

PANTHERS, POLITICS AND PIGS

Affiliated

with

SNCC

and

SDS

THE
MOVEMENT

JULY 1968

VOL. 4 NO. 6

SF STATE IS NOT
COLUMBIA

SF State students just prior to arrest.

Photo: Jeff Blankfort

by Stephanie Mines

The end of May was finals week at SF State. But finals didn't stop several sit-ins, the departure of President Summerskill for Ethiopia, and more police brutality on campus. The issues behind the latest eruption at State are confused--but the confusion itself is a symptom of the deeper problems facing radical organization on campus.

There were four basic demands made by the demonstrators: the cancellation of SF State's contract with the Air Force ROTC, the admission of 400 non-white students, primarily freshman; the hiring of at least nine non-white professors; and the rehiring of Juan Martinez, a Mexican-American Professor of History.

MARTINEZ

The Martinez issue was the most sensitive because it challenged the faculty's power over students. Whether or not Martinez should remain on the faculty became a question of who has the power to hire and fire faculty. The issue of non-white representation on the faculty was put in the background.

Dr. Martinez--the only Chicano professor on campus--was able to generate a great deal of student support among Chicano students. Through him, they were introduced to their history and gained an understanding of how education was affecting their brothers and sisters throughout the country. For Chicano students, Martinez was the only really relevant professor they had encountered in their entire educational experience.

The History Department didn't have the same appreciation of the importance of retaining Martinez. They wanted a "Brazilian expert". Besides, there were "personal" reasons that were "confidential" for not rehiring Martinez. When Dr. Summerskill, as a result of student pressure, created a special department for the fired professor and hired him as both the chairman and faculty, a lot of professors became very uptight because their prerogatives had been violated.

OTHER TWLF DEMANDS

The Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), a coalition of black, chicano and Filipino student groups, also initiated the demands for the admission of 400 non-white students and 9 non-white professors. These demands caused an enormous amount of confusion.

Most faculty and students were under the illusion that these demands had already been met before the demonstrations even took place. That illusion was never adequately dispelled. The TWLF had specifically requested that the majority of the 400 special admissions be freshman, since their needs were much greater than students who had already begun their education, and would enter as transfer students. Summerskill and the Council of Academic Deans (CAD) only conceded that there would be 400 special admissions, without regard to race or years of school completed.

SDS DEMANDS

Ironically, the demand for the cancellation of the AF-ROTC contract was the most clear-cut. During the student body elections in April, an overwhelming majority voted for cancellation of the contract. The Academic Senate had been playing around with the AF-ROTC issue for over a year, but had been waylaid by more "pressing matters". Student pressure finally forced the Academic Senate to consider the problem seriously and after many bureaucratic hassles, the Academic Senate recommended to the faculty at large that it vote to cancel the AF-ROTC contract.

Tactical blunders by SDS and chaos followed. The faculty decided to vote on the AF-ROTC issue the same day that the sit-in for all the demands was called. SDS was in a bind, partly a bind of its own making. They wanted an end to the contract but they didn't want students to be under the "liberal delusion" that the faculty would pull them through. They decided to hold the sit-in while the faculty voted.

Only 500 of the 900 faculty members voted and they voted to keep AF-ROTC. It is unclear whether they would have voted the same way if there was no sit-in. But, in any case, the sit-in gave them the chance to cop out with righteous cries that they would not submit to "intimidation". The students screamed back at them--"Sell-out".

Summerskill complicated the situation (and carried us even further away from the real issue of AF-ROTC and war complicity) when he decided to comply with the faculty vote. Previously he had emphasized that he would consider both

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11



photo: The BLACK PANTHER

On June 10, 1968 at the Alameda County Courthouse in Oakland, California, Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, goes on trial for his life. He is charged with the murder of an Oakland police officer early in the morning of October 28, 1967. The Huey story is also a story of the black liberation struggle and begins in earnest a short time after the Watts uprising in the summer of 1965.

Shortly after that uprising Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, two students at Merritt College in Oakland, formed the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. The name of the party has since been changed to the Black Panther Party. Part of the model for this party came from the Community Alert Patrol (CAP) that was formed in Watts after the rebellion and funded in large part by federal money. (See the MOVEMENT--July and August, 1966). The Black Panther Party went considerably beyond the CAP model in two ways. First, the Panthers instituted armed patrols in the black ghetto. Whenever the police would arbitrarily harass ghetto residents, the Panthers would arrive at the scene bearing rifles and shotguns. Second, the Panthers presented a political program that spoke to the needs of the black community. The program consisted of the following ten points:

1. We want freedom, we want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our black community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter for human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society; we want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held within federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities . . . as

defined by the constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace."

The combination of this political program along with armed patrols to begin to enforce point number 7 made the Panthers the target for police agencies all over the state of California and especially in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area. Harassment of the public members and leadership of the Panthers was intense.

Armed Demonstration

On May 2, 1967 twenty-three Panthers, armed with rifles and shotguns, entered the state capitol building in Sacramento. The purpose of the demonstration was two-fold. First, it was to protest against the passage of the Mulford Gun Bill which was being debated by the California legislature. This bill sought to deprive citizens, especially black people, of the right to bear arms for self defense.

The second purpose of the demonstration

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

THE MOVEMENT PRESS

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EDITORIAL - RADICAL RESPONSE TO RACISM

The white movement has been marching under a new banner lately--"End Racism". Before we get carried away with emotional and impotent responses to the newest wave of racist brutality, let's try to break down the rhetoric of what it means for whites to fight racism. Why is racism an important political issue? How can the issue of racism be translated into radical action meaningful to white people?

"Imperialism" is a word we throw around a lot. But we rarely think deeply about its meaning. Imperialism has become a kind of shorthand abbreviation for American foreign policy--the War in Vietnam, the CIA in Bolivia, napalm in Guatemala. We draw parallels between imperialism abroad and racism at home. The cops in the ghetto are an army of occupation. VISTA is a domestic version of the Peace Corps.

This analysis is abstract and misleading. It doesn't help us to understand how our own lives are messed up by imperialism. It doesn't help us to understand how aggression abroad and racism at home are interdependent, not merely analogous. Imperialism is a total system of domination.

This system of domination requires an elaborate web of oppressive institutions, and we are pressured into managing these institutions. We become computerized slavemasters, denying our own humanity. We are forced to produce for the anti-human goal of profit margin and then consume our own forced products.

These institutions: the corporations, and those which service and protect the corporations, the military, the universities, the police departments, government

etc.--are also racist. (When we say that racism in this country is institutional we mean that racism is not merely a psychological problem. Nor is racism the sum total of atrocities committed against black people.)

All American white institutions are racist, or, more accurately, white supremacist. All operate to perpetuate white privilege. Some do so more vigorously, some manifest it differently, some are more strategically located than others. Only differences in degree and scope characterize their operation, internationally, nationally, regionally and locally. These institutions require a racist ideology, an affirmation of the superiority of white middle class culture, to rationalize their denial of black dignity.

Whites are trained to swallow the same ideology and culture that glorifies domination. White Americans are taken on an unending ego-trip. And when despair or frustration sets in, we are told, "Don't feel so bad--people are starving in India and, after all, you're still better off than THOSE people in the ghettos." Yes, it is true that most whites in this country don't have to struggle for physical survival. But that's not the point. It's a ploy. Our opportunity for relative physical comfort doesn't change the fact of our absolute powerlessness over our own lives.

The point is that since racism is one of the important mainstays in a system which dominates everyone, white people have an immediate stake in fighting it.

If the fight against racism is viewed in isolation--as a purely national struggle of the black race for independence--then white strategy is limited to "Friends of

SNCC" service-type operations: supplying money (maybe guns), bodies for support demonstrations, medical and legal aid.

The service strategy is the dominant one at this time. It is not enough. White radicals must take political initiative in the white community on their own against the total system. We must find and fight the institutions which directly oppress white people. We must focus on the instruments of our own frustration, knowing that any institution which oppresses whites is almost certainly a racist institution too. Attacks on institutions which affect us will be, therefore, both meaningful to us (and allow us to build a bigger base) and useful to the black liberation struggle.

The "Friends of SNCC" mentality is basically a liberal one--let's help "those" people. Radical initiative means a strategy that deals with institutions that affect whites: the institutions that prevent our own liberation. The same Board of Trustees that wants to build a Jim Crow Gym at Columbia, also tries to reduce white students to docile "manpower" that can serve the IDA. The same system of "law and order" that brutalizes black people also persecutes white radicals. The same corporations that profit from racism also exploit white workers.

We don't mean to imply that the exploitation of white people is the same as the oppression of black people. Although white people share a common enemy with black people, that enemy uses different strategies and tactics against us. This raises a complicated problem when we talk about whites fighting around self-interest issues. Meaningful struggle

does not grow out of altruism, but sometimes, in the short run, white self-interest may conflict with black self-interest. This is part of the system's strategy of divide and conquer.

Columbia is an example where black and white self-interest coincides. But, one of the reasons why the labor movement in this country is so timid is because bosses have been effective in making conflicting definitions of white and black self-interest. (see The MOVEMENT, Jan., 1968). Radicals are opportunistic and eventually self-defeating if they try to organize white workers or students while ignoring the fact of their white skin privilege. On the other hand, it is unrealistic to expect that whites will be eager to give up their white skin privileges.

This kind of contradiction is extremely difficult to resolve. Action on the basis of self-interest is only radical if that self-interest is understood in the larger political context. A white worker may gain immediate personal advantage by opposing equal employment opportunities. But somehow he must be made to understand that as long as workers are divided, none can have the strength to gain real power over their own lives. This is an enormous educational task for white radicals. But white radicals will be aided by pressure from the black movement.

The important point is that we not cop out on our responsibility as white radicals to take initiative in the white community to fight battles for ourselves. It may be easier and more romantic to send money or guns to The Panthers (and we're not saying to stop), but that is only a small part of our political responsibility. ■

ERLICH STRIKES BACK

Editor of the Movement:

J.M. Brownly in the June MOVEMENT lambasted my article on the Peace and Freedom Party. In chronological order he accused me of: being self-contradictory, historically inaccurate, and naive. Rather than duplicate the tone of Mr. Brownly's polemic, I will restrict my remarks to the substantive issues he raises.

Brownly charges that the "main activity" of the PFP is precinct canvassing and that with elections imminent, internal education will be subordinated to "vote getting". One of the major assets of PFP is that it does help organize militant street demonstrations, anti-draft unions, and other specifically non-electoral activities.

Up until now precinct canvassing has taken up little time for the PFP. PFP is plagued with internal organizational problems, but the general trend I predicted in my original article has occurred. With election imminent the excessive internal democracy and resulting inaction has ceased. The result has NOT been, as Brownly charged, an emphasis on vote getting. Rather PFP has finally broken out of its cocoon and begun to appeal to people outside the party.

In conjunction with the Black Panther Party, PFP organized Martin Luther King and Bobby Hutton memorial marches and rallies and demanded black control of black communities. On the Berkeley campus, PFP members held rallies, debates, etc. to organize against Kennedy-McCarthy. On several occasions PFP and Panthers stormed Berkeley City Council meetings in protest of harassment of Panthers and forced a discussion of PFP demands.

Mike Jones, black PFP candidate for County Supervisor, has combined the usual community speaking engagements and shopping center hand-shaking with demonstrations which have won concrete demands for the black community. (Jones supporters picketed the Bank of America and forced it to accept federal food stamps which until then black Berkeleyans had been unable to cash.)

Had the main purpose of these activities been to attract votes, the PFP should have modified its militancy so as not to "alienate" voters. By organizing and mobilizing students and blacks, PFP is attempting to educate and radicalize California citizens.

Brownly beneficently calls me naive (rather than deceitful) for suggesting that

PFP shouldn't run a Presidential candidate. He charges "the implication of PFP's possible withdrawal from national politics seems to be that in order to keep McCarthy supporters within PFP, they won't challenge McCarthy's party nationally, only locally." In an earlier paragraph Brownly suggested the feasibility "of boycotting the elections altogether." There does seem to be a contradiction in Brownly's logic. Nevertheless, let me set the record straight on these two issues.

1) Since the inception of McCarthy's campaign, PFP has attacked him as yet another liberal reformist who would continue to perpetuate U.S. Imperialism and racism. Individuals in some chapters supported McCarthy, but they have all left the party by now. Neither the statewide organization nor any local club has endorsed Kennedy or McCarthy.

2) Although it may be theoretically possible to organize an election boycott, the high turn-out for the "Choice '68" on the college campuses and the enthusiastic reception Kennedy receives in Black and Brown communities indicates that doves of potential radicals will participate in electoral politics. The mass media devote endless hours to the candidates' speeches. Massive numbers of Americans are focus-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

The Movement has received a letter from the editors of the MDS Newsletter in New Orleans "strongly requesting" that we print their accompanying criticisms of the editing we did on an article on the garbage strikers in Memphis which we reprinted from the MDS Newsletter last month. To have printed their comments would have taken almost a full page of The Movement. They claim that our deletions changed the substantive political content of their original article. We feel that most of the material omitted was non-essential detail. They object to our deletion of a section of analysis at the end of the article. We assumed our readers could draw their own conclusions from a fine article.

The MDS letter concludes: "We advise those who would like to read the text of the original Memphis article in full, in one piece, to read the May issue of Challenge (\$2 per year, c/o Progressive Labor Party, GPO Box 808, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201)".

Dear Radicals,

South Carolina SNICK is in dire need of financial help again. Its field organizer Cleveland Sellers has been indicted by this state to face charges of "inciting to riot" and on three counts of conspiracy. These charges were placed against him on the night of February 8, when Orangeburg Police, South Carolina State highway patrolmen and National Guardsmen attacked and seriously wounded 50 or more students of South Carolina State College; as they sat around a bonfire, discussing the events prior to being surrounded and enclosed on their campus by National Guardsmen.



Photo: Jeff Blankfort

BROTHER JEFF IS IN THE CLINK

Jeff Segal is a member of The MOVEMENT's editorial group, one of the Oakland Seven, and a national officer of SDS. He is currently appealing his conviction for draft refusal. He has been sentenced to four years.

A couple of weeks ago Jeff went back to Chicago for a bail hearing. He had been out on his own recognizance; the D.A. was attempting to have the O.R. revoked and to impose cash bail. In court the judge revoked Jeff's bail altogether. He used a statute which gives a judge this power if, in his opinion, an appeal is frivolous and is being made just to stall for time.

Jeff was removed from court to the Cook County Jail. Attorneys are attempting to appeal the judge's decision. Meanwhile our brother remains in jail.

Sellers faces 78 years if the state of South Carolina can make those charges stick. He has already been adjudged guilty by the judge who presides over the district court here. He has been ordered not to go within a five mile radius of his home in Orangeburg's city limits, because "He might start more trouble."

Sellers was sentenced to a five year imprisonment on April 26, 1968. He was refused bond by the judge who said he could not permit Sellers to be free on bond because he did not "think he deserved one." As a result of the court's decision a second time on Monday, May 6, 1968, Sellers has been in jail for three weeks and will possibly remain incarcerated indefinitely.

He is appealing and shall valiantly continue to do so. There are those who have forgotten his existence, and the fact that he was not in Orangeburg when the first part of the bowling alley incident occurred. There are those who would like to forget that he was awakened in front of the TV set by students in the lobby of Bethea Hall, a male dormitory of South Carolina State College campus, and told of the bonfire, and students on a hill facing the National Guardsmen with songs and taunts--which was reason enough for him to decide to warn them of their danger--from his own experiences of having dealt with racist members of the white race, i.e. National Guardsmen, policemen and highway patrolmen. Still there are those who were there on February 8th who saw him brutally shot down as he walked toward their group. They saw and felt themselves get shot and beaten as they laid on the ground wounded from behind.

He made a statement after his five year sentence was enforced on him by the court, which went like this. "This court cannot sentence me. I am a black man and this court is racist, and is for white folk. I believe that every institution in this country is racist, this court falls into that same category. The only people who can sentence me are black people, and I see none present. I have recognized that there is a conscious attempt on the part of the courts in this country, federal government and every other agency to destroy black people inside this country. It's implicit in my case and I recognize that with the murder of Dr. Martin L. King, the only solution to my problem is to fight until my death or until I am liberated."

South Carolina SNCC has no funds. All of our revenues have been spent on legal fees. We need help quickly and generously. Our struggle becomes harder day by day as our people face more and more racist hostilities. Thousands of dollars are needed. Our address is:

Cleveland Sellers Defense Fund
1919 McFadden Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29204

In the Liberation Struggle,
Mrs. Sandi Sellers

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splintering the big stick

Deserters

Men who have successfully escaped the tentacles of the military and are now living in Europe have been organizing to help men still in captivity, to fight U.S. imperialism, and to thwart any possible attempts to recapture them.

As of the middle of April over a hundred deserters and draft resisters were residing legally in Sweden and France. Numbers of these men had formed the French Union of American Deserters and Draft Resisters (FUADDR) in France and the American Deserters Committee (ADC) in Sweden. On April 3 the formation of an International Union of American Deserters and Draft Resisters, formed by the two groups, was announced.

These organizations help to find jobs, housing and other necessities for deserters, publicize the fact that political refuge may be found in certain countries, and are establishing ties to other organizations throughout the world. ADC has also found it necessary to enter into a form of counter-espionage work in order to expose CIA agents attempting to infiltrate the organization and bribe men into returning to the military.

Deserters are living in other countries as well, often clandestinely. A Japanese organization, Beheiren, announced April 3 that a dozen deserters were living in that country, where the government will turn deserters in but many of the people take high risks to protect them. Near the end of May six deserters arrived in Sweden following their escape from the military in Japan and Okinawa while on leave from Vietnam.

Organized deserters in France and Sweden have begun publishing a magazine, THE SECOND FRONT, which contains news and opinions from deserters all over the world. More information on this journal may be obtained by writing to:

M. Billaudot
33, Rue Vauttier
92 - BOULOGNE
France

RAP GETS 5

Brother Rap Brown was socked with the maximum sentence--five years in jail and a \$2000 fine--on May 22, after being found guilty by a federal court in New Orleans of transporting an M-1 rifle from Louisiana to New York while under felony indictment.

The case depended almost entirely upon whether or not the DA could prove that Rap knew that he was under felony indictment at the time that he made his journey. If Rap did not know, then he could not be found guilty. The judge told that to the jury, who decided that he did not know about it while taking the rifle from New York to Louisiana, but that he found out about it while in Louisiana, and thus was guilty of violating the National Firearms Act, since he then brought the rifle back to New York with him.

William Kunstler, Rap's attorney, argued that the charge was nothing more or less than persecution of Brown because he is a black revolutionary, and noted that "everything Adolph Hitler did was legal." U.S. Attorney Louis LaCourse seemed to think Kunstler hit a little close to home, and immediately replied that "we deeply resent statements making such a comparison to Hitler. We do not have selective prosecution in this Nation."

Victor Hugo once said: "Of course laws are applied equally. A rich man who sleeps under a bridge will be prosecuted the same as a poor man. A rich man who steals a loaf of bread will be prosecuted the same as a poor man."

Kunstler filed notice of appeal, and so Rap is still out of prison, on \$10,000 bond. Exactly how long the man intends to allow him freedom is, obviously, another question entirely. ■

Soldiers' Union

NEW YORK - May 12 - (By Tom Hamilton - Liberation News Service) The US Army faces a new, internal enemy. Already 12,000 servicemen, at posts all over the world, have joined the American Servicemen's Union, founded about a year ago by a radical, Andrew Stapp, whom a draft board made the mistake of calling up.

Once inducted into the army, Stapp became something of an Army lawyer as well as an organizer. The brass quickly learned he was suggesting to men various tactics possible under Army regulations to avoid being shipped to Vietnam. At one point Stapp was tried in a summary court martial for leaving his barracks against orders. The Army Sergeant who was supposed to testify against Stapp was not properly rehearsed and Stapp became one of the rare soldiers tried in summary courts martial who are found innocent. During the trial everyone on his base, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, was confined to barracks, and MPs from off the base were brought in to maintain order with machine guns.

The reason for Army concern was that Stapp, with friends from his unit, were proselytizing for a union of servicemen. The Army tried to destroy the source of infection by transferring the "agitators" to different locations. They promptly started to work on the new men they posted with. Morale among enlisted men began to pick up, but not among the officers; they called in Army intelligence, to search for seditious ties with Cuba, Red China, and Russia.

The Army found nothing to connect Stapp and his buddies with communists, but finally they had to admit Stapp was too effective: his union began putting out a twice-a-month newsletter, THE BOND, filled with letters from GIs delighted at the idea of a union and with reports of enlisted men finally working together successfully to resist some of the Army's arbitrariness (one of the union's demands was the election of officers). Stapp was thrown out of the Army at the end of March on grounds of doubtful loyalty.

The American Servicemen's Union has collected funds to provide lawyers for men in the armed forces who face court martial for anti-war activities or for expressing views on officers or conditions which got them into trouble. It has also been active in informing servicemen of their rights. They are still actively recruiting, as only one-half of one percent of servicemen have joined so far. Probably most have not yet heard about the ASU, although Stapp is now working from the outside to have persons join as soon as they are drafted. The American Servicemen's Union is located at Room 633, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010.

"Disloyal Statements"

Fort Ord, Calif. (release from The Ally) -- Ken Stolte and Dan Amick were convicted on May 22 by a general court martial at Ft. Ord, Calif. on charges of uttering disloyal statements and conspiring to commit acts prejudicial to the good order and discipline of the army. They were each sentenced to four years at hard labor (at Leavenworth) and dishonorable discharges. Their attorney, Francis Heisler of Carmel, is appealing the conviction.

The charges were based on a one-page leaflet which the two men wrote and distributed in February. PORTSMOUTH, N.H. -- (from THE BOND) PFC Daniels and Cpl. Harvey are being held here after having been sentenced to 10 and 6 years for allegedly having uttered "disloyal words", a violation of Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

Harvey and Daniels, Black Marines, were convicted for taking part in barracks discussion and saying that Black men should not be fighting in the white man's war against Vietnam.

The men fell for officers' promises to go easy on them if they quietly sub-

THE OAKLAND SEVEN NOT A PALM TREE

SAN FRANCISCO-- The Oakland Seven returned to court May 17 to find how the court ruled on their motion to dismiss the case. As expected, Judge Phillips of the Oakland Superior Court ruled in favor of the prosecution.

The Seven: Frank Bardacke, Terry Cannon, Bob Mandel, Jeff Segal, Steve Hamilton, Reese Erlich and Mike Smith, were charged with conspiracy to commit three misdemeanors: public nuisance, trespass and obstructing an officer. Conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor is a felony.

Phillips did, however, throw out one of the misdemeanor charges--public nuisance. This section reads:

"Anything which is injurious to health or is indecent, or offensive to the senses, or an obstruction to the free use of property, so as to interfere with the comfortable enjoyment of life or property by an entire community or neighborhood, or by any considerable number of persons, or unlawfully obstructs the free passage or use, in the customary manner, of any navigable lake, or river, bay, stream, canal or basin, or any public park, square, street or highway, is a public nuisance."

Cannon's attorney, Richard Hodge, argued that this section was unconstitutional, overbroad and vague. The judge agreed off-the-record that it was probably unconstitutional, but he was clearly afraid to make that ruling. He did rule that it was irrelevant and threw it out.

Phillips got some laughs from the courtroom when he read off a list of things that had been described as public nuisances in past court cases: abandoned excavations, certain buildings, overcrowded resorts, certain palm and fig trees, illegal fertilizers, places used for prostitution, and certain objects thrown in the San Francisco Bay. It was agreed that the Oakland Seven were none of the above. When the audience started to laugh, the judge told them that while what he was saying might be funny, they should be quiet anyway.

He then complimented Hodge for his brief, saying that it was "the best I have ever read in my career as a judge." Hodge is also attorney for the Steve Miller Blues Band.

The other two counts still hold and that is sufficient to bring the Seven to trial.

mitted to trial rather than getting a civilian lawyer. Their case is now being appealed by the ACLU.

Mulloy Out on Bond

Louisville, Ky. (SCEF - May 21) -- The U.S. Court of Appeals has set aside high bonds which had kept Joe Mulloy and Don Pratt in jail for six weeks on charges of draft refusal.

The young men were then freed under \$2,000 bond each pending the outcome of their appeals. Each is under sentence of five years in prison and a fine of \$10,000.

Summer Projects

The Resistance is working to increase the number of men doing anti-draft work this summer by providing "the minimum of coordination needed for this program by helping to provide contacts, and by putting people in touch with projects where they can work".

Various groups will be working in anti-draft centers, reaching draft victims at draft boards and induction centers, working with anti-draft caravans (with guerilla theater, rock bands, discussions, etc.), draft board research, and other projects.

For more information and a list of organizations planning summer work, write: RESIST, 763 Massachusetts Ave., Rm. 4, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 phone (617) 491-8076

Judicial Review

San Francisco, May 28 -- Federal Judge Alphonse J. Zirpoli ruled here the section of the 1967 Selective Service Act allowing judicial review of a draft classification only after refusal of induction to be unconstitutional.

Norman L. Peterson of Palo Alto petitioned the court following the refusal of his San Jose draft board to consider his application for CO status. Zirpoli said that "Congress cannot make Selective Service induction orders unreviewable. Due process is offended by an administrative order which demands compliance or a term of imprisonment. The government is expected to appeal.

All pled Not Guilty. Their next court date is June 21.

Harrassment

The Seven have been getting harrassed in little ways since the conspiracy indictment. Terry Cannon was found guilty of not repairing the car that the police had impounded and kept, fined \$25 and sentenced to 4 days of traffic school. Reese Erlich has been reclassified I-A. Bob Mandel was arrested on five counts of "loitering around a high school". Not so little was the action taken against Jeff Segal. His bail was revoked (see article this page) and he is now in jail in Chicago.

Cannon & Mandel

Judge Phillips refused to dismiss the other felony charges against Terry Cannon and Bob Mandel. Mandel is charged with assaulting a police officer. All witnesses agree that his arms were behind him, being held by a cop, when the alleged assault took place. Apparently his arm struck an officer a glancing blow as he was trying to free himself from a bunch of cops. Mandel's attorney argued that a show of intent is required, and that Mandel did not intend to strike the cop. The judge upheld the charge.

Cannon is charged with possession of lethal weapons--29 counts for 29 "lethal" picket sign sticks. Dick Hodge, arguing for a dismissal, showed the judge one of the long, light dowel rods, pointing out that they were not weighted on one end, flexible, or tapered, the way police billy clubs are. He also pointed out that the clubs must be found in a time and place indicating that they were to be used lethally. The time--a quiet Sunday afternoon--and the place--a park--did not constitute a "clear and present danger".

Hodge also attacked the deception used by the police in detaining Cannon. He was not told why his car was being searched and was lied to when he asked the cops why they had stopped him. Sergeant Goldberg of the Oakland Police Department admitted that they did not want to tell Cannon the real reason for stopping his car, for fear it would blow the cover of their fink in the Stop the Draft Week monitor groups.

No Sanctuary

Baltimore, Md., May 24 -- Society breathed a sigh of relief as several dangerous criminals were sentenced to long prison terms here for having poured blood on draft records last October. Reverend Philip Berrigan and Thomas P. Lewis were each sentenced to six years and David Eberhardt to three years, while the sentencing of James Mengel was postponed. The Archbishop of Baltimore, evidently ever vigilant in the protection of Christian values, later criticized Father Berrigan for having damaged property.

On May 17, while awaiting sentencing, Father Berrigan had struck again when he and eight others raided the Catonsville, Md. draft board and burned hundreds of records in a parking lot.

Illegal to Burn

Washington D.C., May 27 -- The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the 1965 law making it illegal to burn or otherwise do away with draft cards. Although the U.S. Court of Appeals had declared the law unconstitutional as an infringement on First Amendment guarantees of free speech, and although Justice Douglas questioned in his dissenting opinion the constitutionality of drafting men to fight in an undeclared war, the court saw it expedient to find otherwise.

It is rumored that the John Birch Society has contacted the Resistance regarding the possibility of the sale of its many "Impeach Earl Warren" billboards and bumper stickers.

Harris Guilty

San Francisco, May 29 (SCN) -- David Harris was found "guilty" for refusing induction in a trial that climaxed when Judge Carter told Harris, a founder of the Resistance, that he was "the most willful violator of the law he had ever seen", and subsequently sentenced him to three years in prison for "purely punitive reasons". To which Harris replied, "Thank you".

LATEST BATTLE IN THE FISHING WARS

The Nisqually and Puyallup Indian tribes of Washington state have for several years been engaged in battles with private corporations and the state and federal governments over salmon fishing rights. The Indians have amply documented that their treaties with the U.S. government guarantee to them full and free use of their traditional fishing places and practices. However, Indian fishing has come in conflict with the giant commercial salmon fisheries and some sport fishing enthusiasts. Consequently the Indians' treaty guarantees have been consistently infringed upon and denied. The salmon is economically and culturally central to these Fisher-peoples' way of life and they have been fighting a long and arduous battle to retain their people's historic and treaty-guaranteed rights. Janet McCloud and her family are in the center of this struggle.

by Janet McCloud

Some high points have been reached in the Indian Fishing War of Washington State in the past few months, which are of special interest if you have been following the proceedings of the past few years, both in and out of the courtroom.

The most important event of all was the pleading of the Fishing Rights case before the U.S. Supreme Court by the Nisqually River Indian Fisher-people. These Indians, branded as renegades by their own tribal council leaders, and as the "irresponsible elements" of the Indian population by Washington governor Dan Evans, pled their case before the Supreme Court on March 25th and 26th, 1968. Their attorney was Mr. Dan Tanner.

The handful of Indians involved fought their way almost single-handedly through the normally stifling mass of legal mumbo-jumbo to the Supreme Court. Through sheer will power they persevered, using direct action demonstrations when necessary, gathering together Indians and non-Indians who sympathized with their struggle. This is a feat few large Indian nations could achieve.

The Days in Court

Don Matheson, President of The Survival Of American Indian Association, and Bob Satiacum, self-determined leader of the Puyallup Indians, accompanied attorney Tanner to Washington D.C.

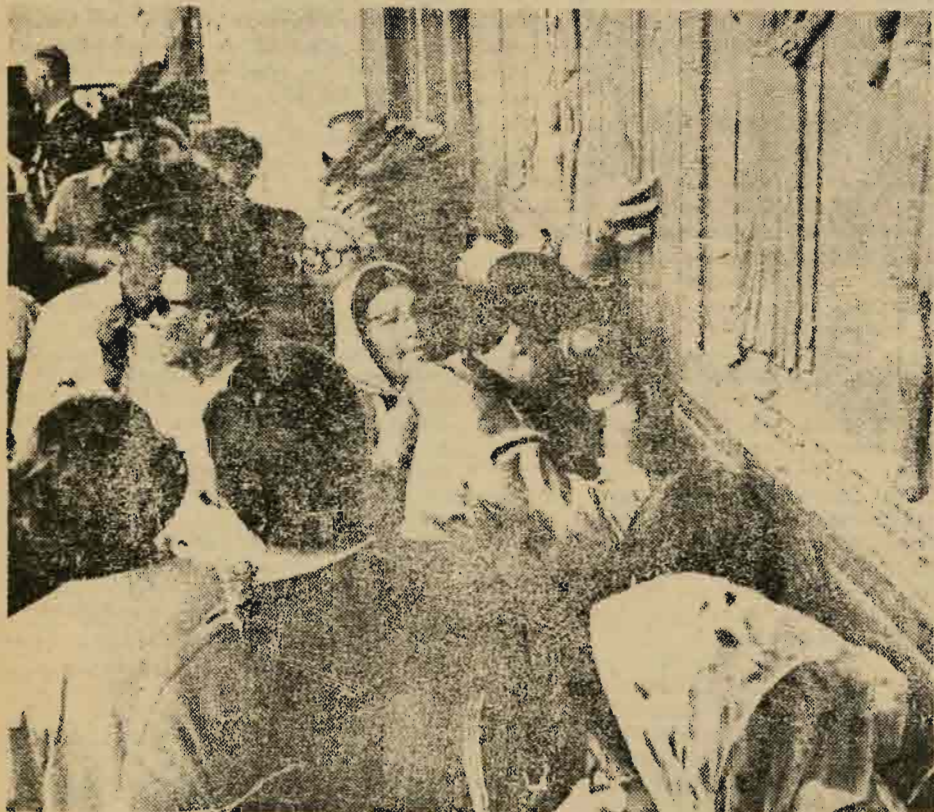
Art Knodel, attorney for the Puyallup Indians, presented his arguments first. The Puyallup tribe, I am sorry to say, compromised in their arguments. They took a position arguing for dual ownership of the salmon by Indians and white men. This left them open for a direct attack from the Justices, who quickly took advantage of the opportunity. The attacks centered around the word "conser-

ration, if ever, mentioned in the Puyallup's case.

Attorney Tanner, representing the Nisqually Indian Fisher-people, refused to play the game of arguing over fish allocation. The only reference to fish allocation made by Mr. Tanner was "The Indians have never in all recorded history ever been guilty of destroying the fish runs on any river, and that since the Indians own ALL the fish in the rivers they can do as they want to with them." In other words, whether we catch one or a million fish is NOT the issue we are concerned over. Don Matheson said that the Justices showed a real disappointment at having the rules of the game changed by Mr. Tanner, as they evidently had a million questions to throw at him on the fish allocation issue.

Treaty of Medicine Creek

The position taken by the Nisquallies was based simply and purely upon the rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Medicine Creek. Our major question was: is a treaty entered into in good faith with the United States any damn good or not? We are now well aware of the legal hanky-panky and evasive mumbo-jumbo



In a demonstration in Washington, D.C. Indians pound on the doors of the Supreme Court in protest of a court ruling upholding the action on Indians' fishing rights.

vation", which in this case raises questions of allocation, or who owns how many fish, how many a person may take, and who regulates whom.

Knodel was struck over the head by the Justices with questions about this so-called "conservation", while the treaty rights of the Indians and the United States' treaty commitments to the Indians were

which issues forth from those in power when the question of Indian Rights confronts them, how they try to wangle out of their treaty commitments with our people.

The Nisqually Indians, who negotiated the Treaty of Medicine Creek of 1854,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11



A good deal of the quality rock music now being produced is too often confused with the hit parade, as the only contact many people have with rock is through the hit parade. The hit parade is not so concerned with quality as with commercial potential, and when people think of rock they think only of this sellable three minute product that their radio pours out between commercials.

Of course when a good group puts out a record for the singles market (the AM radio market), it needn't be a lousy record to make it. It can lack the crass commercialism and still be accepted on its real merits, but examples of this are few. Making a hit is no longer an admirable ambition among serious musicians; there is now a large enough market for really good music. The hit parade is just another plastic money thing. LPs are the real example of a musician's work.

This demand for commercialism by the money people affects many different artists in different ways. Some seem to show integrity and overlook it. Mike Bloomfield or Eric Burdon are two random examples of this type. It is obvious from their music that they're more interested in musical excellence than in being accepted by normal white America -- or England in Burdon's case.

An opposite story would be that of the Supremes. One can hear in their subsequent recordings a gradual selling out to the traps of commercialism. It is obvious that their intent, or their promoter's intent, became ultimately, above all else, to be accepted by the white audiences who go to see them at the Las Vegas showplaces or buy their recordings of Broadway favorites. This trend in some artists is most apparent in their publicity. The Supremes are given the traditional white glamor treatment, a thousand wigs to choose from.

The condemnation of an artist on the grounds of selling out can say nothing about his or her talent. That has nothing to do with it. The fact that the Supremes have sold out in no way makes Diana Ross any less of a fine singer. She was a good singer when she started and is now. There is a difference, however, in what material is picked for her to show off her voice. For example, "Where Did Our Love Go" or "Come See About Me" gave her and the group a unique and beautiful sound. But on the more recent albums of Rodgers and Hart type music they sound like any other female trio.

The term "popular music" then, includes both these types of artists. Those who sell out to the establishment indoctrinated public, and those who are satisfied with the smaller audience who digs their specialty. That's the big difference. It depends on what kind of music they make. B.B. King or any bluesman could never sell out. Blues is their thing and enough people love them for it. The same is true with good rock. While rock musicians are in more danger of falling into the trap, what with the hit parade, there are numerous examples of those who you can be almost sure will never sell out. The Doors, for example, or Jimi Hendrix. The latter has as big an audience as he could ever want anyway.

The Mothers of Invention are an interesting example when thought of in this light. Their whole approach is an attack on commercialism in music and in society in general. They proudly announce on the liner notes for their first album "NO COMMERCIAL POTENTIAL". They're all good musicians and if they wanted to I suppose they could straighten up and play like they're supposed to play and say what they're supposed to say and make it. But they dig what they're doing, being honest with themselves, saying fuck you to the values and customs of present day America. They never let up. They have a hard time getting hired around their native Los Angeles because of their reputation for telling their audiences just what they think of them. In December of '65 as they were finishing a run at the Hollywood Whiskey A-Go-Go to a full house of tourists, they gave the following closing message: "If your children ever find out how lame you really are, they'll murder you in your sleep." Their approach is heartening and so they are widely appreciated.

In music, the concept of selling out is often a misunderstood one. Some people might judge a change of form in an artist as selling out if they're accustomed to his previous form. That's what many people did when Bob Dylan decided to expand musically and adopt a freer form of lyricism. It is true that in doing so he could appeal to a larger audience, but I don't think that was his main reason.

So in the future we are bound to lose a lot of promising musicians to the the clutches of commercialism and the dollar sign. But there will also be a larger number of musicians who love music for what it is and not for what can be gained by it. It is these men and women who will be the true innovators and develop the forms of music to come.

Recent Releases of Note

The Quicksilver Messenger Service, who have been a long-time favorite on the West Coast, have finally released an album for Capitol. Included in it are some of the tunes that have become favorites through the numerous dance performances the group has played. There are also some new tunes, and a surprisingly effective instrumental entitled "Gold and Silver". The album was produced by ex-Electric Flag member Nick Gravenities in conjunction with the Flag's bass player, Harvey Brooks, and Pete Welding.

Ray Charles has a new album, "Portrait of Ray", on Tangerine Records, a subsidiary of ABC. Side one is all slow tunes with an excess of strings at times. It opens with "Never Say Nah", which was recently made more famous with Elvin Bishop's version on Butterfield's "East-West". Side two alone is worth the cost of the album. The songs are all solid soul music, with Ray's non-paralleled command of that type. The last track of the LP is "Eleanor Rigby", the Beatle's composition. It seems Ray can do anything.

BOBBY SEALE GETS 3 YEARS PROBATION

On May 23, 1968, Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, was sentenced to three years probation following his conviction for carrying a gun near a jail. Superior Court Judge Redmond Staats imposed strict terms on Seale's probation. They include the following six points:

1. Seale is not to own, possess, carry or associate with any person carrying, a deadly weapon.
2. He is to report regularly to, and cooperate with, his probation officer.
3. He is to seek and maintain regular employment.
4. He must get his probation officer's

permission to change his residence or his job.

5. He is to be of good conduct and obey all laws.

6. He is not to associate with known criminals.

Seale agreed to the terms of probation. When asked if this meant that he was resigning as Chairman of the Black Panther Party, he replied "I will not disassociate myself from the Black Panther Party. It is a political party, and under the Constitution I have the right to political affiliations." His attorney, Charles Garry, said that an appeal would be filed in the case. ■

FRANCE - THE ROOTS OF REVOLT

by Magali Sarfatti Larson and Arlene Eisen Bergman.

First it was Berlin, then Prague, Warsaw. Now Paris is exploding. Everyday the struggle of French students and workers takes a new turn. The big questions can't be answered now: Will the Communist Party be able to sell out the movement of rank and file workers and students? How strong is the alliance between students and workers? If DeGaulle falls, will the new government be much different? How would radical changes in France affect the rest of Europe and the United States?

But one thing is sure. The DeGaulle regime will never be the same. American radicals are elated over the apparent power of French students to spark a worker revolt that has paralyzed the country, and may bring down the Government. We hear people ask: "Why can't we make a France here?" We researched the background of the current struggle in France in order to begin to answer this question.

Nanterre

France also had a baby-boom after the world war. These babies are now flooding the French Universities. They are children of the middle class. Only 7% of the youth go

students drew everybody into the battle.

On May 12, Premier Pompidou granted most of the students' demands: removal of the cops from the Sorbonne, release of almost all those arrested, promise of a student voice in government and sweeping university reform. But France's three national trade union Confederations called a general strike in solidarity with the students to protest police brutality. On May 13th a million people marched. For the first time in French history, workers came to the support of the students. That was Monday. Since then workers have been on a wild-cat strike. Occupation of factories spread throughout France. More than 50% of the workers have paralyzed the country and raised their own demands. They have not accepted the settlement made by their union bureaucrats.

Gaullist Power & Anachronism

DeGaulle came to power ten years ago on the heels of a threatened Army coup. His backers believed that he would keep "Algerie Francaise". The "man of destiny" was once again going to save his country -- this time from the throes of colonial war. Within four years he managed to make Algerian independence acceptable to the nation and to put down the threatened revolt of the Secret Army. In foreign

excellence of his rule, the hardships and pains of everyday French life were even obvious to the tourist. In Paris, housing is impossible to find, toilets are a luxury. The city is strangled by overcrowding. While the archaic transportation system and the incredible traffic jams add long hours to the workday of Parisians, the General assured them that he would think and act for them.

The pervading mood was boredom; a malaise that comes from the total impossibility of affecting the course of government. DeGaulle always "knew better". A 19th century aristocrat, he could not conceal his paternalistic contempt for the masses. While the old Fourth Republic parties were obviously decadent, the only political dialogue most of the French people knew was watching their French President on state-controlled television.

No to the Scum

DeGaulle governs with a team of "technocrats", recruited from traditional elite groups and trained by the exclusive system of Grandes Ecoles. Some of them are brilliant, some hopelessly mediocre. The centralized administration, in all its branches, is slow, outmoded, non-responsive and authoritarian. The administered population -- and this is especially true of the university students -- cannot penetrate the bureaucracy.

What reforms there are came from above. DeGaulle spoke for himself when he returned from Rumania: "La reforme oui, la chienlit non". This means "Reform yes, but no to the scum." Actually "chienlit" means shit-in-bed and with its archaic flavor, is one of the most contemptuous expressions one could use for popular unrest. If pushed hard, the government might sometimes appear to be for the people, but never BY the people.

The honeymoon between DeGaulle and his people was shaken by the success of the left in the 1967 elections. The Communist Party's support was decisive for Mitterand, the candidate of the left coalition. Mitterand was able to prevent a Gaullist majority in the 1967 elections. DeGaulle lost face when he couldn't win on the first balloting. But it is difficult for a radical to place much hope in a candidate who didn't even mention Viet-

credit myself for and what I received most satisfaction from is national education."

The "Plan Fouchet" for university reform (inaugurated by the same man whom the students demand to resign) aimed to modernize the University. In other words, it aimed to make the university more profitable and suitable to the needs of French industry. The government planned to adapt the archaic educational structure to an archaic industrial system, although, with typical stinginess, it never planned to pay the full cost of the bills.

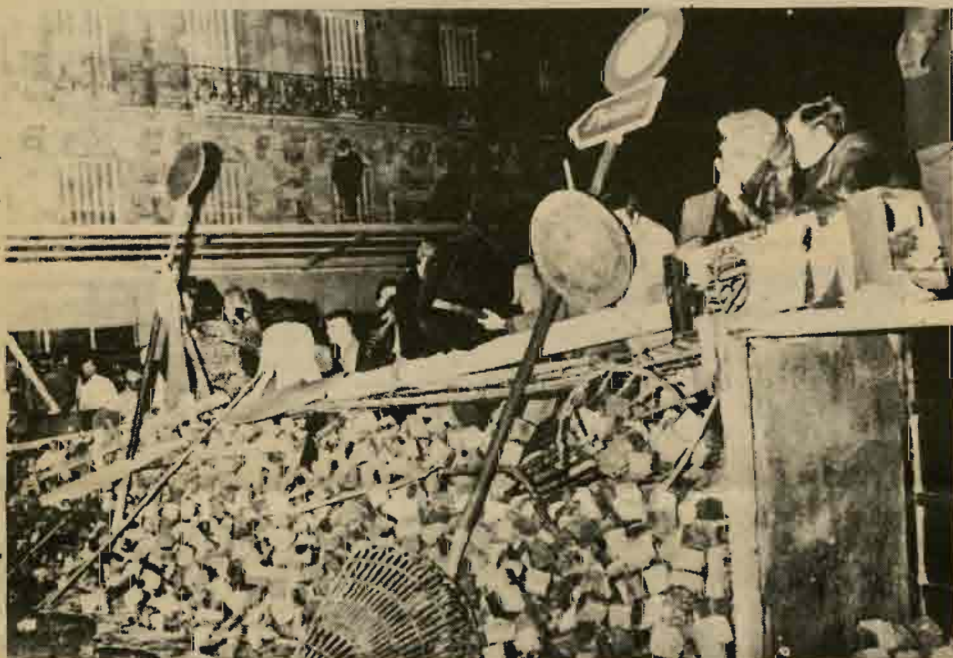
The reforms made no effort to enlarge the basis of university recruitment. The French student body remains one of the most upper class in Europe. In 1962, only 6% of the students came from working class families. There are very few scholarships. The few scholarships around pay only \$50 a month and Paris is as expensive as New York City.

Inflation hit workers and students the hardest. In one year, the price of a subway ticket went up 50% and bus tickets more than doubled. The new Health Insurance system increased the costs of medical aid. Only 10% of the students can live in dorms -- the rest are lucky to find a room for \$40 a month.

The reforms perpetuated France's rigid class system. The University Institutes of Technology (IUT) give a fragmented specialized training for two years. They are glorified trade schools. The other universities have two programs: "short" training which provides the mass of high school teachers and "long" training for an elite of university teachers. From these, a small group will be picked and go on to the dreaded examinations of "agregation" and "doctorat d'etat". The Grandes Ecoles are separate, and still recruit only the very top. Financial aid is only provided for a few IUT and "short" students.

Reforms did not change the fact that discussion sections hold 120 students. Finding a seat at lecture is an almost impossible adventure. The quality of teaching is abysmal. After coming two hours early to a compulsory lecture to get a seat, the student may hear a lecture dated from 1934 on medieval French literature. To make things worse, Deans keep insisting on more exams to weed out "poor" students. Examination have al-

Photo: reprinted from The MILITANT, May 24, 1968



STUDENT BARRICADE. Demonstrating French students erected barricades in Paris streets in tradition of their revolutionary forefathers.

to the Universities (40% in the U.S.). But the increase from 170,000 in 1958 to more than half a million in 1968 has drowned France's painfully outmoded university structure.

The Sorbonne, which housed the liberal arts "facultes", first spread throughout Paris' deteriorating buildings and then poured 15,000 excess students into a new campus in Nanterre. In the provinces other campuses appeared on the outskirts of old university towns: Bordeaux, Grenoble, Toulouse.

Nanterre is probably the most striking example of Gaullist patchwork. The "campus" has no library. It is surrounded by the worst slums of Paris' industrial fringe. Inadequate transportation, lack of recreation, stores, meeting places would horrify anyone accustomed to American-type campuses.

The government had to respond to the pressure of numbers, but it did not create a university -- only a mass of angry students. A Professor at Nanterre said, "Almost nothing has been done to organize the life of a collectivity of 15,000 people; they are here only to fill a slot in an organization chart."

It is not surprising that the current struggles began at Nanterre last November. The issue was university reform. Nanterre student Daniel Cohn-Bendit said, "We do not want Pompidou to transform the University. We will transform it ourselves." The struggle continued through the spring and on May 2, the government felt obliged to lock the students out of the Nanterre campus.

The "enrages" (although the term means "enraged", it would probably be more accurate to translate it "intransigent") moved on to Paris. Allegedly to protect the students from right-wingers, the cops closed the Sorbonne building. The movement spread into the Latin Quarter which surrounds the Sorbonne. At first it involved only a minority of the student body.

The week that followed was marked by savage street fighting with police. The students did not want an occupying force in their quarter. The extreme and classic brutality of the cops (30,000 regulars and 20,000 special riot forces) against 30,000

affairs DeGaulle struggled to give France the independence and glory she had lost. In successive referendums, he successfully asked the French people to choose between himself and "chaos."

The decade was prosperous in terms of trade and national output. The rate of growth increased, the franc became "hard currency", and exports were booming. Although some of the new affluence must have spilled over to the workers, it is clear that they were cheated out of their share in the country's wealth. French industry is archaically organized. Real wages are lower in France than in any other Common Market country.

The margin of industrial profits is among the lowest in Europe. So is the rate of investments. These facts indicate a rigid and out-moded economy and explain both the present oppressive stance of the Industrial Employers Association against the workers and the growing discontent and disaffection with the regime. Liberal sectors of the economic elite may have been horrified when students raised the banner "closed to bourgeois audiences" over the Theater de France. But they also share the students' desire to get rid of DeGaulle.

Last year, a best seller in France was "le defi americain" or "The American Challenge". The author, a spokesman for the liberal French bourgeoisie, exposed the facade of DeGaulle's independent international stance. While DeGaulle pursued his dream of French glory through diplomatic channels, France's enormous lags in economic, technological, scientific and educational developments made her easy prey to U.S. economic expansionism. Servan Schreiber said that archaic French capitalism had to be streamlined and Europe had to be united. DeGaulle, in effect, has blocked these moves.

DeGaulle's opposition to America often obscures, for non-French observers, the authoritarian and conservative nature of his rule. The unions and left-wing opposition have become more and more bureaucratic. This makes it possible for the government to either ignore social problems, clamp down on protest or offer largely paternalistic and token solutions.

While DeGaulle talks of glory and the



Photo: reprinted from The MILITANT, May 24, 1968.

WORKERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS MARCH. Giant demonstration in Paris streets, as unions joined students and backed their demands.

nam or NATO during his campaign. Mitterand, who is now trying to "negotiate for" the students and workers is a somewhat watered-down version of Mendes-France's intelligent reformism.

The petty bourgeois Communist Party, the arthritic unions and "established left" hardly presented an alternative to the Gaullist regime. They have provided no positive leadership during the current struggle. In fact, the Communist Party and trade unions (CGT) have called on adherents not to participate in demonstrations called by the students federation and repeated their warnings against "provocateurs"! The explosion happened on a background of general smugness and political sterility.

Oppressed Students

In January 1967, Pompidou confidently declared "What, in my view, we have done the best, what, in particular, I can

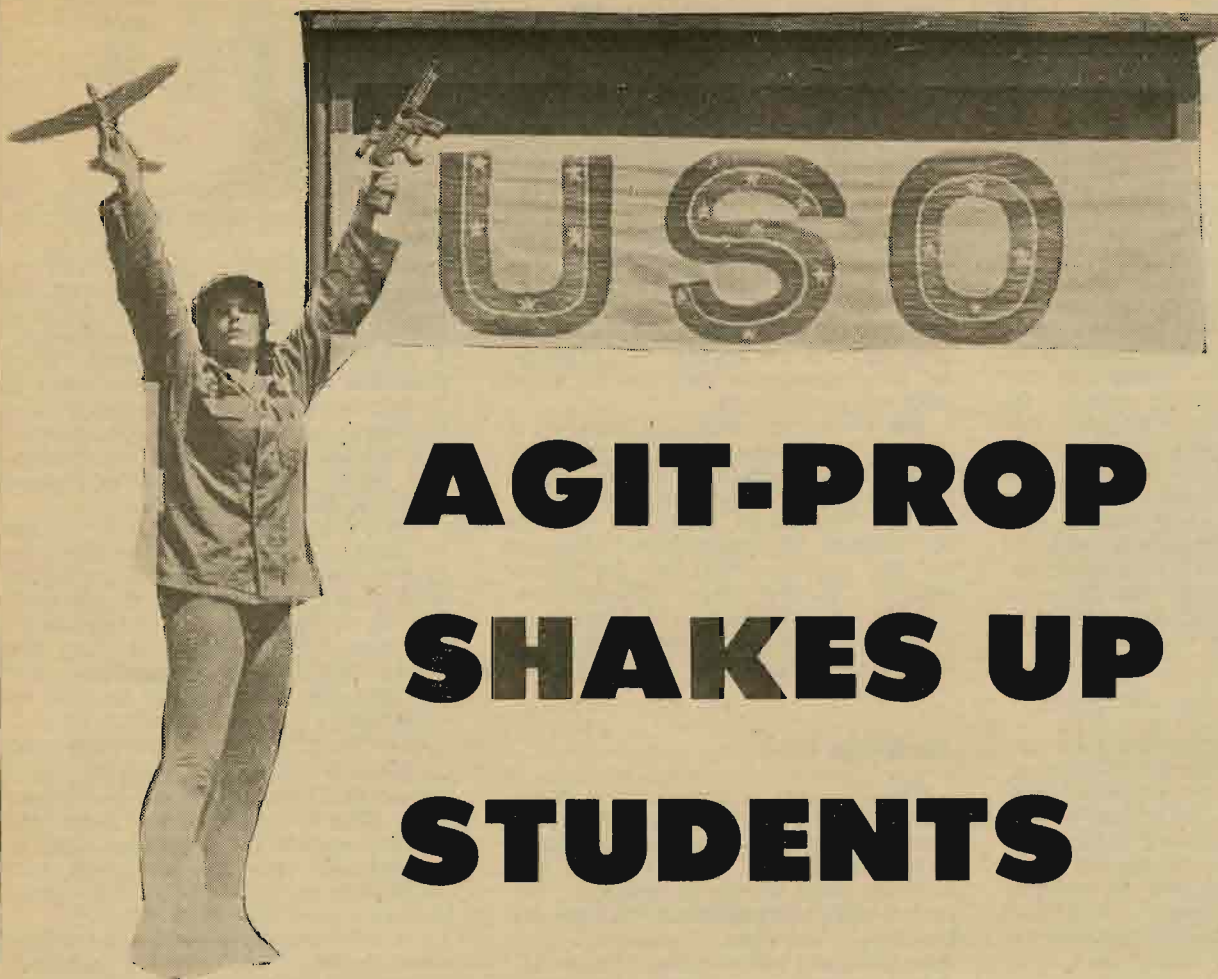
ways been a series of irrelevant hurdles, and now they are a rat race.

But the rewards are dubious. In the U.S., the "achieving" student is guaranteed a lucrative secure job. In France, he is not. Teaching jobs are so poorly paid that professors must supplement their incomes with second jobs. Industry prefers to hire the elite graduates of the grandes ecoles or the "long" trainees for "career" positions. The technicians produced by Gaullist reforms, therefore, must compete with skilled workers for scarce jobs. This aggravates the problem of technological unemployment.

Schools or Factories

In the nineteenth century, factories were the main source of capital accumulation. In the mid-twentieth century, the multiversity has become an important center for capitalist production. France,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11



AGIT-PROP SHAKES UP STUDENTS

"WHORES & TRAITORS"

By Karen Jo Koonan

Every Wednesday night and Sunday afternoon the MOVEMENT office becomes transformed into a rehearsal studio for a newly developed agit-prop dance group called "The Liberation Dance Front" (or The Daughters of the American Revolt). The LDF developed about two months ago out of dance classes I had been teaching.

The second week in May we performed in an art festival at San Jose City College (a conservative junior college). We did a mock USO show which we had developed as part of a week of agit-prop activities by SDS at San Francisco State College for the "Ten Days to Tickle the Empire" in April. Our M.C. parodied the sex-based appeal of the typical USO show: "C'mon an see the tits an asses".

The reaction to our show was, if nothing else, passionate. As soon as the M.C. began talking about tits and asses there was a mass exodus from all the buildings to the lawn where we were performing. The audience grew from 200 to 700.

Our numbers included a skit involving a "worker", a "student", an "artist" a "housewife", and a huge red, white and blue vulture. The vulture "speeds up" the worker, puts a I-A sign and a gun on the student, restricts the artist from large, expressive painting movements to mechanical and stiff movements, and raises a "commodity box" higher and higher out of the housewife's reach. The vulture then moves out into the audience--messing up hair, kicking books around. The four characters get together and attack and destroy the vulture, saving the audience.

Another number was "A Man Says Goodbye to his Mother", borrowed from the Bread and Puppet Theater in New York. In this story of a soldier who goes to Vietnam, a narrator reads a line and the dancers dance the idea: "The man is afraid"--a dancer expresses the fear.

We ended with a dance solo in classical modern dance form, using an American flag as a scarf, accompanied by a soprano singing "God Bless America"--OFF KEY.

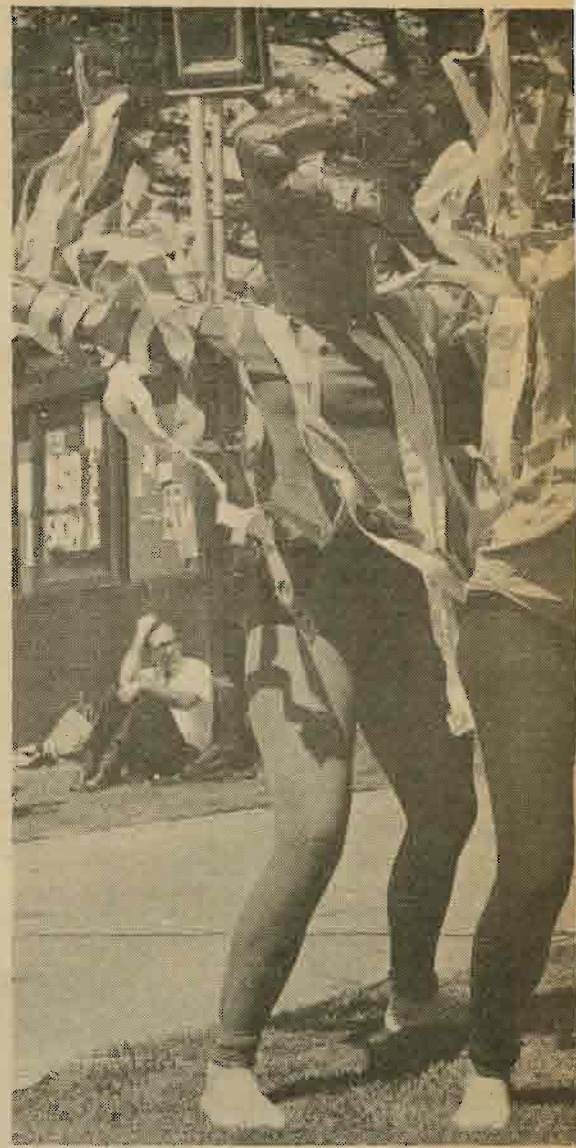
Obscenity & Treason

The shock of such "obscenity and treason" was enough to prevent heckling during the performance. Immediately afterwards a crowd gathered around us and a political argument raged--probably the largest and most emotional ever seen on that campus. We were called "whores and traitors", we were supported by an ex-marine; we were cheered; we were listened to. Clearly we had made an impact. Between the ex-marine, a Cuban refugee, a student cop, the Black Student Union, faculty, administration, and FBI (investigating), we moved the campus political debate to a new height.

Why Dance

In analysing the reactions to our performance at both SF State (hip amusement) and SJCC (outrage and argument), we became convinced of the effectiveness of dance as a form for exposing, agitating and organizing. The simple and strong presentation of our views shook up some people and woke up others. The audience--unused to dance--was very attentive. The visual presentation had greater impact than an oral or written one would have. Dance seems to break through the barriers against words which people build up; dance can't be received without

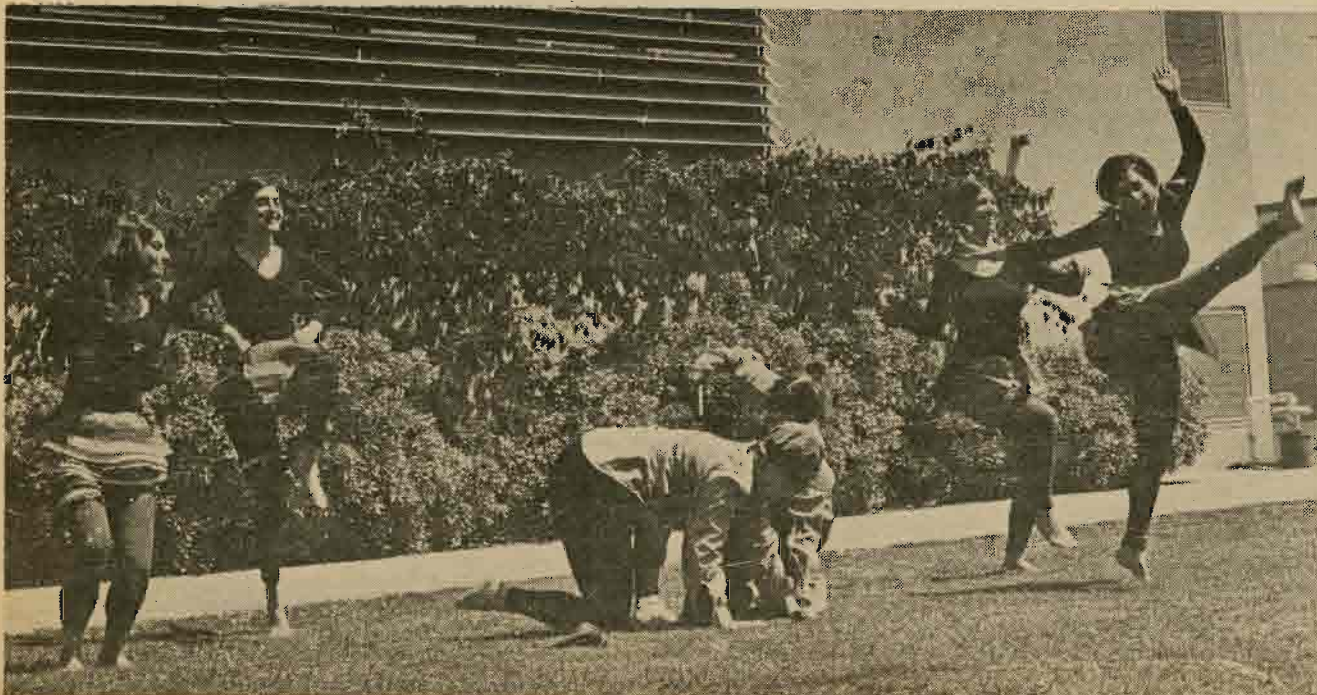
photos by Karen Ross and Mark Hardesty



Vulture of Wa

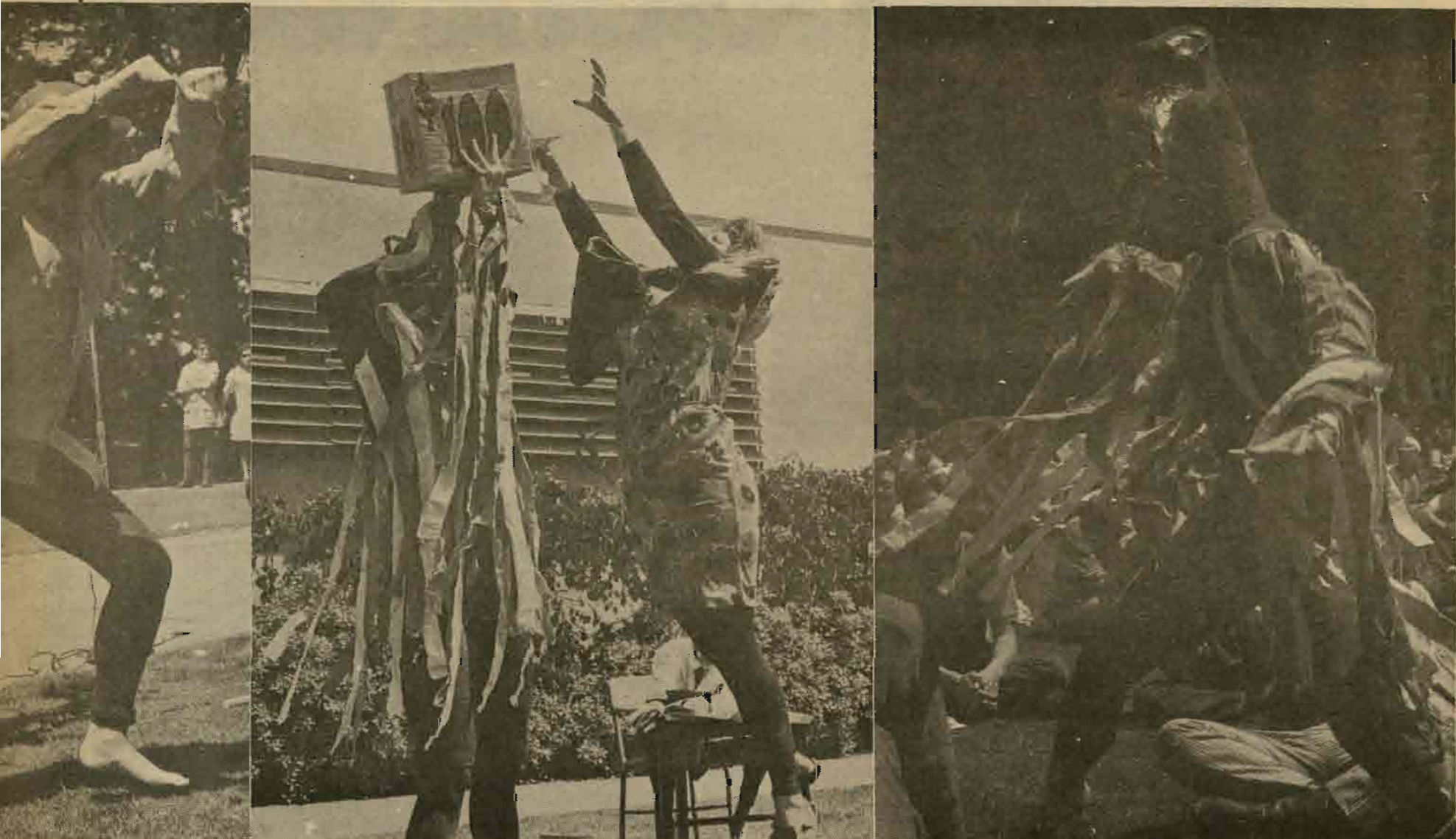


Can-can dances on oblivious to battle in it's midst



above and below: scenes from A Man Says Go





speeds-up worker, frustrates housewife, moves threateningly into audience. Vulture is subsequently destroyed by its victims uniting to attack it.

feeling in the same way a leaflet or a speech can be. This is perhaps in part because people, before they CAN dance, have to break through certain physical barriers--freed bodies making a statement give that statement special weight in our constrained world.

In our work, along with classical modern dance technique, and African technique (which adds strength and dignity which is lacking in modern dance), we spend a lot of time doing improvisation. This is very important to break down all kinds of blocks that people have against using their bodies freely. We grow up being told, "Don't Squirm, Be Still, Don't Touch, Sit Up." Then too there are all the physical sexual hang-ups. These blocks to free motion are broken down by helping people discover that moving expressively is healthy, exhilarating, fun and POSSIBLE.

An Improvisation

Find a spot on your arm or leg and imagine a fire-fly resting there. The fire-fly begins to move and you follow it moving around your body--first with your eyes, then your head and then the rest of your body following. The fly moves slowly from your left hand, up your arm --then quickly jumps to the back of your right leg, etc.

Another improvisation is to sit on the floor and imagine being completely covered with molasses--resistant, sticky and slow--and then try to stand up against that pull. The top of your head, your feet, your back and sides are pulled towards the floor (or if you're standing --towards the ceiling) and you have to fight to move in the opposite direction.

Enter Politics

Now give the molasses a political identity. What prevents you from moving? What must you fight against?--the draft, school, the police. Develop an emotional attitude towards them and towards the way you fight them.

There are many other improves: one person stands in the middle of a circle; the people in the circumference go to the middle person and touch him in some way with a motivation and attitude. For example, if you see the person in the center as a cop--you may run up to attack or you may be pushed from behind and try to sneak away in fear.

From Dance to Agit-prop

One day we took the dance class out into the park. We discovered that people watched us with more interest and less harassment and embarrassment than we expected. This discovery led to the development of our agit-prop group. We asked ourselves questions about who would we dance for and what would we say, and we experimented. We came to some understanding of the difference between Pantomime (or Mime) and Dance. We used greater movement abstraction and exaggeration, total body involvement, and expression of abstract ideas, like fear. The Vietnamese National Liberation Front Dance Troop (see Movement, Feb., 1968) had proved to me that you could be very realistic and still not be corny. (Socialist realism of the 30s). The strongest protection against corn was to be honest and realistic--no idealized workers where none exist.

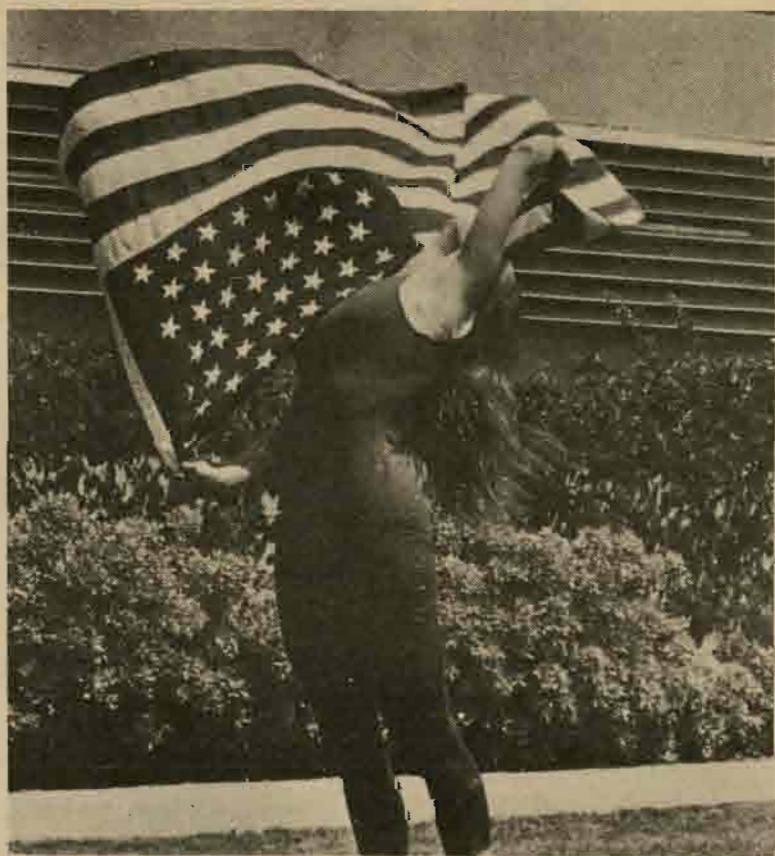
Plans

The emotional response to us at San Jose JC showed us more clearly the direction in which we must move. We hope to visit many junior colleges and high schools in the Bay Area. We will try performing in parks and shopping centers this summer.

We still have much to learn. We still

do not know if an agit-prop dance group can be guerrilla: on street corners, without electricity for taped music--being mobile--running in, performing and then disappearing. We want to try more outlines such as "A Man Says Goodbye to his Mother". And we have much talking and experimenting before us about what we want to say and how to say it. The process is creative and exhilarating. ■

Miss America



dybe to His Mother



City College Times



EDITOR'S NOTE: Tuesday, May 14, a presentation sponsored by the Arts Festival bounced its voluptuous and merry way onto the lawn adjacent to the quad. The intent of this superficially ludicrous farce was not so merry, however, for malicious mockery and downright obscene language was used to deride the very establishment which has, through centuries of struggle and patriotism, managed to achieve the brand of freedom which allows legitimate dissent. America is the establishment, and it's because they were lucky enough to be born inside its borders, that participants in that loudly organized joke weren't shot or arrested on the spot!

—J. B.

THE AMERICANA GAME

by Karen Wald

The Americana Game is a new type of political propaganda that requires total "audience participation". The game was played at San Francisco State during the "Ten Days". Many who would never attend a speech or a rally stopped to view this new political media on the lawn. Almost all of the Commons Lawn was staked out in a maze of lines with cards bearing descriptions of some facet of American life, picture collages representing the same thing, forks where the player must take a choice, and cards of "chance" at which the player's next step was determined by the card he drew.

The starting point for the game began with a series of picket signs introducing the player to the socialization process in America. Cards bore such inscriptions as "25%: Your parents read Spock" — you have Pacifist tendencies", "30%: Your parents read Reston & Lippman — a typical liberal, wishy-washy upbringing. You realize the problems of society but can rationalize anything."

After early socialization comes high school, and the first Choice. The player must decide to follow the path of continuing high school (after cards give him a good idea of what THAT'S like) or to drop out. If he continues, his next choice isn't until he graduates. If he drops out he is immediately faced with the draft. This is a common barrier represented by a chance card at a great many forks in the road. If the player is drafted, he is sent over to the induction center. There he goes through basic training, where cards inform him, "Your sergeant has an IQ of 56. He makes you stand at attention for 2 hours because you looked at him funny" and "Do 50 push-ups for not knowing that the spirit of the bayonet is 'to kill' ". After basic training, a chance card sends him into the U.S. Striking Force around the world (Guatemala, Detroit, Laos) or to Vietnam. If sent to Vietnam, a chance card either lands him in the VA hospital for life, or dead.

The Drop Out

But if the high school student chose to drop out, he may have been one of the lucky few who didn't get drafted this time. He is now a member of that great minority group (poor white or black) of "high school drop-outs". Rows of cards depict what his life is like, the difficulty of getting a job, the condescension, and finally, getting laid off when the company "suffers" a 1% drop in intake. The player is now back in the slum he was born in, and must make a choice. If he hasn't gone off to become a junkie, the choice card tells him, "As you have seen, whenever you have begun to improve your life, something has happened to knock you back down again. You now see that under our social system it is very hard for a person like you to better yourself. You have 2 choices. If you want to fight the system and try to overthrow it, if you want to risk going to jail, risk losing what little you have, risk getting killed, then take the path to your right."

If he decides not to risk it, the player becomes a lucky of the system, and ends up secure and well off, but at the price of the oppression of others. If he decides to "fight oppression" he goes along a path that has signs describing JOIN, SCEF, the Panther's Ten Point Program and the beginning of repression. A sign soon greets him: "The COPS are looking to arrest YOU and kill YOU because you are fighting to end racism and control your life and your community" and points

out that the Panthers are only one such group facing this.

Along this path, a chance card may inform the player "you have been arrested as a result of your struggle against the system. You are held on \$40,000 bail until your trial (6 mos.). A white, middle class jury (who already knew you were guilty because they read the papers) convicts you in 23 minutes. You are sentenced to 20 years. Go to jail near the start of the game" (the jail is a frequent chance card, and is to be described later). Or, if the player is lucky, he may get away, and continue to organize and struggle. Or he may be dead, "accidentally" shot in a riot. If he continues to the end of the line of struggle the final card recites the Declaration of Independence.

And After High School?

But what if the high school student continues instead of dropping out? At graduation, he must choose whether to go to work or to college, or whether to take a side trip and become a hippy (a path he may also get to from some stage of his college or worker career). If he becomes a worker (assuming he has overcome the inevitable barrier of the draft) his life is described as he trudges along the path. A card bearing a string of beads directs him "This is your assembly line. Please move the beads to the right, then back." But as a worker he comes to a choice fork as other workers form a union and decide to strike for decent wages and working conditions. He must decide whether to go on strike with them with all the hardships that entails being described for him or to scab. Cards make it clear the cops and the news media are all on the side of the boss.

The scab ends at a dead end. But the path isn't easy for the strikers, either. Overcoming the hardships of the strike, he is faced with a sell-out on the part of the AFL-CIO leadership who have been pressured by the government, and enter into a sweetheart contract with the boss. Another fork appears for the player-worker to choose — the path of the AFL-CIO, with its security and benefits, but also the human cost — or independent union activity? If he continues as an independent union organizer he ends up on the path labeled "revolt", and fights the system as the radical high school drop out did, with this path too ending with the Declaration of Independence.

The College Kid

And now back to the college student. If he avoids the draft (and his chances of this are good) the cards and pictures give him a good dose of what college life is like — classes of 1500 students, taught by television; dormitory rules, etc. — and then the choice, to continue or drop out. The path to the left is dropping out, and (after the draft barrier) sets him on the path where

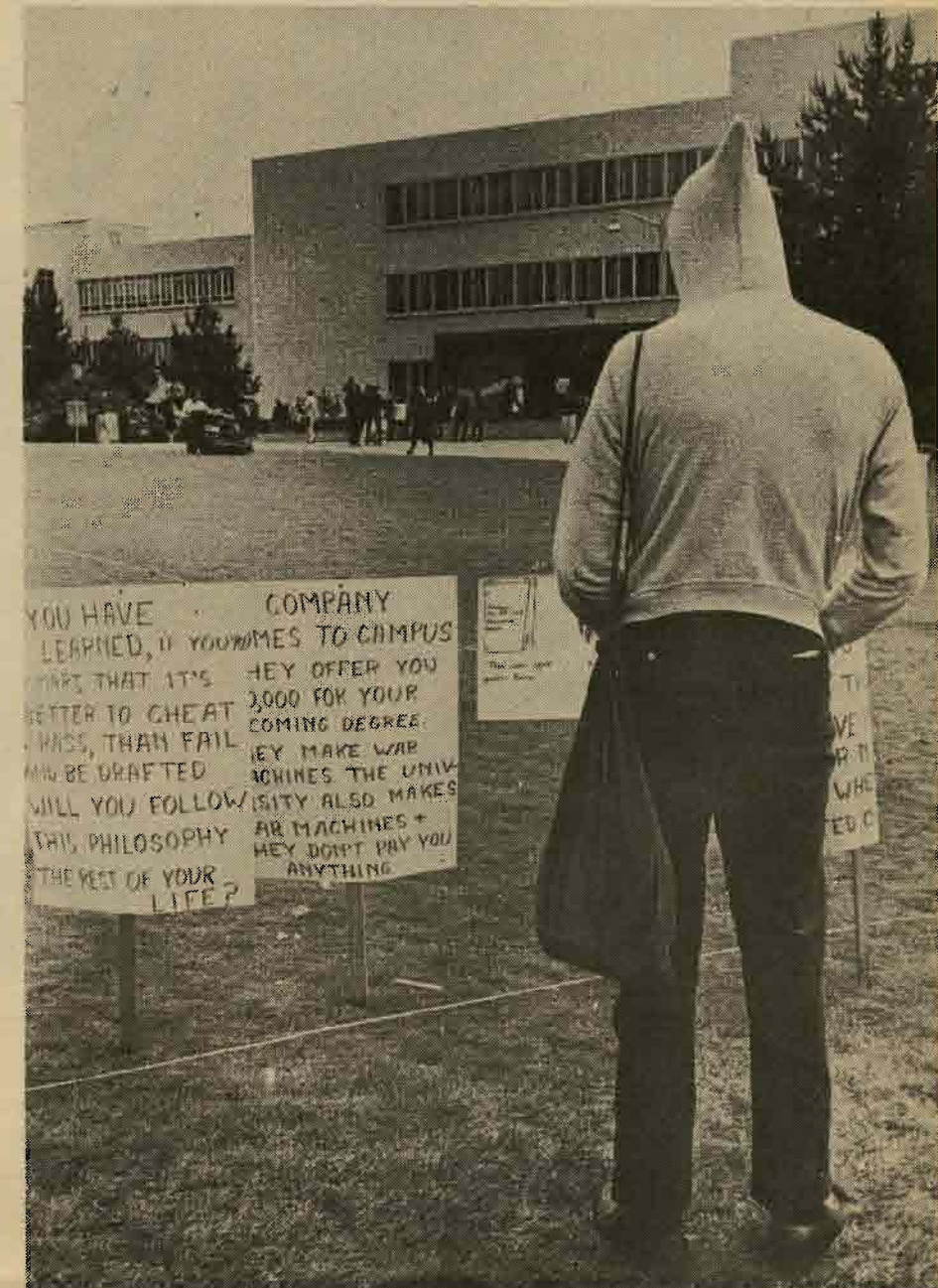


Photo: Jeff Blankfort

he chooses, as did the high school graduate, to become a worker or a hippy. If he continues, he has two choices. He can go to the right, acquiescing in college life even though he's seen what it's like. He ends up after graduation in private business or government service. In either case he has material success, but again not without cost. As a government worker he's told he can't organize or demand higher wages — its unpatriotic. Private enterprise bears pictures of "You at 40" and concludes "Your children have run away. Why?"

But the college student may decide to continue as a student activist. The activist is shown, through pictures and photographs most of us are now familiar with, the trials and problems and repression he will face. After awhile of this he is given a choice, to go back and acquiesce, and a long line returns him to the path leading to graduation, business or government service. If he chooses not to do this, he will

be suspended. Once suspended, he becomes a full-time organizer — once again, if his drawing from the chance cards doesn't send him into the army as his punishment for not acquiescing.

The Organizer

The organizer follows a line of cards describing the hardships he will endure — the problems with his family, the lack of income, the need to relearn all of his old concepts. There are no immediate rewards, but instead jail and beatings, all again revealed through too-familiar newspaper clippings. And again, he is given the choice of going back into the system. If he fails to give-in this time, he becomes a full-scale militant with increasing police attacks against him. But in the end, he too concludes with the Declaration of Independence.

A verbal description of this game cannot come close to actually walking through the maze, reading the cards, seeing the pictures, making the choices and taking the chances. You also lose the flavor of hearing the comments and seeing the looks all around you.

The coed, who clearly would not have been at a political debate, greeted a fraternity-type walking by, "Are you reading all these cards?" "Oh, no," she replied, embarrassed. "I was just walking by" and she continued along the path with him. But she had been reading the cards.

Inside the jail — a roped-off area separate from the rest of the game-maze, where a card instructed you to stay for ten minutes then re-enter where you left, — a "prisoner" sent there by a chance card asked me, in a very lifelike manner, "Are you a reporter describing jail conditions, or were you a demonstrator?" and another mumbled sincerely, "Gee, I hope I don't get any more cards that send me in here!" as he fidgeted away his ten minutes.

Propaganda!

In the most candid and simple description of the huge life-game, one coed exclaimed in surprise, "Why this is PROPAGANDA!" "You're damn right it is," smiled one of the SDS organizers of the game. And for those organizers wondering how to end their radical isolation from a liberal campus with visual media, without losing the political content of what they are trying to do, the Americana Game proved a highly effective and successful piece of propaganda. ■



Photo: Jeff Blankfort

FREE

was to gain publicity and followers for the Black Panther Party. That is, to organize. The nature of the demonstration -- armed black radicals, marching on the state capitol -- was bound to make an impression on young blacks in the streets. Here was an organization that was willing to challenge the racist establishment and to back that challenge up with armed action. It was designed to attract young blacks and it did. Bobby Seale explained Huey's strategy for this demonstration: "Now the papers are going to call us thugs and hoodlums. A lot of people ain't going to know what's happening, he said. But the brothers on the block, who the Man's been calling thugs and hoodlums for 400 years, they're going to say that's some mighty fine thugs and hoodlums up there . . . I'm going to check out what these folks are doing. The insight that Huey had in knowing how to deal with organizing Black people and knowing how to bring Black people together." (For the full text of Seale's speech see the MOVEMENT, April, 1968).

The demonstration also gained the Panthers national publicity and led to further police harassment. Although none of the twenty-three armed Panthers violated any gun laws, several were arrested and eight were convicted for "disrupting of assembly proceedings". The leadership, especially Huey, became prime police targets.

On the morning of October 28, 1967 two Oakland police officers confronted Huey Newton and as a result of this confrontation one Oakland cop is dead, another was wounded; Newton was seriously wounded; and an unidentified man who allegedly was in the car with Huey escaped apprehension by the police. Huey went to Kaiser Hospital in Oakland, for treatment, where he was arrested and subsequently charged with murder, attempted murder and kidnapping.

The political assassination had failed. The power structure was now forced to turn to the criminal courts to carry out this political murder. The American system of justice, which does not recognize political offenders, has traditionally attempted to prosecute all those who resist the system politically as criminals. But this time the movement, led by the Panthers, in coalition with the predominantly white Peace and Freedom Party and aided by an aggressive, fighting attorney have kept the political nature of the case in the forefront. The Huey Newton case will not be just one more criminal case. It is serving to politically educate a large section of the Bay Area community about the nature of the racist system of justice in America.

Legal/Political Defense

The political defense takes many forms. One component of the political defense of Huey is the legal-political defense launched by his attorney Charles Garry. Garry has been key in making sure that the political nature of the trial is clear not only in the minds of the black community, not only in the minds of the radical whites, but also in the minds of the power structure and other areas of the white community which the radicals are unable to reach.

He has consistently attacked the manner in which the power structure has handled the case on legal, political, and constitutional grounds. He has attacked the grand jury that indicted Huey (and the Oakland Seven) on the grounds that it bars both poor and black people and is therefore unconstitutional. He has attacked the grand jury for failing to weigh the evidence and to deliberate before returning the indictment. The grand jury deliberated for only 27 minutes before returning the indictment. He has attacked the grand jury for returning an indictment even though the District Attorney failed to present any evidence before them that the defendant fired or even possessed a weapon at the time the shots were heard. He has consistently demanded that the police release, for the use of the defense, all material collected on the Panthers by the Oakland Police Department. The police are reluctant to do this because they document the continuous harassment of the Panthers as well as many illegal search and seizures. And he has used every police attack upon the Panthers to show that the Huey case is merely part of the larger police attempt to eliminate the leadership of the Black Panther Party. What Garry has done is to appeal to the liberal whites in the community on that basis that even within the context of their own laws Huey Newton is a political prisoner and the victim of a frame up and that for these reasons is being denied even the most basic constitutional rights.

In the Black community the Panthers, led by Chairman Bobby Seale and Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, have launched a concerted campaign with the demand of FREE HUEY. Collection cans for the defense were distributed all over the black community. "The Black Panther" (the party newspaper) has also been widely distributed. It stresses the political nature of Huey's case and it articulates the political program of the party. Speeches and rallies have been held all over the Bay Area, including a birthday party for Huey at the Oakland Auditorium, which drew 6,000 persons and featured speeches by Seale, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and James Forman. It was this trip to California that resulted in Brown's

HUEY

bail being revoked. (See the MOVEMENT, April 1968).

Self Defense and Unity

In the black community the Panthers stressed unity. But only a unity that would embody the right of self defense and would prove its commitment to this self defense by supporting Huey. The Panthers stated that "The reason that it is so important for Huey to be defended is that a very basic principle is embodied in the total circumstances involved in this case. This principle, the right to self defense, is now the burning issue in the black community. All over this country, Black people have their backs to the wall and racist gestapo police are closing in on them with vicious weapons, from Stoner guns to tanks, and this aggression has to be stopped before it becomes unstoppable. Stop the pigs before they become unstoppable! There are no two sides to this story."

Black politicians were clearly told that they not only must take a stand, but that they have a key role to play. That role is to speak out and organize people around the issues. Ron Dellums, Berkeley City Councilman, came out with a demand to Free Huey, at both a public rally and before the Berkeley City Council. S.F. Assemblyman Willie Brown remained silent. The Panthers are running their communications secretary, Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver, against Brown in the upcoming elections.

The move against Brown is significant because it shows the changing nature of the black liberation struggle. Four years ago Brown was active in San Francisco demonstrations for equal employment at the Sheraton Palace Hotel and on Auto Row. While he was not an active demonstrator he did use his skills as a lawyer to defend the radical and militant leadership at the time. Later he ran for office and won with the active support of movement people. Today because of his failure to use his political office to defend the militant and radical leadership in the black community, that leadership has chosen to oppose him politically.

On the eve of the trial the Panthers are planning a massive ten day mobilization, called the International Days of Black Revolutionary Protest. This protest will include rallies, marches on the courthouse where Huey is to be tried, and a boycott of all Oakland businesses that do not support a Free Huey position.

The fact that Oakland is one of the only cities in the United States with a large black population that has not had any riots or rebellions is some measure of the moral authority that the Panthers have attained in the black community. The Panthers advise arming with guns and moving in small numbers, at a time of their own choosing. They oppose moving into the streets spontaneously in mass numbers with rocks and bottles to do battle against the heavily armed police.

The depth of Panther support in the black community will be further tested by the effectiveness of the boycott; the size of the demonstrations; and the number of write-in votes that Huey and Bobby Seale receive in the primary elections. At press time it appears that both have gained enough write-ins to appear on the November ballot despite official harassment.

Alliance with Whites

While organizing and building a base in the black community the Panthers have also been able to form an alliance with the predominantly white Peace and Freedom Party of California. This alliance is based upon the Panther's unique analysis of the national, race and class questions in America.

The Panthers see the black community as a colony within the geographical borders of the white mother country -- the U.S. They see the struggle in the black colony as being a struggle for national liberation. The struggle in the black colony is one not only against exploitation, but also against oppression and racism. This

struggle will be led by black revolutionaries organized in the vanguard party, the Black Panther Party. The role of this party is to provide leadership for the people. "It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities". (Huey) The method will be guerilla warfare within the context of an armed black colony prepared for self defense. The vanguard party will have to be a party of activists. Literature alone is not enough because the "black community is basically not a reading community". (Huey) Its main purpose is "to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in." (Huey) For this reason the Party must be open rather than underground--it must be visible.

Revolutionary vs. Reactionary Nationalism

Nationalism is an important part of the ideology of the Black Panther Party, but the party draws an important distinction between revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalists are also socialists. "To be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity have to be a socialist. Reactionary nationalists are not socialists and their end goal is oppression of the people". (Huey) Newton emphasizes that

FREE

the Black Panther Party "realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and it's not advantageous in many respects . . . We believe that culture itself will not liberate us." Seale adds that "Twenty years of cultural nationalism in Harlem hasn't meant a thing to the community."

The revolution in the black community is a nationalist struggle that must be led and controlled by black people who will determine both the goals and the means that will bring the liberation about. The struggle will be carried on, whether or not white radicals move in a revolutionary fashion inside the mother country. In this way the black liberation struggle is independent from and not dependent upon a struggle in the white mother country.

Role of Whites

At the same time the Black Panther Party realizes that a revolution inside the white mother country is necessary for complete liberation of the black colony. This analysis gives the mother country radical an important role in the struggle. That role is two-fold. First, to give aid and support to the struggles of all colonized people; that support dependent upon the struggle being waged in the colony. Anything that the white mother country radical can do to weaken the imperialist oppressor is welcome aid. As Huey puts it: "Everytime we're attacked in our community there should be a reaction by the white revolutionaries; they should respond by attacking part of force that is determined to carry out the racist ends of the American institutions . . . We're willing to accept aid from the mother country as long as the mother country radicals realize that we have a program for liberation and that, as Eldridge Cleaver says in "Soul On Ice", we have a mind of our own."

Second, the white radicals should be working in whatever way possible to bring about a revolution in the mother country. The Panthers leave up to white radicals how this struggle is to be carried out.

Peace and Freedom Action

The Peace and Freedom Party was willing and able to give specific support to the Panthers in their struggle. They accepted the complete ten point program of the Panther's and took a FREE HUEY position. PFP has been working in the white community to broaden the discussion of the case and expose its political nature. In addition, they ran Huey, Bobby Seale and Kathleen Cleaver for local political office. Eldridge Cleaver may be chosen as the presidential candidate at the June convention. The Peace and Freedom Party has also participated in and led demonstrations protesting police action against the Panthers.

The amount of white support for the Panther program and for the freeing of Huey is great. This is especially true in the Berkeley area, although not all the credit for this belongs to the PFP. Finally, the Peace and Freedom Party provides an alternative for those black people who do not feel ready to join the Black Panther Party, but who are ready to break away from the Republican and Democratic parties.

Threat to the Establishment

The Panther analysis and its practice in the Bay Area is what makes the Panthers so dangerous to the establishment. They can bring black dudes on the street (not only black intellectuals) in an alliance with white radicals who are struggling against the mother country. The realization of this kind of alliance would place the movement one step ahead of the power structure in its efforts to divide revolutionaries in the colony from revolutionaries in the mother country; to divide revolutionaries on the question of race.

After Huey's jailing, Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, was key to the development of the alliance with the white radicals. This is why he became the prime target of the police. In their attempt to get him, Bobby Hutton, Panther treasurer, was murdered and Eldridge was put back into the state penitentiary. (See the MOVEMENT, June, 1968) The oppressor hopes to stamp them out before their example begins to be duplicated in other parts of the country. Despite these attacks, the Panthers are convinced that they will survive. As Seale puts it: "The Party will definitely survive. Black people see the necessity of the Black Panther Party, its tactics, its program and its platform."

Accomplishments and Prospects

Soon the eve of the trial the movement has gone a long way towards breaking down the image that Huey is a criminal who must be tried for a criminal act. The success of this campaign can be seen in the ever increasing attacks by the police department on the Panthers and those who come to their support. Oakland police Chief Charles Gain, seeing the credibility of his police department seriously questioned, has had to publicly defend it against attacks by white college professors as well as those by Garry. White liberals and radicals have even invaded the Oakland City Council to demand that the police terror against the Panthers be halted. Black support for the Panthers and for Huey is growing. And in the nine months

HUEY

since Huey's arrest, both the black and the white movements have learned many important political lessons.

While the movement at this point is obviously too weak to actually defend it, it is making it extremely difficult for the state to murder him. And it just may be that enough of an impression has been made on public opinion that the jury will be unable to unanimously agree on a verdict. This in itself would be a considerable victory.

Joe Blum

Funds are needed for the defense. Mail to Huey P. Newton Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8641, Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California. ■

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ON THE TUBE ...

LIBERAL RACISM'S NEW LOOK

Look at this picture. What do you see?



The man. Or the Negro.

What you see depends on the depth of your prejudice. For the truth is we tend to think in terms of black and white instead of people.

In an effort to reduce the barriers which create intolerance we are devoting 3 1/2 hours this evening to the Group W documentary "One Nation, Indivisible," a report on the racial crisis in our cities.

You are invited to phone KPIX at any time during the program to respond to the problems and issues raised. The final hour and one half will be addressed to these responses as they apply to the Bay area.

We can do no more than to present the situation as it exists.

The rest is up to you.

KPIX 5W
MONDAY 7:30 PM-11 PM

by Arlene Eisen Bergman

The ad in TV Guide showed a picture of a black man. The white lettering on the black background read, "Look at this picture. What do you see?" And then in smaller print at the bottom of the page, "The man. Or the Negro." Then the pitch.

The program, "One Nation Indivisible?", was part of a concerted effort of the liberal establishment to find the antidote to the "lethal mixture of white racism and black futility". Narrators repeatedly urged viewers to "get involved". As a start, they could call into the program whose last hour was devoted to the questions phoned in.

America Speaks

During the first hour assorted "typical" Americans spoke their minds. The first, a racist white Baptist Minister, set the stage. "Integration in itself is not a virtue. Segregation is not a vice . . . We should know these liberals by their fruits . . . they have turned the peaceful cities into battlefields." Then came a liberal white minister: "Racism is not Christian."

The parade went on. Middle class whites, sympathetic but frightened. Educated black men who resented being tokens. A white schoolteacher who thought that if only "they" worked and did "not feel as if they were different, they would have great opportunities." Two cops, one black, who sympathized with rioters; and one who "just couldn't understand those colored people who have everything." A Jewish storeowner in the Newark ghetto explained why he had to keep a gun in his store for "self-preservation." A black pharmacist who wants banks to give credit to black businessmen. A black man who said, "We are the city, we are what's happening. You can't wish us away."

One of the most galling men on the street was a Pittsburgh white slumlord. He didn't think housing caused riots. He went into the problems of a slumlord: undisciplined children causing damage to property, high turn-over rate, the need for frequent evictions. But, in the end he encourages progressive businessmen to join his profession: "It's a good business -- you can make a living and benefit the community."

A black veteran from the Vietnam war told how he had moved left since King's murder. He doesn't follow Rap or Stokely because he thinks their program will only result in total defeat for black Americans. But he couldn't support non-violence. "The problem is a white one 'cause whites control everything."

Commercial

There were only two commercials during the whole three and a half hours. But the commercials said more about where the liberal establishment wants to go than all the rest. The Telephone Company, always accommodating to wire-tapping, notorious for the abysmal salaries it pays, always threatening to double the monopoly price of phone bills. Yes, the Telephone Company came on like Mr. Benevolent himself. No sex in this commercial -- no one pushing pretty princess telephones. Just a pitch about

how there were too many school dropouts because students couldn't see the relationship between schools and jobs. So the Company was going to the schools to motivate kids.

An hour later another white phone executive appeared to tell us how they were supplying equipment to skills training centers. They were also contracting out to local black-owned companies for trucks and other supplies. Finally, they planned to hire "700 deserving youth" in the Bay Area this summer. Wow.

National Guard

While CBS seemed to encourage a liberal humanitarian response to the repeated problem of "white racism and black futility", they devoted some time to the National Guard. The scene was a classroom in Maryland where guardsmen were listening to a lesson on riot control.

One guardsman was interviewed with the booming voice of the fascist instructor in the background. The guardsman was a college grad who went into the Guard to avoid Vietnam. As he confessed it would be a "tough moral decision to kill a fellow citizen of the U.S.", the lessons of anti-sniping came through loud and clear.

Confrontation

During the next section of the program all the people who appeared individually during the first part were brought together for the first time in a CBS studio. They had watched each other speak in the studio and now they would speak to each other at the prompting of CBS to "bridge the chasm". The moderator asked if their views had changed since King's death and since they had viewed this program. The racist minister kicked off again: "Emphatically no". The others on the screen moaned.

There were debates over violence and the responsibility for the fact that blacks were "disadvantaged". But most of the time, the people didn't talk to each other. The discussion was heated and sometimes pathetically funny. The moderator irrelevantly concluded: "We can agree that all share the pain of white racism."

Model Mayors?

After the confrontation, our concerned narrator plodded on to present the picture of positive steps being taken to, yes, again,

"End white racism and black futility." Lindsay, Stokes, and Alioto spoke -- the three "modern mayors" who worked in the style of the "new politics".

Lindsay makes unannounced trips to Harlem to show the people "he cares". He advocates decentralization of government to the block level. Surprise: he did not say "Let the people decide." (Who said there is such a thing as a non-co-optable issue?)

The first Negro Mayor repeatedly interrupted his interview on the street to exchange small talk with ghetto residents. "Good you're keeping the place clean." "Everything cool?" About all he said directly to the camera was "Everyone wants the American dream."

Alioto generalized Stokes' actions. He's for "personalized city government." He's confident that "visibility on the street can overcome black alienation". Alioto distinguishes between militance -- fine, and violence -- no. He's for militance requiring all licensed stores to provide equal employment opportunities. The same goes for businesses that receive city contracts. He'd rather spend money on cultivating "youth for service" to police ghettos than buy tanks and bazookas. "The long hot summer is not inevitable in San Francisco." On the other hand, we know that Alioto would rather spend money on building a new baseball stadium than on a community controlled low cost housing project.

Private Initiative

CBS reminds us that mayors are helpless if they don't have the support of private businessmen. The scene shifts to interviews with General Gavin (Chairman of Litton in Boston), Joe Davis (President of Carver Federal Loan and Savings Assoc.), Henry Ford II (Chairman of National Alliance of Businessmen), and John Gardner (head of the Urban Coalition).

Henry Ford II was the most articulate. The NAB is going to supply jobs to a half million of the "hard-core unemployed" because "A man must work or else he can't have any self respect. If he doesn't respect himself, he can't respect other people or the society who denied him his manhood." And Henry doesn't only want to place black people on low skilled jobs -- he wants more Negro car salesmen too. He has asked the Urban League to put him in contact with people qualified to be car salesmen so he can finance them. This was no put on -- manhood equals being able to sell cars -- still on credit, of course.

Compared to the time allotted to businessmen, the Federal Government was slighted. All CBS could say was that the President is correct in believing that some of the Riot Commissions' recommendations were unrealistic. "There will be no pot of gold at the end of the Viet Nam War." Shriver explained why: Congress wants tax cuts and spending on dams and pork barrel bills.

The last part of the show presented an eight man panel to answer the questions that were called in by viewers. There were three Negroes on the panel; the most militant was S.F. Municipal Court Judge Joseph Kennedy. Lockheed, the Real Estate Board, and poverty agencies were also on call. The questions and answers were equally hackneyed.

The narrator concluded with a list of things Americans could do to "magnify the ring of the Liberty Bell around the world". He suggested that people petition and inquire into the human rights efforts of various institutions. If you're a shareholder, see if your company supports the NAB. Ask local unions and school boards, Ministers and Rabbis what they're doing about "racial problems". Just ask, petition, and "let the people you've elected know what you expect of them". Only the finale was more benign -- an integrated classroom sang "America the Beautiful."

CBS and The Movement

The CBS program was unprecedented. But why bother with all this detail of the nonsense on the "idiot box"?

Millions of people watched this program. We do not know how it was received. But it does seem obvious that this really was a "special report" -- more accurately, a statement of policy by the liberal establishment. They have warned us how they plan to proceed in dealing with the black liberation struggle.

Their plan (and the TV program) is full of contradictions and inconsistencies. They want Americans not to "see color", but their interviews only confirm that in a racist society it is unrealistic to ignore color and in fact the affirmation of color is part of the liberation struggle. They point to the need for large-scale programs, but the actions of business and government are piecemeal and hap-

AMERICA
THE
TRIVIAL

(This month's column is dedicated to Paula McCoy)

*News item: this year's edition of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA has some new names. Added this year: Moshe Dayan, Mickey Mantle, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Raquel Welch, and Faye Dunaway.

*Stop feeling sorry for the Oakland Seven and the Boston Five: repression has hit the ruling class! On trial in New York are three members of the accounting firm of Lybrand, Ross Bros. & Montgomery. They are being tried for conspiracy to put false information in the 1962 shareholders report of the Continental Vending Machine Corp. It seems they "left out" some vital information. Footnote: the judge on the case is Frederick van Pelt Bryan. He was asked by the government to disqualify himself because he is a trustee of Columbia University, which happens to employ Lybrand, Ross Bros. & Montgomery as their accountants.

*We just dig this headline from the SF Chronicle: S.F. STATE CHIEF GIVES UP, FLIES OFF. "Summerskill Takes Plane to Ethiopia -- Campus in Turmoil."

*Nancy Sinatra was in Washington D.C. recently to attend a pro-Humphrey press conference. Someone asked her why she didn't visit the Poor People's Campaign Resurrection City. "I was afraid I'd be mobbed," she replied. "A lot of my fans are there."

*A group of Princeton undergraduates have just founded "Business Today" -- a pro-business monthly. Their first edition was 50,000 copies, mailed to college students and the officers of the 2000 largest American corporations. It contained 21 full-page ads from IBM, US Steel, Chrysler and others. Also, columns by James Reston, William Buckley and David Lawrence. "Business Today" is run

students get low postal rates, free office space, legal advice and computer time. Who are the students? Just little old Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., son of the president of FORBES, the business magazine, and Edward Scudder III, whose old man is president of the Newark News.

*Turns out that Dow is spending more in PR explaining why it makes napalm than the profit it gets for making it. But that's OK, says Dow PR director Ellis N. Brandt. "We aren't out of the woods yet," he says, "but I am hopeful. There are occasions in PR when you just have to take your lumps if you know you're in the right."

*From the social page: "Q. I am going to a noon wedding and plan to wear a pink wool dress and coat. What kind of accessories should I wear? A. Brown patent leather shoes and handbag, gold or pearl earrings, white kid gloves, and a simple pink hat or bow in your hair." That's pretty trivial by itself. It just happens to be the next column over from an article telling how Reverend Philip Berrigan got six years for pouring blood on draft card files.

*This item is just for those who saw THE PRESIDENT'S ANALYST. International Telephone & Telegraph has just bought, for 281 million dollars, the Continental Baking Company. Continental Baking makes Wonder Bread, Hostess Cakes and Morton Frozen Foods. The Phone Company's holdings now include appliance manufacturing, electronics, auto leasing, finance, home building and hotels.

hazard. They want to be optimistic but repeat that there will be no "pot of gold at the end of the war". People in the studio couldn't talk to each other, but the narrator tried to impose a consensus. Stokes and Henry Ford alike operate on the assumption that black people only want a bigger slice of the pie, and that this slice can be cut with goodwill. Finally, even though they recognize the powerful forces of reaction, the only pressure they encourage is moral pressure. Congress won't move, but organized political power against Congress and other racist institutions is not recommended.

The push for pacification is clearly on. The CBS show was a classic study in sophisticated propaganda which lays the groundwork for action. The movement must begin to analyze this new policy, to determine whether it is merely a mask or a workable shift in strategy. ■

FISHING WARS Con't from p 4

were not a bit happy about being segregated into a small portion of land called a reservation. They were nomadic fisher-people by nature, going out and braving the high seas in their small canoes to catch the equally nomadic fish, and following the salmon back to their river homes.

Governor Isaac Stevens, official emissary for the United States, assured the Indians over and over again that all that the white men wanted was the land, and that the fish and game would always belong to the Indians; "For as long as the sun shall shine, and the grass shall grow, and the mountain shall stand." (A well-worn phrase to be sure, but that is what he said, and we intend that that is how it's going to be. For just once, we are determined to win.)

The Indians, although unlettered in the English language (especially the fine print at the bottom) were not unintelligent, as they had been educated to the idiosyncracies of the Bostonmen by the King Georgemen (who were here first, but that is a long story).

The fact remains that to the Indians then, as today, salmon was the staff of life. It is, to the Indian, the bread of life -- more essential than the land -- and as important as the air itself. Our ancestors were aware of what they wanted reserved for us, their grandchildren: the food of life -- so that we would not be forced into starvation, as were our brothers on the Plains, who depended upon buffalo.

To the Indian, the salmon is sacred. Our legends about the salmon, handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, tell us that the salmon was once our brother, when all life was the same, before the Changer changed it all. We are taught to respect all life, especially that of our brother the salmon, who gives his life to sustain ours. What white man, who goes to catch the salmon for the pleasure he obtains from killing them, can say that he alone owns them, and has the power to say who can catch them?

Let us come back to the present and to the Supreme Court. Supreme Court Justice Stewart is questioning Larry Coniff attorney for Washington State Department of Fish and Game.

Stewart: "What does the Treaty mean?" Coniff: "Nothing!"

Stewart: "What about equal protection of the law?"

Coniff: "Equal protection of the law WAS NOT involved in this case."

Stewart: "It is now."

Justice Abe Fortas wanted to know what the words "in common with the citizens of the territory" meant. Atty. Tanner told him that the Indian's position was that this clause in the treaty meant that the Indians gave the white men the right to fish in certain areas. (This was the only just and logical interpretation of this phrase in the treaty, as it WAS the Indians who were doing the giving and white men who were doing the taking.) Mr. Tanner told the Justices that the treaties were made with the Indians as a transfer of land title -- protecting the white settlers and giving them a clear title to the land, because at that time the Indians were strong. In other words, the Indians were the ones who were calling the shots.

The Justices also wanted to know why the Justice Department never obtained an injunction against the State of Washington, prohibiting it from interfering with the Indians in the pursuit of their Treaty fishing rights. The Justice Department had no answer. (We had petitioned the Justice Department several times to file such an injunction, but they refused to do so.)

No decision is expected for a few months. I am not too optimistic about the outcome -- either way we stand to lose. The head man of the Game department told me recently that even if the Indians won, they would simply start arresting us again on other charges. But we will continue to fight for justice -- for justice cannot and will not be perverted, nor prevented from righting the wrongs done by those who use their might and power wrongly. ■

FRANCE Con't from page 5

under the Gaullist reforms, is approaching this stage. The students become more like the workers during the industrial revolution.

Many of the scholarship students have a standard of living as low or lower than the French workers. Students are often hired unofficially and paid sub-standard wages with no social insurance services. Campuses are like old puritan factory towns. In suburban campuses, bus service stops at eight PM during weekdays. Girls cannot receive phone calls in the dorms. Sports and cultural facilities are non-existent. Girls cannot enter boys' dorms. At Talence, there is no drug store and only one med student to serve 2600 students.

Labor relations, that is, relations between students and teachers, are authoritarian, if at all. Since 1961, the Government has done everything in its power to weaken the once powerful UNEF, the National Student Union. Before the revolt, UNEF was trying to re-organize and eliminate splits between "corporatists" and "reformists". The corporatists, who wanted a company union, lost out.

The students and teachers have no voice in running the university. All decisions are made by the Ministry of Education. Universities have no autonomy and the Ministry of Education itself is subordinate to the Ministry of Finance.

The Workers

The student movement has undoubtedly provided France with a needed shock. But without the workers, the student revolt would have been crushed. Even during the worst street battles, some high police officials considered the thing to be a super panty-raid. "Let them burn themselves out". Obviously, a prolonged general strike is quite another matter. A paralyzed country cannot be left to burn.

The New York Times and even some reports in the radical press are fond of saying that the workers imitated the

students when they occupied the plants. On the contrary, the workers have a long revolutionary tradition of their own.

The "lock-in" movement began spontaneously in Nantes, when 1200 workers closed the gates of the Sud-Aviation factory and made the plant manager prisoner by soldering metal bars over his door. They fed the manager and serenaded him with songs of the NLF and the French Revolution. The lock-in spread to all of France's major industries.

The grievances of the workers are not merely over bread and butter issues, although bread is important. The workers rejected the Government CGT agreement, partly because it did not offer them any power in the plants. Now, the workers demand respect. At the Renault plant outside Paris, there is a big sign that reads "DeGaulle chienlit". They are throwing the General's shit back to him. Renault is owned by the government, so that when the workers' slogans become "worker power", "we are here to stay!", "socialism to power", the strike's revolutionary implications are clear.

Since the government has offered certain financial concessions, the workers have increased their solidarity. They won't be bribed. After the offer came down, the power plant workers struck for a half hour in Paris to remind timid union leaders and DeGaulle that they still hadn't used all their trump cards.

The workers have not buried their traditions. On May 27, Andre Barjonet, who resigned as secretary and top economic advisor to the CGT in protest against communist conservatism, addressed a huge rally. "The Communists, he said, have not understood and very likely do not want to understand the real character of the movement now under way. We are in the presence of a revolutionary movement. The workers don't just want higher wages and shorter hours, though they deserve it. What they want today is power turned over to the workers in the factories and power in the universities turned over to the students."



Students crowd into SF State Administration Building during sit-in.

SF STATE Con't from page 1

the faculty and student votes, but the final decision would be his own.

COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS

SDS and TWLF never had a formal coalition. Individual members of each group supported the combined demands. Neither organization could gain widespread support for the demands. Members of TWLF viewed the AF-ROTC issue as an internal white family affair.

SDS had long ago isolated itself from the student body and the rest of the community, by persisting in using hackneyed rhetoric. More importantly, they had taken an arrogant stance toward what was supposed to be the constituency and refused to recognize the needs of most of the white students. This problem became obvious in the way the demands were handled. Many didn't even know what the demands were. More important, no real attempt was made to show the interrelation among the demands and their importance for whites. (They're all related to racism and imperialism.)

Leaflets and posters put out by SDS appealed to a kind of moral altruism -- do something for those poor niggers. If SDS members had really made an effort to organize and communicate with the student body, they would have realized that no one "out there" understood how racism was detrimental to white students.

LIMITED VICTORY

After conceding to the three TWLF initiated demands, Summerskill left abruptly for Ethiopia. No one has been able to figure out, even at this late date, whether he was fired, resigned, or just on a short leave. The Chancellor's office insists that Summerskill resigned. Summerskill insists that he was only fulfilling a pre-scheduled appointment and planned to resume his post in ten days. The press conclude that he was fired.

An administrative Troika was appointed by the Board of Trustees until a new President could be found. The demonstrators did not know how to respond to the new opposition. They had not been prepared by SDS and they had little other political experience. The Troika reneged on allowing for another referendum on the ROTC issue and cancelled the no-cop on campus policy. We simply did not know where to go. We had no power or ability to close the place down and it seemed that there was no other pressure we could exert.

The Academic Senate and the State Senate was threatening to cancel the three previously won victories. Tactical suggestions ranged from a nude-in to calling the whole thing off with a victory celebration. We finally decided on another sit-in to oppose the "State of Emergency" declaration issued by the Troika that said

THE NEWSREEL

When the Newsreel was formed in New York in January of this year, it was an affirmative response to the question: can films serve as a political weapon for organizers in the movement? The creation of a community distribution network was the natural and logical extension of this affirmation. If the films were not to be commodities they had to be distributed through non-theatrical channels where they could reach people in a community situation.

The Newsreel is an active political organization. The news of the movement must be recorded by those who are active in making it. At Columbia, Newsreel was indistinguishable from the students who occupied and held the buildings. No journalistic immunity was invoked when the heat was on. Newsreel believes that film-makers cannot continue to be parasites of the movement. It is obviously partisan and considers "objective" coverage as but another form of the detachment that the power structure promotes. Newsreel makes films which help radicalize, but one of the first results of its political commitment is that of politicizing film-makers who have been responsible only to themselves all too long.

After five months the extent of Newsreel's accomplishments is encouraging. Nine films have been made and distributed through the community distribution network, and another four or five are just about completed. Newsreel production groups have now gotten underway in San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston, creating the real possibility of a nation-wide newsreel. New possibilities of projection are being planned. This summer in New York a truck fitted with rear screen projection will be using the streets to show newsreels and other useful "street films".

Anyone interested should contact the representative of the community distribution network in their area. Here is a

cops would be called in for any and all "disruptive activities". The police came, we panicked, mass arrests were voted down, and we assembled outside the administration building facing the cops across the street.

What was there left to do but celebrate our successes, build emotion for a mass movement next semester and vow to disrupt graduation if anyone of the three demands were rescinded? We also had a party in the park. ■

list of the immediately available films followed by one of the community distribution.

Newsreels

- 1) Draft Resistance with an interview with Noam Chomsky
- 2) "No Game" -- a strong essay on the October 21 Pentagon demonstration
- 3) "Four Americans" -- an extended interview with the four sailors who deserted in Japan
- 4) "Rankin Brigade"
- 5) "Garbage" -- Organizing on the Lower East Side and a demonstration of sorts at Lincoln Center
- 6) "Boston Draft Resistance Group"
- 7) "Resist and Resistance" -- Boston Draft Resistance
- 8) "Riot Weapons"
- 9) "I.S. 201/Report from Newark"

Community Distribution

Gregory Kern c/o Society for New Action Politics, 2111 S.E. Powell Blvd., Portland, Oregon 97202
Bruce Goldberg, 866 20th Street, Boulder, Colorado 9302
Guy Nassberg c/o Terry Koch, 5877 Nina Place, St. Louis, Missouri 63112

Charles L. Terrell, 4132 Maffitt St. St. Louis, Mo.
Keith Bromberg, 212 West Dithridge St., Pittsburgh, Penna. 15213
Les Younker, 409 Ann St., East Lansing, Mich. 48823
Chris Spaeth, 3505 Hamilton St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19104
Nick Egleson, 2 Pearl St., Charlestown, Mass.
Terry Jefferson, 684 Hunterdon St., Newark, New Jersey
Fred Harris, c/o Hill Parents Assoc., 662 Congress Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut
Mike Welsh, Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee 37212
Frank Joyce, c/o P.A.R., 212 McKerchey Building, 2631 Woodward, Detroit, Michigan 48201
Peter Kuttner, 559 West Cornelia, Chicago, Illinois 60657
Jean Weisman, c/o Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union, 217 South Hamilton, Madison, Wisconsin 53703
Jim Fite, 510 1/2 North Hoover, Los Angeles, Calif.
Robert Prichard, 1423 Oxford, Berkeley, Calif. ■

CLEAVER FOR PRESIDENT

by Peter Zwingman



Bobby Hutton and Eldridge Cleaver

The Movement newspaper endorses the proposed candidacy of Eldridge Cleaver for the Presidency of the United States. There is currently a move to nominate Cleaver for presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party at its June Convention. Cleaver is Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party. A convicted felon, he is author of the widely acclaimed book, "Soul on Ice". Cleaver had his parole revoked after a shoot-out with the Oakland cops in which Panther treasurer Bobby Hutton was murdered. It seems clear that the cops were attempting to get

Cleaver as part of their continuing campaign to wipe out Panther leadership. The Movement urges readers to protest the revocation of Cleaver's parole without due process or due cause. The Movement urges readers to support the candidacy of this brilliant and courageous man. We feel that Cleaver is the only potential candidate who will truly further the interest of the people of this country instead of the corporate power structure.

RELEASE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER!
CLEAVER FOR PRESIDENT!



SNOOPERSCOPE!

The above photo was released by Varo Inc., of Garland, Texas for use on or after May 21, 1968, when U.S. military authorities lifted security regulations that had made its use secret information.

It is a picture of the Starlight Scope, a night vision device, which intensifies light and enables American infantrymen to fire at the enemy "with deadly accuracy on the darkest night." The establishment press gave prominent coverage to this news release. What they failed

to report was that Varo announced on April 24th that the same or a very similar device is now being marketed to domestic law enforcement agencies and industrial security departments by Federal Laboratories Inc. of Saltsburg, Penna., the world's largest supplier of police equipment. Federal labs has been supplying police equipment for 46 years and in addition is the largest manufacturer of tear gas in the world with military, police and commercial customers around the globe. The initial order for the scopes was for 500 units.

The device known as the Varoscanner is "designed especially for law enforcement work, provides the same ability to see in the dark as is available in equipment being used by many American soldiers in Viet Nam".

Varo was incorporated in Texas in 1946 as a new business. About 85% of its output mainly electronic equipment, goes directly or indirectly to the defense program of the United States Government. The corporation's central offices are located in Garland, Texas. In addition they have operating divisions in Plano, Texas, Mexico, Texas; Arcadia, California; Santa Barbara, California; Chicago, Illinois; and Herrin, Illinois, with a total employment of 1375 people. Average annual profits over the last two years have been around \$800,000. They must be stopped! ■

groundwork for a revolutionary party. Because of our principled opposition to Kennedy-McCarthy and the alliance with the Black Panthers, many liberals deserted PFP. Approximately one third reregistered to vote in the June primary. The 70,000 still registered are by no means revolutionaries. In my first article and at the beginning of this letter I outlined some of the projects PFP has designed to radicalize people not already active.

Brownly wants to know the merits of PFP. It is the only radical white organization I know of that has a working coalition with a militant, mass-based, black group. It is a radical organization which involves middle aged people as well as students. It has a statewide organization in both urban and rural areas. It offers a concrete alternative to the politics of co-option. PFP is by no means perfect, but I think its the best thing going for off-campus work. Perhaps Brownly or other MOVEMENT readers could suggest another plan for nationwide (or even statewide) organizing that would include PFP's assets while improving on its admitted faults?

Yours for Peace, Freedom, and the Revolution,

Reserve Erlich

Advertisement

LA MAKES WAR ON BROWN BERETS

by Clay Carson

More than 1,000 persons marched in front of the Los Angeles police administration building protesting the arrests of nine Mexican-American leaders, including members of the Brown Berets.

The nine arrested were among the thirteen militants indicted on Saturday, June 1, after a secret investigation by the county grand jury into the March student walkouts in East Los Angeles schools. They were charged with conspiracy to disturb public schools and conspiracy to disturb the peace.

Bail for each was set at \$10,000 in spite of the fact that disturbing a school and the peace are misdemeanors. However, conspiracy is a felony. Bail for the nine was lowered (after the ACLU pointed out that the bail was "ten times more than for burglary") to \$250 for eight and to \$1000 for David Sanchez, chairman of the Brown Berets.

Others arrested included Salvador (Sal) Castro, 34, a teacher at Lincoln High School; Eliezer Risco Lozada, 32, formerly active in Delano organizing and now editor of La Raza and a staff member of the California Center for Community Development; Moctezuma Esparza, 19, a UCLA student who is state executive vice chairman of the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) ■

ERLICH Con't from p 2

ing on the elections this year and radicals must offer an alternative, not a boycott.

I agree fully with Brownly's criticism of PFP's position on "communist imperialism". At the state convention I argued strenuously that "communist imperialism" is both a logical impossibility and a resolution condemning it is opportunism of the worst sort. At that convention PFP clearly wanted to project an anti-capitalist but not pro-communist image. The reader must decide for him/herself how important this one programmatic point is in the context of other PFP resolutions.

I still maintain that PFP is laying the

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11