cum-area studies structure, right? And we are involved in the establishment of a school which does not fit into that particular little socket.

We're talking about a community board which makes the decisions for the school, rather than the traditional thing. We're talking about a school where the organizations and the areas within the school work together as a unit, rather than as, say, in the school of Humanities you have a department of English and a department of whatever-it-is, world literature. We're talking about keeping our unanimity, while maintaining our individualism, as a culture and as a people. The traditional structure of this institution makes no allowance for that, because they're set up according to disciplines which are separated and unique, and only slightly related to one another. One of the hassles of that is that just to set up that structure we have to go through about four committees.

**MOVEMENT:** Could you give us a more concrete idea of the structure of the School of Ethnic Studies?

**MASON WONG:** The School of Ethnic Studies is divided into departments, each department dealing with a specific group and the various communities, like the La Raza studies dealing with the Spanish-speaking people, and the American Natives would be in one, and the Black Studies Department, and the Asian-American Studies Department, which is broken down into Chinese-American, Japanese-American and Filipino-American and probably Korean-American too. So that there would be three main departments dealing with the three areas of the world where Third World people come from, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

## DEPARTMENTS NOT DIVISIONS

**MOVEMENT:** Within the departmental structure you talk about, is there a way of dealing with the common oppression of all third world people?

**MASON:** Oh yes, the main idea of third world studies is to get third world people to begin to work with each other. The concept of third world studies is to get third world people to stop fighting among each other and to get together. The degrees will be in





photo: karen ross

Third World or Ethnic Studies. Every student will be required to take courses outside his own department. For example, Chinese students majoring in Chinese studies will also be required to take courses in Black Studies.

**MOVEMENT:** Has the setup for the School of Ethnic Studies been guaranteed in negotiations?

**MASON:** What's happened after the so-called talks that people call negotiations is that the administration has come out and stated flatly to us that they're only committed to two programs, black and brown, but the administration doesn't feel there's a need for Oriental studies. What they're trying to do now is not to give it to the whole third world, but to give it to specific groups, throwing our crumbs to us, acting as if there never was a strike in the first place.

**TONY:** It's the same gig, divide and conquer. Where it's at with that: the brown position is that we're not moving without our third world brothers together. That's all there is to say about that. The main thing that's going to be really significant about the School of Ethnic Studies is that it's not any campus-oriented thing. There are parts of it which will be on campus, in classrooms, but there will be a large percentage of it in the community. Like there probably will be what amounts to a brown college extension, in the Mission District, being involved in community work, as well as studying the various things that affect our community, that affect our people.

So that even something, say, like creative writing, which I'm involved in, will be having workshops in the Mission, will be having el Teatro de Calle, as well as some straight Latin theatre, so that we're not isolated from the Mission District, which was one of the big things that the fight here was about. That is: not that the community is an extension of the college, nor that the college is an ivory tower, but that we are, in fact, an extension of the community. This institution exists in order to serve the communities from which we come. Like that's about as specific as we can get at this time; that's the principle.

## THE PRINCIPLES

**MOVEMENT:** You call your dealings with the administration "talks", not negotiations. What's the significance of the distinction?

**MASON:** When you say negotiations you mean, give up one thing to get another, bargaining back and forth.

**TONY:** The main distinction to be made between what I referred to as talks and what are traditionally referred to as negotiations is that they involve not the specifics of each demand, but the principle behind each demand. We said time and time again during the strike that what was involved was the principles. And this is again what we became involved with in the talks. On specific issues or specific things, we may have moved one way or another in terms of the way that they would be implemented, but on the principles behind those things, we did not move.

With negotiations, for example, in any kind of traditional dispute, where you walk in and, say, you create ten demands, five of which are bullshit and they're throwaways, so you want the first five and maybe get three others. That isn't the way we moved. We moved on each of the fifteen demands as related to the principles of the strike: (1) the fight against racism, specifically institutionalized racism in education in California--you can see that in admissions and in programmatic content and in faculty hiring; (2) the principle of self-determination for oppressed people, that is, that we determine for ourselves the programs that are needed by our people, and are relevant to our lives; and (3) the seizure of power, all power to the people; and that power is necessary for the fighting of racism, and for self-determination, and in essence to run our own lives, in this institution specifically, since that is what the demands were addressed to.

A priority in our beginning talks was relating to the needs of our people. In any kind of revolutionary struggle, you must meet the day-to-day needs of the people. You must do that. And it became apparent to us that the strike was involved in this fight, that the needs of the people in our community had to be addressed. And for that we had to return to our day-to-day work. In our day to day work we are involved

in the same struggle that we were involved in on February 23; it takes a different form and a different content.

## FROM THE PICKETS TO THE COMMUNITY

**MOVEMENT:** Let's be blunt. Some people have been saying that the TWLF negotiated out of weakness. What's your response to that?

**MASON:** Well, I think one of the things--I don't know if it's weakness or not--one of the things for us Chinese was that the strike was taking a lot of our energies away from our community, because the high schools erupted, and at the Chinese New Year's there was that mini-riot, where it really got out of hand, the community got polarized...

**TONY:** That's what we were talking about, about relating to the day to day needs of our people. Like, Mission High School went up and the brothers down there got fucked up by the pigs, and not just by the pigs, but because of their own political misconceptions about how to wage an up-front struggle; and we were involved up here.

We had to relate to the needs of the community and where that was at. We had to begin to work on a programmatic functioning basis, which took care of those needs. Just like the Panthers have started breakfast for the kids before they go to school. If all the people in the Panthers were involved in an out-front struggle at the Hall of Injustice, they couldn't be doing that. You simply have to fall back



photo: karen ross



photo: karen ross

on the question of a reassessment of your priorities, and where to put your strengths and where to allocate your energies.

**NESBIT :** I think that anyone looking at the San Francisco State situation, will see that our strike lasted forever four and a half months and that our strike was the impetus for many other strikes and many other disruptions. Our strike encouraged many other means by which high school and college students might address their grievances directly to the power that determines the exploitative conditions they are under. After that, if someone says that we settled the strike in a position of weakness, he would be fooling himself.

Hayakawa was chosen by Governor Reagan specifically to crush the movement, not to appease it, not to negotiate with it, but to crush it. His actions of bringing on the police, and his actions of making very caustic statements to the press, would indicate that he was doing as much as he possibly could to relate from a position of power to us. Yet we obtained an agreement that dealt with every one of the fifteen demands to a satisfactory degree--leaving only one demand relatively unclear at the moment, the demand on amnesty, which we're still working on, and to a satisfactory degree.

The TWLF made it very clear in the first press conference after the settlement of the strike that the strike was over but that the struggle itself was not; meaning that we realized after being in the struggle for so long, that we are dealing with a type of people who have never maintained an honest position in the settlement of any type of treaty in their history. The white man traditionally in this country has felt that treaties were made to be broken. Since we have dealt with the man for a long time, and since we've been doing a lot of reading, and since we've got a lot of concern with our people --when I say our people, I mean our people in the street--then we realize that the settlement we have is really a piece of paper, and that it must be dealt with from a position of action, and from a position of continuing to put as much pressure as possible on the establishment. That's the first point.

The second point is that it's very clear also that the leadership of the TWLF had a very hard time trying to convince their people that they should not go out and be much more creative in reference to confronting the establishment concerning our demands. Our people at the present time are at a level of consciousness and political awareness that they feel that any time that the agreement is not abided by, they in turn will go back out and confront the man physically and directly. They know that he does not have the opportunity or the means to mess with us as he's done in the past.

It's very clear also that the movement here at San Francisco State is not merely a student movement; it is a movement that involves not only the students, but the community as well. We've said from the beginning of our strike and we say even today that we as students are merely extensions of our community, which means that what we say here, is said first of all after consultation with the community leaders; is said after some kind of basic agreement of support has come down from the community leaders. They support it because they know that we are not issue-oriented, but we are program-oriented, which means that our programs are born out of the needs and desires of our people, and that once those needs and desires have been recognized, and have been worked with and have been structured, then we move on it. And if those needs and desires are not met constructively, then our people must move and they do move.

## THE BROWN COMMUNITY

**MOVEMENT:** That makes it important to talk in more detail about how specifically you are relating to the communities. The phrase "meeting the community's needs" can really mean different things.

**TONY:** We're working with the brothers at Mission High School, and specifically with some of the brothers who were involved with the leadership of what went down there. And because we were up here we couldn't work directly in conjunction with them. Now that we're not involved up here to the point where all of us have be up here, we're working with them again.

We're involved with working with some of the younger people in the Youth Center on 23rd Street, which like a year and a half ago involved the 22nd street gang and the 24th street gang cutting each other for a piece of sidewalk which didn't belong to either of them. We're involved in tutorial work in a couple of the places down in an area which is called "south of Market" or "central city", a part of the Mission District. We're involved in a tutorial center which is located at the Valencia Gardens project.

We're involved in a couple of areas which deal specifically with institutions in San Francisco; one is the juvenile defense project, which is related to two aspects of juvenile law and what's called juvenile delinquency. One is setting up alternatives for people who are sent to San Bruno (county jail)--most of the brothers who go to San Bruno are sent there because they don't have anyone who will take responsibility for them, not because they've committed a crime, but because there's no legal guardian.

The other aspect of juvenile defense is getting them out of juvey hall. Brothers and sisters are taken there for 48 and 72 hours and aren't even allowed to make a phone call, they're not allowed to have a lawyer. We made one bit of progress in that thing which is pretty astounding, that is to get a daily list of the juveniles who are arrested. It took us three years to get that. So we know who was busted, who to get out.

We're involved in work in the Mission with the Teatro de Calle, in poetry workshops and writers'



workshops; involved in the neighborhood arts programs; we're involved in terms of this campus in bringing people from the high schools, and those who've dropped out, and older people, to the college, and providing programs for them, which will develop their lives and meet their needs, and not the kind of bullshit and shuck and jive which isolates them from their community.

We're involved in working with the financial aids office, so that the same thing doesn't go down here that went down at the college of San Mateo, where of all the people that were brought in under special admissions, not one received sufficient financial aid to finish the semester.

**NESBIT CRUTCHFIELD:** The Black Student Union has more or less an umbrella type of organization. The Black Student Union is the political arm of the black students on this campus, and also the political arm of the black community at San Francisco State.

We in turn have a tutorial center that's headed by a member of the Central Committee of the BSU, Tom Williams, that has 18 various centers throughout the Bay Area. We have direct contacts with various high schools, which deal with what's happening and counseling with the students to find out what problems they're having, say, in the community, what problems they're having, say, within the school itself, what problems they're having, say, in dealing with other elements of the community. We have counseling programs where we basically supplement the counseling programs, the very poor counseling programs, that are found in the high schools.

We have programs that relate to the anti-draft movement, which means basically that when various brothers, no matter what their ethnic background, come to us and say that they have received a letter of notification of their selection for the armed forces, then what we do is take it upon ourselves to counsel them in reference to what alternatives they have to the selective service department.

We're expanding programs in art and in culture; we have an off-campus center that serves the entire black community and also acts as a supplement to any other community within the third world that wishes to do so in reference to dance, to art, to drama, in reference to basically any type of community-oriented programs that would deal with expanding and exploring the ethnic background of our people. Overall it deals basically with the concerns of our community. This umbrella organization derives from the students here at State and it goes into every facet of the concerns of our people.

**MASON:** Because of the strike, too, now when our people go in the college, automatically we know they're going to get their financial aid. If they have any trouble, we run it down. Quite a few of my people never had financial aid before and got it this time with no trouble at all.

Anything that deals with the community, we're in it; and that's all we can say about it.

## ATTACK INSTITUTIONS, NOT SYMBOLS

**TONY:** The difference between what's happened here and what's happened at a lot of other colleges and institutions of higher education throughout the country is that what happened here is based on the needs of our people.

Most student movements are essentially transitory in nature, in that they don't involve a struggle which is going to entail years. When I say years I'm talking about fifteen, twenty, twenty five, thirty years. They involve a four year period of a person's life, where they become radicalized, unradicalized, enter a profession, become liberalized, and then unliberalized. We're not talking about establishing another MDS. We're talking about relating to the community and its needs, because those needs aren't involved in a transitory period, they're needs which are going to be that much greater in 1974.

Most student confrontations are around symbols, or about the extension of agencies. We talk about kicking ROTC off campus, that's talking about the symbol which represents the Air Force which represents the oppressor of third world people, in Vietnam, say, if we're talking about that specifically. You're not talking about removing the Air Force from Vietnam, because you can't do that. And no student movement ever will do that. We're not talking about symbolically ending the oppression of third world people in the educational institutions in this state. We're talking about changing those institutions. And if it becomes necessary, then we have to deal with the fact of eliminating these institutions.

## MASS LINE IN ACTION

**MOVEMENT:** You're involved in a great many scattered projects for meeting the needs of the people. Have you thought in the direction of how to pull these together toward political power and raising new political demands?

**TONY:** All the projects, all the work that's going on, has certain underlying principles. We're involved in a struggle essentially for the same principles I was talking about a while ago, against racism, for self-determination, for power to the people. Those principles are underlying and inherent in all our work.

If you're talking about the way say a tutorial project relates to some political fight or struggle, let's look at it this way for a minute. Take a child who has no kind of self-image at all, given to him in the schools. As a matter of fact he's given self-deprecating images. You give him a positive self-image, so that instead of dealing with Dick, Jane and John, you give him a folklore tale about the Incas, the Mayas and the Aztecs, he begins to relate with pride, and he wonders why that pride is infringed upon wherever else he walks.

You talk about a project relating to youth; 22nd

and 24th street were cutting each others' throats, and the Tactical Squad came in and kicked both their asses. Some of those people go to Mission High School. When the Tac Squad comes by again, they're not going to be so busy kicking each other's ass that they don't see the Tac Squad coming at them from behind.

When a person enters Juvenile Hall, now, after he's had dealings with the people in juvenile defense, he doesn't relate just to green walls and iron bars, he relates to what goes into that, why he was put there and why he can't get out. And how that relates to the pig that busted him and to the judge that's going to sentence him.

It's not "building towards an issue". Your programs will develop issues in themselves, if they're effective, because the Man is going to have to put a stop to them. He can't let them continue. They're not reformist programs. They're revolutionary programs. I mean that in the true sense of the word. So that the person who's involved in this project, when the Man comes down and stomps on him, he's going to know why, and he's not going to let it ride. 'Cause it's all related, and all the people working on it are related, and come together.

**MASON:** When we were neglecting the community, a lot of things began creeping up. Like the Chinese establishment began to hire their own so-called goons to act as a buffer so that they can start doing their dirty work in Chinatown against the youth that want to make some kind of progressive or liberal movement in the community, people who are concerned about the needs of the community. One member from one of the Tongs is trying now to utilize the conditions of Chinatown to build up his own little base so he can have his own little party or banner. Actually what's happening is that warlordism is creeping up in the community, and this is one of the things we have to fight.

When we saw this, a lot of us made the choice that we had to run back to the community fast. Like I went to an EOC meeting, and I stood up and spoke, and they had 40 people there that were supposed to work me over. But one of the girls that goes to school on this campus heard about it, and the next minute 50 other kids ran in, and there was a confrontation of power, and is so happened that the Establishment lost out.

Also because of the movement in the Chinese community, the FBI's been investigating us every day of the week. So it's: do we get wiped out up here at State or do we get wiped out in the community? And at that point our commitment to the community came first.

**MOVEMENT:** Has the question of power over the ethnic studies program--the question of who is to appoint the chairmen and all the other staff--has that question been settled yet?

**NESBIT:** That question hasn't been finally settled, but I think it's quite obvious--and I think I can speak for the entire Third World here at State--that what we plan to do is to definitely address ourselves to the community leaders, and to the people in our communities who are concerned about education. The ultimate decision will be made in, I'd say, a conjunction type situation, in that the TWLF will make contacts in the various communities and we will deal with those community leaders who have supported, and who have been most vocal in their support of our strike. We in turn will suggest to them that they suggest various names to their community, and then in turn their communities have meetings and decide which of the various alternative people who've been suggested will be chosen, and they in turn will submit those names to us. We will discuss it within the central committee of the TWLF, and in each of the individual central committees of the TWLF member organizations, and then we will make certain suggestions of names. These people in turn will act as a community organization and will work directly with us to deal with curriculum, to deal with administrative resources, to deal with counseling, to deal with any other needs we have, and to deal with the educational process within the school of Ethnic Studies.

**MASON:** In terms of community, there shouldn't be any problem, because the Third World community supported the strike all the way.

## LESSONS

**MOVEMENT:** What kind of lessons can be learned from this strike? Obviously some of them have been introduced in the discussion we've had, but maybe you could lay out more systematically what you feel is the strategy for campus actions.

**TONY:** First, for me to take any campus movement seriously, it's got to be connected with the community. When I traveled back east people asked me, why did the black and brown and yellow communities support you in your struggle at State? And to me the question is pure insanity. Because I wouldn't expect anybody from the Mission or anyplace else to come out and support us if we weren't working there every day. You don't just start and sit down and write out fifteen demands and go out on strike. You don't do that. Not if you're going to have some kind of movement that means anything. That's the first thing. It's a very sort of simple thing, but it involves years of work. Day-to-day work. And as I said before, work which is entailed in revolutionary programs.

Second thing is to know your enemy. If you're dealing with a college, to know what that college is, who runs it, who's involved in the power of that college--the cats who are connected with the board of trustees, the cats who run the budgetary systems of the college, the persons who are connected between the various law enforcement agencies and the campus--to know what

that college is about and what kind of forces it will and can bring to bear upon you.

Another thing is that you deal with specifics of the issues, but you must always keep in front and in view the principles that you're fighting for, and relate in everything that you do, from tactics to decisions, to those principles. Because especially in a struggle that has 24 hours of pressure, you must have guidelines and you must have reference points. And the only ones which you will find at times are the principles.

Another thing is not to project one or two leaders. And I think we've done that pretty successfully here.

**MOVEMENT:** On purpose?

**TONY:** Very definitely. If you project leaders, what you have is a person-oriented struggle rather than an issue-oriented struggle. If you project leaders, they're vulnerable both to the Man, and they're vulnerable to any fractional groups within the struggle.

I think that before you engage in a struggle, you must decide to commit yourselves to a long-term struggle.

Another thing is that you must always be evolving and developing new kinds of tactics; you know, the sit-in don't make it, just don't make it. And we knew that from the very beginning. Now it's obvious that because the man knows the tactics that we used that new tactics have to be developed.

It's necessary always--and we weren't completely successful in this ourselves--to have communications with all persons involved in the struggle.

## DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

**MOVEMENT:** What about decision-making?

**TONY:** The central committee insured the continuing focus upon the three principles, upon the 15 demands. The strike was called by that body and it was maintained in terms of its decision making by that body. When you have 15 different groups making decisions you don't make it. It's not ultra democratic, it's not ultra idealistic, it's functional and it's necessary. What's also key in that is that the body that makes decisions acts upon information and does not make decisions on the basis of whims or what happens to be very currently convenient. And, that that body is responsible to a larger body.

**MOVEMENT:** Doesn't this kind of decision-making set-up create some problems?

**TONY:** One problem was a lack of clarification of why that decision making body was the decision making body. We also needed a better means of transmitting information to other persons who were supporting the strike. Specifically let's talk about the white students. The strike here at State was about third world people and about third world demands and the persons involved in making decisions for those people were the TWLF. The central committee was made up of delegates from the constituencies of the third world. The central committee operated on the premise of democratic centralism.

White students were involved in a support role and as such had a certain amount of decision-making power delegated to them by the central committee. They constituted a white strike support committee.

One of the principal things, obvious to anyone in the movement, is that there was a hell of a lot of factionalism involved in the white strike support committee. At different times different caucuses gained control of that body. They went off on various tangents, all the way from publishing shit without anybody having read it on the committee, to other things. As I said the decisions had to be made by the central committee and I have no doubts that that was good.

## NOT ENOUGH DIRECTION FOR WHITES

**NESBITT:** I'd like to add something here. I think that one of our main problems is that we didn't give as much direction as we should have. I think that the point Tony brought up in reference to the factionalism that existed in the white Strike Support Committee pointed up a fact that most of us tried to avoid if possible; yet after a while it became so obvious that we couldn't avoid it. The central committee of the TWLF was amazingly unified and solicited in reference to their opinions, their analysis of the situation, and the direction they wanted the strike to take. We found, in turn, that it was unfortunate, but there were many factions within the support committee that ultimately had the same goals that we had in mind, but which felt that the tactics used should be a little more dramatic, possibly a little more politically oriented in reference to confronting a symbolism again.

After a while we found it necessary to bring out the reality of the situation and let them know that we weren't here as some type of stop gap or as some type of short run approach. We're dealing with something that will last for a very, very long time. Therefore it was necessary for us not to relate to symbols but to relate to the very basics of power.

Everything we should have given more direction. I think that another thing we should have done is made sure that communication channels were more direct and more clear.

Also we came into another problem. That is, one of the basic principles that we were talking about was the eradication of racism and one of the things the people on the support committee found out was that even though they were considered the vanguard of the new left radicalism, many of these people were racists. And they found it very difficult, very, very difficult to take directions and orders from a third world group. Number 1, I think they found it difficult because it's never been done before; and number 2, they found it difficult because in the past they had been accustomed to telling other people what to do and telling other people how good what they were doing for them was for them; and for the first time they found themselves doing something for not only the third world people, but for themselves, and getting the direction from those third world people. And for white people no matter how



radical they are this is very difficult. We are beginning to realize more clearly every day, that no matter how radical you are, being white in this society you are bombarded with so much racism that you can't help it if a little bit rubs off. Therefore this was a learning experience for them and for us.

PROBLEMS WITH AFT

MOVEMENT: What lessons did your relationship with the AFT teach?

NESBIT : You have a large number of instructors within this college, and probably within every college in the U.S., that feel that the principles that this strike was based upon and the idealistic directions that we were approaching are absolutely great; are things that everyone should strive for and are as basic to America as mother and apple pie. I think that the main point that we learned in conjunction with these people is that there are certain people who have much too much to lose. Therefore, their ability to express themselves and creatively try to construct society, or reconstruct the direction they want their followers to go in is hampered. What I'm saying basically is that the overall status and the overall personnel within the TWLF has so little to lose and so much to gain that we found it very easy for us to take certain creative attitudes and creative directions in trying to eradicate the racism and the castration, and exploitation of this campus, which is nothing but a microcosm of this society.

We found that many people within the AFT, because they found themselves almost welded to the establishment, because they had large families or small families, because they had investments in our society, they could not risk as much as we could. They wanted to, they promised us they would, but when it really got down to the nitty gritty it's very obvious that sometimes they didn't.

Therefore our conclusion is that basically you do what you have to do for yourself. You do not depend upon other people when it comes to what you have to do because if you do, then their basic personal interest may be more destructive to your ends than the enemy you're trying to fight. I'm not saying that all of the AFT bullshitted us--that all of the AFT let us down. I'm just really saying that when it came down to the crux the AFT could have done a lot more than they did do and they did not do a lot more because they had too much invested and they had too much to lose. We had very little invested, we had a whole hell of a lot to gain. Therefore we had to push harder and we had to push harder on our own desires and on our own resources. Depend upon your own resources and depend upon the creativity of your own people rather than going somewhere else.

UNDERSTANDING RACISM

TONY: Talking about white support, I think that one thing that wasn't made clear and should have been made clear or more explicit was the stake that white students had in this themselves. I think a lot of them misunderstood that or did not even clearly see it. We talked about fighting racism, but only a few individuals clearly understood the way that racism divides and separates white radicals, poor white people, from third world people. The rule of divide and conquer is used not only to divide third world people among themselves, but also to divide them from any white persons who are essentially oppressed by the same system although in different manners and in different facets of life.

I think that one mistake that we made was underestimating the bitterness of the factionalism in the white strike support committee, within white radicals. I think that, as Crutch said, one mistake that we made was not providing enough direction in terms of the type of activities that the white strike support committee should have been involved in or was involved in. It did not successfully do what it was supposed to do. In a number of committees that the support committee formed the factions neutralized each other. It didn't get any work done. In turning out a very simple pamphlet it could take them a week to get the goddamn thing out because they couldn't decide whether to use the term "sharp struggle" or "revolutionary fight". That's literally the kind of thing that happened.

Because of that fighting and our not taking a firm enough stand in it, a lot of the creativity of certain individuals within the support committee and a lot of the creativity of certain groups within the committee was smothered. And we should have involved ourselves in direct communication with the masses of white students, rather than leaving it to a committee because the committee would distort, misuse, or use information for their own political ends.

MOVEMENT: What was the main thing that the white Strike Support Committee should have been doing that it didn't do?

MORE PRACTICE, LESS RHETORIC

NESBIT : One thing, continual education process. Second, reaching out into the various white communities in a very significant way. I'm not talking about leafleting a factory, I'm talking about working with the workers. There's a very big difference. I'm talking about taking the rhetoric and applying it to reality and seeing what you come up with. I'm talking about going into a poor white community and not just saying that racism is wrong and that you should be involved in this struggle because you are one of the 33 million white people below the poverty level, but about actually confronting that racism and showing them how it acts against themselves.

Also they should have turned out real informa-

tional literature, not just literature aimed at perpetuating a certain ideological line. Also there could have been better work on getting support from the other state colleges which are mainly composed of white student bodies. They just related to specific organizers on the campus. One group would have a list that they would relate to on a certain campus and another group would have another list that they would relate to and neither of those two lists wanted to have anything to do with each other.

I'll break it down like this. I think that there are two factions that hate each other more than they hate the man. It really comes out that way and I was pretty surprised by that and maybe I was a little naive and idealistic, but I think the reference point which I had was obviously not adequate, because I was referring to the TWLF central committee and even though we had certain differences and pretty long discussions to resolve those differences, we worked them out.

MOVEMENT: One of the questions that has arisen within the white movement is the fact that at least one of the people who was on the TW central committee and represented the strike at a national SDS meeting some time ago is no longer on the central committee. He was also a member of one of the organizations that you referred to as factional.

TONY: Okay, let me deal with it without relating to specifics, but rather to the principle. The TWLF is an organization composed of ethnic organizations. It is about third world people. The TWLF is also a political organization. First allegiance is of course to your own people, but politically if you are to function within the TWLF your allegiance is to that organization. Now if there comes a point where a position of the TWLF is contradictory to a position which will benefit your people or rather is a position that will hurt your people then you have to make that choice as to whether or not you want to remain a part of TWLF. What I'm saying is that so long as you're a part of TWLF your allegiance is to that organization. In other words what you're referring to is an individual who is a member of third world, but who owed political allegiance to another organization--other than one of the organizations that make up TWLF. And who, it came to pass, owed first allegiance to that other organization and that's where the situation came from.

SPREADING THE WORD

MOVEMENT: Could you talk a little about links that the TWLF here has had with TWLFs in other schools?

TONY: There's around 70 to 80 Third World organizations on various college campuses throughout the U.S. We've had contact with a limited amount of them. They have evolved not from any direction from S.F. State, but upon their own needs and what they saw happening here. They identified with the principle, not with the specific individuals who formed TW here.

There are certain differences and perspectives among the various TWLF's. But all of them are relating to third world people not just on the basis of students on the campus--at least in principle.

A lot of them do not have the same perspective that we have because they had not been involved in working in the community.

NESBIT : There is no broad coordinating organization that deals with all third world organizations, but a very obvious fact is clear: if you are a third world person in the USA there are certain grievances and there are certain exploitative conditions that you are under and if you are at all cognizant of yourself as an individual and as a person then you will try and deal with those grievances as creatively as you can.

As Tony said, the communication has not been as strong nor as structured as we wish it could be. Not structured from the standpoint of having an overall national or international organization, but structured from the standpoint that we communicate with each other and deal with problems that we all have and that we all share in common so that we can possibly eradicate those problems as expeditiously as possible.

RELATING TO THE VANGUARD

MOVEMENT: What do you think of the various proposals to raise white class demands?

NESBIT : I think that there are certain general principles or certain general approaches that apply to anyone regardless of their cultural background or ethnic background. I think that it's regrettable that any group be it third world or white would find it necessary to latch upon another group in order to eradicate the grievances that they have. I think it's necessary for any type of groups, specifically any white group, to deal with the problems and to deal with the concerns of their people from the basic reference point, from the basic originality of those problems. I don't think that they should start relating to those problems from the standpoint of what black people have done, rather they should relate to from the standpoint of how their people think should be resolved.

MOVEMENT: But, if third world people are the vanguard, whites must relate to their struggle. Isn't there a contradiction between the idea of a third world vanguard and white groups raising additional demands?

NESBIT : No, I don't see any contradiction in that. There's a very definite reason as to why third world

people are in the vanguard. It's quite obvious that the type of suppression and the type of exploitation that we encounter is much more blatant than the type of suppression and exploitation that white students may feel. But it's also very clear that if you read economic journals and if you read historical books that we're always bombarded with, sixty percent of the people who are poor in this country are white, not black, not third world.

If you look into what's really going on you find that the problem in America is not a third world problem; it's a white problem. For the last three years we've been saying that if white people are going to address themselves to their own problems or to the problems that deal directly with third world people, they must address themselves to the origins of their problem--that is, white people, because the white people basically control our society, our economics, our sociology, our psychology. If they want to deal with this, and not from some kind of subordinate or inverse paternalistic attitude, they should deal with it from the standpoint of what problems and goals their people have. This means that what they must do then, is a very frightening thing, and that is, go home and talk to their mothers and fathers. They really tend not to do this. Why? Because that's a hell of a traumatic experience.

This is exactly what the people in the third world have to do, we have no choice. Many of us, five years ago were walking carbon copies of white folks, until we realized that our own concerns and our own psychological health demanded that we go home and relate to our people.

CLASS PROGRAMS

MOVEMENT: What about demands for open admissions for poor and working class white people?

TONY: The question which you are bringing up relates to some of the debates that were going on about the question of class. Are students a class? Are white people a people or are they just subdivisions of different classes? I think that's a question that's got to be worked out by white people. My own feeling is that a very minute percentage of white people make the decisions that affect the entire body. Poor whites are oppressed in a certain specific type of manner but other people, including the great amorphous non-defined mass of middle class white America, is oppressed in certain other ways. And then you have to delve into where that come from and how you resolve that situation.

JUAN PIRERE: Special admissions for working class people would take a lot of work with the trade unions. I went to some of the trade unions during the strike to rap with some of the people there and I think that many people in S.F. are ready to start working in that kind of struggle. But I think it would be stupid to raise a demand for 500 working class admissions at S.F. State, if you don't have some kind of base and some kind of community support behind it. Crutch was talking about going back home, that's the way I understand it.

MOVEMENT: Everybody--almost--understands the necessity to support black and third world admissions. There seems to be a unanimity on supporting that. What people seem to be afraid of is the thing that you were getting at, afraid of raising demands for the white community.

NESBIT : I think that is a very overt expression of inverse racism. What we're talking about is not doing us favors. What we're saying is give us what we are due. We have paid a higher proportion of taxes than any other people in the world. Third world people have done this. What we're saying is that TW people have the right, not a privilege. They have a right to that education and what they should try to do is to expand that education to the largest number of people possible. If there are poor people who happen to be white, who have come to the same type of situations, then they should relate to it from that standpoint. We're not saying that they have to relate to us and us alone, that's bullshit. You relate to the situation according to what people fall within that situation and according to the needs of that situation. If they're white, that's cool, if they're black that's cool. All we're saying is relate to it, relate to the people from a humanitarian level.

And any people who come up and say "well we must help those people, we must not help ourselves", I think that they're fooling themselves because they're not relating to the principle, they're relating to the superficiality of the situation.

TONY: If you're going to deal with fighting racism you've got to deal with it not only helping to deal with the condition of third world peoples' lives, but deal with the conditions of white peoples' lives. Racism affects white people as well as it affects third world people.

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# NEW WAVE in OREGON

by Ruby Ely

LA OLA NUEVA is an infant student group trying sometimes desperately, to solidify its organization and broaden its base on a small community college campus in one of the last remaining enclaves of what we call the hinterlands.

The group first became evident in February when a small group of Mexican and black students began circulating a petition demanding a voice for students, especially racial minority students, in the administration of Treasure Valley Community College. These students call themselves LA OLA NUEVA. For the most part they represent Chicanos who are participating in the Office of Economic Opportunity Migrant Education program at the college. Most are married and have children.

The beginning of the petition stated openly "We reject the humiliating role assigned to Mexicans by Anglo administrators and teachers. We will no longer tolerate injustice. We will no longer be bent, bowed and broken by this system. We have joined with the millions of our brothers who fight for justice for all workers, in the United States and the whole world."

Among the 16 "non-negotiable" demands were: immediate hiring of Mexican and black teachers and counselors; an end to harassment for speaking Spanish; banning police from arresting students on campus and eliminating arrest as grounds for suspension; amnesty; publicity in Spanish encouraging Mexican-American candidates to the Board of Trustees; courses that deal with Mexican-American and black history honestly; and participation in decision-making.

The local press accused LA OLA NUEVA of subversion and conspiracy. But the students made no attempt to hide their activities. On the contrary, they circulated their petition to various groups and individuals throughout the Malheur County, Oregon area where the college is located. Response to the petition and their pleas for help was the usual, "I agree with everything the petition says but it would not do for me to sign it".

## THE PEOPLE GAGGED

The director of the OEO Migrant Program immediately obtained a copy of the petition, printed a slightly altered form of it, and distributed it in bundles among minority group students. The effect was to gag a majority of these students who feel the pressure that such a threat to their small OEO stipend represents. The director then flew to Portland to confer with top state education authorities about his "new" problem.

In the midst of all this, the Administration of Treasure Valley College worked out, unknown to any students, a deal with the College Board of Education for the now popular AAUP-USANSA "Joint Statement on the Rights and Freedoms of Students". Administration sources later admitted to the students that they had been working on the statement for several months. However, when the issue of the student petition began to get controversial discussions throughout the community, the Administration statement was quickly finished and presented as an alternative to the student petition.

The controversial discussion became controversial when the INTERMOUNTAIN OBSERVER, a Boise, Idaho weekly, ran a story outlining the student demands.

The article, which was favorable to the student petition, was written by a Methodist minister from Ontario, Oregon, home of the college.

The resulting front page editorial in the hometown paper scared the students and the minister into agreeing to a premature interview with the college president. Originally the meeting was to have been only a discussion of the POSSIBILITY of working through the Joint Statement of Student Rights and Freedoms as an alternative to the petition demands. College officials agreed to meet with two of the students privately. However, shortly after the beginnings of some contact and agreement appeared, other interested parties entered the meeting and it soon reached a point where the students felt intimidated. The director of the OEO program, Mr. Moneybags, to most of the students, was one of those called into the meeting by the Administration; the financial screws, evident all along, were tightened. The threat of empty stomach for the students and their children subdued LA OLA NUEVA (The New Wave) changing it to a mere ripple for the moment.

## PHONEY PROMISES

Students were promised an equitable voice in implementing the Joint Statement. To date, however, the administration has not seen fit to organize the committee which was promised to carry out this implementation.

The quickly castrated student movement at Treasure Valley Community College is noteworthy only because of its dramatic effect on the "Mississippi of the West", a strip of southwestern Oregon and southern Idaho, where such signs as "We reserve the right..." and English ONLY spoken here" are not uncommon.

The first little ripple, accusing the "leaders" of this area of obvious paternalism which they have for so long been practicing, seems to have opened the door for some looks at a very dirty situation. Minority groups are truly minority groups here, and have never dared express dissatisfaction before. In the past, their shameful role in this utterly backward community has included at least enough sugar from daddy to keep their children from starving.

Now, however, this may no longer be enough. Or the paternalistic structure may refuse to continue to dole out the carrots and begin to wield only the club. In either case, a polarization may occur that could eventually lead us out of the darkness.

There are no more than two dozen white "liberals" mostly of the worst kind, in the entire area and they, of course, refuse openly to participate in any anti-repression struggle because they fear for their jobs. The fear is not unfounded.

The efforts of LA OLA NUEVA may have other hopeful effects. CITIZEN FOR CIVIC UNITY, a Boise-based civil rights group, has expressed interest in the Ontario Situation. They may soon meet in the Oregon community, fifty miles to the northwest of Boise, to show their support for the so far well-suppressed student movement. Perhaps the most hopeful of all the effects will be the new look which students will have at a local and well-established monster with many mouths to slurp them up, swallow them down, wipe its jowls, and two hours later forget that it even ate.

by Suzanne Crowell, Staff Correspondent, The Southern PATRIOT

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla.—In May of 1968, over 200 black garbagemen in St. Petersburg stopped work. Three weeks later, the city had resumed normal garbage collection. By Labor Day, the strike was "settled"; there was a wage increase, but the garbagemen were rehired without seniority, as vacancies occurred.

The summer between the walkout and the settlement saw the failure of the city government, the business community and the liberals to come to grips with the situation.

It also saw a stockpile of anti-riot equipment put into use during four nights of violence in the ghetto, and the rise of a new black group -- JOMO, the Junta of Militant Organizations.

While JOMO might have gained prominence in any case, the failure of the strike gave it a context in which to work. Its insistence that traditional methods could not work gained considerable credence in the wake of the strike.

The black militants who make up JOMO stress unity. Their program is uncomplicated. For example, Zeke Kenyatta, the current prime minister, said "JOMO has no position on violence. Our position is on freedom, by any means necessary."

Black history and other classes are held in a neighborhood Catholic school at night.

JOMO also runs a community blood bank in a St. Petersburg hospital. The blood bank eliminates red tape, since the patient does not have to pay for blood or guarantee its replacement before getting a transfusion. And it helps to build unity, since without community support it could not exist.

The police have stepped up harassment of the black community in general and JOMO in particular since the garbage strike. JOMO members are arrested constantly for such things as disorderly conduct, vagrancy, night prowling (in broad daylight) and verbal abuse of a police officer (calling one a pig).

Younger blacks are questioned about what leaders think and where they get their money. Joe Waller has been singled out for special treatment. Formerly active in SNCC, he was responsible for founding JOMO. In addition to arrest on several minor charges, Waller has been convicted of grand larceny. In 1966, he wrote letters to the city protesting a mural in city hall. It showed two black minstrels, grotesquely drawn. During a protest march about the mural, Waller and several others forcibly removed it. Waller was arrested by the city for destroying public property and he served, in the end, more than the 180 day sentence. Later, the state charged him with grand larceny of the mural. He was convicted and sentenced to five years in the state penitentiary. He is appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court claiming the second trial was double jeopardy, and that he was denied access to his present investigation.

JOMO hopes to become a state-wide organization. It has contacts in Cocoa Beach, Jacksonville and Miami. In Gainesville, a JOMO organization was recently started. Both local people and St. Petersburg organizers are involved. Carol Thomas, a white woman who has been active in the Gainesville movement for years, is a staunch supporter. The JOMO program in Gainesville is similar to the one in St. Petersburg. Charles Fullwood, 19, is the prime minister. Street patrols are being organized to protect the ghetto from the police and eliminate dope peddlers. Discipline and responsibility are important parts of the group's code.

A typical case protested by Gainesville JOMO was the murder of Walter Spann by police during an arrest for breaking and entering. He was unarmed. Another man, George Baker, who was with Spann, has been charged with murder. Under Florida law, he can be held responsible for the death of an accomplice at the hands of police, since he was allegedly involved in a felony.

An observer in St. Petersburg commented, "In another year, JOMO may be THE black organization here. St. Petersburg is the city that ran the Job Corps out of town. The business community has refused help to the jobless. There's nowhere else for people to go."

**OIL**

FROM  
PAGE 9

Washington -- Testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 27, long-time red-hunter Ed Montgomery of the San Francisco Examiner alleged widespread subversive activity in the Senate.

He also claimed that the committee did not pursue the point. A final example of "obscene, inflammatory" material used to incite riots was given to the committee by Montgomery. It was a drawing by Frank Cieciorka of police officers raping the statue of liberty and the blindfolded justice symbol. That will go into the committee's files, but will not appear in the record, as it was judged too offensive.

Willis praised non-rioting "colored-folks" and said that "Roy Wilkins is one of the few decent Americans." The he...

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by Ron Bitten, New England Regional SDS

Durfee High (Fall River, Mass) has been in the midst of an intensifying confrontation with city and school officials. Monday, March 17, 25-30 students walked out of school to attend a specially called School Committee meeting, at which the fruitlessness of working through "proper channels" was solidly confirmed for the students.

Classes were halted the previous Friday when most of the school's 1800 students walked out in support of three members of a group known as the P.T.A. (Protestors-Troublemakers-Anarchists) who were then meeting with Superintendent of Schools Nagle. The P.T.A. is circulating petitions demanding the following:

1. Abolition of the dress code and ban on smoking between buildings.
2. An end to the school's tracking system.
3. That the school stop sending names of students to the military without the student's consent.

The P.T.A.'s latest leaflet, which was distributed on that Friday, reads, "Dress codes are to give students respect for established authority, get used to following orders, and get used to looking the way we are 'supposed to' for our future jobs. The channelling of students into various course levels (tracking system) and the sending of names to the military also serve the interests of those same authorities--to keep us in our places so that they may continue to profit off our labors, and off of our getting killed in wars that perpetuate the system."

Fall River is an industrial city of 100,000 people 60 miles southeast of Boston. The area has the lowest per-capita income in the state of Massachusetts. The city's industrial wages are lower than any other metropolitan center in the country. The local power structure consists of union leaders, a few prosperous businessmen and bankers, and the Catholic Church. Most workers are in the textile industry with the largest union being the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Others are involved in port activities. Unlike northwest Massachusetts, this area hasn't much of a history of labor insurrection. Neighboring New Bedford is 12% black, while Fall River has virtually no black populace. The drop-out rate at Durfee High is 28%.

Action was triggered on Wednesday when Principal Thomas Hammond announced that any boy with overly long hair, who did not get it cut by Monday, would be immediately suspended. Thursday morning, the P.T.A.

distributed a leaflet calling for students to fight the dress code. That afternoon, several members of the P.T.A. met with Hammond who said that the School Committee would determine the future of the dress code at their next meeting on April 15. In the meantime, it would be enforced. Students assembled outside of the meeting with the Principal and were dispersed by police. A meeting was arranged for Friday afternoon with the Superintendent of Schools.

On Friday, while the walkout was occurring and with 50-75 students gathering outside of the Administration Building, Superintendent Nagle said that the School Committee would meet in special session at 11 A.M. on Monday to talk about the dress code. Several students were roughed up by coaches while distributing leaflets and some of the petitions were torn up by teachers.

Monday came with tension growing and students preparing to walk out if anybody was suspended. The P.T.A.'s first issue of their underground newspaper was distributed before school without incident, since teachers found that students would fight them if there were more attempted confiscations. At 11, 25-30 students walked out to attend the School Committee meeting. Some local college students, teachers, and a few other community residents also were in attendance. Mayor Mitchell presided.

From the very outset, the committee ruthlessly sought to put down proponents of any view which touched on the totalitarian nature of the system. They also tried to isolate the P.T.A. with the use of testimony of handpicked Student Council representatives. Using threats, allegations, pomposity, diversions, and sheer nonsense the Committee managed to whip the students to the point of frenzy. When a Durfee boy who previously had been suspended charged that the meeting was a "kangaroo court", he was told that he would be expelled for "abusive language". A Bristol Community college (Fall River) student tried to speak.

"An open meeting does not mean that everyone has the right to speak," yelled the Mayor. Yelling "Sieg Heil!", the student stomped out of the room.

A committeewoman replied to student attacks on the dress code:

"If you're sloppy in school, you'll be sloppy in business. Don't you know that you are preparing for what you have to do in life? Don't you know that we need discipline and must accept life for what it is?"

Wilson Sallum of the P.T.A. commented on tracking: "Once you are categorized into a system of

learning you remain in that same lowly position for the rest of your life".

"Only 25% of the students are in the college prep track", said Mario Cordeiro, P.T.A. "The tech and general tracks just produce fodder for the textile mills".

"We don't have tracking at Durfee", replied the Vice-Principal. "Just certain curricula for certain students to fit their appropriate goals".

The meeting ended with the School Committee leaving the dress code demand for "further consideration". Afraid of eruptions, they voted not to suspend offenders because of long hair until a final decision is made.

The P.T.A. is continuing to organize around the three demands.

On Tuesday, March 18, about 200 students and other young people in the Fall-River-New Bedford area attended a discussion with Fall River police and city officials at Bristol Community College. Many adults were also present. The meeting quickly developed into discussion and debate of radical analysis of the role of the police. Fall River's rigid "anti-congregating" and "anti-march" laws are used to squelch any attempted uprisings as well as to continually harass and arrest local young people. Durfee students are very much aware that in their confrontation with school authorities they are also moving towards a confrontation with the police. Young people are seeking to pull together to fight police oppression.

Southeast Massachusetts Technological Institute (S.M.T.I.), which lies between New Bedford and Fall River, has an extremely active first-year SDS chapter. An important product of S.M.T.I.'s and Durfee's activities has been the coming together of the area's youth to fight around common issues of oppression and exploitation. In the midst of intensive red-baiting and cries of outside control by the school authorities and press, kids are advancing to new levels of consciousness, growing more militant, and identifying more and more with SDS.

Michael Riley of S.M.T.I. SDS recently spoke at nearby Westport High. "I talked about the need to crush capitalism and our working for revolutionary socialism", say Riley. "Then I waited for the usual shit to fly. Instead kids started questioning about how to organize an SDS chapter."

Underground newspapers are being started at Westport and New Bedford High while Bristol Community College students are working to form an SDS.

## JAILBREAK

FROM PAGE 13

We must understand that all these positions are not only racist (don't attack the special oppression of blacks) but also go directly against building a strong high school movement.

Black and Puerto Rican students are fighting against the same oppressive conditions which hit white students--pigs, suspensions, political harassment, lousy teachers etc. Some white students think that because they have a slightly better position in the school they don't have to fight. That's wrong. We must show these people their own oppression, but we must also attack this white supremacy in every case. We must explain to white students how the administration uses white supremacy to force white students to ally with their real enemy: the principals, the UFT and Lindsay and his cops. We must also understand that this fight against white racism is a key to our movement and that until it is defeated we cannot possibly win. We must always support the black and brown students' struggles.

The black struggle in America takes on certain unique forms. While all people in America who are not in the ruling class are oppressed, blacks, Puerto Ricans and other Third World minorities are doubly oppressed. They are oppressed and exploited as workers, like whites (except worse), getting low wages, miserable working conditions and long hours. But blacks and Latinos are also oppressed as a people, as a colony within white America. What that means is that the relationship between black and Puerto Rican people and the U.S. ruling class is in many ways similar to the relationship between U.S. imperialism and the People of the Third World, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Black and Puerto Rican people are forced to live in particular places in our country, their housing is owned by the white ruling class, their stores are owned by the white ruling class, their hospitals, their schools and their courts are run by the white ruling class, their communities are occupied by the ruling class' pigs, they are forced to work for the white ruling class for particularly low wages. Also there is a systematic attempt by the white educational system and the white media to destroy black and Latin culture and to distort the history of black people in America.

Even worse than all this, blackworkers are oppressed not only by the white ruling class, but by poor white racists too.

Since the black colony is oppressed by the white mother country, the struggle of black and Puerto Rican people must be a struggle for national liberation and for self-determination. Any strategy for a democratic society in America must include national liberation of blacks. White revolutionaries must support the demands of the Black Panther Party for decent housing, full employment, control of the schools and justice and self-determination for black people.

In high schools and colleges this means all students must support the demand for black and Puerto Rican history courses and black and Puerto Rican studies department. The content of the courses, faculty and admissions policy of these Third World studies programs must be determined by the black and Latin students and their communities. Schools and universities must begin to give black and brown people the education and skills they need to free their people.

Despite these obstacles, however, the high school movement grows stronger every day. Now the question is not WHETHER every high school student in New York City should rebel or WHETHER there should be a citywide high school strike. These things are going to happen no matter what anyone wants, no matter how many cops Lindsay occupies our schools with.

The questions that face us now are whether we're going to get organized this spring, whether we can use the outbreaks to build a strong movement, and whether we're going to win real demands.

SDS believes these goals can be reached only if we have solid demands, only if we can pull together all parts of the movement and only if we're willing to engage in a long and militant struggle. This spring chapters of SDS in New York (and all across the country) and other radical groups are planning a spring offensive against the whole oppressive educational system and its use by the ruling class to maintain American capitalism and U.S. imperialism. We are putting forth the following demands:

1. WE DEMAND AN END TO THE TRACKING SYSTEM WITHIN THE SCHOOLS. The tracking system systematically shoves blacks and Puerto Ricans into unemployment, lousy jobs or the army. It also forces white working class youth into low paying jobs. Tracking is designed to help the rulers of America maintain their empire. Tracking exists not only in high schools, but also in the university system: community colleges, trade schools, state colleges and elite universities. We attack this higher level of tracking too.

2. WE DEMAND OPEN ADMISSIONS INTO COLLEGES FOR BLACK AND LATIN PEOPLE AND WORKING CLASS WHITES WITH FULL SCHOLARSHIPS AND STIPENDS. No one should be forced into an oppressive job or the army. Now the universities train white middle class students and some white working class youth to become engineers, technicians, scientists and bureaucrats for the ruling class of America. The university can no longer be a shelter for privileged whites: we must make the schools battlegrounds for control of educational resources. We must understand that the systematic exclusion of blacks and Latinos from universities is meant to keep these people in their colonial status within white America. The exclusion of poor whites keeps them in low-paying jobs. Now many young people don't go to college because they must work to add to the family income. In these cases the university must pay a stipend to the family. Less than 3% of the population controls and owns 90% of the wealth of America. Since blacks and poor whites build the universities and the country, it should be the wealthy class who pays for the new buildings and faculty needed because of unlimited admissions. We also attack all budget cuts and tuition hikes and understand their relation to increased war spending.

3. WE DEMAND AUTONOMOUS BLACK AND LATIN STUDIES PROGRAMS IN ALL SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN THE CITY. Schools must begin to serve the black and Third World people of New York City. Since Albert Shanker and his racist pals are obviously unfit to educate black people, we support the demand for community control of education. We understand the colonial oppression of black and Puerto Rican people and support their right to self-determination. We support the program of the Black Panther Party and the Ten Point Program of Black Student Unions.

4. WE DEMAND AN END TO FLUNK-OUTS IN ALL COLLEGES AND TO ALL SUSPENSIONS, INVOLUNTARY TRANSFERS AND EXPULSIONS IN HIGH SCHOOLS. Flunk-outs and expulsions and suspensions are used to exclude black and Latin people from the schools of New York City. Of the 12,000 students suspended from the New York City public schools last year, over 90% were black or Puerto Rican. Flunkouts and suspensions are used to keep white students in line, to force them to meet the standards of administrators and to get rid of troublemakers and political activists. All suspensions and flunkouts are a ticket into the army.

5. WE DEMAND ALL PIGS OUT OF THE SCHOOL. Cops are in schools to in-

timidate us, to protect racist administrators and to stifle political activity. All cops must go now.

6. WE DEMAND ROTC OFF ALL COLLEGE CAMPUSES, NO MORE MILITARY RECRUITING IN ANY SCHOOLS, NO MORE WAR RESEARCH, NO MORE MILITARY ASSEMBLIES, AND NO SENDING OF NAMES TO DRAFT BOARDS. The U.S. military serves only to put down people all over the world who are fighting for freedom and to protect a corrupt and decadent society here at home. The only way the war in Vietnam can end is by the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces. We support the heroic struggle of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. We will prevent our schools from aiding the military in any way. Our fight is here at home.

7. WE DEMAND AN END TO ANTI-COMMUNIST INDOCTRINATION AND TO RACIST, ANTI-WORKING CLASS HISTORY COURSES. Anti-communism is used as a rationalization to get us to fight and die in rich men's wars. We want to learn the true history of black people's struggles here in America and the real history of the struggles of working people against the bosses.

8. WE DEMAND AN END TO UNIVERSITY EXPANSION INTO BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITIES. WE DEMAND DECENT WAGES FOR ALL SCHOOL EMPLOYEES, WE DEMAND DAYCARE CENTERS FOR THE CHILDREN OF UNIVERSITY EMPLOYEES AND THE NEIGHBORING COMMUNITIES. Now universities perform counterinsurgency research and train colonial administrators while at the same time evicting thousands of poor people so that more capitalist universities can be built. The facilities of the university must begin to work for the people of the community.

These are the main demands black and white radicals around New York and all over the country will be moving on this spring. Obviously these demands are non-negotiable. We don't negotiate whether our schools should be a little bit racist, whether there should be little bit of repression or a little bit of injustice or whether we should support a war of genocide a little bit.

Right now we have to discuss our demands, explain them to other students, organize, and plan. The High School Coalition and the High School Student Union plan actions in New York High Schools if their sets of demands are not met by April 21st. We got to be ready to move by that date. In late April and early May there'll be citywide demonstrations around the eight demands and a few others. Let's get together for a jailbreak.



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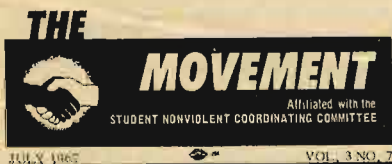
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Like most people in the movement today, THE MOVEMENT newspaper began its political life in the civil rights struggle. We have all developed a long way since then. But many stories in past issues have continuing relevance.

We compiled this index partly because it is representative important aspects of movement history and partly because we think that movement organizers will find many of the past articles useful.

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## LETTERS...

### CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

worker's "self-interest" (read selfish interest, there is no difference) is entirely opposed to the Marxist concept of class interest and the socialist concept of public interest--the Chinese cultural revolution is the assertion of the primacy of public interest over selfish interest.

### CLASS INTERESTS

The article of Jim Jacobs (MOVEMENT, April, 1969) with its recognition of white privilege as a material thing approaches realization of the system's use of selfish interest to fortify its oppression, both at home and abroad, by small concessions in order to corrupt white workers both materially and ideologically. Jacobs does not quite get to that point in his article because he draws back at the last due to having some mystical notion of "racism" as more than it is. It is nothing but an ideology borrowed from slavery and feudalism and the church now used to fortify the super-exploitation and national oppression inherent in the entire system of capitalist imperialism.

So Jacobs is unable to bring himself to state the opposition of momentary selfish interest to class and future interest because he sees only the moral issue of "racism" rather than the form of material and cultural bribery of a certain part of the workers. Perhaps he has not thought much about the fact that every real advance of labor has required the unselfish sacrifice of thousands, even at times millions, of workers on behalf of fellow-workers and future generations.

He has one very interesting sentence, "...it is obviously inadequate to demand that white workers give up their present hard-won racist gains in favor of a future socialist society." This is the muddle that comes of theories based on "racism", instead of class analysis. In actual historic fact, the steel and auto industries were only organized AFTER the organizers rejected racial policies. Afterwards, after the victory of organization and recognition, which was the hard fight shared by Black and white, the Blacks were abandoned in effect because the white workers and their officials preferred to retain their usual and accustomed privileges to carrying out the original program of united class struggle organizing.

It is worth noting that the concept of "self-interest" of the worker did not come from classic Marxism, but from deserters like Earl Browder. The article by Jim Hawley in another setting with third world forces directly involved more definitely sees these organic connections of national-liberation and domestic class struggles. Nevertheless, he too does not go beyond the limits of "racism" and white "self-interest" in analysing the relationship of whites to the TWLF role. So he also never gets directly to grips with the need to repudiate selfish interest in favor of class and public interest and to struggle against being channelled by the material and cultural bribes of imperialism.

It is a striking fact that most white people easily see the sellout by any sort of colored uncle Tom but remain blind to all the various payments of the soul which white students and workers make in return for their own small favors and privileges.

It is a striking fact that most white people easily see the sellout by any sort of colored uncle Tom but remain blind to all the various payments of the soul which white students and workers make in return for their own small favors and privileges.

### BREAKTHROUGH

So--the movement must study the channeling of workers and the rotten quality of THEIR lives under imperial-

ism if it is to succeed in helping to create a revolutionary movement among them. Not to do this, but to simply adopt all kinds of shallow rhetoric and rationale about workers is to remain isolated in a snobbish and elite cloud.

It must be added that the recent articles of Steve Hamilton and Bob Avakian already represent a partial breakthrough of this tradition. The April issue shows that the movement is becoming able to turn a bad thing to good account. The discussion of the slogan of a "worker-student alliance"--which was just such a mindless economist trap as described above, given the absence of a revolutionary workers movement--has now led to sharply posing the questions--why is there no such movement--and how can one be built? Avakian's April article already flatly calls for struggle against economism and for anti-imperialist understanding among workers. (He is one sided about not criticizing union leaders --that is not the way to come on, true. But you have to get to that too.) He does not deal with the channeling and bribery by the system as a central problem yet, this we are just opening up, probably because students feel a bit embarrassed with their privileges to talk about white worker's privileges. So this is one thing we white workers over 30 are good for--you can find some who will understand the need to fight on this front.

We have to unite our Marxism-Leninism with our own working class movement and the main direction is to oppose selfish-interest with class interest and imperial-white chauvinism with working class international solidarity. This means a fight with old ideas and the labor skates. There is no construction without destruction. (Mao Tse-tung)

Specific ideas are given more at length in my pamphlet, "The Movement and the Workers". This letter may also be taken as an explanation as to my objectives in writing it in the first place.

With Best Regards,

C. Van Lydegraf



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