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Supplement

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HANDS OFF BERKELEY

For a full week now, the Berkeley community has been faced with a state of seige. Police by the hundreds and National Guardsmen by the thousands have rampaged through the streets of Berkeley and across the University of California campus, waging indiscriminate war against virtually anything that moves.

Teargas, pepperfog, C-N, C-S, nausea gas, birdshot, buckshot, bayonets, helicopters -- a nightmarish arsenal of modern weapons technology has been brought to bear. UC students, faculty and staff, street people, ordinary Berkeley citizens -- all have felt the fury of a power structure seemingly gone bezerk.

For the first time in the history of the American student movement, police have used firearms to disperse a crowd, wounding over a hundred, critically wounding several. In fact, the forces of law and order have gone so far as murder: on Thursday, May 15, an Alameda county sherrifs deputy blew out

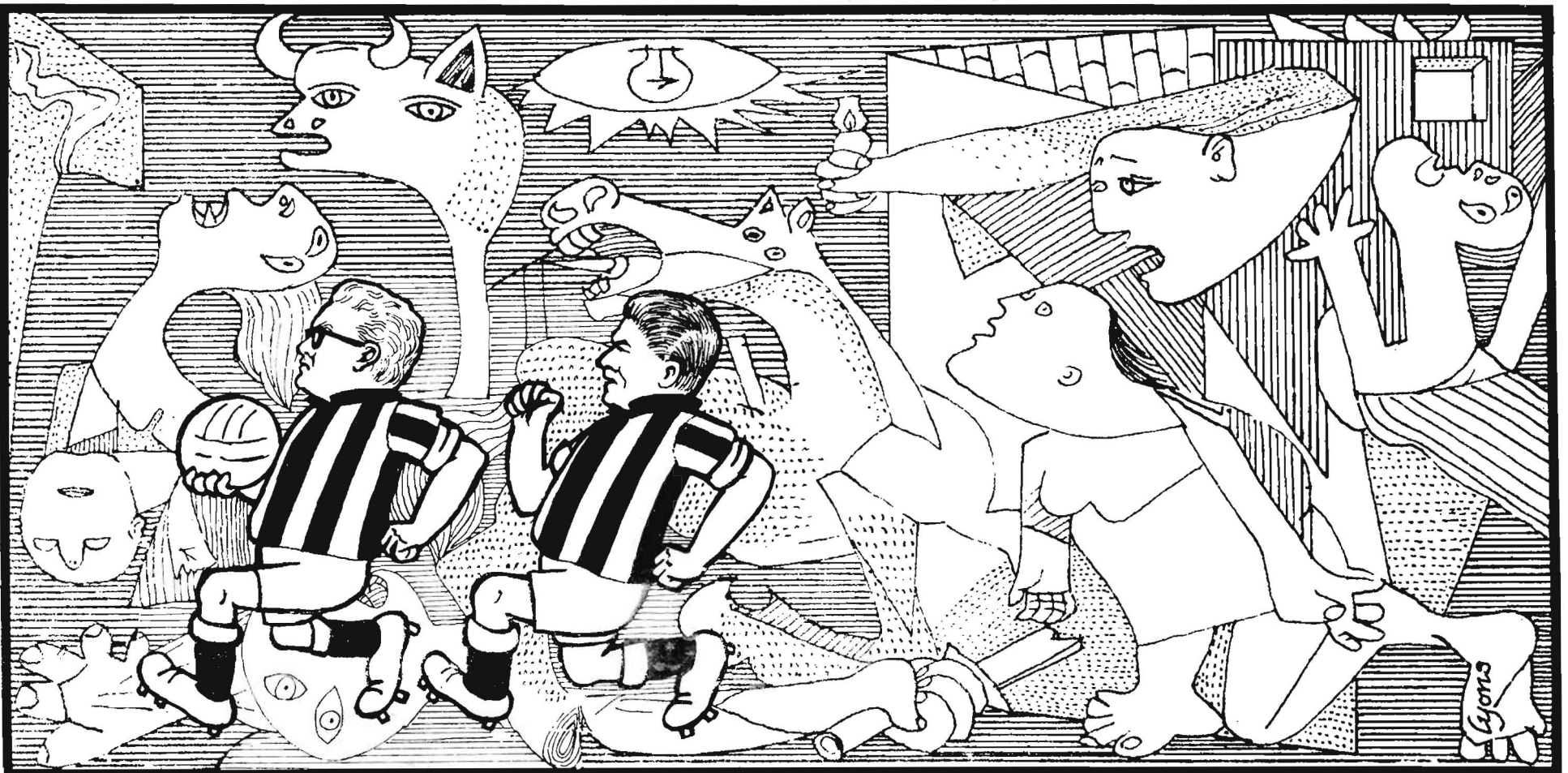
the stomach of James Rector, who died the following Monday night.

As this is being written, over 800 people have been arrested, and countless others beaten. A ban on public meetings and a city-wide curfew remains in effect.

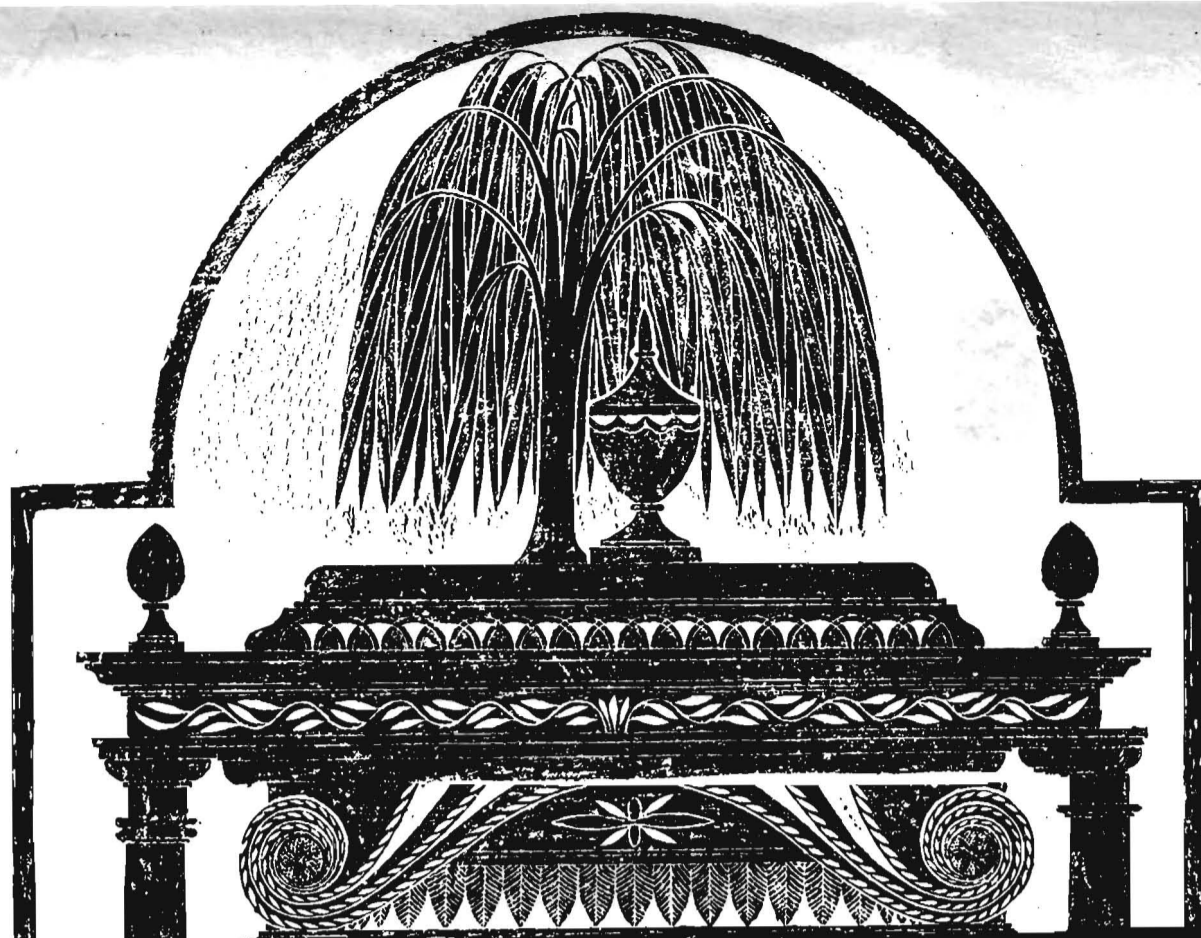
What is at stake in the latest battle of Berkeley? What was James Rector's crime? Free Speech? Student Power? Third World Studies? Socialist Revolution? Well, not exactly. Berkeley Chancellor Heyns says he wants to build a soccer field to the south of the UC campus. He has given orders that a small community park near Telegraph Avenue be cleared and held at all costs.

Of course, as California Governor Reagan has pointed out, the park per se was "obviously a phony issue, seized upon for the purpose of promoting a riot." Reagan has not mobilized the National Guard and Sherriff Frank Madigan has not authorized the use of shotguns to save a soccer field for democracy. The crisis in Berkeley can only be made sense of as a microcosmic if vicious manifestation of the generalized crisis in U.S. society.

Several months ago, the University arranged for the city of Berkeley to condemn almost a block of



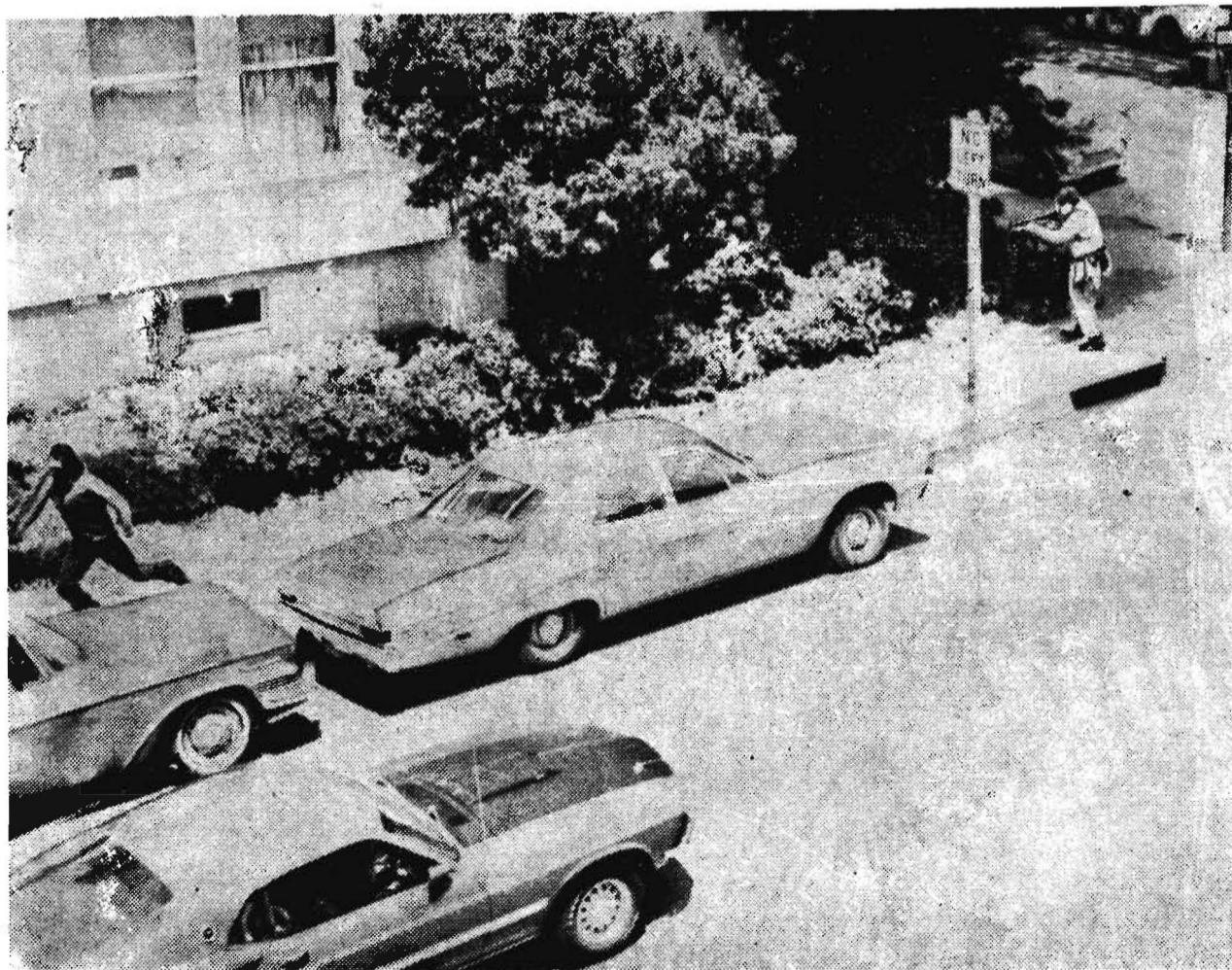
YOU'VE GOT A GREAT SOCCER FIELD, ROGER, BUT I KEEP SLIPPING ON THE BLOOD



In Memory of JAMES RECTOR

He departed this Life the
19th of May 1969 Aged
25 Years

Young Friends regard this solemn Truth,
Soon you may die like me in youth:
But I have died in freedom's fight
Keep on for me, push back the night.



Fleeing demonstrator (left) was brought down by a shotgun blast in Berkeley Thursday

low-cost and predominantly student housing, four blocks from the campus. Plans had been made to build a dormitory on the site, but funds ran out and the project was postponed.

The confiscated property was razed anyway, primarily in an effort to push street people and radical students farther away from the campus. The University expected to let the land lie vacant for two or three years. UC staff members, driven by the continuing failure of the University to provide adequate parking for its employees, began parking on the lot, despite recurrent mud and debris.

As the winter rains tapered off, students and area residents became caught up in a proposal to turn a portion of the lot into a park and community center. In a matter of weeks, the mudhole was transformed. Sod was laid, trees and flowers were planted, brick paths were constructed, swings and other playground equipment were put up, sculpture was erected, benches and other materials were donated by area residents and even "city merchants." Large numbers of men, women and children, a growing cross-section of the community, not only began to frequent the site, they worked long hours on its transformation.

OPPORTUNITY AND THREAT

The remarkable success of the People's Park, fast on its way to becoming the most popular institution in the city, both presented an opportunity and posed a threat to Heyns and Reagan. Therein lies the key to their overwhelming overkill response to what seemed such an innocuous stimulus.

The park presented an opportunity to the power structure, in the sense that a broad spectrum of establishment figures, both "Liberals" like Heyns and reactionaries like Reagan, have been searching for an excuse to try to teach the Left a lesson. The embryonic climate of repression in the country has been looking for pretext to come down hard, and thinks it has found one in the People's Park.

The kept press has been rooting for "law and order," for more protection for property and privilege. Reagan, Heyns, Berkeley Mayor Johnson and their similars are all literate men; they have had no trouble reading their orders.

At the same time, the Park also posed a threat in the sense that ruling-class institutions like the University simply cannot tolerate independent popular initiative from below. They fear (rightfully so, one might hope) that if they give people an inch, they will take a mile.

What the creation of the People's Park focused attention on was one of the central contradictions in American society: that is, the question of how the social and economic institutions in this country are to be controlled -- by whom and for what purpose?

The University of California is a "public" institution. It is governed by public officials and by people appointed by public officials. It is paid for with public funds. It is run "for the benefit of the public." But who is that "public"? How does it arrive at and exercise its will?

What public had an opportunity to intervene in the present crisis? Reagan and the Regents support Heyns -- does that mean that "the people of California" do? Mayor Johnson of Berkeley supports Heyns and the use of the National Guard -- does that mean that the "Berkeley community" does?

The fact is that the vast majority of people in this country are politically atomized and powerless; "the public" as an organized, conscious social entity does not exist. Institutional power in this society works in the interests of a tiny majority -- while working people, blue collar and white, black people, students and intellectuals, the bulk of the population, are in no way represented.

The authorities in this country would never let decision-making power fall into the hands of the people. The people can't be trusted. They are too dangerous. Direct popular control of the institutions of this society would present an immediate challenge to the whole structure of the status quo.

POPULAR INITIATIVE

A park in itself is a very meager reform. Surely even a declining, stagnating social system like American capitalism can afford a park, or even several parks. But the People's Park in Berkeley became symbolic of popular self-initiative, of genuinely democratic decision-making, of resistance to control from above -- and as such, it had to go.

American society is racked by social tension and social upheaval. Students, poor people, black people, and, increasingly, white working people, have begun resistance to the exploitation and oppression that plague their lives. In this context, even the smallest breach in the established patterns of control and respect for property can have serious implications.

Even in the short time before the University went on the offensive, the example of the People's Park had begun to spread. Vacant land had been appropriated on two other sites in Berkeley. The Black Panther Party had ideas about vacant Bay Area Rapid Transit land in Oakland, and was thinking about converting empty buildings into free health clinics.

Abruptly, Heyns announced that the University had plans for the vacant lot after all: it was to be made into a soccer field for jocks and fraternity boys, and right away at that.

There is a serious shortage of student housing in Berkeley, a crisis of parking space, and inadequate park and recreation facilities -- and the University (one of the largest landowners in the city) announces a soccer field, for fraternities that are dying out and a student body that by and large has little time for games, or little inclination to play on University turf -- as the eternally empty or near empty playing fields above Telegraph already prove.

The park people elected a committee to talk with University officials. Heyns agreed to negotiate, but only (as was learned in retrospect) to cover his preparations for a massive military assault on the park.

During the sham negotiations, Heyns himself spelled



out the real issues involved. It wasn't the park, he said, it was WHO CONTROLLED the park. Part of the soccer field could be a park, for all that, so long as the University's unlimited power to design it and control it was not challenged. This was the principle that had to be preserved: rule from the top.

Heyns is past master at manipulating community sentiment and causing confusion, but this time the issues were too clearly drawn and his time was too short. On May 13, he issued a statement in which he reasserted his "duty" as a "public representative" to decide how to dispose of the land. He inveighed against those "demagogues" who would appeal to the beauty of the park as against the inhuman bureaucracy that was destined to build a soccer field come hell or high water. He was going to build a fence, he said, to establish the "commonly forgotten fact that the land belongs to the University."

With visible popular support for the park growing stronger every day, Heyns broke off negotiations and, under the cover of darkness, at 4:00 a.m. on the 15th, called in the cops. The bulldozers of People's Park were expecting an invasion by workmen and bulldozers, and a group of park supporters had camped out for the night, intending to sit down in front of the bulldozers. Instead, they were swamped by 400 fully armed police, who arrested those who refused to leave.

The site surrounded by police, an eight-foot steel mesh fence was hastily thrown up, and the demolition of the park begun. Word spread quickly, and at noon a protest rally was held on the steps of the administration building at the UC campus.

When the demonstrators marched toward the park, they were met by literally an army of cops, and the reign of terror began. That night, Mayor Johnson

of Berkeley and Governor Reagan proclaimed a state of emergency and the guard was called in. Basic civil liberties have been suspended, and although martial law has not been declared, people are being charged with violations of military codes.

The means of violence employed by the police and the National Guard have no precedent in the previous treatment of student struggles (it is only black people and "foreigners" that U.S. forces have attacked with such severity in recent times). If ordinary C-N tear gas were not bad enough, the potentially lethal C-S gas (commonly employed for flushing out Vietcong tunnels in Vietnam) has been liberally sprayed about. Nausea gas is odorless, but causes projectile vomiting and violent diarrhea. Blister gas causes second-degree burns when it encounters perspiration or water on the skin.

The reason for this massive display of force and violence is simple: Reagan and Heyns and those they represent have no constructive alternatives to offer. American society is in crisis because people's needs are not being met.

On the one hand, there is a growing movement which is demanding an end to the accelerating deterioration of our lives: an end to the war, racism, poverty, violence, boredom and anguish, which is all this society has to offer us. On the other hand, there are the structures of corporate capitalism, fighting to maintain their profits and their prerogatives against black rebellion, student radicalism, labor insurgency, third world liberation struggles and the general instability of their system.

An ever-increasing part of our ever-soaring taxes is devoted to repression; there is money for war, for police, for missiles, tear gas and bullets -- but none for houses, hospitals, public transportation, or parks. Billions for "defense" (read: defense of capitalism) but not one cent for people.

NOTHING NEW

This is nothing new, of course; any system which is fundamentally oppressive must, when push comes to shove, maintain itself by force. Black people have already learned this lesson, as have the Czechs, and the French (confronted with DeGaulle's threat of civil war last June), and most notably the Vietnamese, to cite only a few recent examples.

As the radical student movement begins to transform itself into a revolutionary movement, as it turns toward building roots in the working class, it is inevitable that attempts at repression will escalate. Right now, American radicals are still isolated -- but many things about America are changing these days, and those whose interest lies in preserving the basic boundaries of the status quo are uneasily aware of that fact.

The new rank-and-file insurgency in the labor movement is also being met with repression, and that in turn has its effects. Oil workers in Richmond, California, had their perceptions of social reality changed overnight, when during their recent strike against Standard Oil, they too were met with beatings, mactings, arrests and even a murder at the hands of Chevron's kept police. Students from Berkeley joined their picket lines in a coalition whose implications can be far-reaching.

SDS's planned summer work-in has the various Chambers of Commerce across the country running scared. They understand the possible implications of radical

organizers entering an already discontented working class. At the same time, black militants are turning toward the organization of black workers into independent rank-and-file caucuses that have the potential of helping revitalize the labor movement as a whole.

In this context, an escalation of repression should come as no surprise. An assortment of approaches to legal repression have already been tried over the last few months: the Spock conspiracy case, the Oakland 7, the Berkeley 3, the Presidio 27, the Chicago trials, etc. More and more serious charges and penalties are being leveled against those arrested in demonstrations.

Frank Bardacke, one of the Oakland 7 and a leader of the current struggle in Berkeley, has been charged with assault with a deadly weapon, and faces a possible ten years in jail. Any number of similar cases could be cited, and not only ones involving students.

In Oakland, the Oakland Federation of Teachers is involved in a conflict with the school board over the appointment of the new superintendent. The President of the OFT recently got into a tussle with a cop and was arrested. He was charged with a "Crime against the executive power of the state" -- a felony.

Similarly, severe anti-student legislation is being passed by California and other state legislatures. Congress is threatening to do the same. HUAC is beginning an "investigation" into SDS. Grand Jury indictments are coming down all over the country. Within the last few weeks, 17 were indicted at Brooklyn College, 13 at Stonybrook, 109 at Memphis State, and 21 at Cornell.

Thus, the murder of James Rector and the wholesale spraying of tear gas from a helicopter were not, in a sense, the exceptional aspects of the war in Berkeley. They represented simply two more

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steps along an already well-traveled path toward military repression of social dissent in the United States.

If anyone was uncertain about it before, the power structure response to the People's Park has underlined the fact that real changes in the character and quality of American life will demand a revolutionary transformation. A struggle for even the simplest of reforms more often than not sweeps people headlong into a full-dress confrontation with the agencies of class power.

What was remarkable about the events of the past week has been the ability of the people to stay in the streets and continue to protest, despite the systematic brutality of the police and, most recently, mass arrests. Whatever people's attitudes toward the student movement, they must realize that Berkeley will not be shut up; the roots of the culture of resistance are too deep.

The University of California is all but shut down. Over 200 faculty members have refused to teach, and are calling for Heyns' resignation. The teaching assistant's union has done the same. The clerical and technical workers union, AFSCME Local 1695, has called a work stoppage, and also demands Heyns' resignation. Very few students are attending classes.

Heyns has resumed negotiations. Of course, if he is forced to make concessions, he will do his best to depict them as gifts -- the last thing he wants to do is give credence to the notion that militant struggle from below can win gains.

The people may not win back the park -- but then Heyns (or his successor) will never get a soccer field either. A platoon of soldiers or a ring of cops cannot be maintained forever. Workers will not work there (the nephew of the President of the Alameda Central Labor Council was among those shot by the cops); students obviously will not play there; Berkeley mothers will not walk their children through a bitter travesty of a place for trees and grass.

If the People's Park is suppressed, the land it was built upon will remain a wasteland, a symbol of the wreckage of Heyns' career, a monument to repression, a potential graveyard of the status quo.

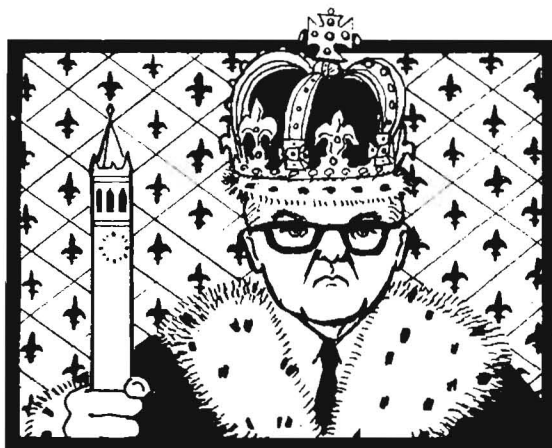


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NATIONAL GUARDSMEN PATROLING PERIMETER OF PEOPLE'S PARK.

No More Heyns



Time and again over the past five years, UC presidents and Chancellors - in the midst of one crisis or another -- have corralled faculty support for repression with threats to resign.

In effect, they demand a vote of confidence for their attacks on the student movement, and raise the spectre of Somebody Worse taking their place if they don't get it.

Time and again, a good part of the faculty has wailed, "Chancellor Heyns (or Chancellor Meyerson) (or President Kerr) is our best defense against Reagan (or Brown) (or the Right). If we don't let him get away with attacking the students, an outsider will come in and do it."

This methodology has worked to very good

advantage -- for the Administration. The Chancellor stays on (for a while, at least), the faculty shuts up, and the movement takes it on the chin. The irony has been, of course, what could Somebody Worse do?

Take the case of Roger Heyns. He was brought here in the first place to clean up in the wake of the FSM. First he suspended students and fired staff members for supporting the Peace/Rights Organizing Committee demonstration against Arthur Goldberg. Then he turned over University files on student and faculty opponents of the war in Vietnam to HUAC and the John Birch Society.

He joined the Board of Directors of Hunts Foods, owned by Regent Norton Simon -- partly motivated, as he explained, by a desire to improve the University's image with the business community. And to improve the University's image with the Marines, he donated blood to the war effort when students donated blood to help the NLF.

In the fall of 1966, he attacked the Sproul Steps rallies (a gain hard won by the FSM) because of their political content. He charged the speakers with slander and demagoguery, and tried to move the rallies to lower Sproul, using the old "traffic problem" as an excuse.

Later that fall, Heyns let the Navy set up a special table in the ASUC Building, and had an SDS counter-table torn down. When students resisted, the cops were called after scarcely two hours deliberation, touching off the December 1966 strike.

At the time of Stop the Draft Week, he suspended several students and penalized many others -- all for speaking during a rally, held in violation of an injunction which the University nominally did not support.

During the Dow-CIA demonstrations, Heyns threatened to suspend or expel anyone who took part in picketing or disruption to protest the special privilege granted those agencies of recruiting through the placement center. Just as the anti-war movement was coming under increased attack at large (the Spock trial, the indictment of the Oakland 7, etc.), Heyns aspired to stop it single-handedly, by crushing the Berkeley movement and setting an example for the entire country.

Then this fall, he sent the police against students demonstrating for credit for 139X, the course which included lectures by Eldridge Cleaver, and which even Earl Cheit said should have been given credit. And of course, just a few

months ago, in response to the Third World strike, he called for the state of emergency declaration that inaugurated a police state on the campus, and gave us a foretaste of the mass violence we are undergoing today.

Yet despite all that and more, even leading faculty opponents of the Chancellor could state "I have respected you despite differences . . ." The fear of Somebody Worse kept all too many docile and quiet.

Now, the last figleaves of illusion have been cut away by bayonets, burned away by blister gas. Somebody Worse is in Sproul Hall right now; he has been there all along. Just as Clark Kerr was the "Liberal" hatchet man for Governor Brown, Roger Heyns is Reagan's man on the campus.

If the campus is ever to see an end to mass police violence and repression, it will have to get Somebody Better. But the only way to get Somebody Better is to pick him out yourself -- to make the Chancellor responsible to the university community, not to the ruling class of the society at large. It is not so much a matter of the man as of who controls him.

In the long run, of course, the problems which beset UC cannot be resolved outside of the context of a resolution of the problems that beset the society as a whole. A transformation of the University of California depends upon a transformation of America; genuine student-faculty-staff control of the campus cannot survive except given workers' control of U.S. society.

But there are various concrete steps that can be taken today, towards the overall task of rooting out the institutions of American capitalism. One of these is rooting out the representatives of those institutions within the University. The campus unions and various student and faculty organizations have begun to raise the demand that Heyns resign and his successor be elected by the campus community.

What is needed is an administration that will defend the university instead of helping to destroy it, that will be responsible to students, faculty and staff, not to agribusiness, real estate interests, the military, etc. Many more baths of tear gas and buckshot, and the university will simply disintegrate and cease to exist.

Heyns has tried to argue, "Après Moi, Le Déluge." APRES?! -- who is he trying to kid? If Heyns wants to play DeGaulle, we should let him. The French people bid DeGaulle adieu, and we should do the same to Heyns.