

# THE DAYS WE SEIZED THE STREETS IN OAKLAND

20¢

## THE MOVEMENT

Affiliated with SNCC and SDS

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## COPS "ARMED MERCENARIES," SAYS EX-COP

By Steven Lindstedt

I sat alone in a tiny cell. The monotony of the concrete was broken only by the steel bars of the cell door — beyond that, another concrete wall. I had been charged with a felonious assault upon a police officer. Only four weeks prior, I had been a city police officer myself, in Berkeley. The transition had been total. In months prior, I had arrested offenders and now, I had been arrested; I had peered into cells before and now, I was on the inside, peering out.

The ranks of police had filled Clay Street earlier that morning. Opposing them, a street full of demonstrators. I sensed that today (Tuesday) would be different from Monday. Barbara and I had decided not to risk arrest, but merely to observe the demonstration. It was in this role as spectators that we sought a safe vantage point in the parking lot opposite the induction center. A loudspeaker blared a warning and then, more distinctly, came a sharp order: "March!"

The police moved forward, at first pushing and then hitting. Clubs were swung above police helmets and came crashing down amidst the demonstrators. The police were not selective, both men and women, young and old alike felt the riotsticks. The crowd broke easily; the police could claim total victory for this battle.

### STUNNED

I was stunned, bewildered, I could not believe what was happening. Tears suddenly flooded my eyes; I held Barbara tightly and we turned away, unable to watch any longer.

Was it true? Had I been a policeman only four weeks before? Had I been one of them? It was true. Perhaps I had not been a "good" policeman, but I had been one of them. Perhaps I had never believed it

when they said it was a war and the people out there were the enemy. Perhaps I had gotten too involved with the people that I encountered. Perhaps I felt too much or questioned too much. Whatever the reason, I never quite made it as a policeman.

The four weeks that had passed since leaving the force now seemed like a lifetime. I felt no commonality and no commitment to them. They were strangers. As the morning progressed my estrangement was to be turned into reluctant involvement. The transition would be complete.

About two hours after the police had cleared the street in front of the induction center, Barbara and I were watching a group of demonstrators as they blocked traffic. We saw a commotion behind a bus and began crossing the street to get a better view of the activity. A lone Oakland policeman came walking back from the front of the crowd after his unsuccessful attempt to disperse the demonstrators. Without warning and without provocation, the officer started shoving us with his night stick. I was able to step aside, but Barbara was hit in the back. Trying to protect Barbara, I attempted to step between her and the officer. She turned around and was struck in the forehead by the officer's night stick. At this point, I began grappling for the officer's club.

### CLUBBED

A squad of eight or nine Highway Patrolmen were suddenly on top of me. I was clubbed and knocked to the ground. I curled up and attempted to cover my head. Still I was clubbed and kicked. The police grabbed my feet and dragged me down the block, past the police lines.

Some 34 hours later, the charge was reduced from a felony (assaulting an officer) to three misdemeanors (including resisting arrest). The bail was reduced from

\$5500 to \$220 and I was soon bailed out. I now await trial.

That particular Tuesday will not be soon forgotten. It was a radicalizing day and an enlightening day. Old illusions give way to new perspectives — the image of the police as community servants has been replaced by an image of armed mercenaries.

The police across the nation are rapidly becoming militarized; they are preparing for battle. Urban police forces have increasingly employed military tactics and military equipment. They feel that their position in the community has been threatened. They have reacted by resorting to more frantic and more oppressive ways of maintaining "order."

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## NON-ZIONIST JEWISH VIEW

Dear Editor,

I write this letter in response to that by Naomi Lauter because I believe she speaks for a large percentage of liberal and progressive Jews and because I think she clearly places many of the points of an enormous debate going on in the left Jewish community. And I think that there is an enormous stake, both to all the movements that we participate in and support, and to that humanist, progressive tradition which has made it worth being a Jew for so many generations. For the events of the Middle East have provided the wedge for deep political inroads by the Republicans and also by the Far Right. And I do raise that as a bogey-man. I dread the image of the survival of the state of Israel requiring that the Jewish community of California adopt as spokesmen Reagan Murphy, Yorty, and Chuck Connors, as they did at the "Save Israel" rally in Los Angeles. I think that the modern history of Israel may be creating a Jew that I don't want to identify with. So, let us debate paragraph by paragraph, (an old Jewish custom,) so that the people who read this paper may know us better.

While I don't have a copy of the "Movement" editorial on Israel before me, I am quite familiar with the SNCC position, and as a Secular Jewish School part-time teacher in Jewish history I agree substantially with it. I further believe that the history of modern Israel is a repeat of several of the worst episodes in Jewish history. (Which also concerned the "recapture" of Palestine from the natives.)

## FEELING FOR ISRAEL

There is no question that I have a life long, deep feeling for Israel, as does almost every Jew in the world, Zionist or non-Zionist. Which has made most of us patsies for the "threat of being pushed into the sea" argument. In spite of the Arab bombast, in spite of the constant threats, in spite of the continuous harassment, the "threat of annihilation" is hogwash. The Israeli leaders knew it. On the day the war

## NOTE FROM UNDERGROUND

Dear Friends:

Now that you have had Oakland and a few other places, it seems appropriate to raise the question of what you will do with your suggestion: Nobody Go. You showed the public the Armed Force on which this war and this country are based, and many demonstrators saw that successful illegal activity is what makes the public pay for its immorality. But you did not stop the country's induction processes.

The point now is, together the idea of getting away with breaking the law with the idea of not accepting induction. So far anti-draft workers have been stopped over the question of what to offer men they encouraged to refuse the draft. This is because they have thought that prison is the major alternative, and because they have thought in terms of an organized underground as the only alternative they could create.

Two years ago I refused induction, was later arrested and had a trial date set. Since then I have met a number of men — mostly black men — who have the same set of new or altered identification cards I carry. Some of them took themselves underground in this simple way after jumping bail, most went immediately after refusing induction (important if you want to jump bail later, if caught). The careless and the talkative have occasionally been caught (and are doing two years) but there is not now the manpower to actively look for all of us. Many of us are active in movement work in the less conspicuous positions, others have not been active — but nobody went.

Anonymous  
Detroit,  
California  
Canada

started Israel put into the field twice the soldiers as all the Arabs combined, not to mention the substantially better equipment. Israel talks of the 50,000 Egyptians in the Sinai, but always knew that they could put 150,000 Israeli's against them. Egypt knew that they had no chance at that time. Witness what 50,000 couldn't accomplish in Yemen.

You will find many Jews, closely connected to their people, who have for the entire history of Modern Israel fought the policies of its government. The war has somewhat silenced this argument. It is terribly difficult to turn against a brother, against your people, in their time of crisis, whatever your opinion of the cause and justice of that crisis. My heart is full of anguish over the crimes of my people of the United States. I condemn the leaders in Washington. But I cannot tear myself from my relatives and neighbors who put those terrible people in office. The strongest weapon of the Imperialists is the call to patriotism. But it is the highest patriotism to renounce your own, if conscience dictates.

## LAND

If you knew Jewish history, you would know that political Zionism, from its inception in the late 1800's, proposed a Jewish homeland as a theocratic state. That is a state of, by and for Jews, patterned after a contemporary understanding of ancient Jewish custom and tradition. Unfortunately, the above, not mentioning Arabs, assumes that they do not exist in the particular piece of land. Or if they do exist, that they must be dealt with. The history of modern Israel is a long succession of such dealings. The result was to build up a sea of hatred which constantly threatens to drown Israel. The Germans lied about almost all of what they blamed on the Jews. The Arabs are correct for almost all of what they say. Israel has displaced and appropriated the land of one and a half million people. If they did not intend keeping it, let them place it in escrow with the UN or somebody. If they are going to keep it, as they are undoubtedly going to do with what they won in '48, let them pay for it at least. They do not consider either idea worth talking about. In effect, they have fought for land, whatever the public pronouncement.

No, as a Jew deeply bound to his people and to their traditions I do not believe Israel has a right to exist at the expense of one and a half million Arabs. If it could not be done except at that price I would rather it not be done. Because that price is changing the Jews of Israel. They are proud of their militarism, discriminatory against the darker skinned, racist toward the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

## CONSIDER DIRECT-ACTION TACTICS

Dear Editor,

Now that the immediate exigencies of unity which dominated "Stop The Draft Week" have dwindled, it may be permissible to voice a few criticisms from the ranks of the demonstrators. In particular, whilst recognizing the personal commitment and courage of many of the leaders, one may I think express some misgivings about their tactics.

In their quite sectarian opposition to pacifism, the leadership was led into refusing to consider certain direct-action tactics (often associated with pacifist protests) on their merits. For example, the possibility of massive civil-disobedience to shut down the Induction Center was never seriously contemplated, and the sit-down tactic, even when used, was discredited both before and after Tuesday's inevitable fracas. The major arguments deployed against such tactics seemed to be - a) that such demonstrations required a discipline and commitment that was not available - b) that large numbers would be required to block the streets around the center effectively - c) that people were no longer ready to be politely led-off to jail like "sheep to the slaughter" - d) that a sitting crowd would have invited and been more vulnerable to police violence than a standing one (Tuesday has been cited as a proof of this).

## DIRECT-ACTION TACTICS

In response to the first two objections, it is quite clear that there were both numbers and commitment throughout the week; it is true however, that a successful mass sit-down would have required prior pledges and training session for participants. As for the third point, this strategy of confrontation could have been quite different from Monday's "smooth" demonstration where groups of twenty were so easily shifted from the doorways, and politely walked to paddy-wagons. A large sitting crowd pledged to non-co-operation (i.e. at least a thousand at each entrance) would have presented the police with a difficult dilemma. Either they could arrest very large numbers (one can remember how long it took to shift 800 people from Sproul Hall) or disperse a peaceful, disciplined sitting crowd with force. As for the objection of vulnerability, in my experience of many kinds of demonstration, here and abroad, (and in spite of Selma) police are less likely to attack and club a sitting crowd than a standing one, the division between aggressors and sitters is just too obvious to the press and public. When violence is used a line of sitting monitors is just as able to protect itself and people behind it as a standing line. I have also seen mass sit-downs used successfully against mounted police and dogs.

The violence that occurred last Tuesday, especially against those who sat-down (as in Los Angeles in June) stemmed in part from the "mixed", confused nature of the demonstration, and the scattered isolated nature of the sit-downs. These were often surrounded by police and concealed from view. The somewhat provocative nature of the self-defensive and re-absorption tactics announced for the monitors led to their fine, and the standing demonstrators behind, being driven back on top of those sitting against the wall of the Center. This in turn led to the indiscriminate clubbing of those who were trapped there, who fell or who remained sitting in small groups. These events cannot be compared with a solid, clearly demarcated sit-down blocking a street from the outset of the demonstration.

## OPPORTUNISM

In fact one may detect a certain opportunism by the steering committee in combining this violent self-defense and non-violent sit-down tactics. This may have placated, and thereby recruited, the maximum number of demonstrators, but it placed those who sat-down in peculiar jeopardy. It is even more dishonest to then use this experience to further discredit a tactic which, seriously planned, might have closed the Center for longer, and either have minimized (there was probably a limit to the numbers the Oakland authorities were willing to arrest) or violence, or, given enough people, both.

Maybe we can honestly consider this for December 4th, or whenever the next act of mass-resistance takes place. For it would be disastrous for the movement if the Stop the Draft week leaders were to continue to delude themselves, and others, about the nature of their following. This has so far been transient and unorganized; no democratic nexus or organization was established between leaders and led; above all the following is overwhelmingly NON-violent in any meaningful sense. When violent self-defense and other tactics were suggested few responded; of over 330 arrested during the week only a tiny fraction were engaged in physical retaliation to the police. When (on Wednesday and Thursday) the rank and file took over, the preference was for non-violent tactics. The surrogate of defensive barricades on Friday, was not a step toward street fighting, but an expression of this same spirit, of "anti-violence". The fortuitous publicity (injunctions, the Resistance, and Joan Baez) which increased Tuesday's numbers were no substitute for a democratic grass-roots organizing (there were incidentally, significantly more black people involved with the Resistance, which HAS begun to organize). Nor can we depend on charisma and manipulation as substitutes for leadership. We have to BUILD a movement of resistance to the draft.

Yours in solidarity  
Nigel Young  
Berkeley, Calif.

## DEFEND HUEY NEWTON!

Huey Newton, the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self-defense, lies wounded in a hospital bed. Five cops are in the room with him, five more are outside the door, and ten are down the hall. He has been accused of murdering one Oakland policeman and wounding a second.

Already the newspapers and other media in the Bay Area have signed, sealed and delivered Huey Newton. With little evidence cited, they have proceeded to play their multiple roles of prosecuting at-

torney, judge, jury, and hangman.

We do not know what happened that morning. We do know that Huey Newton cannot receive a fair trial. No black man accused of killing a white cop has that chance anywhere in this country. Add to this the fact that the Black Panthers have openly challenged the racist nature of "law enforcement" and justice becomes a mockery.

THE MOVEMENT asks its supporters to contribute to the Huey Newton Defense Fund.

Please clip and mail to:

## HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND

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# BARRICADES IN OAKLAND



(photo: Jeff Blankfort)

by Terence Cannon

OAKLAND, CALIF -- From 5 AM to 10:30 AM, October 20, 10,000 people held 22 blocks of downtown Oakland against 2,000 police.

The cops were outflanked, outnumbered and outrun. The people barricaded the streets with cars, trucks, concrete bus benches, potted trees, parking meters, street signs, trash boxes and lumber, in order to block the buses carrying draftees to the Oakland Induction Center.

With cans of spraypaint they decorated public buildings and streets with anti-war slogans and symbols. On the wall of City Hall a large sign read, "First Liberated Zone of Oakland."

It was the first mass white clash with police in recent years, the first anti-draft riot since the First World War. With the similar Pentagon action, it has changed dramatically the peace, anti-draft and student movements.

## COALITION

Stop the Draft Week began in the office of THE MOVEMENT last July at an informal meeting of anti-draft organizers who wanted to move opposition to the war and the draft from the level of moral protest to a show of power. They decided to halt the activity of the Oakland Induction Center during the week of October 16.

This action was first seen as bringing together black and white organizers around a common issue. It became clear after many attempts that black organizers distrusted the idea of mass demonstrations and felt that young white people were not ready for clashes with the police. A "wait and see" attitude was taken by black activists, and attempts by whites to draw in blacks were resented and seen as manipulative.

## SELF DEFENSE

From the first, the STDW organizers rejected traditional pacifist non-violence and emphasized the right to self-defense. The hard-core pacifists broke off and decided to hold a separate demonstration on Monday the 16th at the Induction Center.

Most draftees come from lower and

working-class white communities. Rejecting non-violence was seen as necessary to reach them and to forge cooperation with black militants. (Those are the POLITICAL reasons for dropping non-violence; the real reason was that the organizers were angry and fed up with getting themselves arrested and attacked and accomplishing nothing more than ineffective moral protest).

## ORGANIZING

Members of the STDW Committee set up and aided some community anti-draft projects, but the timetable forced on it by the need to plan for a specific action made it difficult to carry through on projects. The feeling of the planners was that the angry tone of the week would make future organizing broader and easier. Now that the week is over, this feeling seems to be justified: serious organizing has been given new energy.

## ONTO THE CAMPUS

When school opened, STDW became a campus issue, particularly at Berkeley. The UC Administration at first bowed to student pressure and allowed them to use a large auditorium for an all-night "teach-in" and for organizing the activity.

The day before the "teach-in" the Alameda County Supervisors got an injunction against the use of any university property for "on campus advocacy of off campus violations of the Universal Military Training and Service Act."

The students refused to let this stop them. They came onto campus anyway, in the thousands. Illegal rallies were held on campus before and during the Week. Students brought loud speakers onto campus under guard and took them away afterward. In retaliation, the Administration suspended all campus organizations participating in STDW. The result was larger meetings, held illegally by illegal organizations using illegal loudspeakers to plan illegal off-campus activities. The momentum could not be stopped.

## THE WEEK: MONDAY

The Civil Action Day Committee, a pacifist-oriented group that has been holding sit-ins at the Induction Center for

several months, began the week quietly with a sit-in and support demonstration at the Center. 120 were arrested.

The Resistance had organized several hundred young men to turn in their draft cards that day, which they did at the Federal Building in San Francisco. US Attorney Cecil Poole refused to accept them, but the box of 300 draft cards was dumped over his head. (Poole described the anti-draft activists as "rabble." On Friday Poole's government car was one of those pushed into the street in Oakland, its tires flattened and used as a barricade.)

At Berkeley High School 700 students walked out on their classes and picketed the Berkeley Selective Service office.

## THE "TEACH-IN"

The Berkeley Administration and the ASUC were in a bind. They had attempted to take over the Monday all-night planning session and turn it into an academic talk-fest. But when the injunction was served on them they locked the doors of the auditorium and lost any control over the activities. 6,000 students attended the organizing rally on the steps of Sproul Hall to learn the plans for the next day, despite the rumor that cops might be called onto campus to disburse them. UC Chancellor Heynes declined to invite the cops in; he had learned from the FSM and Student Strike.

Those willing to go to the Center were divided into groups, and held more detailed planning sessions with the monitors and monitor captains.

## TUESDAY: MACE & CLUBS

At 4 AM, the rented fleet of 20 buses began to ferry the groups to Lafayette Park in Oakland, a staging area 7 blocks from the Induction Center.

The Induction Center is in downtown Oakland, one block from City Hall, 5 blocks from the Oakland Tribune building. To the west is the West Oakland ghetto, to the east the downtown shopping and business center.

The STDW Committee had expected the police to cordon off the area around the Center. The cops, however, allowed the groups to mass in the streets in front and on the side of the building.

At 7 AM, the police moved out from their field headquarters, a three-level

parking structure across the corner from the Center, and waded into the crowd, forcing the people down the streets and clearing the area around the Center. Despite the heavy use of riot clubs and Chemical MACE - a concentrated tear-gas in aerosol cans - the groups held firm at several intersections, blocking traffic and tying up the police in a wide perimeter around the area. Newsmen, bystanders and white-clad medics with red-cross armbands were clubbed and beaten along with the demonstrators. 22 people were injured.

Police violence had been anticipated and preparations made, but many demonstrators were surprised by the fury of the attack. The STDW Steering Committee was split over whether to continue the blockade the next 3 days. The San Jose, Stanford and San Francisco representatives voted to continue; most of the Berkeley group voted to stop. It was decided to have only peaceful pickets the next two days.

Berkeley High School students staged a boycott of classes and joined the noon rally at Sproul Hall.

## WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY: THE NON-VIOLENT HOUR

On these days peaceful picketing and demonstrations were held in front of the Induction Center. The monitors, rather than acting as street leaders, merely kept the crowd orderly and aided the police.

The mass of demonstrators accepted this without enthusiasm. Rather than being intimidated by the police attack, they were angry and wanted to take back the streets. "Is this all we're going to do -- walk around the Induction Center 50 times?" asked a demonstrator Wednesday.

## FRIDAY: THE BARRICADES

"We're going back tomorrow, just like we did on Tuesday, only smarter," a Stop the Draft Week spokesman announced in Berkeley Thursday afternoon. The Steering Committee reunited again around this decision and prepared for the use of tear gas and police violence.

The history of the blockading of the Induction Center is spelled out in detail in the other articles in this issue. It is a proud story. Read on. ♦



# STOP THE DRAFT WEEK:

By Terry Cannon and Jeff Segal, Stop the Draft Week Steering Committee members.

The political hassles inside a movement organization are rarely put down in print, except to expose or debunk that organization. Public debate over the problems and mistakes of movement activity generally only occurs in the heat of battle and is carried on in polemic for the purpose of winning political battles. Rarely do we sit down afterward and publicly discuss the results in the hope of learning from our mistakes as well as our victories. The Movement feels that if we are going to start to treat ourselves, as a movement, seriously we must begin to engage in real exercises of self-criticism. Without such self-criticism we are likely to make mistakes that could have been avoided if we were more open and honest.

The events of October 16-21 are among the most important in the white movement. What went on inside this effort is not unique; we hope others will profit by what has been learned. What follows is an attempt to analyse the internal events, roughly in the order in which they occurred, and draw some lessons from them that are applicable to the operation of future movement activities.

## HOW WEEK BEGAN

Stop the Draft Week (STDW) began in anger. In late July a small group of militant anti-draft and anti-war organizers met at The Movement office in San Francisco. The problem: to "do something" about the draft.

They agreed on several things: new forms had to be found outside the traditional forms of moral protest demonstrations. "We've got to go beyond The Resistance," it was said. Young people were fed up with the draft and the war; they were not satisfied with the basic operating assumption of the anti-war movement at that time: that the existing channels of political opposition were sufficient to end the war and make changes in the society. That assumption had led to picketing, marches, peace candidates, complicity statements, draft-card burning and turning-in, and the backing of establishment doves.

Peace people felt alienated, a small handful inside an apathetic to hawkish population. They either played the numbers game: more votes and marchers meant a stronger movement, or thought in terms of "militant" protest such as draft card burning, which was no more than a symbolic act of moral indignation. Their aim was to change the minds of those in power, not to stop those in power from operating. Militants formed unhappy caucuses inside liberal organizations, being either ineffective or embarrassing to the larger group. They did not feel safe on their own and looked for "cover."

Those who called for Stop the Draft Week agreed on some new ways of operating. 1) They would not bind people to the old non-violent discipline. It was felt that if we were going to mount actions that began to seriously attack the power structure, the "Man" would respond violently, and we had to be prepared to defend ourselves from attack. Self-defense was stressed. 2) We were going to "shut the mother down," that was the important thing. HOW would be worked out as the organizing took place and was to be subordinated to the main objective of closing down the induction center for as long as we could.

A call went out to all anti-war activists in the Bay Area to attend a series of open meetings to work out the specific plans. At one of the early open general meetings a steering committee was elected. In it were both on and off-campus organizers. All agreed on the new assumptions. The group was seen as a coalition of organizers, not of organizations.

## THE PACIFISTS

The view of the Steering Committee ran directly counter to those who accepted a non-violent discipline. The older leaders of the anti-war movement were pacifists: out of World War II, the 50's and 60's. On the campus, political activists had been taking their guide from the civil rights movement before Black Power.

The first big debate was between the adherents of non-violence and self-defense. General meetings turned into heated arguments with the pacifists. The Resistance and faculty groups. A major

argument against the new position was that only the middle-class and professionals could mobilize the strength to end the war, and they would be alienated by rejecting non-violence. The Steering Committee's response was that the war was not an isolated phenomenon but endemic to the American social system; what was needed was a movement that would last after the war in Viet Nam was over and such a movement had to be based on

be made here. In regard to the blacks; the few blacks who came to Steering Committee meetings in July (having been turned on by the basic idea of STDW) couldn't understand who we were wasting so much time on the pacifists, who obviously weren't in the same bag that we were in. They decided that we probably weren't worth bothering with and left.

The other result of this debate was a vacillating image projected to the public. As long as we were unsure if people were ready for a really serious confrontation with the police state we neither projected a clear image of ourselves and our program nor provided people (and ourselves) with a detailed plan of action for the week.

## STRUCTURE

The loose structure of STDW made such problems worse. New people would

speakers reflected the proper anti-imperialist line (the PL line), no real organizing could come out of the week. This conflicted with the feeling of the original members that the ACTION of the week was most important, and would define the ideology of the movement by creating new ways of struggle. The original committee felt that organizing people to ACT differently was the key. PL people wanted to get the largest number of people to accept a common slogan and intellectual attitude.

## SPEAKERS

At one point, when speakers for the major pre-week rally were being nominated, it was decided that speakers representing the white working class, the black community and the university should be selected. The PLers on the Steering Committee nominated a PL organizer of



EYEBALL CONFRONTATION at a barricade. Note the plywood shield in the center and the garbage can lid shield. Note also that the police are surrounded; this happened several times during Friday.

the people who carried the brunt of the exploitation -- poor and working class people, ethnic minorities, youth, etc. This meant speaking to them in a language that they understand; which is not pacifism.

"What about your violent plans?" objected a member of The Resistance. "What violent plans?" asked a Steering Committee member. "To have black people participate," was the answer.

When the pacifists failed in their attempt to get STDW to accept their discipline, a large number walked out and set about organizing a separate demonstration for Monday, October 16. Others, who were tactically, but not philosophically, attached to non-violence, stayed in. It was agreed that they could have "their own thing" within STDW, but exactly how that would work was never clear.

## MIXED TACTICS

Many stayed in in the hope that they could prove by example that their philosophy was better. The participation of non-violent demonstrators on the militant days turned out to be a severe handicap. Most of those beaten on Tuesday were engaged in non-violent sit-ins and were not able to get out of the way of the cops. Others interfered with the building of barricades and hampered the mobility of the action.

Future militant action will, hopefully, not attempt to "mix" self-defense and non-violent tactics. The general feeling after the week on both sides was one of friendly competition. The 'united front' idea seems to all to be impractical.

The debate with the pacifists also added to two other problems; our relations with blacks and the lack of clarity in projecting the actual plans for the week. These will be dealt with in more detail later; however, a couple of comments should

show up at each general meeting and raise the same arguments that had been dealt with the week before. The elected Steering Committee members represented a new feeling rather than a specific constituency. The non-violent left and other groups were better organized than STDW. They spoke for visible groups of people. The Steering Committee, operating only on the assumption that people were ready for a new, militant action, was never, until the activities of Friday, October 20, on as steady ground.

After a few weeks the coalition-of-organizers idea was modified. Organized groups that were willing to participate under the new discipline were asked to elect representatives to the Steering Committee.

## PROGRESSIVE LABOR

The addition of representatives of endorsing groups to the Steering Committee brought members of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) onto the Steering Committee. The PL members, however, did not come to Steering Committee meetings as representatives of PL (nowhere in the Bay Area did Progressive Labor, as an organization, endorse STDW) but came instead in the clothes of "front" organizations--anti-draft unions, organizing committees, etc. Until this was laid out in the open, it created a number of problems. They functioned as a hidden caucus inside Steering Committee meetings and generated long hairy discussions about the ideology of STDW. The question of ideology was brought up over and over again but only in the context of choosing speakers for rallies or slogans for posters and buttons; never where that question would have had real content, around the STDW organizing activity. They felt that unless the slogans and

working class whites, a black PL member and a campus PL person, without openly identifying them as PL. When this was brought out in the open, the PL people were forced to act as an open caucus. When this was done it helped a great deal to clear the air. The objection here is not over PL's politics but the way it, and most other left splinter groups, operate in open non-ideological coalitions. They act as tight secret caucuses that try to hide their politics behind a many-faceted organizational facade. This should not be allowed to happen, and when discovered they should be forced to act in the open so that all the members of the coalition can make their decisions based on the true nature of the political debate.

The second area of conflict came over preparations for self-defense. It was felt by Steering Committee members that one of the major differences between this action and other demonstrations was that we were mounting a serious confrontation to the draft system; this meant that we were expecting the cops to act in a violent fashion and that we had the responsibility to provide some kind of self-defense framework. The PL people were all in favor of a general line on self-defense but constantly opposed as provocative any development of that in terms of providing equipment. This produced a conservative strain in Steering Committee planning and contributed toward the general lack of clear planning for the week.

## MANIPULATION

The basic problem in dealing with PL, as well as any of the other left splinter groups, is their tendency to be very manipulative. The practice of waiting until the last moment and then circulating leaflets undercutting or attacking the activity is an example of this, as are the



# A POLITICAL ANALYSIS



TWO CARS AND A TREE FORM A BARRICADE. Many black residents of the area helped block the streets. (Photo: Jeff Blankfort).

attempts to gain control of pieces of the action through surprise maneuvers.

In a leaflet issued one day before the week began and circulated heavily on the University of California campus, PL accused the STDW leadership (of which they were a part) of "white chauvinism," of "maneuvering to get the cops to attack the demonstration," and of planning for "pop-art guerrilla warfare." The charges of "white chauvinism," while putting a finger on a serious problem, attacked the Steering Committee for something that had been solved before the leaflet came out (and which will be dealt with later). The accusation that we were leading lambs to the slaughter ignored the fact that people were told to expect police violence and be prepared to meet it. It is a curious accusation to come from the PLers since they were the ones that argued against self-defense preparation in the Steering Committee. The attack, in general, was polemical in tone and was done to win political points, not to provide any reasonable, concrete solutions to the many real problems that we had to deal with. Its basic purpose, obviously, was to gain as much mileage as possible out of the action and to show what they consider just the proper amount of ideological differences in order to recruit people with similar criticisms of the activity.

## SUPPORT DEMONSTRATION

The UC campus PLers provided the second example of manipulation when they sent a large number of their members (armed with bull horns) down to the support demonstration and moved it from the decided-upon spot in front of the draft board (about 10 blocks away from the Induction Center) to the front of City Hall (a block away from the Induction Center).

The PLers thus moved into an area of danger a large number of people who had already decided they did not want to be so involved and did so without making that danger clear. The result was that the members of the support demonstration got caught, along with others, in a series of confrontations with the cops thus hampering already made preparations for self-defense and finding themselves in situations they were opposed to being in.

In spite of all of this, however, the San Francisco State PL group did an excellent job of organizing for the week, and brought a disciplined, ready group to the action. They maintained their militancy in the face of vacillating Berkeley leadership and argued constantly that STDW was, in fact, an aid to campus organizing.

## BLACK AND/OR WHITE

Of PL's charges, the one dealing with black-white relationships was the most legitimate. From the beginning STDW hoped to build a black-white coalition,

feeling that the draft issue was a common one and that the militant tone of self-defense made cooperation possible. This coalition existed only on paper, however, and the Steering Committee rigidly kept on trying to build it long after the possibility was gone.

The Steering Committee found itself in a box and did not have the political savvy to get out. It had been advised by some local black organizers that the best way to involve black groups was to bring out a national SNCC figure. The national SNCC office agreed to send someone; however this did not work out, and real contacts with local black organizers were meanwhile postponed until it looked very much as if the Steering Committee was depending on SNCC to get black people to the action at the Induction Center.

There was also a great deal of loose talk by Steering Committee members to the effect that if a strong SNCC person were brought out, the militancy of the week would be insured. Many people associated with STDW were afraid that white people could not be militant by themselves. Again, we were operating on assumptions alone and were getting the jitters that only a few hundred people would show up. This feeling about white youth was shared by young black people. Mark Comfort, in Oakland, reported that though East Oakland liked the idea of the week, they felt that when the cops attacked, the white kids would run away and leave the blacks fighting the cops.

The Steering Committee was accused of using the black community by planning rallies in the Oakland ghetto (which is right next to the Induction Center). Veiled threats were made that black youth in Oakland would attack the white activists for attracting the cops to their community. Finally, much too late, the Steering Committee agreed to move their rallies out of the ghetto and to abandon the black-and-white-together bit and go it alone.

This proved to be one of the group's smartest decisions. Tuesday and Friday proved without a doubt that white youths are ready and willing to clash with the police and defend themselves. As a result a new pride and energy has been given to them. They no longer feel in the shadow of the black liberation movement.

The result of all of this has been a new attitude by blacks, both in the community and in militant organizations. There is a new empathy toward the white movement and a feeling that white people are finally beginning to talk their language.

## BERKELEY OLD GUARD

STDW began as an off-campus activity. After school opened in September, this changed, and it found itself in the leadership of basically a campus movement.

When school opened, the Steering Committee was composed as follows: the original members who issued the Call, the PL members, and representatives

from campus organizations at Stanford and San Jose State (both largely representing SDS chapters). Roughly half of the Originals came from the UC-Berkeley campus and gravitated back there from community and high school work they had been doing during the summer to give leadership to the on-campus STDW Committee. The Berkeley PLers also returned to the campus.

The other half of the Originals, who did not come out of a campus base, not working out of a specific community but mostly out of The Movement office, were supposed to be building community contact in San Francisco. This was only superficially attempted and those people gravitated toward administrative positions, handling coordination, tactical planning and public relations work from the San Francisco office. Because of the militant, tight nature of the action that was being planned, the San Francisco half of the Originals took on the job of cadre planners rather than organizers; which produced some serious strains within the Steering Committee.

The Berkeley campus leadership, formed out of the FSM, VDC and 1966 Strike actions (herein called the Old Guard) has been around for a long time. Berkeley is a tight community and outsiders (not to be confused with non-students) are not exactly trusted.

## INJUNCTION

The injunction by the Alameda County Board of Supervisors prohibiting on-campus organizing for the assault on the Induction Center, and the attacks on STDW by Senator Murphy and others contributed greatly to the momentum on campus. This has been labeled "fortuitous" by some, but it is unclear when reaction by the forces in power is fortuitous and when it is the natural response to any militant threat to their control.

At any rate, it created a climate in which many Berkeley students came to STDW rallies to find out what the ruckus was all about. Many then came down on Tuesday for the first militant action. The violent attack on the people by the police caused a strong reaction at Berkeley and shook the confidence of the Berkeley leadership (both Old Guard types and a good percentage of original Berkeleyites on the Steering Committee).

Many Old Guard members steered clear of STDW until after the injunction, and then moved in to the Steering Committee to preserve their status as campus leaders when it was clear that STDW had a strong momentum. This made worse a number

of mistakes that had been made in the planning (or lack of planning) for the week.

Berkeley has a tradition of "democratic" mass rallies on campus, in which people "decide" what course of action is to be taken. The Old Guard relied exclusively on this, feeling that unless a large proportion of people assembled at a rally supported them through hand votes, they could not continue with the week's actions.

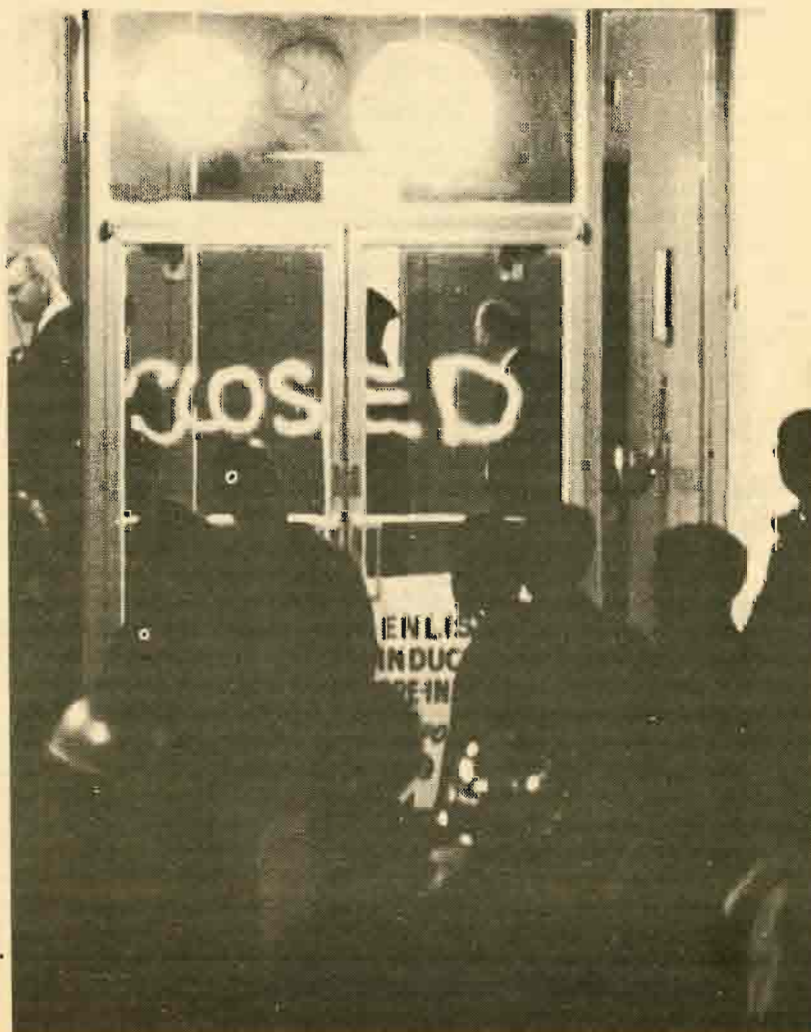
## OPEN MIKE

Criticism here is double-edged. On the one hand, such rallies are in actuality not democratic but manipulative, and produce charismatic figures or the demand for popular speakers who can "sway the masses". There is a lot of jockeying for the microphone at crucial moments at the same time that an "open mike" provides an illusion of democracy. The open mike was not the way to satisfy the needs of the students to know what the Steering Committee was planning. It just added to the confusion since people were at those rallies basically to find out what the hell was going on. The only services the open mike provided were to give the complaisive talkers a chance to mouth off and to provide an illusion of democracy for those who needed it to cover the manipulative deals.

On the other hand the lack of clear planning for activity after Tuesday provided just the void in leadership that the Old Guard thought they had the responsibility to fill.

The Steering Committee had not decided upon a plan of action for the rest of the week before Tuesday and by the time the first day of clashes with the cops was finished most of the Steering Committee were either in jail or too tired and overextended to work out any clear plans. (One of the most serious deficiencies stemming from this lack of planning was the Steering Committee's inability to spell out specific plans for self-defense. The responsibility was thus thrown largely on individuals to work out for themselves.) This lack of planning and the reaction on the part of the Berkeley leadership led to a hopeless split in the Steering Committee: the off-campus San Francisco Originals, the San Francisco State PLers, San Jose State and Stanford wanted to continue activities; the Berkeley Originals and the Old Guard wanted to stop. The Old Guard did not want to be placed in the leadership of a militant minority of demonstrators. The majority of people

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14



INDUCTION CENTER MAIN DOORS, 6:50 a.m. Friday. (Photo: Jeff Blankfort).



# POP-ART GUERRILLA WARFARE

By Jeff Segal

"A primary purpose of this book is to make available to civil and military law enforcement agencies the most up-to-date methods of handling crowd and riot situations. Its scope ranges from the friendly persuasion of a peaceful crowd to the application of varying degrees of force when lesser means are inadequate to insure control, even to the use of ball ammunition in an all-out riot.

"Simply stated, a mob action is a battle between the forces of law and order and persons or groups who have taken the initiative in attempting to wrest the ability to enforce the law from the legally constituted police forces. If the mob succeeds, law and order may be replaced by anarchy."

The above are two paragraphs from the introduction to 'Crowd and Riot Control' (formerly called, Kill or Get Killed) by Col. Rex Applegate. This book is the major text-book for police agencies throughout the US.

A primary purpose of this article is to make available to movement organizations and organizers the most up-to-date methods for handling police and police connected agencies in situations of struggle. Its purpose ranges from peaceful discussion with the cops to varying degrees of force when lesser means are inadequate to insure control and provide for the success of the guerilla action.

Simply stated, a peoples' action is a battle between the forces of the presently constituted power structure and persons or groups who have taken the initiative in an attempt to take control for themselves. If the people succeed, law and order may be replaced by Anarchy.

of our own movement) did we PLAN for and CARRY OUT an operation whose object was the taking of control over one of the basic institutions of the society. We organized in advance that manner in which we expected to defend ourselves, and our plan took the form of a military action against the cops. The attempt was only a feeble one but it has given us real experiences to sink our teeth into and learn from.

We have now had clashes with the police in more than a dozen places around the country since the beginning of STDW and I am confident that those clashes will grow in numbers and in militancy. We must seriously study each new encounter, provide ourselves with the preparations to meet the cops in battle and win.

And the battles will not be mere street fights with stones against tear-gas bombs, nor pacific general strikes; neither will they be those of a furious people destroying in two or three days the repressive superstructure of the ruling oligarchies. The struggle will be long, harsh, and its battle fronts will be the guerilla fastnesses, and also the cities, the homes of the fighters — where the repressive forces will go seeking easy victims among their families — the dwellings of the massacred rural population, the villages or cities destroyed by the bombardments of the enemy.

— Che Guevara

This then is an attempt to present to our comrades in the movement an analysis of the specific tactics that were used and the lessons that we learned from our struggle, so that the next time all of us will be more prepared than before.

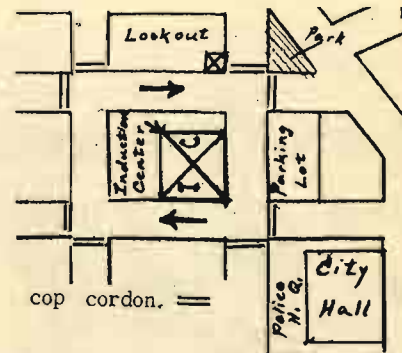
Four basic rules of thumb came out of this general position.

1) We would try to avoid getting arrested. We understood that merely being in the area of the IC meant that we ran the risk of getting arrested but that the goal of the action was not a large number of people in jail. That would just cost us time and money and not get us any closer to our objective.

2) We would try to avoid direct contact with the cops whenever we could. That meant that people were told to split if attacked by cops; if the cops moved into an area to clear it out we would go if it didn't seem that they were doing it to get the inductees into the IC.

3) People were told that they had the right to defend themselves. We felt that just because of the stated purpose of the action there would be police violence. This meant preparation for self-defense BEFORE the action began. We encouraged people to bring whatever they thought necessary to aid in self-defense and also tried to instill a feeling that self-defense meant collective self-defense. If you can get people away from the clutches of the cops — do it.

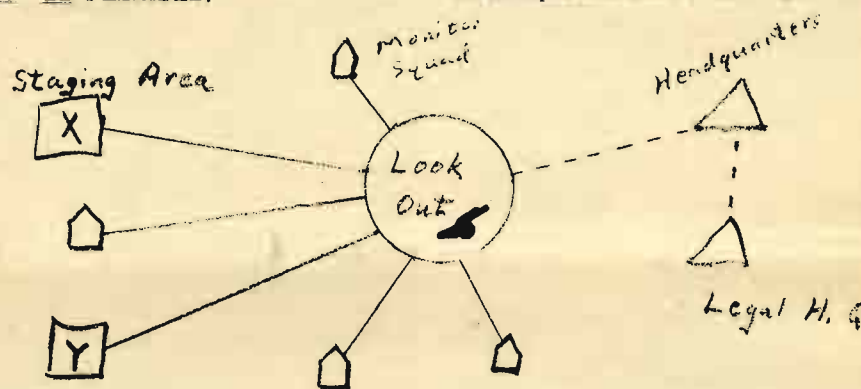
4) People were given information on a number of tactics that the cops might use and our suggestions as to how to combat them. But people were told that they would have to think on their feet. "Do whatever you can to close the IC down, use your imagination and don't be afraid to innovate." BE FLEXIBLE!



2) We felt that a system of trained monitor squads, who would train (and be responsible for) certain groups of people would afford us the best way of disseminating information and instructions to the participants.

3) We felt that the squad-group system would provide us with the most flexible usage of our participants. That through a centralized communications system we would have a maximum of flexibility in moving the troops around to get at the IC.

We had a total number of 11 monitor squads; 8 basic "assault" groups, 2 monitor squads who were responsible for control of the 2 staging areas near the IC (see map), and 1 to handle the group of people who wanted to be involved in a sit-in (this is the set-up as developed for Tuesday; there were changes for activity on Friday). Each monitor squad was made up of a chief monitor, a walkie-talkie operator and a runner. There were



This is a diagram of our communications chain.

Telephone link - - - - -  
Walkie-talkie link ———

## SEEDS FOR THE FUTURE

The action at the Oakland Induction Center (IC) during Stop the Draft Week (STDW) while not being definitive seems to us to represent a watershed in the course of the anti-draft and white student movement analogous to Watts for the black movement. We experimented with tactics that involved direct conflicts with the duly constituted forces of the law — cops. It was not guerilla warfare or armed insurrection, for it would be foolish to think that we are prepared either psychologically or materially to launch a large scale activity of that nature, but the action carried within itself the seeds for all of the elements that we will need when, indeed, our time does come.

Here, for the first time (in the history

## TACTICS

One of the basic propositions that Che presents in "Guerilla Warfare" is that in all actions one's tactics must flow out of one's strategy. This became a key operating rule in the planning for STDW. Since our strategic goal was the closing of the IC our plan was to attempt to do that with a minimum of cost.

"We hope that one of the accomplishments of STDW will be the development of a new kind of demonstration. Instead of a fixed plan of action, we have attempted to describe a set of alternatives which will provide the flexibility necessary to achieve our goal — closing down the Induction Center — with a minimum of arrests and police violence."

— Monitor's Instruction Manual



Here is a map of the terrain that we had to work with.

## PRE-WEEK PLANNING

Before getting into the guts of the activity, one clarification. This article is only concerned with two of the five days of STDW — Tuesday, October 17, and Friday, October 20. The first day of the week was given over to the pacifists who held an orthodox non-violent sit-in. Wednesday and Thursday were normal type picket lines with small sit-ins connected with them and have no utility to the purpose of this article.

The actual planning for the "military" aspects of STDW started about 3 weeks before STDW when we called together about 50 people to a monitors meeting. There were 6 meetings of this group, who were the people that made up our monitor squads and acted as the skeleton structure for the action on Tuesday (some of these people were also part of the structure for Friday but the set-up was slightly different).

It was at these training sessions that we developed our basic organizational structure and trained people in the skills that we needed (i.e. operation of walkie-talkies).

In discussions before the week began it was felt that we had to break down the organization of people being brought to the IC to a number of groups, the minimum size being 250. This was done for three reasons:

1) We felt, prior to Tuesday's action, that the cops might try to break us up before we got near the IC and that it would be much harder for them to deal with a number of small groups converging on the IC from different directions than one group marching to the IC. We decided on 8 groups (with one monitor squad for each group) since we thought that the cops would try to cordon off the area instead of letting us get near the IC. That was the maximum number of groups needed to cover intersections around the IC

substitutes for each of these people who were trained as regulars.

Besides the monitor squads there was the Lookout made up of a chief lookout, (imported from Chicago) his beautiful, red-haired assistant, a walkie-talkie operator, and 2 runners which was responsible for general coordination of the street activities. There was also a first aid station operated by doctors and medical students.

## MONDAY NIGHT

### & "BLOODY TUESDAY"

The final planning stage began Monday evening on the steps of Sproul Hall of the University of California-Berkeley. Here the bulk of the participants met to discuss the plan of action, (a group of about 150 came up from Palo Alto on Tuesday morning as well as a contingent of about 200 from San Francisco).

It was at this time that the bulk of the participants were instructed as to the general plan for Tuesday, were given information on what to do in case of arrests, and were divided up into groups and assigned monitor squads. The groups then discussed and asked questions until they began to ship out at about 4 a.m.

The approximately 3,000 participants were brought into the area via rented buses and car pools, cleared themselves through the staging areas and proceeded to move to the IC along their pre-arranged street routes at about 5 a.m. Here, we received our first surprise. We had expected to meet police resistance, in the form of cordons, at the intersections around the IC. However, there was none, and we were allowed to take the two blocks in front of the IC's doors (Clay between 15th & 16th and 16th between Clay and Jefferson). The cops had taken over control of the 4 story parking garage on the southeast corner of 15th and Clay (Kitty-corner from the IC) as their head-



quarters and stationed about 600 cops in it. They arrived just before we did. We were unprepared for this particular tactic and ended up doing little else than filling up the large area around the 3 doors with bodies until 6:30 am when the cops started to clear Clay. During the period of time between 5:00 am and 6:30 am most of the activity took the form of marching up and down in the streets, chaining up the doors (which were very quickly freed after we lost control of the doors) and waiting for the cops to do something.

ATTACK

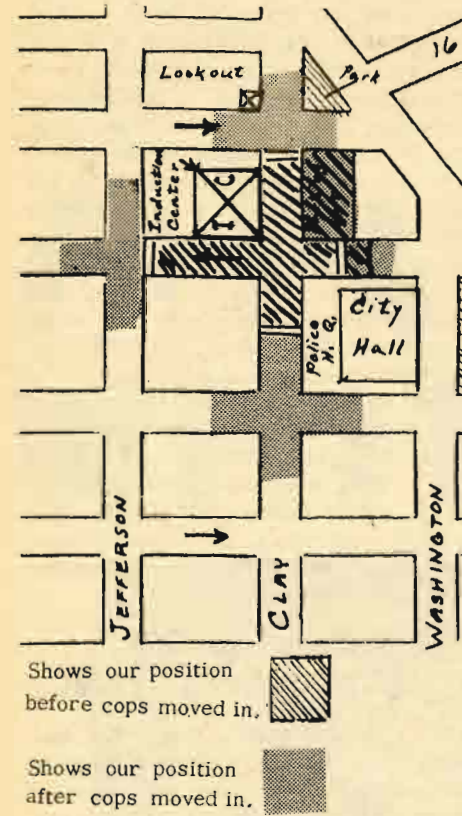
Sure enough at 6:30 am a large segment of cops moved out of the parking structure, formed themselves into a wedge formation and started to move down Clay crossing the intersection of and Clay and down the block to 16 and Clay. Here was our first encounter with the cops and they won. The cops moved into the crowd of demonstrators swinging billy clubs and spraying people with MACE. This produced a lot of confusion in our ranks. People ran into each other and many panicked.

The most serious problem that we had at this point, however, revolved around the people who came down to participate in a sit-in. This was a group of people who were tactically wedded to the form of a non-violent sit-in and wanted to do that within our action. We had told them they could and sent them down to the IC early as part of a "peaceful" protest group. This was contingent, however, on the possibility that only they would be able to get near the doors to the IC. When everybody got to the doors of the IC it no longer became necessary for us to use the cover of a sit-in to get people stationed near the door and the sit-in became an unnecessary tactic.

DON'T SIT DOWN

These people reacted to the police charge by sitting down and proclaiming themselves a non-violent sit-in. This meant very little to the cops, who were after blood. They just stepped right into, on and over the people sitting. Most of our injuries resulted from people sitting down. One of our prime watchwords that came out of this experience was, "don't sit down."

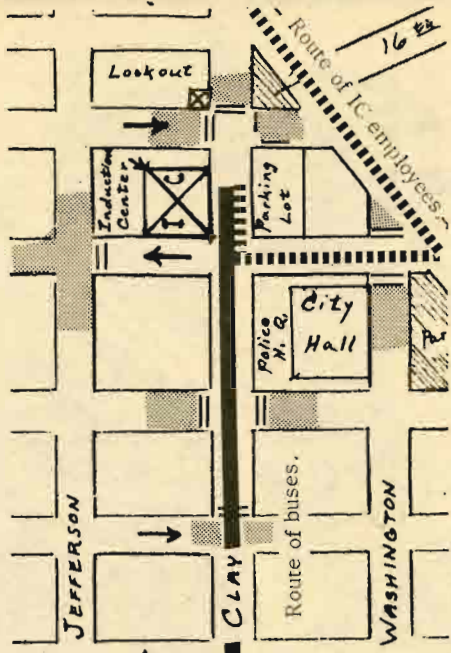
The cops then proceeded to slowly and methodically clear larger and larger segments of Clay and then 15th. They ended up pushing us to 16th and Clay, 14 and Clay, down 15th to Jefferson and up 15 to San Pablo.



Once this was done we were left with the situation of a static perimeter around the IC. The cops stood on the inside facing us and we stood on the outside facing them. The buses were finally brought in, about 9 am, straight down Clay St.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Much has been said (and undoubtedly will be said) about the police brutality on Tuesday and there certainly was a great deal of billy club swinging that day. However, there were a number of things of things of significance that came out of



Shows our position when buses were brought in.

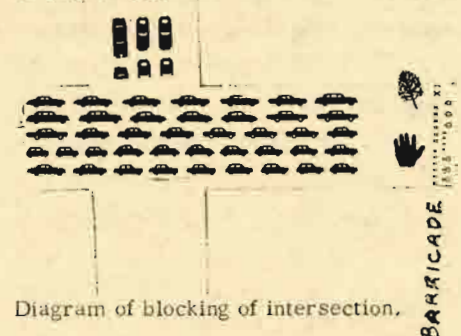


PUSHING A CAR INTO THE STREET for a barricade. Dig the altered street sign and the spraypaint can in the rear pocket. (photo: Jeff Blankfort).

- the police activity that have been practically unreported.
- 1) A good proportion of the police violence came as a result of individual or small groups of cops flipping out (out of fear, hate, lust, etc.) and charging the people. Many people were attacked just because they were standing near cops.
  - 2) The most difficult thing for people to handle and what caused most of the fear on our part was the use of mace. People were unfamiliar with the small mace cans and did not know what was happening to them. Advance training in this area would be helpful in the future.
  - 3) The police seemed to have a beat-up and disperse policy as opposed to an arrest policy. They had very little ability to "take prisoners" and were more interested in driving us off than arresting us.
  - 4) Cops were very uncomfortable if there was just a small number of them in an area filled with people. We found that they would move back to strong unit strength and when one or two of them got caught in a group of people, they got out fast.

Two small scale experiments were made while we were waiting it out with the cops that proved significant for Friday. The first was that along about 8:30 a couple hundred people moved out into San Pablo (which is one of the main drags in Oakland) for the purpose of blocking up traffic on the street. This tied up traffic

for quite a while and began to build a whole new psychology that proved very helpful on Friday. The second was the building of a barricade to stop up traffic on 14th Street.



A group of people (with one of the monitor squads) moved onto 14th from Clay and decided to try to block up the intersection of 14th and Clay to prohibit movement down Clay. They came up with the idea of building up a barricade using

park benches in the middle of the block so as to use the traffic on 14th to block the traffic from coming down Clay. The tactic of building barricades and blocking up intersections was widely used on Friday.

VICTORIOUS FRIDAY

Most of the discipline from Tuesday remained the same for Friday. In juxtaposition to Wednesday's and Thursday's "peaceful" demonstrations, people were going back Friday, "to do it like Tuesday, only smarter!" However, two basic changes were made. The first was that we were going to eliminate, as much as possible, the use of the sit-down. The second, and more important change, was a redefinition of our tactical focus. The focus changed from the doors of the IC to the buses bringing the inductees in. It was felt that our real strength lay in our mobility. We would bring our monitored groups into the area around the IC and plan ahead for the dispersal. Groups would be assigned intersections and attempt to block them up. We would stop the induction process by fucking up traffic in downtown Oakland. We would not wait for the cops to come and beat on us, rather, we would split from one intersection to another and require the cops to come out after us. They would have to fight on our grounds instead of us fighting on the cops' grounds.

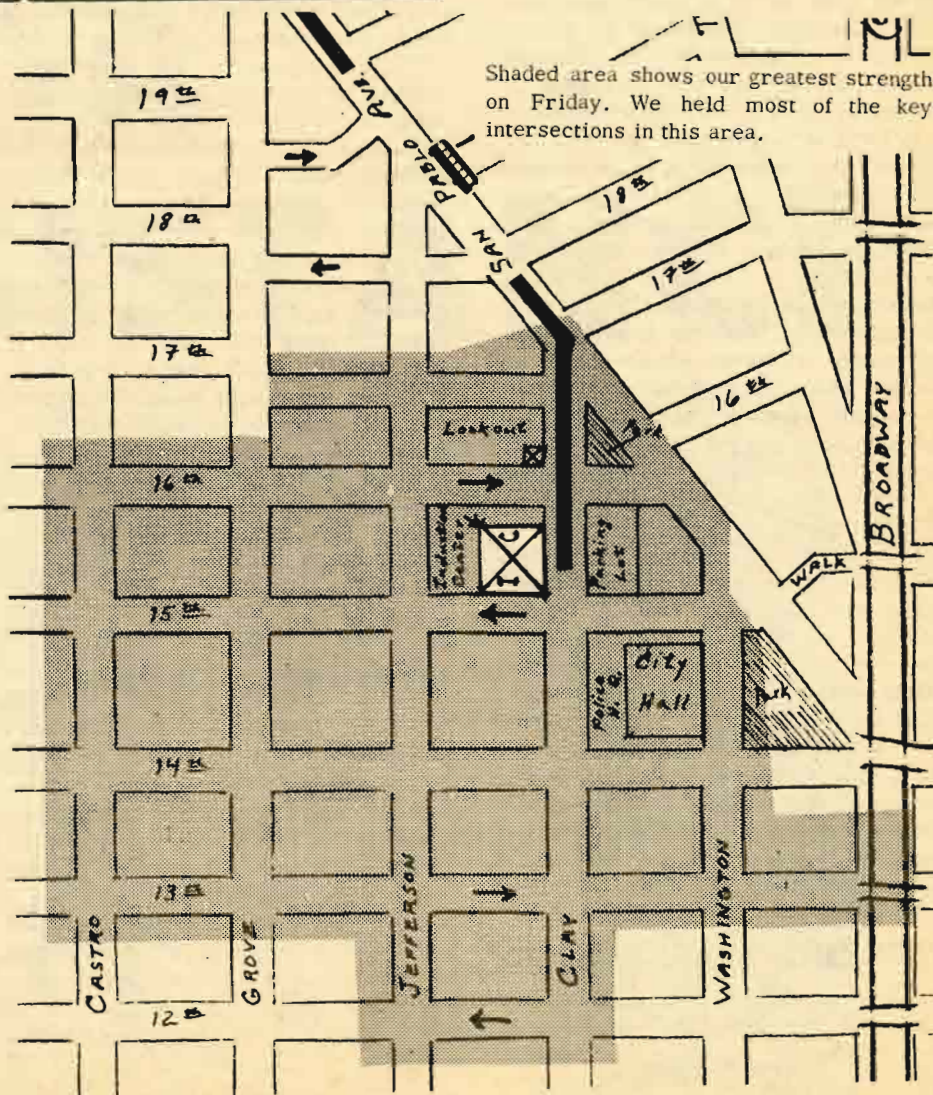
Friday morning people met directly at Lafayette Square (staging area Y). There were on Friday about 10,000 people. Once the people arrived in the park they were divided up into groups, each with its own monitor squad, and oriented to the new battle conditions. This time people were more prepared to engage the cops -- a good portion of the participants wore helmets of one kind or another, most wore heavy coats, and people generally brought a wide variety of protective equipment. We also had on Tuesday (see description at end of article), a large supply of aerosol paint cans for painting up the streets, and a couple of old cars that people donated for turning over in the intersections.

What we did not have was a communications system. The communications system used on Tuesday was much too primitive and, we decided, more bother than worth without major additions of equipment. We will need this kind of system in the future but will have to get ahold of much more electronic equipment than we had.

WE TAKE THE STREETS

We moved out of Lafayette Square at about 6 am and marched into the area

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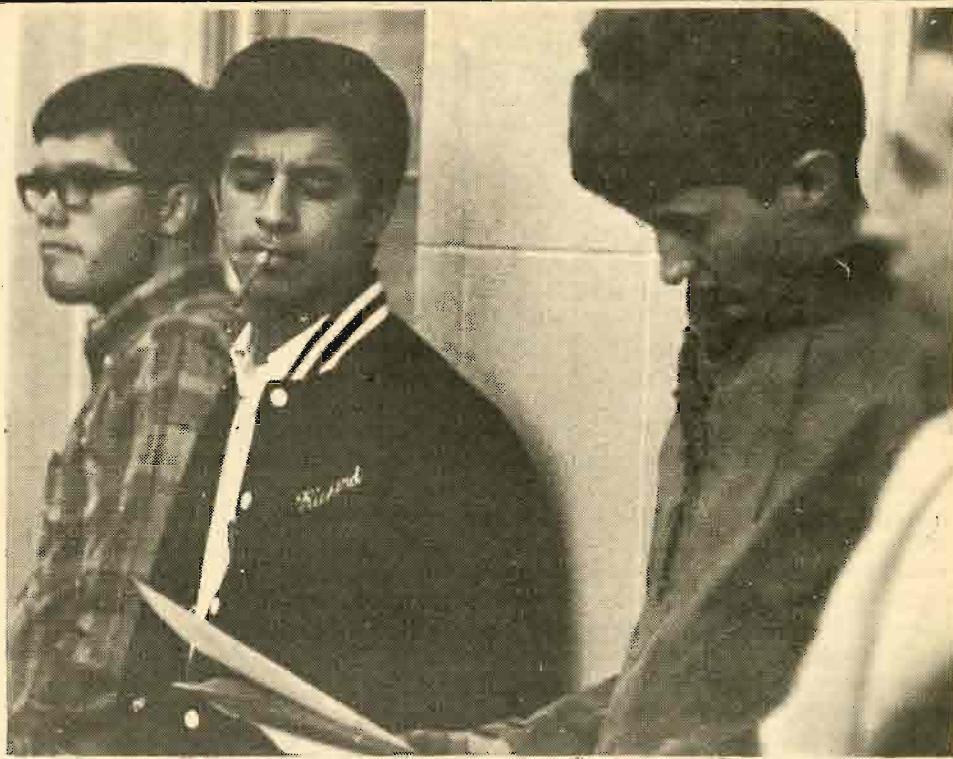




The following article is by a group of young white organizers who plan to begin implementing this program in various cities across the country. The Movement prints it in the hope of stimulating discussion on long-range plans to fight the war and the draft and to effect basic social change. Next month we will print a critique of this plan by community organizers in Chicago. We hope other articles will follow.

There is a movement now in this country that it makes sense to describe as a resistance. What a year ago was merely a slogan has begun to take shape at induction centers, in the corners of small offices, in the character and style of increasing amounts of anti-war work and the consciousness of growing numbers of people that they can create a real opposition to the Johnson Regime. There is still a great deal of confusion and groping. The resistance exists at the fringe -- on the edge of the student movement and the university community, at the margin of the poor and decaying communities where the offices and apartments of most of the resistors are to be found.

This article outlines a program of resistance; it seeks to clarify objectives and describe a way in which part of the resistance can root itself in poor white and lower paid



INDUCTEES reading anti-draft literature.

# WE'VE GOT TO REACH OUR OWN PEOPLE:

working class communities; it attempts to suggest the urgency, need and potential for establishing those roots now.

## WE CHOOSE RESISTANCE

Much of the anti-war movement, regardless of rhetoric, seems predicated on the assumption that existing power is legitimate and that the regular channels of political opposition are sufficient to end the war. For that reason it has concentrated on proving that there is substantial, growing public sentiment against the war (through large demonstrations, petitions, newspaper ads, referenda, etc.) and it has done this quite effectively. Its method has concentrated on anti-war propaganda and education and symbolic appeals to power. Even the most militant, civil disobedience advocates have generally directed their energy toward a Gandhian confrontation with and appeal to power.

We are convinced that power throughout this society is illegitimate and will continue to be basically unresponsive to public opinion and normal political pressure. That conviction FORCES us to a conception of resistance -- an effort to impede and disrupt the functioning of the military/political machinery wherever it is local and vulnerable. We join a resistance movement out of no great optimism about its capacity to end the war; indeed we call this a resistance, not a revolution, because entrenched power is too strong to be broken. At best a resistance can delay and harass, strengthening the internal conflicts that make the war costly, aiding marginally the Vietnamese whose prosecution of the war is the most critical determinant of its outcome; at best a resistance sets seeds throughout the country of a movement aimed directly at imperialism and domestic exploitation.

What we do believe, however, is that the resistance can draw together those people who seek real power to deflect the war. We believe that a resistance can draw together people who are sufficiently detached from the integrative social mechanisms of this country so that they could never participate in a propaganda/symbolic-confrontation - oriented movement. In this sense, we think the resistance can make available to many people who are now denied it, a credible (believable, possible) form of opposition to the war.

## WORKING CLASS & POOR

It is here that the war hits hardest. It is young men from these communities who do most of the dying in Vietnam and it was their fathers and brothers who did most of the dying in Korea. It is their unions that will be suppressed

in the name of the war effort, their wage gains that will be erased by war inflation, their checks that will feel hardest the squeeze of a war tax. And it is also the token programs of relief, job training, school improvement, and rent supplement that will be cut off in their communities because of the war.

But it is here that the anti-war movement has had least experience and least success. Paradoxically, the people most brutalized by material and social exploitation, the people pushed unceasingly through the processing of school, military and job seem unmoved by the anti-war effort. Partly this is explained by the massive, unthinking, unchallenged racism and patriotism (anti-communism) which these communities share with the rest of white America and which must be broken if a movement is to succeed. But more important, we feel that these are exactly the communities that will not be reached by the symbolic, propaganda tactics of the current sense of REAL GAIN, a sense that political activity represents more than the demonstration of disaffection. It is in these communities that a resistance makes most sense.

Because grievances are so deep, so much a part of the marginal economic and social web of people's lives, the movement of opposition, once triggered could be very powerful. We choose to work here because people do have a deep sense of exploitation that can lead them to identify not only with their own struggle, but with oppressed people everywhere. It makes sense to talk in these communities about the need and right of self-defense and self-preservation and to speak of democracy as the unadorned right of people to make the most important decisions about their lives. There is little of the legalism and formalism that can paralyze other sectors of the society, but rather a profound but segmented anger that can be kindled and united by the existence of a credible opposition to the war.

## WE CHOOSE THE DRAFT

The draft and the war are issues now, everywhere. There is no need to manufacture them or convince people of their importance; the conviction is implanted twenty times a day by television, radio, papers, conversations and the visible signs of war inflation and pressure -- not the least of which is the caskets rolling back into the community from Vietnam. Unlike some of the other things community projects have tried to work on, there is no need to produce "consciousness" about this issue.

We want to focus on the draft because it is the MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST TANGIBLE manifestation of the war in

most people's lives. Hardly anyone exists in a lower class working community who does not have friends or close relatives who are in the army or threatened by it. Coming into the community with a program that will help people deal with this problem, that will keep themselves or their friends or their children or their loved ones out of the damned war, cuts through to the very heart of the issue. It is a way of fighting back, a method of self-defense, and it makes the opportunity for opposition credible and compelling.

Unlike many issues, the draft is important enough so that people will take a stand and accept the risks that that implies. It is only when an issue or movement is so important that the good average American will take a stand against his neighbor or his bowling team or the men he drinks with or works next to that you have a chance for a significant social movement. Revolutions always tear communities apart. It is that tearing that represents the splitting of the social fabric which has held people in belligerent allegiance to their country in spite of their disaffection. Very few of the issues we have organized around have been that powerful. This one is.

And although opposition to the war will divide a community in very important ways, it will unite it in others. There are few issues that will unify a marginal community across its fractured status and economic lines. For example, the antagonism between workers and welfare recipients frequently keeps them from working together. But the draft cuts across those lines. It can bring the welfare mother, worker, parent, young person into one cause and into a common sense of themselves and their position as opponents.

The clarity of this issue and its importance, can strengthen the opposition to other institutions when they are used to suppress it. When the school expels students for forming a high school draft resistance league, the general anger of the community about the school has a foundation and anchor that the abstractness of the "school problem" may have prevented from forming before.

## PRESERVATION

Finally, however, there is one reason that over-rides all others in making us attempt a community based draft resistance movement. That simply is the preservation of the movement. Because the movement is in danger. The war in Vietnam, despite its gravity is neither the last act or a continuous feature of this society. It will end eventually; and eventually could be soon. If the movement it has generated is to live beyond

it, two things must happen. First, large sections of that movement must become rooted deeply, not simply in communities, but in the lives and difficulties of people. Second, it must get far enough beyond the symbolism of protest to convince ITSELF (the people in it) that it can effectively combat and resist power.

We think the effort to make a base for the movement in people's lives and in its capacity to bring tangible, real gain to those people must become the programmatic focus for large numbers of people. We must begin to develop an edge, a sharpness, a clarity about our direction that can combat the current tone of political indecisiveness that is so strong inside the anti-war movement and the overwhelming sense of dissolution that will follow the end of the war.

We do not claim the insight of orthodoxy about this program. We do not feel compelled to urge everyone to drop what they are doing and join our ranks. Their is a richness and a life to the anti-war movement that laughs at orthodoxy and that we respect despite disagreement. What we do feel is that a focus is needed that can unify some of the divergent strands of the movement around a political and programmatic perspective and that can place that perspective in communities where it can grow and endure beyond today's horrible, but preliminary skirmish against human suffering.

For that we need many people. Not just people to join this program; but people throughout the movement who will look at their work from this perspective -- the simply crying need of the movement to sink roots, to seek real confrontations with power -- and to endure -- to survive -- to live.

## COMMUNITY BASED DRAFT RESISTANCE

Draft resistance is growing. The momentum the peace movement gained this summer has turned more and more towards draft resistance. "It is the one anti-war organization that really pulled together." "It is the one issue around the war that really touches people personally and desperately."

On the other hand, draft resistance groups have very different reasons for existing, and are now moving in several different directions. Some had their start in moral pacifist protest, some in a tendency towards direct violent confrontation with the establishment, some again in a longer range perspective of building a movement for social change.

But the Vietnamese struggle for liberation continues, and the political repression of some in this country, the economic

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regimentation of others and the political powerlessness of many also continues. We have choices to make and a responsibility for our political actions.

Neither the skills or techniques of counselling, or the tactics of induction center demonstrations are talked about here. A direction for draft resistance is presented and a discussion of possible techniques is set out.

### DISAFFECTED AREAS

Draft resistance can grow faster and more strongly in sectors of the population which are already disaffected with the war and with the political machinery

local and national. Think of black and ethnic communities, like Puerto Rican, Polish, American Indian, German, Portuguese. Think also of lower class white working class communities: less than half of these communities vote because they don't believe political leaders will do anything for them, they are generally against the war, and they are the ones primarily who are getting drafted.

On the other hand, none of these communities are particularly open to ordinary, large organization funded, top down peace propaganda programs. They have to be approached by people who settle into their own communities, are familiar with and militant about their community problems and who gain respect and credentials in their community.

These are the people who are run powerless through this society -- through the schools, the army and the jobs -- and these are the people who can form a base of power to resist the war machine. Draft resistance is the way to reach them because the draft is touching almost every one of their families. They got a reason to fight the draft. Let's talk about getting them the chance.

### STUDENTS

Who are you? Some of you have roots in communities where draft resistance centers could be started, but a great many of you are students, or at least without those roots in potentially insurgent communities. Some of you are already involved in draft resistance work in student areas and don't feel you have the time or the manpower to try to reach into the community. Why should you? Haven't you got your own job to do.

Students are most often the troops of the movement, but they are not all the people. A significant resistance to the war and to the unrepresentative political machine which directs it must be based not only among students but among working people. A real resistance must last to fight against the next war like

Vietnam which the government involves us in, and to last it must have a base among people who have their own reasons for defending themselves against an oppressive social system. Since students are very often the ones with the time and background development that allows them to develop opposition to and organization against the establishment, they must be the ones to bring agitation and organization to Americans who don't have that time or background.

A lot of us have believed that these poor and working class communities are filled with super-patriots. They ARE filled with people who have fought in Korea, and with families who have lost men in Korea. Some of them support the war, and the government, blindly. But more of them know it is not being fought for them or for freedom or for our national security. They will be quick to learn what the Vietnamese people are really fighting for, and they will be quick to defend themselves and their sons against the draft. They have not been vocal against the war, because they have not had the time. They have not had the time in their whole lives. -- They were busy being processed, meeting responsibilities and making a living.

### UNION PROGRAM

What follows here is a program for setting up community based draft resistance unions. It is hoped that you will move in that direction. On the other hand, many student based groups or organizers, just do not have the time or in some cases the experience to work in the community full time. In that case it makes sense to talk about a "flying" group that, during the course of its work, tries various ways of reaching out into potentially insurgent communities. In some cases, people can be found to establish community draft unions, and in other cases enough contact can be made, enough information gathered, to follow up when organizers are available.

### ORGANIZING DRAFT UNIONS

Pick the neighborhood for some good reason. Maybe you know some good, sympathetic people there who know their way around. Look for areas where a peace referendum was optimistic, where there is a ROOTED neighborhood peace group, where there are welfare rights organizations, where there is a fight with the political machine, where there have been rent strikes, where there may be an urban renewal issue or an issue of control of the schools, the hospitals or the police.

Check on the listings of men who are 1-a in the city. The draft board won't give out their addresses and if you can't trace them down then you can send them a letter through the draft board; they are required by law to forward mail to men with 1-a classifications. If you make contact with one in an insurgent neighborhood and if he wants to refuse induction or refuse to fight in Vietnam, ask him for permission to get his neighborhood out to support him. BUT GET HIM TO DO THE WORK. Start a leaflet campaign and a petition of support for his refusal in the neighborhood.

It is not necessary to get a storefront, if you can't afford one. Even a pair of rooms on the second floor is good enough, if you clean them up and make them look decent. Try to get the neighborhood kids to help you fix up the place. They are your base: tell them what you are there for.

### LEAFLET

Leaflet the surrounding blocks, the churches, schools, community centers, bars and barbershops, asking for permission to set up a draft information center. You should make a strong statement against the war to let people know where you stand from the first. You can say that Draft Information Centers are springing up over the country and that you, like others, want to get people to stand up in their own defense against an unjust war which is not in the American people's interest. You want to know if the people want a draft information center here. Ask them to come and tell you.

Circulate a petition getting signatures that support your right to be in the neighborhood: the right of the people to learn about alternatives to the draft and the right of people to resist the draft. Get your own views out. You'll get responses. You may have to try two or three different blocks before you get one where you can settle in with the support of enough people.

Be careful about language: if there are Puerto Ricans or Mexicans in the neighborhood, be sure to have leaflets and petitions written in Spanish.

Get to know ministers, priests, grade-school and high-school teachers. Try to set up chances to speak about the draft and/or the war.

Leaflet high-schools and trade schools. If you can find people help set up multi-issue groups in the high schools, help with "underground" high school papers. It is important to work with students you get to know, if you can, and not from the outside or from the top: the name of this movement is insurgent.

### RESISTANCE CENTER

Try to make the Draft Resistance Center into a place where high school people hang around in the afternoon. We need IMAGINATION. Put speakers outside and play some good sounds. Do some skits that people can understand. Let high-school students use the office for things they want to do: it is their union as much as it is yours. Hang newspaper pictures up, headlines, articles. Have literature on other things beside the draft which you think will develop a political consciousness and which will interest people.

Try to get into community life. Talk to people at the laundry-mats, bars, bowling alleys. Take care of babies for mothers. Try to get people to come into the center and have a cup of coffee. We're getting past the point where we can just collect like-minded people. We have to MOVE people, and to do that you got to spend the time to get to know them. In so far as you are defying the state you may want protection, and the people are the only protection you got. You better be tight with them.

Begin to get involved in other issues of community control. If you fight along side with people when they are trying to control their own lives and get what they need, they will listen to what you have to say. Draft Resistance takes on a legitimacy when it is linked to, say, community control of the schools or rent strikes. Also try to interest people you have counseled or supported at the induction center in other community fights.

Find out where the men in the community work -- ask them? -- and leaflet at their plants or shops. Talk about the war as well as the draft in the leaflet. Try to get community people to leaflet with you.

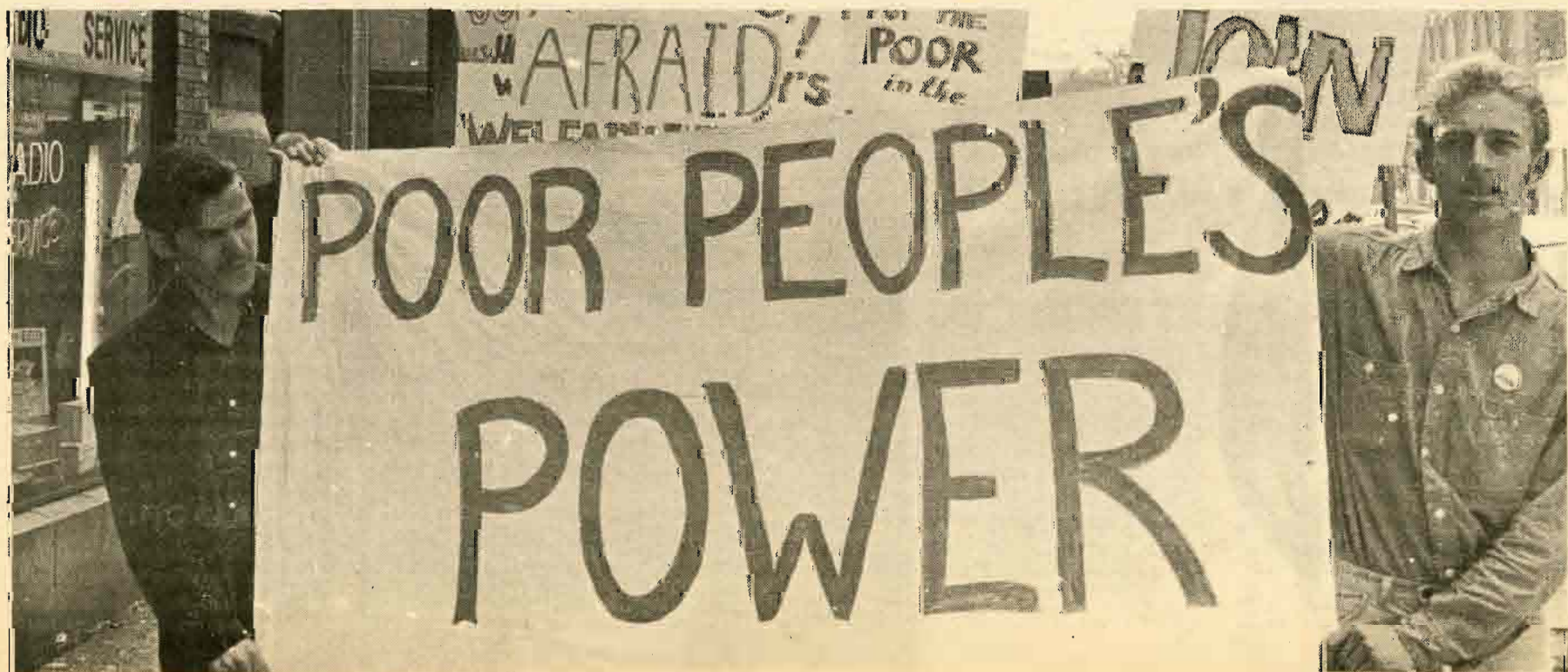
### NEWSLETTER

Put out a newsletter to your community which talks not only about your own fights, but gives information about draft resistance in other parts of the country. Give it out door-to-door and distribute it at shopping centers, schools, etc. People have to know that they are not alone in the country. They have to know that THEIR PEOPLE all over are standing up against an unfair government.

It is important to participate in peace groups and to help to set them up. Talk to them about draft resistance and draft counseling; they'll want to know the facts. They may be your strongest support group, and may give you money, materials or

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# A PLAN FOR WHITE RESISTANCE





## ARABS, ISRAELIS, US

## ISRAEL--"REPUBLIC OF VICTIMS OF FASCISM"

By William Mandel

The United States was founded by a persecuted religious minority who undertook a long, dangerous, and miserable ocean voyage to establish a colony where they could be free. This did not prevent them, as soon as they were strong enough, from turning upon the native inhabitants, driving them away from their own lands, and killing not only those who resisted but simple innocents in order to terrorize the rest.

While doing this on the one hand, this barely-emerged nation was able, on the other, to wage a long and just war of national liberation against the great world empire that had permitted and encouraged the colonization for its own interests. The newly-independent state then developed the most progressive Constitution known to man by that date, and a Bill of Rights without equal as far as guaranteeing individual liberties is concerned. But the words "progressive" and "equal" applied only to the ethnic group, European colonists and their descendants, who had colonized and conquered the country. All others, both those who had been here from time immemorial and slaves brought for exploitation from overseas, were excluded from its provisions. And this nation of immigrants, without abandoning that Constitution, proceeded to expand its boundaries till they extended from ocean to ocean, conquering, slaughtering, and penning up the Indians, importing black slaves and treating them as less than human, taking over Mexican lands and treating the Mexicans in the same way, and finally reaching overseas to erect a world empire without compare in history.

## MIDDLE EAST USA

Considering how much the world has changed, the new issues and forces that have arisen, and the geographic differences, the parallel between early U.S. history and that of Israel to this day (it is now 20 years since independence) is amazing. The founding by a minority fleeing persecution, the occupation of a land already populated by others, the determination to build a society consisting only of one's own ethnic group, the energy with which a modern economy was erected, the liberal form of government for one's own group, and the ever-widening conquest of territory with the announced purpose of making more room for larger and larger numbers of immigrants: it's all there, and so is

the treatment of the Indians, with Arabs substituted.

## PROPAGANDA

The propaganda is a little different. In the 18th century, the notion that one's own "race" was superior and all others inferior was universal among mankind, and one did not have to make excuses for subjugating those who were regarded as not quite human. In 19th century Europe, imperialism was a proud slogan, not a cuss-word, and American "statesmen" said it was our "Manifest Destiny" to expand endlessly. In the 20th century this is no longer acceptable. Imperialism has demonstrated not only that it brings incredible misery to those it exploits, but wars without precedent in destructiveness to the imperialist states themselves. Only the U.S. has thus far escaped feeling the consequences on its own soil. So the U.S. can still use Hitler's cover-up of "anti-communism" to some effect among its people. No one else can, and so the Israelis fall back upon the most ancient of all excuses for aggression: "self-defense." Yet each of Israel's three wars of "defense," (1948-49, 1956 and 1967) has left that country in possession of vastly more territory than at the outbreak of the fighting. On each occasion, it has immediately called for additional Jewish immigration to populate the new conquests. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol now says:

## NEW POPULATION

"Our political and military problems would seem vastly different if we were four million Jews instead of two and a half million." (SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Oct. 26, 1967).

This was in a speech to a convention of the volunteers from abroad who came to fight for Israel in June. The CHRONICLE story says:

"In its anxiety to increase the Jewish population of Israel, the government is in the midst of a drive to keep as permanent residents as many of the volunteers as possible."

And Israel is also moving its own people into the cultivated, fertile Jordanian territory on the west bank of the Jordan River conquered during the June War, to replace those who fled their homes out of a justified fear, based on the 1948 and 1956 experience, of being a discriminated-against minority in a racist and expansionist country. Jerusalem has been officially annexed, and Israel is exploiting the oil resources Egypt has developed east of Suez.

## ZIONISM

Eshkol's appeal for further mass-scale immigration brings us to the matter of Zionism. Of the 5,000,000 Jews in the pogrom-ridden ghettos of the Russian Empire, only a tiny handful of 12,000 sought to solve their problems by moving to Palestine between the 1880s, when the Zionist movement began, and 1917, toward the end of World War I. These were the extreme nationalists, many moved by the racist colonialist notion of the most distinguished leader of Zionism, who told the British at the close of that war that he wanted a Palestine "as Jewish as England is English." This was when the Jews were one-tenth of the population!

## U.S. JEWS

Vastly larger than the number of Jews who responded to Zionism were those who fled to the United States and other countries permitting free immigration, where they sought only the right to live as human beings. Of all the ethnic groups immigrating to the United States, there were more workers among the Jews than any other, because the Jews were an urban people. The Jewish immigrants were deeply affected by the 1905 Revolution in Russia, in which many had played a part, and became the most militant and revolutionary section of the American working

## ANGRY BLACK WOMAN SPEAKS OUT

## WOMEN, ORGANIZE YOUR OWN FIGHTING FORCES!

To the Editor:

It is of tremendous interest and vital concern to me, a woman, that the Western Black Youth Conference will have a workshop on the role of women in the movement. In a sense this question is a soul chilling one, because it should need no discussion in special sessions. This is very much like debating the rights of black people with a group of southern whites. The rights of women and black people should not, in fact cannot, be negotiated or bargained for; as we are finding out, they must be taken. The so-called role of women should be the same as the role of men in the movement, as in everyday life. The very fact that it will get special treatment in this conference is some proof that it is not taken for granted, at the very least. I can only hope that the women at this conference will take a militant position regarding their rights, that the men will attempt to bring about a change in their own attitudes, as well as the attitudes within the movement. Finally I hope that a good look at the "roles" of men and women will be taken, and that this scrutiny will prove that "role playing" is a bad substitute for militant living...

It is tragic indeed that we have this ever present problem, the problem which has been like a rapier thrust in the living flesh of militant women in every walk of life. Radical women, women in the Civil Rights movement, the Freedom workers in the south, all have felt the sting of oppression and discrimination. All have had to fight for independent political identity. They have been laughed at, jeered at, and used as bed partners, but one way or another they have met with defeat. Women are, at the very least, victims of grave humiliation and bitterness in this society.

Working women, black and white, are the most oppressed. They work in order that they and their children may starve more... SLOWLY. They see their children abused in the street, in the schools, and in the police stations. It is the children of the poor who are classified as retarded by the school systems, who are shot in the back by the police. The children of the poor fill the JAILS and the ARMY...

## WOMEN MUST FIGHT

It is pertinent to point out here what needs to be said once and for all: Women must fight for their place in the movement, any movement. They must organize in their own behalf. No one will do this for them. The black liberation struggle and the struggle for women's rights are two prongs of the same problem. Women have been oppressed for unknown centuries, longer than the black people. Women's demands in modern times, for equal pay, equal opportunity, equal education, and just plain simple rights like standing on a street corner without being classified as a pickup by males, have NOT BEEN SATISFIED.



A YOUNG WOMAN TALKS to the cops at the Induction Center (photo Jeff Blankfort).

Everyday of their lives women suffer insults, social and economic limitations, scorn and degradation. Black people suffer much the same oppression. The black people and women are second class citizens; conscious women and conscious black people know they are second class citizens. The basis for a great enlightened unity exists if only it is exploited by the movement. What better place to bring together the most oppressed, the most deprived, the poorest people, than in the movement. Men in other movements have consistently used the women, then laughed at their complaints as at a child's whimper, worthy only of being ignored. Now the black liberation movement has the opportunity to embrace women as equal partners in the struggle and to reap the great benefit to the struggle which women would bring to it. Time will tell. Meanwhile women must continue and intensify their fight for equal rights.

The black liberation movement has been learning and growing day by day. The development of theory and practice is remarkable. The consciousness of the people is growing, very largely due to these struggles. Poor whites are finding that they have no power. Women must realize that they too must take their place alongside the men, as equal partners. This may very well mean a desperate struggle within the movement, as well as full scale all out war with the power structure. Every movement for women's rights has been diverted into other struggles which have appeared more urgent at the time. THIS MUST NOT HAPPEN AGAIN.

One of the most outrageous myths, projected in the black liberation movement--which women must refute without delay--is that of male emasculation. There is much talk by men who, it seems, feel deprived of their manhood. If manhood means a good job, being the HEAD OF THE FAMILY, coming home at night to a vine covered cottage where the little wife is waiting with slippers and super... then MANHOOD

BE DAMNED. But if manhood means the same thing as womanhood and they both mean humanity, then only will the movement achieve unity and the ability to win the struggle. If the overall plan is FREEDOM FOR ALL PEOPLE (that must include women), without the deadly soul destroying virus of supremacy of one over the other, then only will we have the makings of a world of justice, freedom and fraternity. AND ANY OTHER KIND OF WORLD IS NOT WORTH FIGHTING FOR.

## A PLAN OF ACTION

The following is by no means complete but it will serve as a modest guide.

1. Demand equal leadership with men.
2. Refuse all appointments or elective offices which put women in positions of secretary, cook, bottle washer or child watcher.
3. Demand equal representation in all committees or in any unit of the organization.
4. Demand a reformation of language used by males when referring to women. Demand an end to separate and unequal references to women such as the following statement from THE MOVEMENT Letters to the Editor: "Mr. President, I've got to inform you that the Negroes throughout the U.S. are through taking it from the rich man. Because if he hits US OR ONE OF OUR WOMEN WE are not going to sit still for that".
5. Form a caucus in every organization to which you belong. This caucus to fight on the floor in meetings, conferences and conventions for the rights of women. Demand that meetings, conferences and conventions go on record for equal rights for women.
6. Women, organize your own fighting forces, your own organization, involve others, write your material. Agitate. Organize in your own defense NOW. WOMEN UNITE.

Gloria Martin  
Astoria, Oregon

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# ANTI-DRAFT AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

by Karen Koonan and Bobbi Ciecioraka

We want to talk about a couple of things: How the draft is an issue which affects women, and why women should fight this thing which both symbolizes and sustains our oppression.

Because women in this country ARE oppressed--people in this country are oppressed, but women in special ways--and we are oppressed, very directly, by the draft.

## THE DRAFT

The draft needs to be understood in the full scope of its coercive power. Not only does it gobble up our young men, warp their minds and get a lot of them killed, it also controls how the rest of us will live in order to escape its clutches. An official Selective Service System memo which we read recently points out that procuring manpower for the armed forces is only a small part of the SSS operation. More important is the "channeling manpower through (the) deferments aspect of the Selective Service System". The memo makes it quite clear that this is very conscious manipulation. Time and again it comments on "the ever increasing problem (of) how to control effectively the service of individuals who are not in the armed forces... Many young men would not have pursued a higher education if there had not been a program of student deferment. Many young scientists, engineers, tool and die makers and other possessors of scarce skills would not remain in their jobs in the defense effort if it were not for a program of occupational deferments... Selective Service processes do not compel people by edict as in foreign systems to enter pursuits having to do with essentiality, and progress. They go because they know that by going they will be deferred. Delivery of manpower for induction...is not much of an administrative or financial challenge. It is in dealing with the other millions of registrants that the system is heavily occupied..."

In other words, that student deferment, that defense industry job which seems like such a clever maneuver, has all been planned ahead. Where you work and what you work at and a whole lot of things about what ought to be your PRIVATE life are shaped by the SSS lurking in the background.

## WOMEN

How do women fit in? Well, you notice that the memo doesn't mention them. That's because women aren't really important to the power structure which designed the draft. Those politics and those economics can pretty much get along without women. And that's why women are second class citizens in this country. And that's why our status isn't going to change until the power structure is changed. Until changes are made, women are going to have to put up with second class education, second class jobs and second class wages. And something else: Ain't nobody gonna make those changes FOR us. We have got to do it for ourselves.

## WOMEN & THE WEEK

Stop the Draft Week made us think about broad issues. The Week wasn't just another moral protest; it was the beginning of a move toward POWER. We learned that it wasn't just Stop the Draft/Don't Feed the War; it was the really broad issues of power in this country, the need for self-determination, the need for people to control their own lives. In other words, some pretty basic changes in this old country. And we thought about what that means for women, because it's a little different for us than it is for men.

Some observations: Women do play

secondary roles in this society, roles which are perpetuated by the society. Any serious attempt to liberate the society has to reject secondary roles for women. As a movement, we can't talk about taking power over our lives while within that movement men still dominate women. Men can't talk about self-determination and at the same time refuse self-determination to women. That just ain't freedom, ain't equality and ain't gonna lead to taking power. So, as women, seeing this, we have a duty--which is to emancipate ourselves, NOW, so that we can be fully functioning individuals in the struggle, able to act without relying on men.

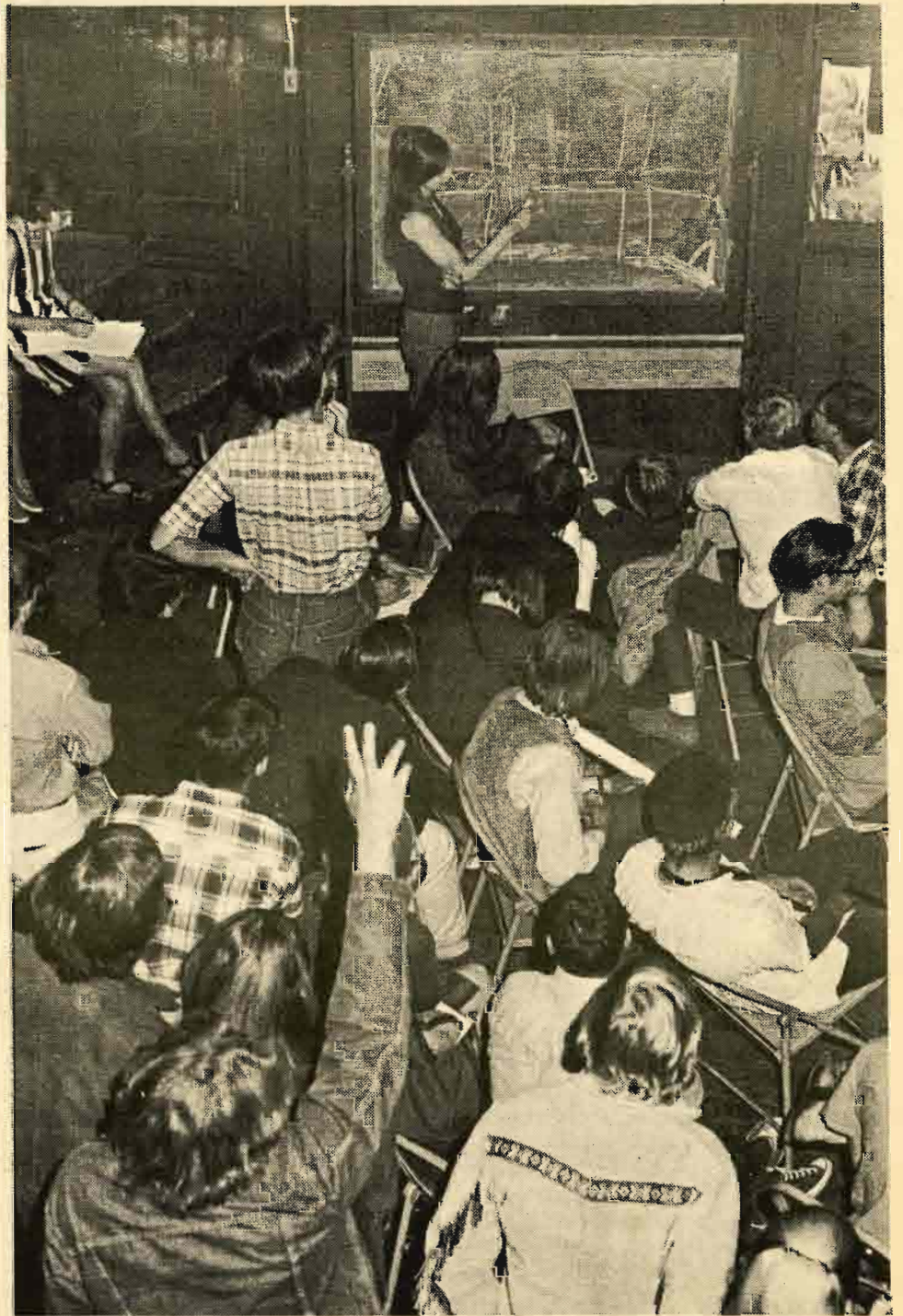
## MOVEMENT WOMEN

Even in the movement in the past we've usually played secondary roles. We've been the typists and teachers, the office managers and cooks. We have not been projected as leaders or spokesmen; we have rarely BEEN leaders and spokesmen. We existed to BACK UP the men and be around for the social aspects of their political lives. When we have participated equally with men, when we have led demonstrations, been on steering committees, etc, it's been very difficult. We have to work twice as hard as a man to prove ourselves before we are accepted. We have to deal with snickering, being called "unfeminine" and just plain being ignored. Some of us have done these things; a lot of us haven't.

## THE WEEK

In the Stop the Draft Week organizing, women faced the usual problems. Somehow there we were, doing the office work and the agit-prop theater. But some of us demanded in the planning sessions that we be listened to as political, thinking people. We came to realize that when the guys joked or called us "ball breakers" we could respond with "That's your problem, baby," and it would be true; it wasn't our problem. We knew what we were doing; we knew we weren't "trying to be men". If men were threatened by women acting as independent political people, it said something about their confidence in themselves, not about our femininity.

When the heat was on--in the demonstrations--many of us participated, some as monitor captains. In the face of possible violence by cops there was no need and no time to worry about women



KAREN KOONAN, STDW Steering Committee member, briefs her monitor group before the Tuesday action at the Induction Center. (photo: William Warren, Berkeley Barb).

acting like men. It has been the same in ALL people's struggles for power -- in Cuba, in Spain, in Vietnam -- women have participated as equals with men. Battlefield conditions both allow and require us to become fellow warriors. During the Stop the Draft Week demonstrations we worked along side the men, protecting demonstrators, rescuing people from the cops, building barricades. Now we all know that we can do those things and that's a good feeling.

## WHAT NEXT?

What needs to happen next is that we must extend the legitimacy for which we struggle so hard, the legitimacy to which Stop the Draft Week has in some measure

added, particularly around the draft issue. Women have to become increasingly militant. We have to learn to assert ourselves, to demand both our rights and our right to equal participation in the struggle. We think the draft is a good issue for women to work around. When the draft is understood as a coercive force which attacks both men and women, and when it is seen in the context of our larger struggle for power to control our lives, it is obvious that women are just as involved as men. We don't pretend to say that this increased militancy will be easy. The system legislates against it. Our own insecurities and the prejudices of our men increase the difficulty. But the stakes are high. That ancient goal, freedom for all people, can only be attained when women as well as men are free.

# STANFORD ANTI-DRAFT MOVES ON

By John Saari

STANFORD, CALIF. -- From the outset Stop the Draft Week organizers conceived the week's demonstrations as an impetus for further anti-draft and anti-war organizing. Long before the end of the week, Stanford S.D.S. and the Stanford Anti-Draft Union had begun several projects to make that hope a reality. These projects fall into two categories: campus projects and community projects.

The chief campus project, one that grew directly out of Stop the Draft Week, is the confrontation by S.D.S. of government agencies and war corporations when they hold job interviews on campus. In particular, the CIA is holding job interviews beginning on Oct. 30th; and Dow interviews start Nov. 7th. The Placement Service, where these interviews are held, is located in a small building in the center of campus. Last year this building housed the student-controlled experimental college which is not on campus this year because the university could not find another building to house it. If the university does not cancel the CIA interviews, SDS plans to liberate

the building and return it to student control. However, the administration at Stanford is composed of clever liberals who would like to avoid a confrontation if at all possible. SDS hopes to make this confrontation unavoidable, to bring the police on campus because students are opposing the war and to thus demonstrate the authoritarian nature of this society and build the first sustained mass movement at Stanford.

The Anti-draft Union is increasing both its campus and community activities. On campus the ADU is re-circulating its "We Won't Go" statement that got over three hundred signatures last year. This year the statement will also be circulated at several local high schools and at Foot-Hill and San Mateo Junior Colleges. The ADU also has several leafletting projects centering around local teen hangouts, draft boards, and inductee departures for Oakland. Finally, in the near future the ADU plans to begin anti-draft work in the white working-class areas around Fremont. Increased anti-draft work at junior colleges and high schools and in working-class areas is significant since the young

men from these areas are more likely to face the draft than students from an elite school like Stanford. Stop the Draft Week spurred much of this increased activity, and several of the groups organized to participate in the week are continuing with day-to-day anti-draft work.

## RUBY DORIS ROBINSON

We are tired of writing obituaries for the wrong people, tired of repeating how fine and strong and beautiful are the movement people who die. They die and are killed and eaten away by the pain of struggling against a killer society. More will die, we know, and may the strength of all of them seep into those of us left living. The oppressors die at an old age and the liberators young. May we see the day when this is reversed.

The young years that Ruby Doris Robinson put into SNCC were not wasted. They have helped many thousands live and struggle.



# THE POWERFUL DID NOT USE THEIR POWER

By Julius Lester

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The October 21st Confrontation with the Warmakers began slowly. The Lincoln Memorial served as the gathering place for the thousands who came from all over the country and there wasn't much to do during the morning except sit, stretch out, or wander around and look for those people that you only got a chance to see at demonstrations. All the radical organizations were there selling their propaganda literature, while miscellaneous souls sold buttons. The only excitement during the morning came when a Nazi tried to punch Clive Jenkins, the English union man, while he was speaking. The Nazi was immediately beset upon by several of the Mobilization Committee marshalls who seemed all set to "take care of business", but someone kept yelling, "Leave him alone! Leave him alone!" These ill-advised words were heeded and the proceedings receded to the tedium of speakers and speeches.

When the march itself finally got underway, it was a rather somnambulant affair and it looked for a while as if the confrontation would take place between the marchers and photographers. The latter waited like the Alabama state police at the other end of the bridge, while the marchers slowly came toward them under a huge banner --- SUPPORT

OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM. BRING THEM HOME. Behind them an all-American hero held his own cardboard sign high in the air to the right of Dr. Spock's head. Emblazoned therein crayon, impossible to be left out of any photographer's picture was L.B.J. SUCKS. (The White House has, as yet, made no comment.)

After several delays, the march made its way to the south parking lot of the Pentagon, by way of what seemed to be a country back road. It looked like a perfect set-up for an ambush, but the armed guard-ain's of law and order were not apparent, as they had not been throughout the morning. Only when the march approached an underpass did a momentary chill come over the crowd as people looked up to the highway and saw a dozen or so Virginia state troopers lounging against the WELCOME TO VIRGINIA sign in fine southern style. The demonstrators remained on Federal property, however, and the local guardians of the law seemed quite content to let Federal troops deal with them.

## PENTAGON PARKING LOT

At the Pentagon parking lot, the Mobilization Committee had arranged another brief rally, and, this was there the march began to lose its somnambulance. Few marchers stopped before the platform that had been set up, but simple kept strolling toward the Pentagon, whose walls loomed above the trees like a medieval fortress. A few stopped at the other end of the parking lot where a group of hippies were casting out evil spirits from the Pentagon with chants and flag-waving. High above them, lining the roof of the evil edifice was the Army, its evilness undiminished.

About the time the hippies really got into their thing, a group of demonstrators came streaking by with Vietnamese flags flying in the wind. They looked like French revolutionaries going toward the barricades, which, in actuality, they were, for their progress came to an abrupt halt at a rope barrier behind which, arms folded, stood military police. When the MP's made no move to disperse the group, it was apparent what the tactic of the day was going to be. Intimidate the marchers by a show of force, but use as little force as possible. After all, these were not a bunch of niggers. These were good, clean American kids exercising their right to dissent. Now, if these were niggers, we'd have cut'em off at the bridge and whipped heads from can to can't, cause who gives a damn. If we get rough with these kids, however, we'll have mothers and fathers from coast-to-coast on our necks.

It was a good tactic and it almost worked. Even though thousands of demonstrators wore cards reading "We don't want violence", thousands didn't wear any cards and it wasn't a question of wanting or not wanting violence. It was simply that there they were, standing in front of the international headquarters of violence and the massive granite walls of the Pentagon didn't awe anybody; it made them angry.

Once the March reached the south parking lot of the Pentagon, the people took control of it. Without a blink of the eye, they tore down the fence behind which they were supposed to have remained and headed for the steps and Mall of the Pentagon. They weren't interested in civil disobedience; they wanted to take control of the Pentagon.

## CONFRONTATIONS

For an hour or so the marchers stood eyeball-to-eyeball with MP's and Federal marshalls. It was obvious that the MP's were under strict orders not to disperse the crowd, but to only act defensively. It was equally as obvious that the marchers were none too anxious to be aggressive and get their skulls cracked. So they stood there calling the soldiers everything except a child of God.

Then, one contingent of MP's decided they were going to take control of the area on the north side of the Mall. With rifles pointed, they charged toward the demonstrators, and, it was here that the demonstrators showed that they had moved beyond protest. When the MP's pushed, they pushed back. Instead of backing up at the sight of rifles pointed at them, they surrounded the MP's and several demonstrators proceeded to lay sticks up-side the soldier's heads. One MP was jerked out of line and quickly shoved into a corner and immediately beset upon. He was quickly rescued, though, one demonstrator is now the proud owner of an MP's helmet. Other MP's had their rifles snatched from them. Later in the day, three soldiers "defected" and threw down their rifles, running into the crowd of demonstrators, screaming "Protect me!"

The soldiers had never had to deal with such people as these before. When they pointed their rifles menacingly someone came forward and stuck a flower in the barrel. Others were virtually deluged in a shower of flowers, but they stood there, rifles pointed, faces grim, with flowers on their shoulders, flowers on their helmets. When they put on their gas masks, they were booed and hissed. These were average American boys being opposed by people who looked like their brothers and sisters and the soldiers learned that their show of force meant absolutely nothing. They were being ridiculed by their own people.

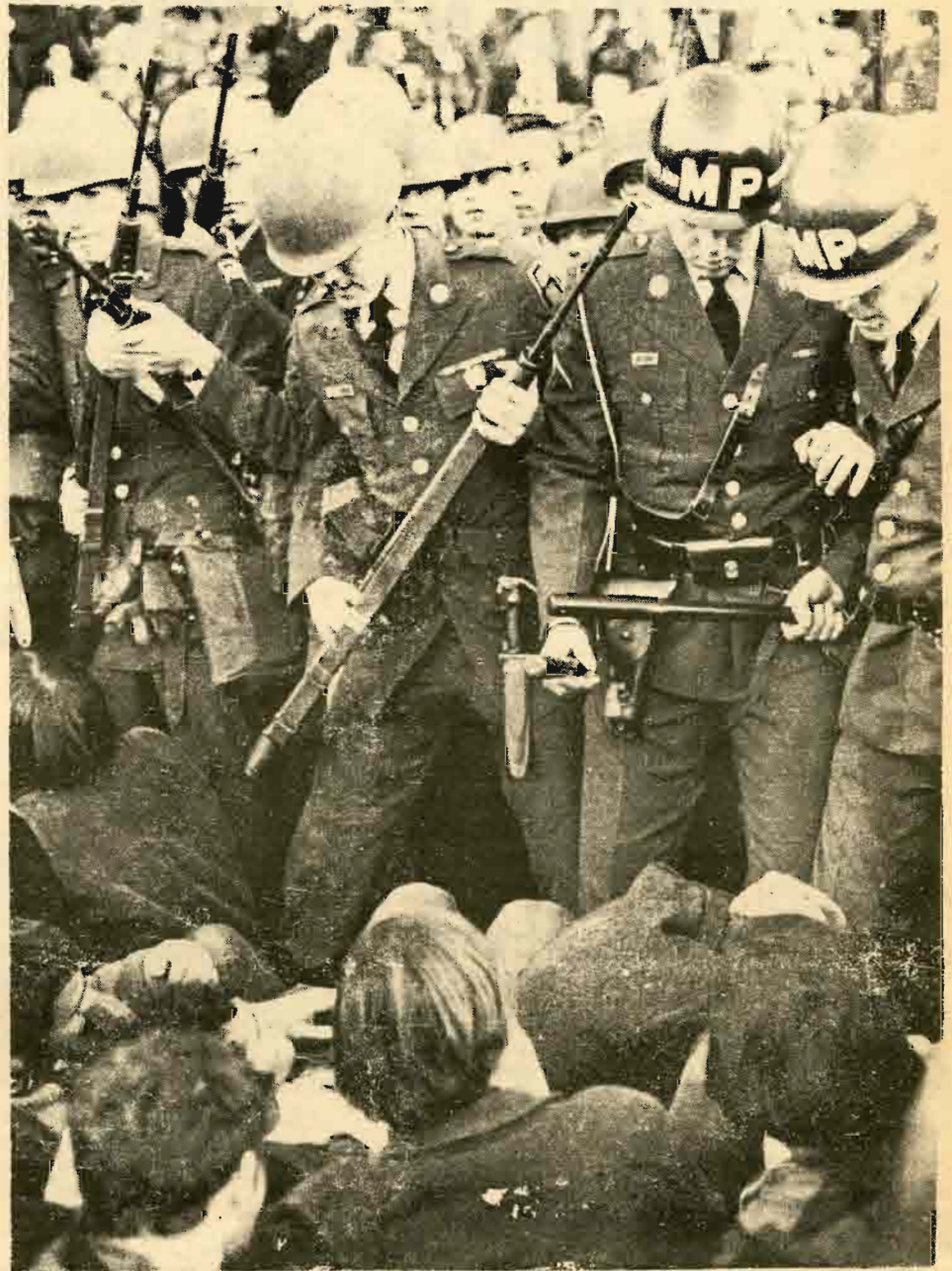
## STORMING THE DOORS

On the other side of the mall, demonstrators had been amassing in the driveway leading to the door of the Pentagon and finally, they gave that one big push and broke the line of MP's and marshalls and with a great yell, ran toward the front door of the Pentagon. A great cheer went up and it was a fantastic sight to see, but there they were, storming the Pentagon and being met by the U.S. Army. Some got inside and were immediately pitched out and down the steps. Time and time again, however, they broke the lines and ran, dodging billy clubs and rifle butts, up the driveway and toward that front door.

It was obvious that this was a new peace movement. Few offered their heads willingly to the billy clubs. Many a marshall swung his club and instead of hearing it meet a skull, he suddenly found his hands empty as someone tore the club from him. After the demonstration, the Pentagon released "casualty" figures: 24 demonstrators, 23 Federal marshalls and MP's.

## REALITIES OF POWER

It was clearly a victory for our side, but partially because the Army did not unleash its power. The rifles that could've been fired into the air (or in a more horizontal direction) remained silent. The Washington Post revealed that the rifles



CONFRONTATION AT THE PENTAGON

were empty and that only those troops inside the Pentagon carried loaded weapons. This is a great indication of how cautiously the government moved viza-viz the demonstration. It did not want to even risk a rifle going off accidentally or an MP breaking under the pressure as happened during the rebellions this summer where soldiers disobeyed orders and fired on blacks. But Lyndon Johnson could not afford to do to thousands of whites what has been done countless times to blacks. If he had done so, there would've been no confrontation. The Army could've cleared the Mall in a matter of minutes and only fear of the reaction to such a massacre restrained the government. The next time Johnson may not give a damn what the reaction might be and he will unleash that might which the Pentagon logistically calculates.

If and when this happens, the demonstrators must be prepared. A flower is a good weapon against a rifle when that rifle is not fired. Bodies are good weapons when rifles are not fired, billy clubs not swung with automated efficiency and tear gas used as if it were a squirt of nasal spray for head clouds. It was a victory mainly because the powerful did not use their power.

It must be remembered, too, that the demonstrators were to some degree immune from wholesale brutality because they were white. Whether they retain their racial immunity depends upon the militancy of their actions. If they become a real threat to this country, they will not. The confrontation at the Pentagon shows graphically that the revolutionary potential of young whites, of which there have been many adumbrations, is no longer simply a matter of conjecture.

## IN THE FUTURE

Now is the time for not only the victory in Washington, but the victories all across the country to be consolidated. Action against the war must be accelerated, and not confined to a day or a week out of a several month period. Just as the demonstrations in the South were a constant pressure, so must demonstrations become

now in the North. Every week and even every day must see militant action taking place somewhere in the country. Some cities are particularly vulnerable and these cities can be target areas for action. Just as a group of young blacks dropped out of school in 1965 to work full-time for "the movement", now is the time for young whites to involve themselves full-time in militant action against the war. It would be a tragic error to let the momentum that is now evident stop.

And, at the same time, there must be advances in ideological understanding. It is not only the war in Vietnam that must be stopped. It is this country. One demonstrator cried out during a brief skirmish between demonstrators and the army: "Humanity is dead in America!" In the broadest terms, that is the issue. But humanity is not synonymous with flowers in the hair and bells on the feet. Neither is it synonymous with slogans on a picket sign or marching on the Pentagon. Whether a country is humane is directly related to the economic and political system under whose banner that country's citizens live. It is not enough to be against the war in Vietnam, because next year one might have to be against the war in Bolivia, but it will be the same war. A war is a war is a war when that war is fought to sustain the present political and economic system. Place name is only incidental.

It is good that people are now so angry that they will storm the Pentagon. The next step is to let the anger come not only from what is being done to the Vietnamese, but being done to all the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America and to blacks here. And above all, it must be realized that this government's very existence is a constant act of war against each and every one of us. When this is understood, not only will the Pentagon be ours; America will be, too. Then humanity will be born where it has never existed --- the United States of America.

This country belongs to the young and we must never relent until control of it is in our hands!





# WHERE CAL WILL MOVE

By Morgan Spector

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA — I don't think that I have to point out that Berkeley is unique among college campuses. Although we have a reputation of being a radical campus, we also face the reality of being highly subject to pressure from the reactionaries on the outside. Thus, although Berkeley was the major focal point for rallies and mobilization during the week, many Berkeley students (myself included) face campus discipline for our on-campus activities during that week.

This problem, then, has raised an organizing problem on campus. The seventy-odd students who were cited for speaking at illegal rallies have had to determine whether or not to press the fight into another Free Speech Movement, or only raise the free speech issue insofar as it relates to our freedom to organize anti-war activity on the campus.

I think that the tendency is toward the second of these two alternatives. The reason for this is, I think, connected with a re-definition of the student movement. In order to explain that re-definition, let me quickly sketch out how the campus has responded to the outside political pressure that is being applied, because out of that response is arising a new student consciousness that will insure that re-definition.

It is clear to most of the campus that we who are involved in anti-war organizing are being victimized, for the first time since 1964, by the outside pressure that is being exerted on our campus by the California reactionaries from Reagan on down.

are pressuring the administration to come down hard on the cited students. Not because we broke campus rules, but because we broke those rules in order to achieve a political goal which those men do not believe in. That the pressure is political may be evidenced by the fact that a campus conservative who violated the rules has not been cited.

The students also realize that it was not just our politics, but the EFFECTIVENESS of our politics that is stirring the response. Because we sought to link the campus with a dynamic series of demonstrations we brought the campus into the center of political confrontation. Thus the pressure from the right.

This understanding of the social forces at work here is what is behind that re-definition of our movement that I mentioned. For the first time since FSM, a very important point has been driven home to us. That is, on-campus freedom does not exist in a vacuum. The lack of that understanding in the past was what put the student movement into the bag of saying: "All the world may be in chains, but here on campus we shall be free. Here we must have sanctuary."

## POLITICAL PRESSURE

The Alameda Board of Supervisors, and the local dailies, have put a lot of POLITICAL PRESSURE on the campus. They

## OUTSIDE WORLD

The developments of the week of the 16th have made it clear that our movement

is totally and inextricably connected with the fights for freedom now being carried on in the "outside" world. We have learned that when students move against the system they meet the same oppressive force that all rebels do. The students are preparing to carry the fight against that oppression.

That determination is already having results on campus. It means that:

- (1) We still attempt to keep the CIA off campus on Nov. 6 and 7, as a way of asserting our unwillingness to allow the campus to be used for their ends.
- (2) Some ASUC Senators are demanding student control of the student facilities, and student control over who is allowed to interview on campus. (That would mean the end of Dow, the Navy, and CIA).
- (3) Support of labor unions on campus will increase.
- (4) Drastic revision of campus regulations will be sought immediately, with the aim of guaranteeing students the same rights on campus that they should enjoy off.
- (5) White radical organizing will expand from a solely "anti-war" orientation into full programs that analyze American Society, and seek to change it.

These are just a few of the many ideas that are coming out of the successes of the week. It is important to note that most of them revolve around the concept that it is possible for students to apply their education in an effective manner against the system.

They revolve around the understanding

that students are no freer than any other residents of this oppressive system. Indeed, we see that we face a peculiar kind of oppressive system. Indeed, we see that we face a peculiar kind of oppression that is as odious as any represented by the Oakland cops. As long as we are expected to apply our education primarily to the maintenance of this society then we, too are oppressed.

That brings me to the final point, which is that I see many possibilities for programs that unify our separate movements. It is becoming possible for us to establish programs that make clear the connections that I mentioned earlier. Such efforts as humanizing the students and aiding in the expansion of the involvement of the campus in off-campus radical projects are activities that can help to add a new dynamism to the radical movement as it continues to develop in this country.

The next year will be vital in assessing the growth of the student movement in this country. It will be important to see how much of the excitement of Stop the Draft Week can be harnessed into meaningful work. Will campus organizations such as SDS be able to develop out of the many contacts that we made during the week the nucleus of the kind of movement we would like to see?

The problems are magnified on the Cal campus, because we have a history of being a crisis-oriented movement. If we can present a viable, meaningful alternative to what is happening, with a clearly defined role for the student, we should be able to create and maintain a powerful movement on campus. ◆

## WHITE RESISTANCE, Con't from p 9

access to reproduction facilities. Also ethnic groups like the "Polish American Center" should be contacted; send them literature and speak to them if possible; use what tight non-establishment groups already exist.

Besides demonstrations at the induction center, try other things. If there is a demonstration against the war put out your own leaflet explaining why the Draft Resistance Union is against the war and why and how it is fighting the draft. Put out your own leaflet, explaining your own reason for support, in demonstrations of other kinds: welfare, housing, against a mayor, for a police control board, in support of black political prisoners. Anything to let people know that you are on the side of the people and to let them know that draft resistance is a legitimate and necessary way of defending yourself.

If you are good at skits, try to spring one up by surprise in a public place, like a subway station or a supermarket. Pass out leaflets, talk to people, and disappear.

## SUPPORT GROUPS

Draft Resistance Unions have found it important everywhere to set up support groups among lawyers, doctors, labor union staff people, and other professionals. They can help with property bond, with legal services, with publicity contacts and with money. It has been worthwhile to spend a lot of time with each individual in the support group, explaining your perspective and activities in order to get a stronger commitment from them. A lot of men and women who have drifted away from the old left are anxious to help new left groups. They are part of your security, don't forget them. If it is possible to get someone, a lawyer or the like, to organize that group with you, do it.

Organize adults to keep the young men in the neighborhood from enlisting or acquiescing to the draft. A mothers group, a group of veterans, a group of workers -- any of these will be good at convincing young men not to go, and probable better than someone nearly their own age; they can speak from experience.

Organize young women in a group to keep young men from going and to support those men who refuse. Young women can break through a lot of the "Be a man" propaganda which lures young guys

into the army. In organizing this kind of a group you want to find and help develop someone who will see themselves as an organizer, and give him or her as much of the responsibility for the group as possible. Your purpose is to spread INTO the neighborhood.

## FUND RAISING

Middle-class, professional support groups can provide some money, so can peace groups. Fundraising letters should include newsletters, sample leaflets, etc. Try to get monthly pledges. There are usually organizations around like Vietnam Summer to give a little seed money, but don't count on that. If the Draft Resistance Union is going to have a real



JOIN THEATER agit-props to get playground in vacant lot. (photo: JOIN Film Co-op).

base in the community, it must be supported mostly by the community. Don't be afraid to ask poor or working people for money: it's their fight they've got to pay as much as they can. People are more suspicious of organizations that exist with no visible means of local support than of people who ask them for money to keep going. If you do a good job, you'll get supported. But you should also think about trying to support yourself by having some members of the union take jobs and bring home paychecks. Working will also give you both roots and credibility in the community.

## GROUP STRUCTURE

Draft resistance groups, especially in the community, should see themselves as trying to get enough community people

involved as organizers that some of the original organizers can set up another union in another community. Therefore, it is important that the group be run so that everyone gets experience in running meetings (rotating chairman), making decisions about demonstrations, doing door-to-door work, etc. Leadership always develops, but new people must be constantly trained to take over the duties and roles of leadership.

Since the draft resistance group is an attempt to reach into the community, it must be run so that new community people can have an equal share in making decisions and coming up with ideas. On the other hand, you do have a political point of view and it is important sometimes to just throw some people out of the group. Use your judgement: groups have been nearly destroyed by going too far in either direction.

You are a serious resistance: don't

vote on issues, discuss them until you can agree. All the pain of long meetings amounts to a group which knows itself well, holds together with a serious, human spirit, and any member of which can step into a role of responsibility if someone else leaves. Fight for that kind of group, because people will want to join with it: there are not many things in this country like that. Stand by each other.

A lot of groups already formed have problems with keeping people involved. Partly that is because some of them are not in the community with the people they contact and so lose track of them, and partly it is due to a lack of organization and ideas for action. Set up functions for everyone; apportion responsibilities. Keep people on the streets reaching people, if they have nothing else to do.

Don't let your people hang around the office getting frustrated and tired with each other. Organizers should organize.

If a draft resistance union is effective, it may come up against some police and legal repression. One way to avoid some of this is to plan for what leadership that does develop to leave the forefront of the project, openly at least, as soon as there are others who can do their work. They can go on to set up other groups in other communities, or they can move into other kinds of organizing -- say around control of the schools -- and work for the union quietly. Police repression is often directed at the individuals in the spotlight: if they keep disappearing and new people keep turning up as the leaders, the spokesmen on picket lines, etc., the police will have a harder time.

## COMMUNITY UNIONS

Let's be straight. What's got to be done is to get the people in this country who neither support nor confront the government's misuse of power, MOVING. To do that we've got to find issues on the local level, in the community, around which people can demand control of what the political machine, or a minority of landlords and businessmen now control. If Draft Resistance Unions establish themselves genuinely in the community and find the people there who will confront the government's use of poor and working people in the war, it may be possible to form a community union which will try to take local power.

The war in Vietnam will be over some day. There may be a lapse before the next one the government gets us into. We've got to be building the kind of multi-issue local control unions which will last and grow through that lapse, or the American people will never have a chance to run their own country; or we will have to start from nothing again to build a resistance to the next war.

While the war continues, conditions in poor and working class communities are getting tighter. Groceries for a family are costing \$25 a week instead of \$19. Credit is getting tighter. Old credit liens still have to be paid, the rent has to be paid and babies are still being born. Wages are not going up but taxes are, to pay for the war. While the war continues less and less money will go into urban programs, or poverty programs and grievances at the local level will grow louder. We've got to organize now while people are feeling the pressure of a useless and tyrannical war and knowing

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15



# POP-ART WARFARE

## Con't from p 7

right around the IC. We then held tight, keeping the groups in as organized a manner as possible, until the cops started to disperse us. Since we had planned for this to happen we were able to move our groups out in good order and take up our prearranged posts at the key intersections in the area. It was at this point that the full character of the action began to develop; for when the people got out to these intersections they really came into their own.

People were mad about Tuesday and the brutality they saw and were determined to make the power structure pay for what it did. They went into the streets and built barricades from whatever they could find handy -- benches, large potted trees, parking meters, garbage cans, and cars and trucks (these were placed in the middle of the streets and the air let out of the tires.) People would run up behind buses and rip the ignition wires out or would climb into trucks and steal the keys. They ran into the streets and let their imaginations and new-found sense of power run wild.

Typically a group would march into an intersection and form a moving circle in the area of the crosswalks. People would then come out and start to paint things on the streets and sidewalks. The paint was really the original catalyst that loosened the people up and lead to the many other great, beautiful things. Once this loosening process had taken place, small groups of demonstrators would break out of the circle and begin to move all kinds of objects into the streets. Many times this activity happened right under the noses of the cops; people acted with absolute impunity.

A group would work on an intersection for a while and then move on to another. This happened when they felt that the intersection was "finished" or if a large column of cops was beginning to move in on them. People would calmly move off, to avoid a direct clash, and start to work on the next intersection.

Incredible spontaneous things would happen, from scenes where one or two people with the plywood shields would be holding off 15-20 cops from beating on a bunch of demonstrators to an operation where we were actually able to push back a contingent of cops one whole block and regain an intersection.

People involved in those activities had the feeling of power. We had put the Oakland police force on the run (they started out with 600 in the garage and had to increase strength to 2,000) and using a minimal amount of our energy were able to really disrupt the whole city of Oakland for day. People have begun to feel that Friday was just a prelude to what we can do in the future.

## THE NITTY GRITTY

Here is a descriptive list of a number of very specific items which we found it useful to know about and use.

### APPAREL

Helmets were widely worn and invaluable as protection (and deterrents) against blows to the head. The best kind are a form of hockey goalie masks with large plastic face protectors. The sheets of foam rubber wrapped around the arms, legs and torso were also valuable. Men should wear jock straps with metal cups and women should use heavy padding to protect their breasts. These are vulnerable areas of the body that the cops go for. Special care should also go in protecting the neck and collar-bone area. People should wear heavy coats (for protection and to be used to cover tear gas canisters) and good strong boots with steel toes.

### SHIELDS

One of the best ideas for self-defense that we came up with was to build plywood shields. These shields were made of 1/4", 3' by 4' pieces of plywood with 2 canvas straps as handles. People utilized them as ways of holding back cop attacks for short periods of



WHAT THE WELL-DRESSED STREET DEMONSTRATOR should wear. (photo: Mike Urmann).

time in order to give demonstrators a chance to move out ahead of the cops. Many times, people with shields were able to jump in between a cop and the person he was beating and protect that person from injury. The only problem with the shields was that we didn't have enough of them (we ended up with 50-60 of them on Friday and we needed hundreds). There are also modifications in the design that are important. They should be round, instead of rectangular, so that billy club blows will slide off of the edges instead of getting caught on the corners; if possible they should be made of wicker which is just as strong as plywood and has greater give; and the handles should be the kind that people can slip out of easily to avoid running the risk of getting an arm caught and broken.

### TEAR GAS & MACE

People should be made familiar with both items before hand so that they are not unknowns when used. Some protection is had by carrying a wet handkerchief to be placed over the face when coming in contact with tear-gas. The handkerchief will absorb a good percentage of the gas. Dunking your head in a pool of water also does some good in washing it off. In the case of mace, applications of vasoline to the face are helpful as mace is a liquid and will run off the oily surface of the skin. In the case of both tear-gas and mace, do not rub your eyes.

### PROVO

Among the most helpful of our morale building tools were the cans of spray paint. They helped provide ways of loosening up people and getting them to become imaginative in the handling of material around them. People should go into actions of this type "armed" with paint, whipped cream, etc. Agit-prop here is also invaluable and preparations in advance should be made for its use, (i.e. squirting cops in the crotch with water or perfume is one good way of getting them out of action for awhile).

### ARRESTS

Sheets and information forms. It was very important for us to have been able to collect, before the action, the information we needed to bail people out of jail. Arrests were made at random; things were much simplified by our having this information and by the participants' knowledge of the basic process of arrest.

### MONITOR SHEETS

and maps. Small instruction manuals are very important and should go out to as many people as possible. These were aids in building a unified action and in providing information for people to use.

# INSIDE STDW Con't from p 5

at the Tuesday night U.C. campus rally voted, after much pushing by the Old Guard, to have only a non-violent demonstration on Wednesday. The breakdown in planning allowed this departure from the avowed philosophy of the Week to occur. Once the vote was taken, the Old Guard insisted that it was the responsibility of the San Francisco Originals (the only members of the Steering Committee present) to organize and lead the monitors for the next day. Wednesday's picketing was uneventful.

## LEADERSHIP

And thus it was that on Thursday the people themselves decided.

A majority of the Steering Committee, including people from the Old Guard, decreed at Wednesday afternoon's rally that there would be no action on Thursday, that the week could be called off after the actions of Tuesday and Wednesday, as a success and people would be satisfied. The minority on the Steering Committee announced that there would be a demonstration anyway and the Old Guard then moved to the position of having a militant action on Friday but still nothing on Thursday. The veterans of Tuesday, the people who had read the papers and attended the rallies, went down to the Induction Center on Thursday anyway; it was possibly the biggest cancelled demonstration ever. The internal jockeying on the Steering Committee was rendered irrelevant; or rather, the militant faction won, but not by arguing. They won because the mood they had hoped for occurred. People were not about to let the cops run them out of Oakland. They had promised to try to shut down the Induction Center for a week, and by god they were going to do it.

The most important lesson to be learned out of this phase of the activity is an understanding of the way old guard campus leadership operates. The Berkeley Old Guard is made up of a number of people who developed as political leaders in Berkeley. That's where they cut their political teeth. But there have been many people in the movement who "grew up" in Berkeley who are not in the Old Guard. Where are they? They've left Berkeley and gone elsewhere to work. What you have left is a group of people who

find it comfortable there and who are afraid to test what they have learned in other parts of the country where the climate supporting left activism is much less pronounced. They tend to become very cautious and instead of becoming the innovators on the campus wait to see which way the wind blows and jump on whatever ship seems to be floating in the right direction. That's a dangerous thing that can happen to any of us if we allow ourselves to be made "leaders" and then make our identity solely dependent on that role.

## CONCLUSIONS

The major value of Stop the Draft week was that it discovered where people were at. It tapped a source of energy, frustration and anger that has not been mobilized before. All over the country similar outbreaks have occurred; Madison, Brooklyn College, the Pentagon.

Rather than build an organization out of the 10,000 people who blockaded the streets around the Oakland Induction Center (this is what the Free Student Union tried to do with the large number of students involved in the FSM), small groups of people are getting together to build cadres of organizers which will shape the discovered energy into serious projects.

Hopefully, out of this will come a group or groups that will play similar roles in the white community to that of SNCC in the black: staff organizations that will cultivate skills in organizing, communications, electronics . . . They will not be afraid of organizing a minority in any community, be that a campus or a section of town. Their aim will be to involve people in a struggle for power: the power to prevent sections of the military and governmental structures from operating. They will use creative tactics that fall outside the conventional non-violent discipline.

On Jefferson Street in Oakland, we isolated and rolled back a troop of Highway Patrol. On Clay Street we surrounded the police and cut them off. We used the objects at hand, trees and benches and Coca Cola trucks. These actions were not ends in themselves; they were parables for the future. ♦

# NON-ZIONIST Con't from p 2

Arabs in their land and out, and about as Socialist and equalitarian as those other Socialist leaders, Willy Brandt and G. Saragat. Scarcely recognizable as Jews.

I don't know about Israel and progress in the area. I think they want it. So long as it doesn't disturb them, use their water, interfere with their needs. The problem is that they deny this elementary right of self-determination to the Arabs of Israel. Arab leaders at first wanted Jews to come to Palestine to get allies against the Colonial powers and to bring money and commerce into the area. Time has placed Israel on the

side of the Colonial powers, and the Jewish immigrants have done the natives out of far more than they have brought them. As nice as the schooling, etc., is, it is only for a tiny, tolerated minority.

Israel admitted the use of Napalm. Said it didn't harm the historic buildings. There are many photographs. Yes the Israeli's are nice to captives. Their prisons are not too different from the normal living conditions of most of the people of the area. Nevertheless, from the smallest incident to the wars themselves, Arab casualties have always vastly outnumbered Israeli casualties. As with today's incident between the Israeli destroyer, peacefully sitting in an Egyptian harbor entrance, and the Egyptian oil fields. Fifty-one casualties to several hundred. One destroyer to an industry. And Jews remaining in Arab states. Yes, they are being driven out. They lived equally with the population for two thousand years, but the hatred for Israel is becoming a hatred for Jewry, and we all must bear that burden.

Finally, I have not lost my cool. I am not afraid. I am proud and happy to be a Jew, and I will work and fight to keep the Jews something that I would want to be. I believe that we Jews can remake Israel. It will not be easy or simple. It may take as long as it takes to remake this country. But Israel is as much my country as it is Rothchild's. And I believe that Jews can build a nation where they will have the same relationship with Arabs that they have always wanted for themselves. That is the age-old dream of our people.

For the movement  
August Maymudes  
Past chairman, LA Friends of SNCC

## COMMUNICATIONS

A coordinated communications system is a necessity. This means having available a strong sophisticated walkie-talkie system with enough people trained in its use.

### GENERAL

It was vital to our success that we were able to give basic instruction to a fairly large number of people and extensive training to a group of monitors. This enabled people to act on the basis of some knowledge and have confidence in themselves when they decided to innovate in the field. We found out that we still need a lot of training to be able to provide any complete kind of self-protection and group defense and will be studying for the next time.

### FOR THE FUTURE

We would like to begin to collect reports of experiences of this type so as to be able to prepare our own guides for action. People should send in accounts of actions. They help organize or have participated in. ♦



# ISRAEL, Con't from p 10

class in the East, as the Wobblies (I.W.W.) were on the West Coast. (See the paperback autobiography by Mike Gold, *JEWS WITHOUT MONEY*).

Most Russian and other European Jews stayed put in their homelands. They were much more influenced by Marxist than Zionist ideas, although some tried to combine both. Lenin argued that nationalism in a dispersed people plays into the hands of exploiters both of the dominant nationality and of its own by dividing the working class, and the solution for the Russian Jews was alliance with the Russian ethnic working class. Many of his fellow Communist leaders were Jewish: Sverdlov, first President of Soviet Russia, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenov. (He himself was Russian).

## HITLER

It was Adolf Hitler, and not the Zionists, who populated Palestine with Jews. Six million had been killed. Those who survived had no reason whatever to trust the West, which kept them in refugee camps and, in the case of the U.S., refused to re-open its doors to more than restricted quota immigration. Nor did they feel that the U.S.S.R. offered a solution, for reasons that were not very different.

Having been the only people on earth chosen for absolute extermination in this century, the survivors concluded that they could trust only each other. They moved to the only place on earth where they could build a state on that basis, and were assisted, at great and willing sacrifice, by Jewish people throughout the world and by others. The combination of the understandable mistrustfulness of the survivors, the fact that the only leadership on the spot was Zionist, and that the Arab leadership of that day was semi-feudal and no significant revolutionary movement existed (neither Nasser nor the Algerian liberation movements had made an appearance) defeated what moves there were to make Palestine a bi-national state, and led to the solution of partition by the U.N. in 1947.

## RIGHT TO EXIST

As a left-wing Italian journalist declared a few years ago, "Israel is the republic of the victims of fascism." It is that, and not Zionism, which gives it the right to exist. But the right to exist is not the right to expand into other people's territory, as it has done in three wars. It is not the right to treat the native inhabitants as second-class citizens, and to use every possible means to pressure them to leave. It is not the right to refuse to accept the return of half a million refugees to their own houses, olive trees, vineyards, sheep. It is not the right to pursue a vicious circle policy of urging millions of additional Jews to abandon their homelands (which they won't) and come to Israel, causing Israel to say it needs more Lebensraum (Hitler's word for space for an expanding population), which it then seeks to populate with still more immigrants.

That has been the well-established policy of the Israeli government for twenty years. Today the government is more firmly in the hands of leaders favoring that policy than ever before. The cabinet contains the outright fascist, Menachem Begin, whose particular terrorist group massacred the population, including women and children, of an Arab village in 1948, and who brags of that because it served the purpose of causing Arabs to flee en masse. It contains the militarist, Gen. Dayan, who said in an interview with *LE MONDE* last year: "Of course we are allies and cooperate with the Western powers." The world policy of its ruling party is indicated by a letter of the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign and Security Affairs of the Parliament (Knesset), David Hacohen, in the semi-official daily *DAVAR*, May 24, 1966:

"The defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam would be the beginning of the end of the independence of all the peoples of Southeast Asia, and the dead end of the independence and freedom of man all over the world."

Israel also opposed the Algerian war of national liberation, because it was

effectively allied with France. It attempted to return Egypt to a state of colonialism by striking at the Suez Canal, jointly with Britain and France, in 1956. And yet there are those who support Israel against the Arabs on grounds of its progressivism.

The highly-publicized communal kibbutzim farms comprise only 4% of the population of Israel. Whatever the high social ideals of the people living in them, their government employs them as military outposts on the Arab frontiers. It is like the Russian Tsars who converted communities of runaway serfs, called Cossacks, into that empire's permanent border guards.

The total percentage of trade-union and government-owned industry and enterprise in Israel is little higher than in Italy and France, which no one calls socialist states. When publicly or organizationally-owned property is used to pursue a government policy of strengthening PRIVATE property, that is state capitalism, not socialism. And that is Israel's policy.

## PROGRESS IN MIDEAST

That is not the policy of Algeria, of Syria, or of Egypt. No one argues about the fact that there is a true social revolution in progress in Algeria, with a level of workers' control higher than anywhere but Yugoslavia. In Syria all major industry has been nationalized. As Egypt is the largest and most important Arab state, let us look at it more closely. Six years ago, banks, insurance companies, and 3,300 business establishments were nationalized. Tax laws maximized income at 5,000 pounds per year, and a quarter of all company profits had to be distributed to workers. The next year, nationalization of foreign trade was completed, as was heavy industry and major mining. Consumer goods were left in private hands, but the owners are heavily restricted. Agricultural holdings were limited to 100 feddans per family. As a result, there has been a massive rise of consumption by the common people.

## ISRAEL'S BACKERS

So Egypt, Algeria, Syria, are countries very well advanced in building socialism. Israel doesn't even talk about it any more. It listens to those who provide its money. In August, sixty millionaires from all over the world, including 38 from the U.S., convened in Tel Aviv to plan Israel's future. They told Israel to pull in its belt before they would provide any more, and, when they were finished, Prime Minister "Eshkol was humbly mumbling he would give 'most serious study' to the criticisms of the economy." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Aug. 13, 1967).

So while there are parallels between early U.S. and Israeli history, there are differences as well. Israel is not economically self-supporting. It is not quite a puppet, but those who pay the piper do call the tune. And for the U.S. military-industrial complex, for the world empire of high finance (in which rich Jews are a tiny minority, but a loyal part), it is not Israel that counts, but oil and Arab Independence.

## OIL

The two are inseparable. The Arabian American Oil Company has the highest profit margin of any billion-dollar-plus corporation in the world. One-third of all profits on direct foreign investments remitted to the U.S. in 1965 from the entire world came from Middle Eastern oil. The gasoline for which you pay over 30 cents a gallon costs one-seventh of one cent to produce in Kuwait on the Arabian Peninsula. For every dollar's worth of products derived from Middle Eastern oil, the governments there get about ten cents and the Arab workers less than one cent.

The revolutionary Arab governments wish to free all this from imperialism and use the total income to develop their own countries. To do this, the Arab monarchies and sheikdoms, chiefly on the Arabian Peninsula, must be overthrown.

This is why Nasser supported the Yemen republicans against the monarchists, who were supported by Saudi Arabia.

## U.S. INVOLVEMENT

The Israeli conquest in June weakened Nasser, compelling him to come to an agreement with Saudi Arabia and pull out of Yemen. This is the prime reason why the U.S. supported Israel, and why it has just resumed arm shipments both to Israel and those Arab states that have reactionary governments. Yet it was chiefly Saudi Arabia, which has never participated in any of the wars with Israel, that is the source of the threats of extermination which so unified the Israelis in the war and gained them almost unanimous support among the American and West European public. This plays right into Israel's hands, and it supports the Arab monarchies. Foreign Minister Abba Eban said in a speech on May 13th: "The Arab states also are not anxious to exchange British colonialism for Egyptian colonialism." (*RAMPARTS*, November, 1967, p. 97). But Israel actually supports British colonialism, Prime Minister Eshkol having said on April 30th that he wanted Britain to stay in South Arabia and in Aden.

While King Faisal of Saudi Arabia said over BBC in May that his position with regard to Israel was: "Extermination of Israel," the London *SUNDAY TIMES* of June 4th quoted Nasser's reaction when told by a Western diplomat that the general impression in the West was that, given the chance, he would massacre every single Israeli:

## DESTROY ISRAEL?

"According to the diplomat, Nasser was surprised at this. By 'destroy Israel,' he said, he meant destroy her as a Western-subsidized anti-Arab base in the Middle East." And he went on to describe his "vision of the ultimate settlement," in

# WHITE RESISTANCE, Con't from p 13

their own anger. We've got to get people in motion. Draft centers, in the community, can provide the beginning focus for that motion.

## TALKING TO PEOPLE

Even men and women who are not part of the Labor Union movement or who do not remember its struggle to organize are close to the rhetoric of 'self-defense'. "Working people organized into unions because they were being used by bosses and companies over which they had no kind of control. They organized to get a share in that control and they got it. They also get their self-respect and a way of defending themselves." Those same men and women will respond to draft resistance if it is put to them with that same rhetoric. "We are joining together to defend ourselves and keep ourselves from being used in a war which we don't want and which we don't think ought to be fought. -- Dying is too much for the company to ask of us." "We have a Draft Resistance UNION."

It doesn't make sense not to use our own revolutionary tradition. People with only high-school educations remember more about it than most college students. "When in the course of human events it becomes necessary..." "This country was founded on the principle that sometimes it becomes necessary for a people to resist the laws of its government because that government does not and cannot be made to represent the will and beliefs of the people. We believe this is such a time. We refuse to go..."

How many times have you heard someone say that "there never was an honest politician". Let's consider the possibility that they mean it. People being cynical about political leaders, about voting, are just bitching. But when you link that kind of talk to an act of resistance: support of someone who refuses to go, it goes past just complaining. The same thing goes for talk about "The working man gets the raw deal, the rich man gets the easy life and don't do nothin' for it." Well, it's a rich man's war and poor and working, black and white people are getting drafted to fight it. Nobody has said that most of the people who work for a living -- who are de-

which the refugees would be restored as required by the United Nations: "Jews would still be the majority in this new Jewish-Arab State" in Palestine, but it would be a Middle Eastern State not tied to Western imperialism."

That was just before the war. Today the situation is worse than ever, as demonstrated by the sinking of an Israeli destroyer by a Soviet-made missile boat and the destruction of Egypt's oil refineries by Israeli shelling.

## RUSSIAN AID

There will be no more Israeli conquests. The USSR now maintains naval flotillas in Egypt's ports at all times. A thousand Soviet military advisers under six Russian generals are reorganizing and training the Egyptian army (Cairo dispatch, *San Francisco Chronicle*, Oct. 27, 1967). As condition for re-equipping Nasser's forces, the Soviet Union has insisted that the pre-revolutionary military caste be thrown out, and be replaced by an officer corps from the people. Nasser has agreed most willingly.

On the other hand, Moscow rejects the Algerian and Syrian demands that Israel's conquests be freed by armed forces. The USSR wants no world war.

Eventually, industrialization, education, reforms, and military recovery must necessarily make the combined revolutionary Arab states vastly stronger than Israel, as a mere matter of population. If Israel surrenders its conquests beyond the armistice lines of 1949, the USSR and others will insist that the Arab states recognize it fully. If not, the Arab states will at that future date take matters into their own hands, and Israel will be destroyed. The different positions of Saudi Arabia and Egypt, of the USA and USSR, make clear that this struggle of national liberation vs. imperialism is not one of race, color, or religion.

pendent on a weekly or bi-weekly paycheck -- are against the war. Some are and some are not at all. But the ones who are against the war are tied in all sorts of human, life-style ways to the ones who are not, to the super-patriots. Propaganda about the war is not splitting off a militant resistance to the war, but campaigns against the draft ARE. The draft is an immediate issue: a man has to act, his supporters have to decide. Finally, we got to give people the sense that other people, LIKE THEM, in other parts of the country, are beginning to move. People moving on a local level don't find out about people moving on local levels in other parts of the country, unless they burn up the city. Part of our job is to build up a network of communications, initially between local draft centers, so that people feel that their people have stopped bitching and started moving.

## THE LAST THING

Anybody who has tried to organize in the U.S. knows that anti-communism is the strongest force holding a people alienated from their government in support of that government. We can begin to break through the anti-communism if we begin to talk in our literature about the way people live in Cuba and North Vietnam, in Eastern European countries and in all over the new revolutionary third world countries. We don't have to defend Chinese communism, or any other communism: we simply have to bring people to a consciousness of the particular way people live in the countries Americans have been taught to hate. We have to discuss, say, Cuban institutions for choosing leaders and directing the economy and decide whether that amounts to tyranny. It is a tyranny we are fighting against, and if there turns out not be a tyranny in Cuba, or China, then we don't have to hate those countries.

But again, education doesn't mean anything if we are not involved in real struggles. The war against the Vietnamese people continues. Our government is using and murdering our own people WE'VE GOT TO REACH OUR OWN PEOPLE.



# INTEGRATED ORGANIZING

by Noel Ignatin

In Chicago a demonstration of the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO) is in process at the welfare office. A woman approaches one of the demonstrators and tells her that she hasn't had anything to eat for herself or her children in several days and the welfare department is giving her the run-around. The LADO demonstrators take up her cause and win her an emergency check. The woman comes to a LADO meeting the next day and makes a short talk expressing her appreciation of LADO and her willingness to help. Her talk is greeted by loud applause, cheers and cries of Viva!

The landlord of a rent-struck building approaches the wife of one of the leaders of the LADO Tenant Union in the building and asks her for rent, saying that her husband had promised to pay some rent and instructed the landlord to see her. The woman replies that there must be some mistake, since her husband is not a coward, and therefore would not have agreed to pay rent while a strike is on.

The two incidents mentioned above are typical of what might be expected from a community group such as LADO, with one special feature: in neither of the two incidents recounted is the individual Latin American. The woman at the welfare office white; the woman who told off the landlord is black.

At the present time, when radicals are considering all aspects of black-white organizing (together? separately? by whom?) the experiences of LADO in this respect are worthy of study.

LADO was founded in the summer of 1966 following the Puerto Rican uprising on Division St. The original organizers were several Latin Americans who had lived in the community for years. Today, a majority of LADO staff members, both Latin American and white, are people who have lived and worked in the community for long periods. The purpose of the founders was expressed in the name they chose for the group. One of the main pillars of their program was to help the Latin American community in the area identify its interests and struggles with those of the Black Liberation Movement.

## DIVISION STREET

The Division St. area, in which LADO concentrates its efforts, is the landing point in Chicago for most new arrivals from Puerto Rico. Latin Americans (mostly Puerto Rican, but also including Dominicans, Mexican-Americans and Cubans) make up slightly more than half the area's population. Black people are over 10%, by rough estimate. The remainder consists mostly of working class whites of Polish and Ukrainian extraction (many who own their own homes and many who do not) and a small number of southern whites.

LADO found black, brown and sometimes white people thrown together with

common problems. A slum building with an almost equal number of Puerto Rican and black tenants, as well as several whites, a welfare office which hurls racist abuse at Spanish-speaking and black applicants, and which mis-treats white applicants (without the racial slurs) - these conditions are ready-made to teach everyone concerned the need to organize together.

This commitment to organize the poor of the area into one group does not mean that the Latin American Defense Organization has become transformed into a "Poor People's Defense Organization", that it has dropped its special concern for the problems of the Spanish-speaking people. It means simply that LADO has undertaken to explain to all the poor of the area that the first condition of a fight against poverty in the Division St. area is the defense of the rights of the persecuted and oppressed Latin Americans, and their most immediate and obvious ally, the black people. Thus, when whites have come to LADO they have understood that they are coming to a neighborhood group which is fighting in everybody's interest.

## POOR WHITES

Many radical organizers have noted the difficulty of organizing poor whites, and have pointed to a pattern of racial privileges as an important cause of this difficulty.

The power structure is willing to offer certain privileges to any group to keep it away from the Black Liberation Movement. It is this contradictory presence of privilege together with oppression that forms the back-drop to any attempt at organizing non-blacks to unite with blacks.

Where the privilege is least, the desire to struggle is greatest: thus poor whites joined the black people in Detroit, and Puerto Ricans rebelled in Chicago and east Harlem. But fighting for one's interest, even to the point of rebelling, is not the same as uniting with black people.

## CLOSE THE DOORS

Thus, one Puerto Rican young man in the community said, "We can't unite with the Negroes. If we do, we'll close one door to ourselves." LADO's answer which sums up all resistance to unity with the black people, both among Latin Americans and poor whites, is this: "Yes, there are two doors open to us. One is the door of poverty and discrimination, destruction of our culture and denial of our rights, coupled with a few tiny privileges to make us think we are better than the Negroes. The other door leads to full freedom. We can't go through that door unless we are hand-in-hand with the black people, and we can't be hand-in-hand with them unless we take their struggles as our own, even to the point of rejecting our few miserable and degrading 'privileges', where they exist. It is exactly that first door we mean to close, and that second door we mean to open."

## ROMNEY

The most dramatic illustration of the growth of consciousness among Spanish-speaking community people of the need to identify with the black people was the incident that took place during Gov. Romney's recent visit to Chicago. He had arranged to visit one of the social welfare agencies in the neighborhood, which also happens to be the meeting ground of the urban renewal representation committee. During a discussion in the committee of how to utilize Romney's visit to dramatize

the conditions of the poor, LADO people suggested that the most effective action would be to reject Romney, since he had already given his answer, in Detroit, to the demands of the poor. After some discussion the committee agreed, and drew up a press release which stated, among other things, that they could not welcome politicians who answered the demands of the poor with tanks and machine guns. When Romney arrived the press release was distributed, which caused him to blow his cool and start shouting. The incident received quite a bit of publicity, in Chicago and the national press. While there has been some negative response, and threats of reprisal by the Puerto Rican uncle toms against LADO and other individuals, the general reaction of the community has been healthy.

## TEACHING WHITES

Among some poor whites, the harshness of their conditions leads them to seek out LADO. As one of the LADO members put it, "There's only one train that's moving on Division St., and if the poor white people want to go anywhere, they've got to get on the moving train." Recently a white woman, whose family was evicted, came to LADO because she had heard from some of her Puerto Rican neighbors that LADO helps people. LADO moved her furniture back in (postponing the eviction) and helped her take suitable action against the landlord, who had acted illegally.

It has not been a point of principle to insist on the use of only Spanish at all LADO meetings. The point of principle has been that everyone should understand and take part in the meeting. On occasion, where there have been large numbers of English-speaking people at a meeting, and where all the Latinos present have been comfortable in English, the meeting has been conducted entirely in English. At other times, the meeting has been held in Spanish while interpretation to and from Spanish is provided for those who need it. Black people in LADO, who best of all understand the meaning of destruction of a culture, are quite willing to put up with the inconvenience of getting the meeting through a sometimes inept translation. The same is true of the more advanced whites. What exists is not a language barrier, but a consciousness barrier. When this barrier is overcome, language ceases to be a problem.

## WORKING TOGETHER

LADO experience points to certain lessons, which may be useful to the movement as a whole. It has now become indisput-

Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reach some receptive ear, that another hand stretch out to take up weapons and that other men come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory.

— Che Guevara

able that whites should not pour into black communities (or brown communities) to organize. But this should not be taken to mean that, at least under certain conditions, where people live together, that black, brown and white people cannot organize black, brown and white people together, while taking into account that each organizer has his or her special area of responsibility. LADO has not set the city of Chicago on its feet yet, does not have large numbers of successes to point to. But in certain respects, LADO experience has indicated what can be done.

## STOP THE DRAFT FELONY ARRESTS

OAKLAND -- Most of the arrests during Stop the Draft Week were misdemeanors ranging from disturbing the peace to contributing to the delinquency of a minor (presumably by urging him to join the action.)

Several STDW leaders were arrested, however, on felony charges, carrying sentences of one to five years. Robert Mandel and Steve Hamilton, both of the STDW Steering Committee were arrested for "assault on an officer."

Terence Cannon, also on the Steering Committee, was arrested the Sunday before the week began by police who illegally searched his car after a monitor training session and found 29 sticks of wood to be used as picket sign standards. Cannon was arrested on 29 felony counts of "possessing a lethal weapon." The three were released on \$3300 bail each.

Though the charges are false, the police are determined to carry through in prosecuting, to intimidate future anti-draft protests. It may take several appeals and trials to win these cases.

FUNDS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED FOR THE DEFENSE OF THOSE ARRESTED ON FELONY CHARGES. PLEASE SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO STOP THE DRAFT WEEK FUND, 449 14th Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94103

## STOP THE DRAFT

WOODY GUTHRIE

Woody, folksinger, songwriter - poet, lover-revolutionary, spoke and sang for himself far better than we can speak for him:

I write what I see,  
I write what I've seen,  
I write things that I just hope to see  
Somewhere farther along.  
"I never would have craved to write  
so many balladsongs, anyhow, if I'd not  
been able to tell you what I think is wrong  
with this world we're living in."

Born to Win

I had my fun and my troubles  
I had my hard luck and blues  
Been up and been down and been sober  
and drunk  
But I know that I'm not born to lose.

Chorus:

Born to win. I know I'm born to win.  
It's a funny old world that I am in.  
I'll fight to change it like it ought to be.  
Born to win. I know I'm born to win.

I had women all kinds and all colors  
In every land where I have been.  
I saw all the people in trouble like me  
And I know that we're not born to lose.

You robbed us and beat us and bled us  
You worked us and paid us like slaves  
I know we're all born to work and to fight  
And to win or go down in our grave.

—from BORN TO WIN by  
Woody Guthrie

## POVERTY PROGRAM

I don't think he meant it this way, but this is how it came out dept. (Sargent Shriver on Merv Griffin's show): "The War on Poverty is doing a great job. We had hundreds of boys who couldn't even qualify for the army --now with the help of the anti-poverty program we have been able to send 600 of these boys to Vietnam and six have been killed already."

--Herb Caen, S. F. Chronicle, Oct 27, 1967.



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