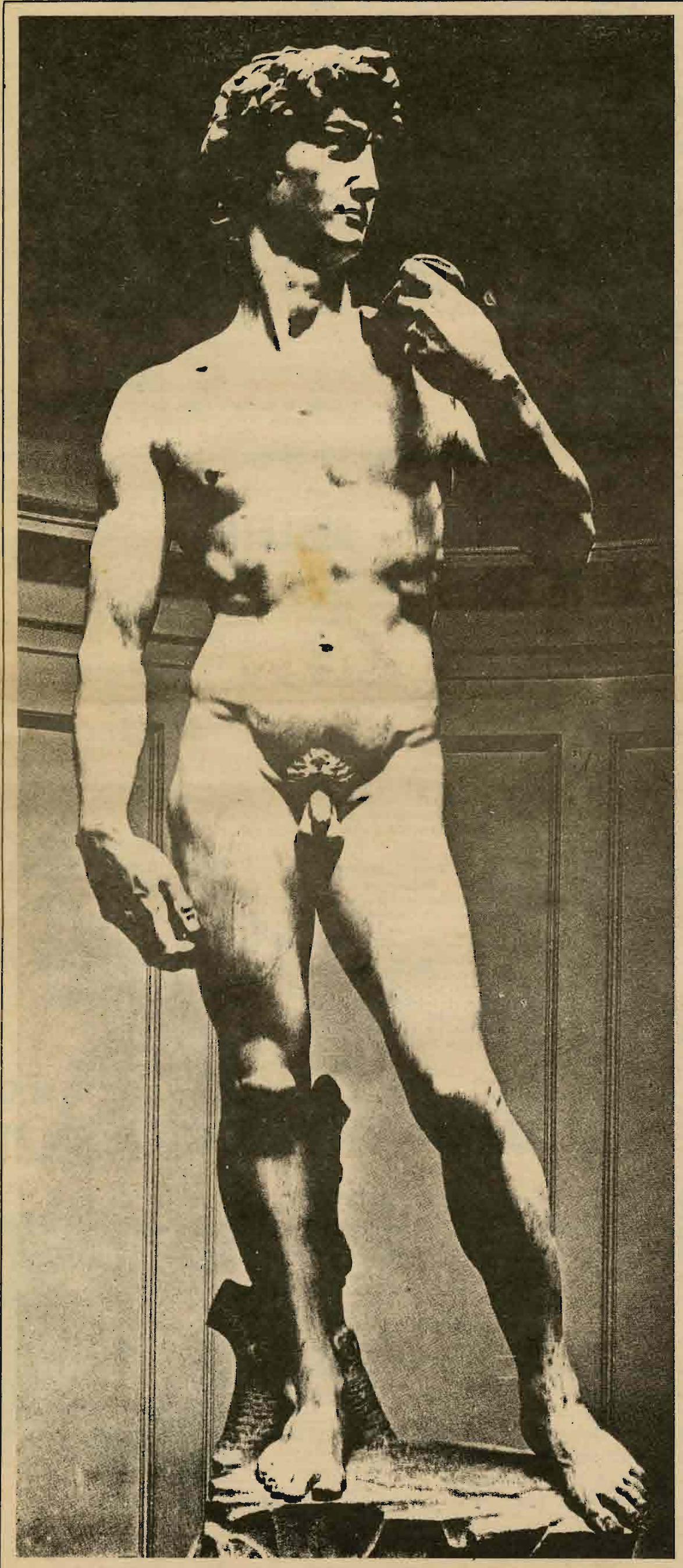




in this issue:

s. f. state wilmington red guard



Michelangelo, sculptor

THE MOVEMENT PRESS
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94103

I have lived in the monster and I know its entrails
and mine is the sling of David. -- Jose Marti

N.Y. High Schools

Dear Friends,

One of the major problems the new left faces is a kind of political arrogance beautifully expressed in the article "What Revolting High Schools" by Nick Freudenberg in the December issue of the MOVEMENT.

This "more revolutionary than thou" arrogance doesn't bother me when it comes from the Trots or PL, because those groups are, in the long run, irrelevant. However you often hear this kind of bullshit from people in SDS, and this is part of what's fucked up the movement for the last few years and kept a lot of us out of SDS.

I worked in NYC for three years for the Student Mobilization Committee (the national student anti-war coalition) and the Parade Committee (the local coalition). In the course of our anti-war organizing a lot of high school students came around the office and eventually formed their own organization to do the same work--H.S. Student Mob. The high point of their efforts was the April 26 Student Strike during which a fantastic 200,000 (2/3) of the NYC high school students stayed out. THEY planned it, and THEY pulled it off--not us college or community people.

The split in SMC had been developing for several months previously, and came to a head right after the strike. All of the independents involved with SMC--both H.S. and college--were dissatisfied with SMC's single issue orientation, and when we couldn't change it, we left. During that period we were all trying to articulate the kinds of organizations that would best suit our needs, and that summer the H.S. students changed H.S. Mob into the H.S. Union. We gave them whatever help that THEY asked for when we could from political rap sessions to convincing the NY FREE PRESS to subsidize a citywide H.S. underground paper. However had we dared try and say that WE organized them, or tell them what to do, they would have kicked us in the ass--and rightfully so. What they did, they did themselves, completely.

Now I read in the MOVEMENT an article which implies that SDS organized the Union, that it has been the guiding political light for it to these many months, and which for the future, has the sheer audacity to state that "Now, as ever before, our primary task must be to organize strong radical groups in every high school in New York and to MOLD these groups into a political force that can change the shape of things to come."

"We", Mr. Freudenberg? "Mold", Mr. Freudenberg?? May I ask who the fuck are you to try and tell them how to organize, or to manipulate them into YOUR idea of a "conscious political force" (with the assumption that they aren't already, of course).

See, we've been through numerous debates in the new left on how to organize various groups. One of the most basic things that have come out of those debates is that you DON'T go into a group and TELL them what they ought to be doing. If you have certain skills you can HELP such a group do its OWN organizing--and your end result should be to make yourself obsolete.

Some of those "certain skills" include a little humility and a halfway correct analysis of where the group is at--neither of which come through in the article or in real life in the NY-SDS-H.S. Union situation.

For example, the article mentions the April 26 strike of 200,000, and later the fall school strike of 42% (about

130,000). Yet the author goes on to criticize the H.S. students for not organizing a mass base yet. All I can say is that that's pretty fucking massive, and when NY-SDS begins to come anywhere near that percentage of its constituency for ITS actions, then they can start putting other people down.

Another earlier example (which the author neglected to mention) was when SDS decided to call a H.S. conference to start its H.S. organizing in NYC they refused at first to let H.S. Mob bring its literature to the H.S. conference, and then, in a period of intense escalation of the war and the draft (which was bothering every male H.S. student in the city) proposed at this conference that the students organize against the REGENTS EXAMS--something of interest only to the minority of college bound students! A lot of kids joined H.S. Mob after that. How many joined NY-SDS? VERY few, if any!

A later classic example occurred last summer when one of the Union leaders showed a Columbia SDS leader a proposed leaflet for the Union. He was told that the leaflet was too "anti-authoritarian"! Too anti-authoritarian, when H.S. students can't even take a piss without written permission!

The problem is basically two fold--bad politics and arrogance. If SDS really considers itself the vanguard of the student movement, attitudes like Mr. Freudenberg's must be dealt with hard. Pre-summing, of course, that the N.Y. H.S. students haven't seen his article and taken care of it themselves...

Linda Morse

Struggle

To: Struggle Department;

Lots of shit has been happening here at the left armpit of American education. We blew the first convocation the school ever had. It was a good tactic as the convocation was called by the administration-faculty-and student leadership to air some problems that had been brought to light by the agitational work of the SDS chapter. We took over the stage, with bullhorn and all and rapped to an openmouthed (couldn't happen here) audience for 45 minutes before they closed us down.

Afterward there were no classes scheduled for the rest of the day and we had a REAL convocation on the commons; the BSU made their 5 point program known at that time. Even the Vice-President of the school said that "You would have to be a fool not to believe de-facto-segregation existed here". The next day an athletic building with \$21,000 worth of equipment was burned down, and during the day there was no electricity or water. Man the administration was ordering truckloads of tranquilizers and hiding in their offices.

Last week we broke all their regulations on literature distribution and political activity and they were so confused they didn't know what to do and were praying that Christmas vacation would hurry up.

SDS, BSU and HEP are planning a pretty lively program for the rest of the year.

The school is very important because it is the only J.C. in L.A. that has not been "liberated". It trains all the replacements and builds new parts for the aero-space industry that surrounds it. It is primarily a vocational factory with most of the curriculum being directed in the key-punch-IBM, air con-

WELCOME HOME

After 18 years in Federal Prison, Morton Sobell was released on January 14th. A U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that the 7 and 1/2 months he was in prison between conviction and sentencing unable to make bail should be counted as time served. With time off for good behavior he was released.

His crime was friendship so he walks in stone,
His honor bright amid the drabs and greys,
His measured step ticks off the circled days,
From year to bitter year he walks alone.
The friendless ones, the bondstocks and their kine,
Stand virtue on its head, call crooked straight;
To handcuff right, to guard their silver-plate,
They torture justice to a warped design.

What breathes, what sings, what lives when friendship dies?
Not love, not freedom, but the grasp of hate,
Not peace, not joy, while good men hesitate,
Not truth still smothered in the shroud of lies.
Who has a friend that he can call his own
Must lift a hammer to the walls of stone.

Sam Swing
January, 1955

It never should have happened in the first place, his imprisonment. Its taken much too long to happen, his release. But he's out. With us. And that's good.

MEXICO

BULLETIN

At least 100 Mexican students, arrested in massive demonstrations during the summer and fall in Mexico City, have gone on a hunger strike at Lecumberri Prison. The strike was called as a response to the arrests of thousands who demonstrated their support for the students on Dec. 13.

The Dec. 13 demonstration started at the University of Mexico campus south of Mexico City and was intended to end at El Casco de Santo Tomas after completing an eight-mile route through heavily populated districts of the city.

Early on Dec. 12, thousands of granaderos (heavily-armed riot police) closed off the avenues leading to the university. The

National Struggle Council (formerly the National Strike Council) led the march of 25,000 students. As they began to move out from the campus the infamous General Hernandez Toledo, who directed the Oct. 2 massacre at Tlatelolco, advanced his troops toward the march.

The students dispersed and broke into groups of 1,000 to 1,500 and began to stage spontaneous demonstrations along the entire length of the Avenida Insurgentes. About 3,000 students were arrested.

Striking prisoners in Lecumberri Prison have called for support actions on the part of students throughout the world.

MORE ON MEXICO, PAGE 14.

ditioning, electronics, etc fields.

It has a population of 16,000 students with 192 of them being black.

This school was established in 1947 to serve the people. In 1969 it's going to do just that for the first time in its 21 year racist history.

Struggle,
Brother Ivor Woodward
SDS

I would like 50 copies a week (sic) of your great rag. It will close this place faster so get on it Brothers and Sisters and get it to me.



With this issue the MOVEMENT is four years old.

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WILLIAM...

LIBERTY

AND

JUSTICE

FOR ALL.



Here is a poster drawn by Frank Ciociorka after learning that the Oakland Seven had been indicted for conspiracy by an Alameda County Grand jury for leading and organizing Stop The Draft Week at the Oakland Induction Center last October.

The government is after them because they were leaders. Leaders without titles. Not a single person has ever followed them because "it's my job." If you followed them to the Oakland Induction Center in October 1967, it was because they radiated something beautiful, no other reason.

It was during Stop the Draft Week that I first saw the "V" sign. Before then, the movement was just trying to be moral and look good for the history books; but on October 20, 1967, when every spare cop in the Bay Area was in the cordon around the Oakland Induction Center, when downtown Oakland was a "liberated area" (we wrote "You CAN Fight City Hall" in big spray-paint letters right on the steps of City Hall), when construction workers and office clerks found themselves accidentally behind our barricades and were not so unfriendly — suddenly thousands of people flashed on the idea that we might actually WIN this thing, might actually kick out all the jams and live in freedom, so they flashed the "V" for Victory sign, something they had never dared to do before.

Before Stop the Draft Week we were officially designated as a "bunch of kooks"; after that week we became the "anarchist threat" we are today. By

granting us official belligerent status, the government has unintentionally pushed a lot of neutrals in our direction. Now Fortune magazine says that 40% of college students identify with the New Left; 4% would have been more like it a couple of years ago.

I remember Terry Cannon, in the dismal summer of 1967, chairing interminable meetings in the Mission District church that then gave office space to The Movement newspaper. He wanted to see a new kind of demonstration: one in which there would be an actual, though token, attempt to stop the draft. (He did not, as I remember, suggest building barricades. At that time the only use of the word "barricades" was as a taunt by smug pacifists who assured us so knowingly that barricades were out of date and Gandhi pacifism was the modern thing.)

It was all very hazy then. The theory was down fine but the tactics were up in the air. It was to be a symbolic act, a demonstration. We would attempt to stop the busloads of inductees from reaching the Induction Center, knowing full well that we could succeed only in delaying the induction process for a few hours at best. We would NOT be trying to get ourselves put in jail. We would be trying to stop the draft, and though we would clearly lose, our willingness to put up some kind of a fight would enable us to make contact with ordinary working class youth who considered sit-down demonstrators to be kooks with martyr complexes. The purpose of the action, put another way, was to demonstrate that

"if you need conscription to have an army, then you'll need an army to have conscription."

But the tactics were hazy: and I, lacking Terry's confidence that tactics would call themselves into being, dropped out of the meetings. A couple of months later I was startled to see Frank Ciociorka's red and black posters on telephone poles: PEOPLE GET READY. BY OUR DECREE THERE WILL BE A DRAFT HOLIDAY. THE OAKLAND INDUCTION CENTER WILL BE CLOSED OCTOBER 16-21. No one believed that; but of course everyone had to go see.

At 4 a.m. on October 17, buses started leaving the Berkeley campus for the Oakland Induction Center. It was such a children's crusade, we felt like such fools, we sang self-satirical songs and didn't even know we were on our way into a new age until the chartered bus stopped and the driver gave us a very friendly parting wave and we stood terrified in the dark streets.

A few hours later the blood was flowing, all of it ours. Some had, by reflex, sat down — and the police had waded into them swinging clubs with all their might. Later that morning the first barricades were built, quite spontaneously and anonymously. The District Attorney will never be able to indict the man or woman who first hauled a park bench, just as he was never able to find the one who first sat down around the police car in Sproul Plaza in October, 1964, the founding act of the Free Speech Movement.

Three days later we were all old hands

at street fighting. Someone had heard that vaseline was good protection against Mace, so dozens of jars were bought. (A sympathetic druggist knocked off the sales tax.) Demonstrators bought up all the spare construction helmets in downtown hardware stores — and got a cordial reception from the clerks. Someone got the idea that painting the streets would be fun, and someone else brought ninety cans of spray paint down for everyone else to play with.

I've racked my brains and I can't think of a legal defense for the Oakland Seven. Surely it's illegal to block an Induction Center, so it must be illegal to conspire to do so. And according to the legal definition of conspiracy, they must have conspired. But they don't belong in jail, so the law must be wrong. If you or I were on the jury, we'd skip the legalities and vote to acquit. Charles Garry, the lawyer who defended Huey Newton, now has the job of getting some people like you or me onto the jury, or, failing that, of getting some straight jurors to think our way. If anyone can do it, he's the man. He doesn't talk about the "complex constitutional issues" or the "intricate legal questions" of the case. He says, "By God, these kids don't deserve to go to jail, they deserve to get medals!" He believes it, and he may make the jury believe it too.

Marvin Garson
SAN FRANCISCO EXPRESS TIMES

THE NATION'S FIRST STATE ...

Following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. last April, the black community of Wilmington, Delaware expressed its bitterness and grief in what is by now the traditional way: like their brothers in cities throughout America, black Wilmingtonians took to the streets.

Compared to what happened in other cities, the outbreak was mild. There were no deaths and no major injuries. Property damage was estimated at less than \$250,000. The reaction to the disturbances on the part of elected officials, however, was anything but mild.

On March 29, almost a week before the King murder, Delaware Governor Charles Terry said he had "police intelligence reports" of expected disorders and placed Guard units on alert in Wilmington and Dover. On April 9, the morning after the first post-assassination uprisings in Wilmington, Terry responded to Mayor John Babiarz' call for 500 Guardsmen by mobilizing, for the first time in Delaware history, the entire 4,000 man strength of the Delaware Army and Air National Guard. More than 3,500 armed men responded.

MASS ARRESTS

Between April 8 and 13, more than 370 persons were arrested, including 67 juveniles, and 157 persons were jailed. Mayor Babiarz put the total number of arrests as high as 714. Most of these arrests were for curfew violations, but many were arrested under an Emergency Riot Act passed August 4, 1967, following Delaware's first black rebellion.

This Emergency Act had been voted by both houses of the state legislature and signed by the governor in a single day. According to this law, those arrested for damaging property during a declared emergency may be punished by not less than three nor more than

ten years in prison without any chance of parole for the first three years. Persons 16 years of age or over are to be considered adults and treated accordingly. But one need not destroy property to be considered guilty under this act. Merely URGING someone to destroy property, even if that person does nothing, makes one liable for the full penalty!

Mayor Babiarz lifted a city-wide curfew and declared the situation under control on Easter Sunday, April 14. But the Governor refused to withdraw the Guard troops, saying he had "intelligence reports" forecasting violence the next day. There was none.

On April 29, Douglas Henry, Jr., a black man accused of burglary was shot and killed in the custody of the police by an inexperienced clerk-typist in the Guard. No charges were filed against the Guardsman, but the state legislature passed a bill absolving the Delaware National Guard from any civil or criminal action resulting from deeds performed in the line of duty while under state mobilization orders.

TROOPS OCCUPY CITY

In the face of such action at the state level, Mayor Babiarz formally ended the emergency on May 1. To support his action, the Mayor withdrew city police from their joint patrols with the Guardsmen. Governor Terry still refused to remove the Guard. The legal basis for his action is unclear and has never been challenged in the courts. It is also unclear whether or not

the Emergency Riot Act is still in effect, but persons have been arrested and charged under its provisions since the Mayor's announcement.

Since spring the situation has changed very little. Troops--somewhat less than 50 men in radio-equipped jeeps--still patrol the city's black community every night, only now they ride with Delaware State Troopers (since the Guard does not have the power to arrest). Ostensibly the Guardsmen are present for the purpose of riot prevention, and their only task is to disperse assemblies which could be the focus for larger, more hostile, gatherings. From the point of view of the ghetto resident however, it all adds up to a white occupation army. The Wilmington police force has fewer than 10 Negroes; the National Guard is 97% white.

POLICE DO DIRTY WORK

The police have taken advantage of the Guard's presence to decimate the young grass roots leadership of the ghetto. The harassment of militant black leaders had been going on in Wilmington for some time. In one notable case in February 1968, three young blacks were charged with assault and battery on a police officer, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct. They were acquitted on 7 of the 10 charges and the city chose not to prosecute them on the other three charges because --as the City Solicitor admitted in open court--one of the policemen involved gave false testimony. The policeman is still on the payroll.

The April rebellion provided a rationale for handling the harassment problem in a different way. With the National Guard patrolling the streets, any organizing effort on the part of blacks could be termed a violation of law and order. Indeed, the logic of the situation encouraged the police to use their powers of arrest indiscriminately: the more arrests they made, the more convincing

would be the argument that the Guard was needed; the more the Guard was needed, the longer it would stay; the longer it stayed, the longer the police would be free to work at the destruction of indigenous black leadership.

On June 6, 1968, 27 young blacks, none older than 17, were at a party in a private home. Police entered without a search warrant and arrested everyone present for disorderly conduct. The apartment was searched for alcohol and marijuana, but nothing was found. At police headquarters, the girls were forced to strip in front of male officers. After being placed in cells, they began singing "We Shall Overcome". An officer told them to shut up, and when they persisted, they were maced. Several were hospitalized. The case against them was dismissed in court, the police involved were never disciplined, and not a word appeared in the press.

INDIGENOUS GROUP ATTACKED

More serious are the incidents involving leaders of the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council (WYEAC). WYEAC was formed in the summer of 1966 after the death of a local gang leader. It was originally a loose coalition of "gang" youth supported by local church-related agencies. During Wilmington's first rebellion (July 28 & 29, 1967), WYEAC "proved" its worth by spending three days and nights in the streets cooling things off.

In July 1967 WYEAC received its first federal funds for a ten week summer project. The goals were to "change the relationship between the official establishment of Wilmington and the youth who believe that Wilmington does not care for them and in turn don't give a damn for Wilmington". For the following year WYEAC was to operate on a \$289,625 budget of which \$100,000 came from federal OEO funds, \$22,854 from Wilmington churches and private agencies, and \$166,771 to be raised by the Greater Wilmington Development Council (GWDC), from individuals, foundations, and corporations. The budget for the coming year was to have included \$314,000 from OEO and \$140,000 from GWDC.

On August 25 the police were in northeast Wilmington on a supposed tip-off. They heard several shots fired and saw several patrol cars, state police cars, and National Guard jeeps converging on a van belonging to WYEAC. The police found seven persons in the home of Mrs. Lois Brown and arrested them for unlawful entry. The four men were prominent in WYEAC. The seven claim they were being fired at and had fled for cover. There were 10 bullet holes in the van, but it is a mystery who fired them. Mrs. Brown stated that she would not have objected to the entry of these persons into her home had she known of the shooting. Nevertheless, the seven were found guilty and are now on bail while their case is being appealed.

FEEDING WHITE FEAR:

On Labor Day week-end another incident occurred which was crucial in the inflation of the white fear psychosis and the continuance of the Guard's presence. Cherry Island marsh is a deserted area near the city border. Local people go there occasionally to shoot rats on the dump piles. On August 30, 6 black youths--all WYEAC members--were arrested while shooting at Cherry Island. The six were wearing buttons, available from any psychedelic shop saying, "I am already drafted in the Black Liberation Army." Immediately their activities were depicted as "practicing guerilla warfare tactics", and the belief spread that there really was a Black Liberation Army in Wilmington. Within the next few days, raids were made on the homes of the six and on WYEAC offices. The raids netted 2,000 rounds of shotgun shells, 4350 rounds of .22 calibre cartridges, an 18 inch machete, a shotgun, and a starter pistol. That is hardly the weaponry of a Liberation Army. The pistol was the only weapon found in the WYEAC offices; everything else was found in the homes of the six. Bail was set at \$48,000 on 10 charges of illegal possession of firearms, discharging of firearms, and possession of marijuana.

On October 30, a further incident involving WYEAC occurred. Robert Barber, one of those arrested at Cherry





Island, was picked up by the FBI on suspicion of being a deserter from the U.S. Army. The two FBI agents were attacked by Barber's friends and Barber was freed. A police dragnet led to the arrest of thirteen persons. It was no coincidence that among the first persons arrested were three WYEAC staff members, and three of the Cherry Island six. The police had carefully scrutinized WYEAC payroll records for their list of suspects. Clearly, the intent was not so much to find out who beat the FBI agents as to secure the incarceration of certain blacks known to be politically active.

JAILINGS CONTINUE

At present it is unknown exactly how many blacks have been arrested in Wilmington or how many are still in jail. A cursory review of newspaper articles indicates at least 130 names whose arrests for such charges as "disorderly conduct", "breach of the peace", "resisting arrest", "failure to move on", and so forth, could have represented political harassment. Many have been arrested a number of times. The court records are poor and nobody in the clerk's office knows for sure the number remaining in jail! There are at least 30 --there could be many more.

On August 21, George Johnson of the Community Action Program wrote to Maceo Hubbard, Chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, Eastern Region, complaining of police harassment and documenting eight cases of police brutality. Johnson's report was apparently ignored. Indeed the arrests over the summer completely discredited WYEAC's program and destroyed the WYEAC leadership. When the program first began to get governmental funds, Mrs. Thomas Herlihy, Jr., resigned from Wilmington's anti-poverty agency because she was opposed to the street-gang types that WYEAC represented. Her husband, Judge Thomas Herlihy, Jr., successfully vindicated his wife's position as the municipal judge who presided over the bail hearings, arraignments and trials of the persons arrested in the WYEAC van incident, the Cherry Island incident, and the FBI assault.

These cases created in the white community an image of WYEAC as a group of cynical street toughs who used public monies to finance armed insurrection. Although WYEAC has claimed a membership of over 2,000 and denied involvement with any so-called "Black Liberation Army", the repeated harassment and arrest of its leadership has led many to believe the project a complete failure. On October 1, 1968, OEO stated that it would not renew its grants to the organization.

McCLELLAN COMMITTEE

Even though federal monies had already been cut off, the McClellan Committee nevertheless scheduled hearings on WYEAC for October 8 to 11. They heard no members of the group nor did they contact anyone who had been a member. Relying solely on reports of their

own investigators and on witnesses (like Mrs. Herlihy) sympathetic to the local Democratic Party which was hostile to WYEAC, McClellan's group simply put the weight of the federal government behind the local efforts of suppression.

The only feeble voice raised in opposition to the efforts and aims of the McClellan investigation was that of GWDC. It supported WYEAC publicly while privately cooperating in police investigation of the organization, and despite its public posture, rescinded its own WYEAC funding.

GWDC represents an eight-year-old effort by Wilmington's monied interests to solve community problems. While it allies itself with the black community on some issues, it does so only in ways which are compatible with the corporate interests of those who finance it. It does not so much seek economic independence or political maturity for Wilmington's blacks, as that they should become better employees and more capable consumers: poverty is unacceptable not so much because it is inhuman or causes suffering, as because it involves decreased purchasing power and increased potential for social disruption.

DUPONT'S RULE

In Wilmington, corporate interests can be summed up in a single word: duPont. The du Pont family represents the largest private concentration of wealth in the country, with a fortune worth upwards of 7.5 billion dollars. Both of Wilmington's newspapers and its main radio station are owned by the du Ponts and the city skyline is dominated by the du Pont building, the Nemours building, the Delaware Trust Company, the Farmer's Bank building, and the Wilmington Trust Company, all either owned or controlled by the du Ponts. Two of the four city high schools were built by private du Pont money and named for members of the family. Of the 250,000 people in New Castle County, 30,000 are employed directly by the du Pont Company. The other major employers in town are Hercules Powder Company and Atlas Chemical Company, both du Pont spin-offs resulting from government anti-trust litigation earlier in the century. Both Chrysler and General Motors (which the du Pont Company used to control directly) have assembly plants in Wilmington.

With such a large concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a single family, there are no independent political forces in Wilmington. Centuries of paternalistic largesse have created a psychology of dependency for everyone: "they" will take care of things. Others hesitate to speak out or work on independent projects for fear of conflict with du Pont's all wise and all knowing plans.

THEIR STRATEGY IN THE GHETTO

GWDC's over-all planning strategy for the city puts heavy stress on attracting new industry, building bigger and better shopping centers, constructing a super highway which will allow people easier access to the suburbs, and creating a

new technical college. Its efforts in education have been nil. A two year study of racial imbalance in Wilmington's public schools is still on the drawing boards. In housing it has recently developed plans for predominantly moderate income housing in northeastern Wilmington which the present black residents of the area could not afford. GWDC's major ghetto effort has been the Neighborhood Improvement Association, which sponsors sweep-up campaigns and block beautification programs to gild the ghetto.

James Sills, executive director of the Association of Greater Wilmington Neighborhood Centers and recently elected a member of the City Council, has pointed out:

In our Wilmington community, GWDC, with its expanding social consciousness, does not genuinely represent a large number of Wilmington business firms, contrary to the impression of some. Moreover, those that are represented, such as du Pont, Hercules and Atlas, have exhibited no real inclination to use the influence and power of their economic institutions to attack the "gut issues" of our times...The concern for making profit is at the heart of the question of social responsibility of the business community. Fearful of having its profit-making patterns adversely affected, the business community, both locally and nationally, has made only a superficial investment in certain "experimental and demonstration projects" ... The American business world has achieved success and bigness to a large extent from the flagrant exploitation of the black man, first through slavery and subsequently through economic bondage. The notion that America had achieved economic power only through "rugged individualism" ignores the many historical sins that have been perpetrated upon black citizens, American Indians, and poor whites.

For those who look to the large corporations to save our cities, then Wilmington should be an object lesson. Despite the pretenses of the Urban Coalition and the theology of urban uplift espoused by Nixon's ghetto guru Daniel P. Moynihan, continued paternalism and economic dependency cannot solve the problems of America's black community. Corporate imperialism for America's poor, like imperialism everywhere, leads to military solutions.

WHITE SUPPORT FOR GHETTO

A group of white Wilmingtonians has recently formed an organization known as the White Coalition for Justice Without Repression, in response to the presence of the Guard. Their efforts to mobilize public opinion against the Guard have been hampered by the apathy of persons like the white storekeeper who said, "Why get upset? It's only a few soldiers." On the other hand, influential citizens who have spoken out have been met with remarkable hostility from the power structure: when some sixty clergymen issued a statement calling for removal of the Guard, Governor Terry denounced them in a vitriolic attack which

suggested they stick to their pastoral duties and stop preaching "what is next to revolution". In conjunction with the black United Council, the White Coalition has been pressing three basic demands which may be summarized as 1) removal of the National Guard; 2) release of black political prisoners; and 3) severance of du Pont control over community affairs. Governor-elect Russell W. Peterson, for many years a du Pont executive, has refused to address himself to these demands. He has repeatedly insisted that he will disclose his intentions with respect to the Guard only after his inauguration on January 21. There are indications that he will eventually remove the Guard, if only to save money and disassociate himself from his predecessor whose style has been blunt and bossy. But if the Guard leaves without the larger issues having been raised, the experiment in military repression will have succeeded.

To prevent this happening, a demonstration has been called in Wilmington for January 21--the day the new governor is to be inaugurated in Dover. The demonstration will take place in Wilmington's Rodney Square, which is dominated on one side by the Municipal Building and on the other side by du Pont headquarters. That is where the current struggle must be focused. The demonstration is sponsored by two national organizations, People Against Racism and Communications Network, who have been working in Wilmington and are in contact with both the White Coalition and the United Council.

Hopefully this demonstration will strengthen the position of those in Delaware who believe that the use of military force in response to human problems is not acceptable. It can also help to assure that what has happened in Wilmington will not be ignored elsewhere as demonstrators return to the struggle against repression in their own communities. Wilmington may represent only the first example of what the partisans of law and order have in mind for all of us. For the problems of Wilmington, there are no outsiders.



The above article was sent to us by People Against Racism, New York Chapter, P.O. Box 432, Washington Bridge Station, New York, N.Y. 10033 and the National Emergency Committee Against Repression in Wilmington, 1237 Vine Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. For further information and donations to aid the struggle please contact them.

THE NATION'S FIRST POLICE STATE

THE REVOLUTION IN THE REVOLU

questions we asked him, the more he tried to evade. People started to gather. Within less than an hour we had 1000 people. Everyone was asking questions, yelling, calling him names. Then we began to get some answers. He tried to pass the buck to the principal. The questions started to broaden to historical things, the Young Communists, teachers who had been transferred, etc. We insisted that he get the principal.

Everyone started asking the principal the same questions. She tried to blame the vice-principal. Back and forth. They completely discredited each other. Then they got hip and the vice-principal made a "self-criticism". He said he was wrong on three counts: "One is my class stand; one is that I wasn't applying the principles of Chairman Mao's thought and number three... blah de blah blah". But he still insisted that his decisions weren't his alone. "We're communists and make collective decisions. I'm not alone, there's the Party Committee (about 5 or 6 people)."

So, Zap. We told him to shut up right there and go and get the rest of the Party Committee. Then the whole thing started again. They were all fighting each other. The impression we got was that these Party people were scared shitless. Some people in the audience who had been messed around made very emotional statements like, "What kind of feeling is this for a class brother?" etc.

MOVEMENT: Did any kind of action come out of this session?

CHRIS: Yeah. On the spot we decided that the main reason these party people were so off base was because they didn't follow Mao's thought; that they were divorced from the working people and divorced from the students they were supposed to be leading.

So we set up work details for them. The next morning each was ordered to report to some person in the crowd who we trusted to get work assignments... cleaning bathrooms, sweeping the yard etc.

That night there were big character posters all over the place. We set up committees to investigate changes in the educational system and to get information on what was happening in other schools. This went on for about three days.

THE WORK TEAMS

MOVEMENT: All this time you were on your own?

CHRIS: Yes, but after three days, the Central Committee sent out work teams to lend official support to us. They'd say, "We support your militant actions. We think your revolutionary spirit is fine." Then for the next two days they'd go about telling us how we screwed up. "We were young and didn't have their 40 years of revolutionary experience". They tried to organize our spontaneous revolt. They took over the committees and put the Young Communists back in charge. They criticized us for throwing rocks at the vice-principal and for shutting down the teachers' cafeteria. (We figured faculty had no right to eat separately. If they were going to make decisions responsive to the people in the school, then they should know us and live with us.)

These work teams were the master coopters and changed the whole drift of the revolt. After a while things went back to normal.

MOVEMENT: If everyone accepted the work teams, how did the cultural revolution ever get off the ground?

THE REBEL

CHRIS: Things started happening. For example, at Chinois University (25,000 students), after they went out after their bureaucrats, work teams were sent out. The head of the work team was Liu Shao Chi's wife. One student and four of his friends put up a big character poster attacking the work team the day they arrived. This student said the work team had no right to come in and lead the student movement. He cited Mao that if you don't investigate, you have no right to speak. He told the work team to get lost.

They turned the whole thrust of the cultural revolution against this guy. They said he was counter-revolutionary, trying to stir up trouble against the Party etc. They got his four friends to sign confessions that they had been duped by him.

He stood his ground. He wrote poster after poster. He went with them under



his arm to the cafeteria with a thousand people following him shouting "Traitor" and "Capitalist Pig". But he kept on putting them up. He sent ultimatums to the work teams saying that some day the people would kick them out. He went on a hunger strike. He'd stand out there and debate with huge numbers of people. Everyone was convinced he was an absolute fool. They pushed him around some, but he never got beaten up real bad.

MOVEMENT: What turned the tide in his favor?

CHRIS: At this time the Red Guards were being formed in all the other schools. The Red Guards were organized first against the work teams. Chou en lai and Chiang Ching (Mao's wife) and some others went to Peking University to discuss the role of the work teams. A lot of people went to this debate and sure enough the rebel at Chinois University was proved right. He became the main rebel. Beautiful cat, 19 years old. Stone Rebel.

RED GUARDS

MOVEMENT: What was the role of the Red Guards?

CHRIS: At first, most of the Red Guards in my school were from cadre backgrounds. One of the big arguments towards the end of the cultural revolution was an evaluation of the first Red Guards. I think they played a good role since they rebelled against the work teams and made the point that it was the duty of proletarian revolutionaries to rebel. But the problem was that their class line was way off. Many of them were rebelling just because they were personally angry that the work teams put them down. They figured it was an insult since they were from revolutionary backgrounds.

MOVEMENT: How did the Red Guards relate to the rest of society?

CHRIS: The Red Guards began to look for allies because all of them were minorities in their own schools. So they began to make alliances with the rebels in the factories which had already sprung up. They also worked with the various red guard movements in the junior high schools.

MOVEMENT: What role did the top Party leadership play?

CHRIS: When Chou en lai came to Peking University, he proved by his own example that the work teams were wrong. For 4 or 5 days he talked and debated with everyone. He didn't just come in and say "you're wrong" like the work teams did. Everything was discussed on an equal level. He reiterated the right to rebel and that if something is wrong its the duty of the people to point it out. People learned that criticism and self-criticism sessions shouldn't be egotrips --if they were wrong they should just try to change. After this, the Red Guards grew a lot.

SOME MISTAKES

MOVEMENT: Once the Red Guards grew how did they operate?

CHRIS: The work teams were removed and the Red Guards set up Revolutionary Committees which became the administrative bodies of the schools. They ran the schools.

They made some mistakes. They divided the masses into left, right and center very mechanically, according to class background. Almost everyone at my school was considered right because they came from exploiter backgrounds. They became the objects of "big struggle meetings". The revolutionary committees became quite fascist. They wouldn't listen to anyone who had an exploiter background.

In fact, they became like another work team. They wouldn't allow people to become active and learn from their

own mistakes. So there was a split, between those who only considered backgrounds and those who wanted to consider more. About this time, everyone decided that it was time to promote revolutionary action. So they took to the streets. For about two weeks they went around smashing what they considered to be capitalist hangovers. They messed up the economy.

MOVEMENT: What do you mean?

CHRIS: Like they would go into a store and see a glass that didn't have a revolutionary slogan or design. They would decide that it was a bourgeois glass and take it off the market or break it. They did this in all the stores.

Then people began writing big character posters on the main business street saying, "We dig the revolution, but you guys are wrong. We support you, but you gotta stop busting things up". This kind of violence stopped after a couple of weeks, but for the next six months the Western press talked about violence in Peking. There were a few people beaten. The Red Guards were trying to change a life style of a lot of punks in Peking. The dudes with the conks, tight pants, you know, there were some. They had little hustles. Of course, nothing on the scale of this country. These hustlers were like enemies of the Red Guards, apathetic towards the revolution.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

MOVEMENT: Why did the Central Committee allow these things to go on uncontrolled?

CHRIS: They were prepared to trust the masses, even though they made mistakes. If you got millions of people moving you know damn well that somebody is gonna fuck up sometime. The issue was to try to politicize people through their own experience. Allow people to experiment. This was especially important for the youth. So they messed up the economy to some extent... But in two weeks the vast majority of the Red Guards learned more about socialist economy than they would have in 20 years in the classroom. That experience was more important than the dislocation in the economy which got put back together again relatively easily anyway.

The main issue was that the youth could directly experiment with the revolution--it wasn't just something they were reading about in books or listening to old men talk about the Long March. Revolution can't be programmed into people, it's gotta be validly proven by their own experience.

MOVEMENT: What happened with all the Red Guards who came from outside Peking?

CHRIS: Just as the people from my high school went to Peking University to find out what was happening, people in other cities had that same yearning to come to Peking. They had heard about all these groovy people out in the streets, making revolution, following Chairman Mao, you got a right to rebel.

So they came. Our school had 1800 regular students. All of a sudden, there were 7000 more from Tientsin, living all over the place. We figured we could spread the revolution by going outside of Peking. The Central Committee decided that it was a good idea for us to travel. They figured that the educational system can only be changed by the students themselves. And that students can't make the educational system serve the people unless they know who they're serving. The Central Committee never gave any orders. Most of the time they wrote editorials which, in effect, supported some action that some part of the masses had already done. The Central Committee summed up some experience, concentrated it and gave it back to the masses. This was the type of leadership that the revolutionary wing of the Central Committee gave.

MASS MOVEMENT

MOVEMENT: Didn't all this travel disrupt things?

CHRIS: The original idea was to keep some students in Peking to keep up the struggle there and send other groups out to exchange experience. But everybody wanted to go and everybody left. I stayed a little longer and helped set up depots for people, supplying blankets and food for everyone coming in. The population of Peking is 5 million. 3 and 1/2 million more came.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

AUSTIN: model for movement defense

by Thorne Dreyer
Liberation News Service

AUSTIN, TEX. — A movement legal conference held at a dude ranch near here from December 12 to 14 could be the model for a new and creative approach to movement legal services.

The conference drew such prominent legal strategists as William Kunstler and Harriet Van Tassel of the Law Center for Constitutional Rights, Charles Garry, defense attorney for Huey Newton, and Bernadine Dohrn, formerly with the National Lawyers Guild and now interorganizational secretary of SDS.

Nearly 200 people attended, more than half of them Texas lawyers. There was also a large number of activists—from SDS, SNCC and the Oleo Strut GI coffee house—and a group of law professors and students.

Though it was racked with internal factional disputes among movement people, most participants considered the conference a definite success. The most tangible result is a statewide legal defense structure. The conference named a staff of four—a law student, a movement lawyer, an Austin SNCC worker and a staff member of the Oleo Strut—to make the new organization a reality.

According to Harvey Stone, editor of the RAG (an Austin underground paper) and one of the organizers of the meeting, the conference had five goals: to counter repression of the movement by getting lawyers to handle political cases; to develop creative and ag-

gressive legal strategies for the movement; to discuss the need for political defense of dissidents, as in the Huey Newton case; to establish communication with lawyers which might lead to their radicalization; and to set up an organizational structure to implement these goals.

The lawyers came to the conference ready to act. Many of them had little or no previous contact with radicals, but most felt the need for establishing a defense network. Some did not accept all the assumptions of the conference, but they were eager to communicate, to learn what the radicals meant by "political" defense, to find out how they could help.

Cam Cunningham, a movement lawyer and now a staff member of the new organization, commented, "The radicals were very surprised at how receptive the lawyers were. They expected the lawyers to run when confronted with radical ideas—but the lawyers stayed and committed themselves".

The lawyers submitted themselves to long and grueling sessions: panel discussions, large meetings, caucuses. Two Newsreel films shown the first night sparked spirited discussion on movement life styles.

Though the ritzy guest ranch surroundings were incongruous, the secluded location kept people from wandering off after sessions, and led to some important interpersonal exchanges. A busy bar and communal bunkrooms aided this process. In the movement bunkhouse, with Huey Newton posters on the walls and the Rolling Stones on the stereo, liberal lawyers, high on bourbon, rapped about their lives.

The lawyers caucus met the second night of the conference and told the movement people, "Make your organization. We are available".

For a while it looked like no organization would grow out of the conference. The movement people were embroiled in a bitter debate. A few organizers associated with the national and regional structure of SDS opposed the way the conference was put together and argued against the proposed organization.

Margie Haile, SDS regional organizer, said that the conference was organized in an exclusionary way and was oriented towards "bourgeois student self-preservation". She argued that it was civil libertarian, and did not offer a class analysis of the court system. There was some discussion about seeking funds from sources such as the Ford Foundation. Margie opposed this as extremely dangerous.

The organizers of the conference and many of the movement people present felt that these charges had no basis. They considered them to be part of an attempt to sabotage the meeting. They argued that foundation funding might be considered if the movement could be convinced there were absolutely no strings. They pointed out that conference publicity was political, not "civil libertarian", and that the movement's best legal strategists had been invited.

Martin Wiginton, a former liberal Texas lawyer now working full time with SDS, called this the most

intense conference he had ever attended. Most movement people there felt the same way. Though somewhat upset by the internal dissension, they were impressed with the high level of political discussion and with the positive reactions of the lawyers.

Greg Calvert, new left theorist and former national secretary of SDS, was one of the organizers of the event. He discussed the reasons he thought the conference was crucial.

"Our strategy and tactics are so disastrous now that the movement is threatening itself with destruction. We must take on the question of the law and political strategy. We must consider the legal implications of our actions and develop a creative legal strategy."

Calvert discussed the need for lawyers to have a positive way to relate to the movement. "Lawyers should not just be a service wing, but should be a creative part of a multi-front political movement, helping to devise aggressive legal strategy."

At the final session of the conference, black and GI organizers put lawyers on the spot by asking for definite commitments to aid activists now in trouble. Lawyers from Houston and Dallas agreed to help SNCC organizers Lee Otis Johnson, Ernest McMillan and Matthew Johnson, all recently convicted on charges stemming from their movement work. Lawyers also volunteered to aid Pvt. Bruce Peterson, editor of Ft. Hood's underground paper, the Fatigue Press, and to take aggressive legal action in support of Larry Caroline, University of Texas professor whose contract has been terminated as a result of his political activities.

These commitments assured that the conference would produce more than a paper organization. The staff will be working for the next two months to raise money and tie the group together. A central committee—composed of representatives of SDS, SNCC, the Oleo Strut and the Southwest Regional Draft Counseling Association—will make political decisions for the organization until the next statewide meeting.

The most significant thing about this conference is that it happened. For the first time, movement activists and lawyers have gotten together and created a statewide mechanism for legal defense. They have begun to discuss aggressive legal strategy at a time when repression is growing and are attempting to find creative and political ways for lawyers to be involved in the movement.

The organization, working under the name Movement Legal Services, can be contacted at 3507 Banton, Austin, Texas 78722.

Texas Backs Off From Coffeehouse Prosecution

Every once in a while, the legal wheels turn and a little justice oozes out, even in Texas. On Dec. 27, the Bell County Grand Jury returned a No-Bill on the indictment of Josh Gould for possession of marijuana stemming from a politically-inspired arrest Aug. 23.

Josh is manager of the Oleo Strut, a coffeehouse in Killeen, Texas which caters to GIs from Ft. Hood. He had been facing a possible sentence of two years to life.

The threat was real: in September, Lee Otis Johnson, SNCC organizer in Houston, was sentenced to 30 years for allegedly giving a joint to an agent. However, in Josh's case, even Texas couldn't throw him in the slam. After he was bound over to the Bell Grand Jury in a hearing September 5—where the cops fell all over contradicting each other's stories of the arrest—the Grand Jury met four times before considering the case.

His arrest came on Aug. 23 just before Josh was to leave for Chicago to work with the Mobe in establishing contact with troops sent from Fort Hood for possible convention riot duty. He was held for 18 days on \$50,000 bail which was reduced to \$15,000 and finally to \$2,500.

Since Josh's arrest, other GI organizers at Ft. Hood have come under the legal gun. Sp/4 John Bertelsen was arrested for possession at the end of September, but beat his General Court Martial because the Army hadn't bothered to follow its own procedures.

Gypsy Petersen, the founder of Fatigue Press, wasn't so lucky; busted by civilian cops after the Army failed in three attempts to plant on him, he was turned over to the Brass, who railroaded him through a Court Martial. He was sentenced to eight years at hard labor and Dishonorable Discharge.

In the face of repression like this, SNCC, SDS and Oleo Strut called a conference of lawyers to plan legal defense. 75 lawyers attended, which is amazing for Texas; SDS, however, managed to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory by hassling over whether the lawyers should be allowed to play more

than a service role and whether it was "good politics" to accept foundation money to set up a legal organization with full time staff attorneys.

After SDS managed to turn off most of the lawyers present, SNCC and Oleo Strut managed to set up the possibility of an organization and some actual legal defense. Every SNCC organizer in Texas is currently on \$10,000 bail for some sort of heavy felony offense, and the Army's got a court martial list a mile long.

Legal defense in Texas couldn't come at a more opportune time. The Ft. Hood 43, who seemed at first to be beating the rap, are getting the royal shaft, sideways. Two of the six who got the first General Courts-Martial in October were back in the stockade within ten days of their trials, for being 5 minutes late to a formation! One of them, Pvt. Guy Smith, had spent 55 days in pretrial confinement prior to his first Court-Martial.

All of the 43 men who were acquitted have received special harassment from their officers and NCOs. Those who received time in the stockade have received very special treatment indeed.

Even in the face of this, the Movement continues inside the Army. The Army has started a policy of discharging a man when he returns from Nam, due to the hell that's been raised on stateside by Nam vets.

At Gray Army Air base, all the Nam vets were transferred to other units after the Mickey Mouse Club broke up the 55th Aviation Battalion. The Club was a group of 15 Nam vets who broke so many rules that they forced a congressional investigation of the base. The Army broke up the unit rather than face the possibility of bad publicity. Two weeks later, a new group, composed entirely of guys just out of school, was beginning active organizing on the base. The Nam vets are primarily anti-war, then anti-military, the new guys are just the opposite; either way, the effect is the same and the Army still has a "problem in the ranks."

TERRORISM & REFORM

by Arlene Eisen Bergman

San Mateo Junior College is perched on a barren hill in a County that has the second highest per capita income in the State of California. It is the home of Shirley Temple and the Bing Crosby family. The sterile, totally uniform architecture provides the setting for the vocational training of middle and upper income kids who couldn't make it academically at places like Stanford.

The Board of Trustees doesn't even make a pretense of providing a liberal education. They are proud of the fact that less than 5% of their 8000 day students and 11,000 evening students go on to four year colleges. They are proud that their biggest grants are given to them by industry with the purpose of training prospective personnel. United and American airlines finance the Aviation Department. The Police Department has a big Police Science thing there, and other industries, like Litton and Lockheed, practically support the college.

When I taught at the college in the Spring of 1967, the place was like a political tomb. A very mild Viet Nam teach-in drew about 50 people. All the black and third world students could fit at a single table in the College cafeteria. I heard that in 1964 some students were suspended for ten days for attempting to sell bumper stickers for an open housing proposition. In 1965, Aaron Manganiello (today the Minister of Education of the Brown Berets and important leader in the current struggle) was suspended for selling peace buttons and Scheers' pamphlet, "How the US Got Involved in Vietnam".

All course curriculum was pre-established under the pretense that course had to be transferrable to four-year colleges. My supervisor was amazed at my refusal to give multiple choice exams and insisted that I take attendance in every class—"just in case a probation officer wanted to see the record of one of my students".

INTRUSION

Then a College Readiness Program began to disturb the imposed tranquility at the college. The program began modestly as an attempt by two individuals to provide financial aid and tutoring to minority students who were having trouble in school.

The program mushroomed fantastically. The first semester there were 36 black students. The second year it was up to about 70. This is the third year and the first time recruitment has gone to minorities other than blacks. The program now has about 650 students. Most of the money came from fund raising on the part of the program itself, but the college did supply some funds.

The program was quite successful, and developed into a center for radical activity. The program counselors soon realized that tutoring was not enough. They started to develop the concept that you had to take care of the entire student, in everything he did. The program organized car pools, hunts for housing, baby-sitting etc.

The program became a radicalizing institution. The values and framework of the program came from the movement. It offered minority students a supportive environment predicated on radical values, rather than an environment which absorbed them into the white culture. There was no particular authority. Decisions were made by the com-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

SAN FRANCISCO EXPRESS TIMES
tom cleaver

HISTORY TAKES A LEAP

by Martin Nicolaus

No previous American university struggle has been as long, violent and bitter as the strike now being fought at San Francisco State College. None has sent shock waves through so much of the society, or created as deep a polarization. Only in American colonies and dependencies abroad, or in the history of American labor before the present generation of students was born, are there equals to this conflict. At S.F. State, history has not merely moved, it has leaped.



Although it is chronologically the successor to the great confrontation at Columbia in the spring of 1968, and to the smaller-scale crisis over Eldridge Cleaver at Berkeley in the fall of the same year, the S.F. State strike has few clear lines of continuity with the overt concerns of these or previous student movements of the 1960's. The 1964 Berkeley Free Speech Movement's preoccupations seem almost a gentlemen's disagreement in comparison; free speech and the right to organize have not been issues here, although they have been brutally denied in the process. Direct ties between the university and the war corporations, the central overt issue at Columbia, are absent in significant proportions at State. The Cleaver crisis is a precedent only formally, in that both he and George Murray at S.F. State are on the central committee of the Black Panther Party, and both were denied the right to teach. But Eldridge Cleaver was involved in teaching elite whites, whereas the struggle at State is about working class blacks. Except among white strike supporters, whose sense of political identity remains shadowy, there is little specific identification or sense of continuity, other than sympathy, with this history. Something different is happening here which requires some background by way of introduction.

CHANNELS

The so-called public higher education system in California is united only at the top in the state government. Below, it runs in three separate channels. Highest is the university system, which accepts the top-ranking 12 per cent of high school graduates, has sole power to grant PhD's and train for the professions, gives a more costly education, and costs more to attend. Berkeley is part of that system. Cheaper is the state college system, where the conflict is now. The colleges accept the top-ranked one-third of high school graduates, do not give higher than the M.A., spend less per student. The two-year junior colleges are the bottom track.

Half of the students in the university system come from homes where family income is over \$12,000. In the college system, half come from over \$10,000.

That's only a \$2,000 difference, but it divides, for example, the unionized worker in a skilled trade (and his son or daughter) from his shop supervisor. Added to the difference between what the state spends at each place for facilities, equipment and staff, plus the difference in prestige, it amounts to a different universe.

The university system prepares for careers, the college system trains for jobs. The university graduate may become a professor, an executive, an official, a specialist. State colleges turn out teachers, accountants, functionaries, technicians.

Many of the jobs the state college system trains for are unionized, or becoming organized. Although the statistics do not show a predominance of students from industrial working-class families at the college, labor's attitude toward the college system is more proprietary. These are the schools--not so much the upper-channel universities--where stable, unionized working families want to send their kids. And where they have a better--though still slim--chance of being admitted, and of being able to afford it.

LACK OF CONTINUITY

The difference between the channels of the system accounts for part of the lack of continuity between S.F. State issues and the issues of previous student movements. Most of these have been at upper-channel universities or at even more elite small private liberal arts colleges. The different backgrounds, contexts and destinations of the students create a different political emphasis.

Free speech, for example, is a more primary concern for people from backgrounds, and headed for careers, in occupations where "free" speaking, writing and thinking is essential to the job: college teaching, decision-making in industry or government, research, analysis and publication of various kinds. Especially at the upper levels. Most state college students, by contrast, are headed for jobs where their opinions may never be asked for, and where the ability to reach independent conclusions on the basis of a free exchange of ideas will get them fired. Free speech,

in that sense, becomes almost a luxury. This reflects back into political concerns on campus.

Separation of the university from war corporations is not an issue. The corporations need to take over expensive and sophisticated laboratories, the most sifted selection of researchers. These exist in the upper-channel graduate schools, not in the state colleges. Starved for research funds, the state colleges would also be in less of a position to argue if the corporations did come in, but they don't. They don't want to sponsor research, they want to buy it. The most direct military link at S.F. State is Air Force ROTC. State SDS won a referendum to kick ROTC off campus in the spring, but the faculty refused to go along with this decision. Getting students to stop going in is another matter. AFROTC is a low-casualty easy cop-out from Vietnam duty. Not the same politics applies as in kicking IDA out of Columbia or Stanford.

The channels make a difference also in protests about the whole range of educational-process issues clustered around the "university as factory" analysis. Upper-channel universities tend to breed expectations based on the liberal arts college model. The introduction of industrial methods into education creates shock there. Much protest energy goes into retaining or resurrecting features of the pre-industrial model. This happened also at State, and created two liberal-arts-type oases, "experimental college" and "programs", from which much movement energy radiates. (See MOVEMENT, December, 1968). But the majority remain in the factory, know that it is a factory (even the trustees refer to it as "plant") and have the factory mentality. Protesting against the industrial revolution in education is a different (and easier) kind of politics than relating to it, finding the contradictions in it, moving on them.

This is one set of reasons why the State strike is a political jump; different channels.

NON-WHITE LEADERSHIP

Unprecedented also is the fact of non-white leadership, or rather, white non-leadership. Organized under the name

Third World Liberation Front, a coalition of black, Chicano (Mexican-American), Latin-American, Filipino, Chinese and Japanese student groups has held unquestioned political, moral and tactical leadership throughout the long strike process. Initiated and dominated by the Black Students Union, the TWLF's total campus base is less than ten per cent. Yet four thousand students (two-thirds of the full time student body) at one point marched in support of the strike, and eighty percent of students have honored the strike by staying out of class. Blacks have led student movements at Negro colleges, blacks have led whites in black territory (SNCC in Mississippi), but never before have blacks and browns and yellows so definitely led whites on the whites' own turf.

Personal charisma does not account for much of this impact. Several of the leadership can employ some of the stock charismatic traits and mannerisms, and can be extremely articulate speakers, but spellbinding oratory has not played a great role in their self-presentation to whites. There is no one figure who stands out as guiding genius or star. Nor have charisma and flamboyance, even genuine, saved several other BSU-initiated strikes at other California state colleges from self-isolation and decline. Black magnetism played a role at State in BSU's earlier relations to the white movement, but as an individual quality it retreated into the background as the strike progressed.

In the course of the struggle the leadership cut back on jiving until it operated actually below the average level of exaggeration in politics. This has paid off in the absence of a credibility gap. It also kept the fight off the rhetorical escalator. After a day of aggressive tactics, the leadership remained free to switch to peaceful picketing the next day without risking loss of its reputation for militancy. This ability to change tactics, as Todd Gitlin noted, has been one of the geniuses of the strike.

The TWLF also rotates its leaders, even when this means a slight loss in short-run effectiveness. Different leaders do show different degrees of talent in handling different types of tasks, but no one man has been allowed to get functionally stereo-typed, for example,

as a press spokesman, rally leader, white liaison, etc. TWLF will have to speak for itself whether this has been a matter of deliberate policy or whether it just "worked out" that way. Either way, it has meant fewer leaders going on ego-trips of their own, developing private constituencies, getting cast as star by the media, etc. The media image, as a result, has been one of depth, unanimity and seriousness; even the TV people have learned to say "a leader" instead of "The Leader". The on-campus effect of rotation has been to build more respect for the group as a whole, and to cut down on hero worship and all the infantilism that goes with it. One major benefit, in addition, has been the movement's political invulnerability to arrests. Several leaders have been busted two and three times, but the group as a whole never noticeably skipped a beat because of it; single-leader movements have been known to stagger under lesser repression.

The style, tactics and organization of the TWLF will have to be the new standard for the movement. These qualities however, will not be duplicatable if the politics out of which the style, tactics and organization grew are not also studied and applied. And these politics cannot be copied in every situation, as other BSU's have already found out.

In smaller cities, or in cities where job-racism is rock-hard, the black (and brown and yellow) communities have a sharply colonial social profile: a mass of shantytowns with a few palaces stick-

nor the middle, nor the top of this black community has parity or equality with its white counterparts. But the black middle segment (i.e. the black working class) is far enough advanced where a state college education for its children becomes more than an impossible dream. The black workers see no reason why, if their white union mates can put some of their kids into college, they cannot do the same. Given the greater insecurity of the black working class relative to the white, a college education becomes, if anything, even more highly necessary as insurance. Consequently it not only makes sense to raise black demands in the college context, it also becomes possible to mobilize the community muscle to back them up. Since the black working class has not been exactly docile in recent years (the majority of Detroit "rioters" were workers), it isn't necessary to talk quite so loud; the stick is big.

DEMANDS --

The ten demands first raised by the BSU (5 analogous demands were later added by the other groups in the TWLF to make up the 15 now being fought for) reflect the social and political structure of the black community in a highly intelligent and strategic way. As a little analysis shows, they were definitely not pulled out of a hat or done in an afternoon's bullsession. First, the defense of Black Panther Party member George Murray, the brother who was suspended for calling on black students to bring

the black community and its needs. Note that this is not a demand for admission of more blacks under existing standards of qualification; this would only open the door to more kids from affluent black families who could afford to send them to private schools, or who can afford to live in the better white districts. It is specifically a demand for the admission of non-affluent blacks; i.e. it has a class content in addition to a color content.

CULTURAL DISTINCTNESS

Third (in this overview of the 15 demands), the demand for a separate DEGREE-GRANTING department of Black Studies speaks to the segment of the black upper levels--and other levels--who have made a break with the assimilationist and integrationist philosophy of the civil rights movement and moved toward cultural distinctness in one or another form. With this demand, the BSU are following in the footsteps of the assassinated Malcolm X. Integrationist Negro leaders have long supported black history and black culture COURSES (S.F. State has such courses already), but elevation of these courses to departmental status with the B.A. at the end--thus assertion of black distinctiveness as a legitimate subject of educational specialization--is heresy to the integrationists. The NAACP has gone so far as to threaten to file suit against any attempt to set up such a program.

With the exception of that venerable

have repeatedly said, "the demands are a matter of survival FOR OUR COMMUNITIES". (Not: for US). And: "We called the strike because of our needs as a PEOPLE, not just our needs at the college". (See interview in the MOVEMENT, December, 1968). The secret, if it is a secret, of the strike's success lies in this stance by the leadership: think as a people. The "genius" of the strike flows from that principle. Style, tactics and organization were molded to the political requirements of this specific struggle. Because it was clear about the tune it wanted to produce, the leadership has been able to do what Mao called "playing the piano", i.e. to touch now one, now another key in the scale of tactics, instead of coming down with the elbows, or harping on one key all the time.

FACULTY STRIKE

While the student leadership seems to have closed the gap that opened with the assassination of Malcolm X, the faculty strike has looked like a revival of the spirit of the labor movement of the Depression days.

There has, in effect, been a Great Depression in California higher education for the past decade. In anticipation of swelling college enrollments as the post-war baby boom advanced through high school, the legislature in 1960 adopted a Master Plan which established the three-channel higher education system that now exists. In addition to these qualitative aspects, the Master Plan contains a simple Malthusian solution to the quantitative problem of student numbers versus state funds. In order to prevent the supply of educated manpower rising too far above projected corporate requirements at the relevant levels of the occupation pyramid, the Plan called for a twenty-five per cent relative reduction in enrollment at four-year institutions by 1970. That is, there were to be no cutbacks in absolute numbers of college students, but a reduction in the percentage of college-eligible young people who were to be admitted to four year institutions. This plan has been in the process of being accomplished. By raising entrance standards, fees and other hidden barriers, higher education has been elevated into a more distant privilege than was the case in the immediate postwar decade. No doubt one of the reasons for declining black admissions to the system lies in this general cutback; the principle of "last hired, first fired" translates in education as "last admitted, first expelled".

ECONOMY SQUEEZES

The cutback has been accompanied by a general budget asphyxiation throughout the system, but particularly in the state college channel, where the greatest relative reduction in student enrollments was planned. Along with students, professors and teaching assistants have suffered the classic burdens of "economy" squeezes and cost-reduction drives in industry: job insecurity, lack of due process, stagnant pay levels, rising work loads, lagging fringe benefits. In the face of this creeping impoverishment, the AFT local at S.F. State, the oldest in the system (organized the year of the Master Plan) has been talking statewide strike for more than a year. The issue on which the entire union was to go out at some time during 1968 was a demand in reduction of work load from twelve to nine teaching hours.

Twelve teaching hours means a work week of about 50 hours, and leaves no time for ongoing independent research. Regardless of how lack of research hurts the teacher's reputation, it also hurts students. A heavy work load means the teacher is running to stay even with the textbooks. Most textbooks are reactionary. To develop a radical critique of the text, or to throw it away, takes time. Overworked teachers make poor radical educators.

The outbreak of the student strike in November accelerated the faculty's political development. During president Robert Smith's tenure, which ended November 30, the faculty spent many days in continuous all-faculty meetings, looking for ways into or out of the crisis. In the process of these extraordinary sessions, many of the traditional divisions within the faculty (rank, departments, specialties, age, sex, etc.) which ordinarily help to keep the body as a whole too internally ripped up to move, partially broke down under the influence of the formal one-to-one equality of parliamentary procedure. As students watched the proceedings on closed-circuit TV, many fine resolutions were passed, which revealed a rising level of political self-consciousness among many faculty. Being the expressions of a debating society, however, these remained entirely without political leverage. The experience of its own im-



engraving: bruegel

ing out. The majority of the people live at a level equal to down-and-out whites, way below the average level of the white working class. A few entrepreneurs, professionals and stooges live high on the sweat of their own people and/or on white favors. The narrow band of these "black bourgeois" are the only ones who have a hope of sending their children to college. Once in college, these blacks a) cannot raise demands relevant to their people, because the entire college context is absurdly out of reach to the masses; and b) even if they raised the demands they couldn't mobilize the community muscle to back them up. Lacking a broad footing they would have to overcompensate with hollow talking.

A city like San Francisco and the Bay Area, by contrast, --because an expanding economy and slightly more enlightened unionism have softened job-racism relatively--has a black community with a less lopsided profile. Inbetween the down-and-out blacks who have a choice between temporary menial shitwork, welfare and crime, at the bottom, and the relatively prosperous black professionals, businessmen, officials, etc., at the top, there is a layer of (again: relatively) stable, steady-working, unionized industrial and lower white collar workers. Neither the bottom,

guns to campus to protect themselves against police attacks (there had been Tac Squad raids in which BSU people were viciously worked over on campus) speaks straight to the bottom layer of black people for whom the police are a daily menace, and where the Panthers until very recently concentrated most of their organizing work. Although the Panthers have not played a foreground role in the State strike, their support lies prominently in reserve and swings the young black militants.

Second, and more to the meat of the matter, the demand for admission of all minority students who apply to the college, regardless of their qualifications. On first sight this seems like an impossible and senseless demand stuck in as a deliberate provocation. Not so. The high schools, not to speak of the primary schools, where the majority of minority people get whatever preparation for college they're going to get are rotten. So rotten that when they graduate the college considers them unqualified. The condition of the high schools has long scandalized black working-class community leadership, and the links between the high schools and the low rate of college admissions are clear. This demand speaks to that grievance. Maybe more than any of the other demands, it addresses itself to the solid core of

body, however, the remainder of the black community leadership all the way right to CORE and the Urban League has publicly backed the strike. After the second day of war under Hayakawa, a day remembered as Bloody Tuesday, more than a dozen of the black community's most prominent spokesmen appeared on the campus speaker's platform at the noon rally, to vow its support. There were individual defections subsequently, but no open break. While the demanded B.A. in Black Studies may not please the integrationists, the demand for increased admissions compels their support. The older generation may not care for George Murray's style, but his support among the young compels that they follow. The BSU and TWLF's unshaken insistence that the demands are inseparable (not negotiable) welds the black community together as it tears the white power structure apart.

POLITICAL PREPARATION

There has, in short, been very thorough political preparation in the formulation of these demands. They are, above all, not merely demands made by a club of students in the name of a group of students. With a campus base of less than ten per cent, that would have been masturbation. As BSU and TWLF leaders

on campus has had to feel its way forward in unfamiliar political territory and without a tradition to build on. Here alone, history has limped.

Before the strike, the campus SDS chapter had been in the downward part of a cycle. Still moving in the ideological wake of the movement at upper-channel universities, the chapter came down from its near-victory in getting AFROTC off campus in the spring into a condition of stagnation, as was the rest of the student movement. Research was done on business connections of trustees, a talented Agitprop developed, and disconnected smaller projects took place, but no major issues within the white segment seemed to be forthcoming.

Into this vacuum stepped the BSU with its attacks on institutional racism.

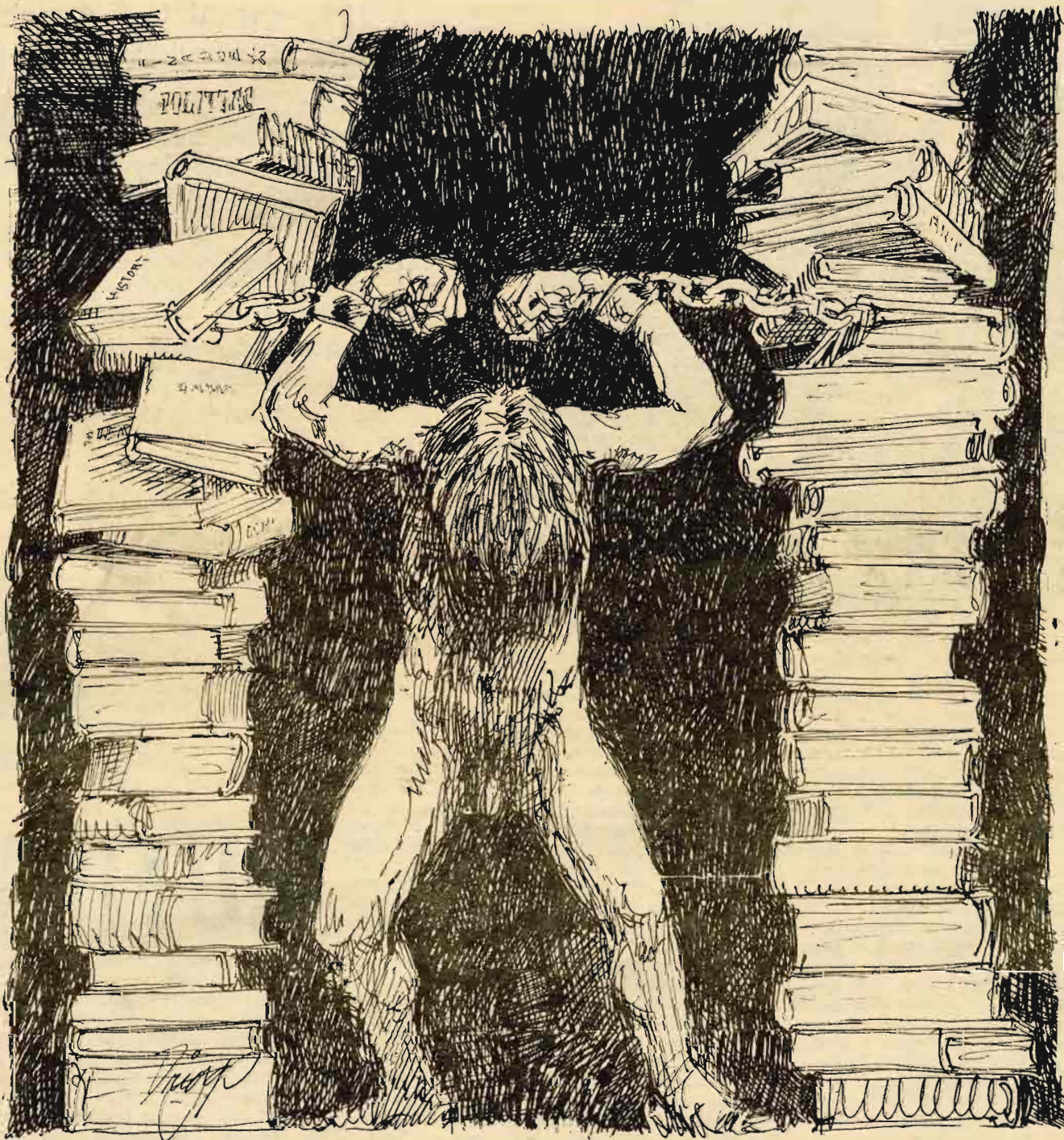
The quantitative aspects of racism at the college are clearly definable in terms of percentages and trends: non-whites are drastically underrepresented, and their percentage on campus has actually declined sharply over the past ten years. But the qualitative aspect has eluded such sharp definition. Relatively clear is the suppression and distortion of the role and condition of ethnic minorities throughout history in textbooks and courses. Not so clear is the question of what constitutes racism in attitudes and actions, particularly among white students or nonstudents

peculiar position not only of having no analysis to articulate, but of being committed to allowing none to be articulated.

The white role was defined as strike support. The political motivation for strike support was opposition to racism. What racism meant in the last analysis only the black and third world brothers could define. Hence at meetings of the white strike support committee the discussion was of three types. (1) Denunciations of racism on the part of the ruling class, the trustees, Hayakawa, the pigs, etc. Since there was no disagreement on the facts, this type of discussion tended to be repetitive and self-advertising. (2) Denunciations of racism implicit in the political line advocated by other speakers. In the early stages, students in or around SDS who were searching for ways to relate strike issues to white students who did not already have a conditioned reflex against "racism" had to prove their innocence of this charge. Although some new kicks were taken at the dead campus autonomy horse and some other mistaken projects rightly rejected, much that would have been useful was also beaten down. These "racism" debates did more to develop factions than to deepen the movement. Finally, there was (3) speculation on tomorrow's tactics. Having no demands, whites had no say in tactics. This did not prevent long discussions.

Despite these political problems the white strike support committee turned out dozens of leaflets (some reiterating anti-racism, some containing last minute news reports, some protesting police brutality), made thousands of phone calls, and brought hundreds of students out on early-morning picket lines. White militants were in the forefront of every confrontation and supplied the mass of bodies in the struggle. At critical moments when no blacks were present, such as in the early morning terror of Bloody Tuesday, white speakers independently held a rally to inform the campus and to gather a sufficient crowd to deter further police raids. In every possible situation of campus warfare the white strike supporters proved able and fearless troops.

Student support, although of a more passive kind, also came from unexpected sources, the student government and the student daily paper. Both had been under attack, and their autonomy threatened, by trustee moves simultaneous with the strike. Having a common enemy with blacks, they overcame past friction and swung into sympathy. The experience of widespread police brutality turned their sympathy into advocacy. Consequently, potential strike opposition among students found itself without a written organ; whereas strikers had the STRIKE DAILY (a wall-newspaper put out



who are themselves not exploiters or oppressors. BSU's earlier position that all whites were inherently racist had changed by fall to the position that political alliances with the white radical movement were desirable and necessary, but the definition of exactly what constituted racist behavior still had large fringes of vagueness.

The energy with which the BSU pursued the attack on institutional racism had both an invigorating and an overwhelming impact on the white movement. On the one hand, the discovery of racism in the institution gave the white movement an entire new area to pour energy into, and attracted new groups of people. On the other hand, the whites' insecurity as to the exact specifications of racism meant in practice that blacks had to be called in to do the defining at every critical point. First gradually, then rapidly as the strike action began, the white movement became the satellite of the nonwhite.

At the outset of the strike, the SDS and SDS/PL leadership won adoption of the position that white students would put forward no demands. This political line put the white non-leadership in the

On several occasions the condition of the support committee became so nondirected or so close to factional explosion that BSU/TWLF spokesmen had to intervene directly to set people back on the track. The refusal in principle to raise white demands was, however, self-imposed. Before the AFT strike, BSU/TWLF leaders not only left the way open, but urged whites to get going in building a movement around their own issues. (See interview in the MOVEMENT, December, 1968). This opportunity was certainly there as during the struggle the life situation of white students became thoroughly politicized. Not only every aspect of campus work, including all relations with authority, turned out to have a political aspect, but also the relationships between student and community came into the forefront as political issues. Rarely was the time more appropriate for whites to raise their own political demands about the political content and direction of the educational process--about the product of the education factory and its consumers--than in the first two weeks of Hayakawa's regime before the AFT made its move.

by independents close to SDS) and OPEN PROCESS, a student-run arts-poetry weekly close to radical faculty, which ran sharp background analysis. Together the strike support committee, the student paper and the strike papers constituted a persistent front of radical, moderate and liberal students against Hayakawa and the police. What will happen when these are replaced by new faces or withdrawn is another matter.

The problem of relating the strike to white people off-campus has been particularly complicated by the absence of some direct white stake in the struggle. To working class whites who are not already aware of and turned off to racism, the strike does not even offer a protection clause that white student enrollment will not be reduced as a result of increased black enrollment. How any kind of worker-student relationship can be built on this basis has been hard to see. Apart from "fight racism", the only other slogan on the tens of thousands of leaflets which have been

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

1. Chant for the Scabbing Student

Stand by stand by stand
 There are no innocent
 stand by stand
 no innocent bystanders
 What did you earn in school today?
 I earned innocence
 Stand by
 I am studying hard because
 they tell me I am a student
 Who told you that?
 There are no
 And if I study hard I will grow
 up side up
 side the head
 no innocent
 to be or not to be
 that is the exam question
 no cheating
 by the by stand bystanders
 Did they teach you that two and two
 and fifty make a million and that
 two things are in short
 supply: dollars
 and innocence?

2.

"General Semanticist
 General Public,
 Private Horror reporting"
 "Your orders are to execute
 your orders to the best
 of your docility"

3.

They have told George they will kill him
 George is our troubador
 There has never been a revolution without songs
 We must make absolutely sure they don't kill him

4.

One of us will soon be killed
 Everyone will be very sorry Dr. Hayakawa
 will buy thousands of flowers The funeral
 will take the streets and the ashes will
 float in the gutters and the gravediggers
 will mourn until they notice the grave
 is empty and they are falling

Todd Gitlin

hallinans hang jury

The trial of Terence "Kayo" Hallinan, San Francisco movement lawyer, (attorney for the Presidio 27) on a charge of battery on a police officer, ended in a hung jury last week. The charge against Hallinan stemmed from his presence as attorney for the Associated Students of S.F. State at a demonstration last May.

There were a series of sit-ins, mill-ins and street demonstrations at S.F. State last spring to demand increased minority admissions, the rehiring of a radical third-world faculty member, Juan Martinez, the hiring of minority faculty, and the removal of AFROTC. (See, MOVEMENT, July, 1968)

This was the scene of one of the premier performances by a group of pigs that has since become San Francisco's notorious Tactical Squad.

On the first night of the demonstrations, students who had remained inside the administration building were being fed into a paddy wagon when the pigs, for no apparent reason, waded into a crowd of hundreds of students watching the arrests. At this time a girl named Diane Feeley was clubbed to the ground by Pig Norbert Gutierrez. As Gutierrez moved in for the kill, Kayo grabbed him by the arm and said something to the effect of, "Hey, man, are you out of your mind?"

While Hallinan was trying to pacify Gutierrez, Michael Brady, another pig, clubbed him in the head from behind, smashing Kayo to the ground. Hallinan was arrested on the spot for battery on a police officer, a felony.

Kayo was defended in court by his father, Vincent. Under California law it is illegal to physically interfere with a cop making an arrest. California law, however, also says that it is a felony for police to use excessive force. Vincent Hallinan set out to prove that Gutierrez had indeed violated this law, and that Kayo's restraining action was therefore justified.

George Chingaris, a State administrator who had called the pigs, testified for the defense, saying that Gutierrez had indeed been brutal. Vincent Hallinan then brought out that Brady, the pig that clubbed Kayo, was the same pig who had falsified evidence before the Committee on Bar Examiners in a hearing to determine Kayo's moral fitness to practice law.

Vincent went down the line destroying the prosecution's case. There were no deals made. He praised the demonstrators, comparing their fight with the struggles of workers fifty years ago. There was little doubt but that Kayo would be acquitted until the Judge instructed the jury to find him guilty if he had touched Gutierrez.

Five jurors decided that these instructions were bullshit and voted for an acquittal. Seven voted for conviction. The jury was composed of nine whites and three blacks. All the blacks voted for an acquittal. Considering the fact that the trial took place during the most intense part of the struggle at S.F. State it seems that some of the white community may be being reached.



MUTINY

Ron Pulley, 19, is one of the 27 GIs being charged with mutiny for a non-violent sit-in protesting the murder of Richard Bunch by a guard at San Francisco's Presidio Army Base Stockade (see MOVEMENT, December, 1968). Boy is now wearing a cast up to his elbow, an attempt to heal broken and dislocated fingers and a mangled hand; injuries inflicted by Sgt. Woodring, the chief non-commissioned officer at the stockade.

Pulley had been given a morning work assignment, but refused to work, saying that he was classified P-3, which exempts him from work duty. He was told to wait while Woodring went to look at Pulley's file.

Woodring returned and told Pulley that his records showed that he could do light work and assigned him to wash cars. Pulley's attorney, Terry Hallinan, said that Pulley's files show that he is indeed disqualified from all work.

Pulley decided to work, since disobeying orders is a major offense, but as he was leaving an MP began to shove him. Pulley told him there was no need to shove, whereupon Woodring told Pulley to come with him. Woodring took him to an empty room and proceeded to shove him, trying to provoke a response. Pulley was able to see another sergeant looking through a slightly opened door and realized that he was being set up. He repeatedly asked Woodring to leave him alone, and finally, grabbed Woodring's arm in a restraining gesture.

Woodring broke loose, hurled Pulley against the wall and then grabbed him, one hand on his hip, the other bending his fingers until they broke and were dislocated. Pulley was in such agonizing pain that his screams could be heard by the Presidio's 200 prisoners, many of whom were far from the scene.

Woodring resigned from the LA sheriff's department three years ago to take his current post. He reportedly was drunk when he brutalized Pulley. Since the beating took place near a group of officers it's clear that the Presidio 27 are the targets of increased repression.

Presidio authorities have good reason to be uptight. The 27 originally were anti-army, but not strongly anti-war. Of the 19 being represented by Hallinan, 17 were in the stockade for repeated AWOL (among them Pulley), one for disobeying an order to go to Vietnam, and one for slugging a sergeant. Since the mutiny charges they have become united and are now strongly against the war.

The Bunch murder and the sit-in protesting it also brought on a Washington investigation of the Presidio, which probably will be a whitewash, but nevertheless did not endear the 27 with their captors.

Hallinan is trying to get the GIs out on a writ of habeas corpus. He is taking suit to Federal Court, after having cleared up some bureaucratic bullshit, with both federal and military courts which claimed that the case wasn't in their jurisdiction.



end of the trial

In June of 1967 there was an incident at the Courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico. Some Alizana members went to that courthouse, planning to make a citizens arrest of the DA. The DA didn't show, but well armed cops did. One cop drew his gun and fired. In the ensuing confusion, with some people taking cover in the courthouse, two cops were shot. Neither was seriously wounded. That was the "up-rising".

This incident triggered a reign of terror by the New Mexican authorities which culminated in December with the trial of Reies Tijerina, president of the Alianza, for kidnapping. During the June incident a deputy sheriff and a UPI correspondent were allegedly held for a half hour by Alianzistas in the Courthouse before escaping. Despite the fact that Reies did not arrive in Tierra Amarilla until AFTER the incident, he was charged with kidnapping, a capital offense. Many other members of the Alianza were arrested on various other charges.

The Anglo power structure hoped to terrorize La Raza into accepting the theft of their lands. Tijerina, their leader, was the prime target. But the tradition of struggle runs deep. Tijerina with the aid of two lawyers defended himself and won an acquittal. His trial was just another incident in the long struggle of La Raza.

For complete background on La Raza, Tijerina, the Alizana and the struggle in New Mexico, see the special four page supplement by Jim Kennedy, "New Mexico's Land Grant Revolution" in the August, 1967 MOVEMENT.

Recently there has been considerable debate within the movement concerning Tijerina's ideology, program (or lack of one), and his personality (ego trips). These subjects can only be intelligently debated within the context of the struggle that has gone on in the Southwest for many years.

We are therefore reprinting excerpts from an article by Maria Varela and distributed by LNS-N.Y. that places Tijerina in this context. (editor)

The Indian love and reverence for the land became imbued into the "new breed." Today a man from the North will tell you,

"The land is like my mother. When they take the land from us, we are orphans. When they take my last little bit from me, I want to die. I have nothing else."

Who can understand this feeling for the land? On paper — the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848 — the United States signed to the effect that it did understand and would protect this feeling towards the land. The land titles and customs of land administration were guaranteed under the treaty, as was the language and

religion of this race and of those Indians who also populated the Southwest. But as time went on, it was clear that an economy and culture essentially capitalistic could not co-exist with a communal economy and culture.

The New Mexican tribe of La Raza is truly distinct from the culture and even the language of the immigrants and sons of immigrants from Mexico historically, the territory has always been ignored by its respective governments because of distance and its lack of great wealth. The Spaniards who came (with no women) to the mountains in the early 16th Century eventually intermarried with the North American tribes of Utes, Apaches, Pueblo, Navajo... and different Indians from the Central American tribes of Mexico.

By the late 17th century and early 18th century, the "new breed" was as much, if not more, Indian than Spanish.

THE ANGLOS

Land hustlers saw New Mexico as easy game. With the coming of the railroad and the need for expanded grazing range, possession of land in New Mexico could prove lucrative. Some men stole the land

"legally," through demonstrating quit-claim notices (obtained fraudulently from the non-English reading Raza) in court to obtain title, or by posting notice to claim certain lands in a newspaper the next state over (the law provided for newspaper notices of intent to claim) or in the English language newspapers in the state.

Some were not so subtle and terrorized villages or isolated ranchers through barn-burning and cattle-poisoning. Some just got quit-claims by holding a gun on a man's wife or children until he put his "x" on the paper.

Whatever the way, by the turn of the century land was slipping out of the hands of La Raza like sand through their fingers. Some tried safeguarding their claims: legally and hired lawyers, only to find out that whether they won or not, the lawyer somehow got a healthy chunk of the land as fee. It became clear that the "law" was white man's law (statehood never came to New Mexico until there were enough anglos in the state to guarantee control).

There exists within La Raza a deep respect for the law. Perhaps because in the race's origin, the laws were constructed out of a respect for and a need to organize community. The law evolved out of the new breed's feeling for the land.

Besides a man's knowing in his heart that the land was his, people had deeds and titles to their land, handed down from father to son. Many were lost, true —

somehow because there papers were rarely needed — but neighbors could always verify that the land belonged to so-and-so. What did the sheriff mean when he came to evict a man whose family had worked that land for over 200 years? How can one "x" on a document wipe out so much history?

The invaders made or used their "law" against La Raza and, because that was no law at all, the mountain people defended themselves and their land with guns. They cut fences and burned as many barns, poisoned as many cattle as they had lost. In order to stay alive and in order to stay on the land, the culture turned inward.

The racism and oppression destroyed little of the strength of the people, because they had a barrier against the invaders — their language and culture. They also had their knowledge that according to the law of La Raza, they were right. No matter what dressed-up, fine-talking-lawyer-dude said, no matter what court decisions were handed down, no matter even the acts of Congress (one of which was to take more than a million acres of the best grazing and timber land in northern New Mexico and turn it into Kit Carson National Forest) they — La Raza — were right!

TIJERINA, THE NEWCOMER

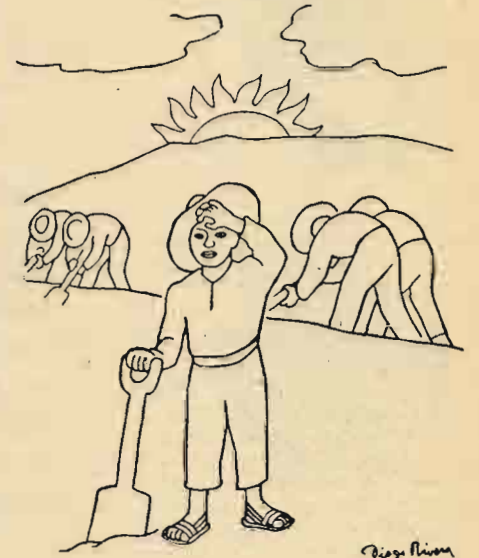
Reies Lopez Tijerina is a newcomer to this state of war existing between the mountain men of New Mexico and the US Government. People from Tierra Amarilla were defending their land "legally" and otherwise in the early 1900's — almost 20 years before Tijerina was born. Most of the people belonging to the Alianza are a good 20 to 30 years older and have more years experience fighting for the land than does Tijerina.

Tijerina did not 'bring' nationalism to the Southwestern movement of chicanos. Nationalism exists here and at best he reflects some of it. Tijerina did not create a land movement in New Mexico. A fifty to seventy-five year old movement already existed in each community of villages which had ever been besieged by the invaders. He linked up people and had them working state-wide or directed their activities toward Washington or the nation — but even this is not a completely new approach to this region.

He does not teach the people their rights as much as he certifies for them what they already know. He went to Spain and Mexico to look up old laws and documents and came back with the news that in fact, under international law, the US had violated its treaty with Mexico. But people here always knew the US was wrong. It didn't matter whether it was wrong according to its own laws or the laws of La Raza.

CATALYST

It is undeniable that Reies has been the catalyst for people here to put their struggle into a Southwestern and even hemispheric perspective. It is equally undeniable that the chicanos response to events around the courthouse of Tierra Amarilla served notice to the country. As one Alianza veteran puts it, "Anglos always see us as Mexicans sleeping with



our sombreros over our eyes. Well, when that Mexican wakes up, watch out!"

To truly understand Tijerina's standing as a leader, one must understand the people who make up his supporters. Critics from the right see him as a con-man, duping these ignorant Mexicans. Critics from the left see him mis-leading his people with a traditionalist and essentially non-revolutionary philosophy and politics. More correct is the observation of a chicano who came to Albuquerque to attend the trial: "It's almost like Reies is being used by the people here, instead of his using them. They've been fighting all these years and along comes a man and says, 'let's try this way and I'll be your leader.' And they say go ahead, we'll try anything and use anything to hit at the Man and get our land back."

CRITICISM

Whatever the criticism of Reies, of his arrogance, ego-trips, his lack of politics and program, his messianic complex — one thing must be understood. When Tijerina acts on his own, without the consensus of his tribe, then he takes the consequences for those acts, alone. When he acts as a reflection of the consensus of the tribe, then he has full backing for his decisions, right or wrong. And only if one understands his tribe, can one make judgments on his leadership. As long as he works for La Raza, La Raza will protect him. When protection would be withdrawn would be if he were to choose to work for the Man; to become a vendido.

There is rumor and published merely in Anglo radical circles as to whether or when the rest of the chicano movement will break publicly with Tijerina. There will be no public break as long as Reies is working for his people.

As long as a leader remains in the family, our disagreements with him remain family matters. It is not our style to analyze the correctness or incorrectness of a leader's politics or program publicly. We cannot afford to entertain our enemies with our family squabbles. We use what we can and who we can in this long struggle; and as a tough old man said in court last week:

PROSECUTOR: Do you know Reies Lopez Tijerina?

WITNESS: Yes, sir, he's the president of the Alianza.

PROSECUTOR: For how long is he president? For all his life?

WITNESS: We put him there for as long a time as we need him. ♦



CHILDREN OF



Since the massacres of October, we don't hear much about the student movement in Mexico. Reports that are received are contradictory. The movement has been forced to go underground and little reliable information gets out.



Granma reports that in December more than 500 students were arrested after trying to stage a march to demand the release of students who had been arrested previously. "They held a rally in the square in front of the rector's office, where speakers explained the reasons for calling off the march: to avoid the arrest or massacre of the revolutionary student vanguard. However, the government will not stop us from going into the streets in our agitation brigades."

In response to the pre-Olympic massacres in Mexico, two pamphlets have been produced. The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has put out one pamphlet, mostly on repression. The North American Congress on Latin America has published a study in two parts. The first part analyzes the movement itself, especially how it grew in the face of repression. The second part outlines U.S. involvement in Mexico and its policies of repression. (Each pamphlet costs a dollar: write to USLA Justice Committee, P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001; or NACLA, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, N.Y. 10025).

We are reproducing excerpts of interviews with three Mexican student leaders held in late September, published in the NACLA pamphlet. Although these interviews occurred at an early stage of the struggle, the political thinking of the three leaders hint at future possibilities.



STUDENT FROM FACULTY OF SCIENCES (UNAM)

QUESTION: In your view, what is the importance of the type of organization that has been imposed on this movement--concretely, the brigades and the National Strike Council?

ANSWER: A base has been established that did not exist in Mexico before. Never before, in any movement, have such a great number of students been mobilized, and an organizational culture of this nature been achieved. For the first time there is a Council that embraces students from the Politechnic Institute, (the agricultural school at) Chapingo, and many other schools. The fact that it has been achieved, that an organ with representatives from 128 schools actually functions, is a very important precedent in Mexico...

At this time we have the seeds of an organization but...no political line. This can be seen in the activity of the National Strike Council--mere practical activity of the moment. It is an organization of defensive character, one that responds according to the action of the Government.

When the present situation is resolved, the organization we now have must become an offensive organization; that is, one that develops a long-range political orientation.

CLASS DIVISIONS

The basic difficulty the Mexican student movement has faced is the multiplicity of tendencies that has existed in the binary system of education. On the one hand there are students from the bourgeois class (in the university), and on the other, students from the popular groups and the lower middle class who attend the technical institutes. This cleavage, which was very well-defined at the time of the founding of the Politechnic Institute in the 1940s, has gradually become less sharp--unfortunately, not because the university has become more "popular" in its constituency, but because the Politechnic Institute has become more aristocratic. The Politechnic Institute has now become another university (it lacks certain faculties such as Philosophy and Letters to become a true university).

Fundamentally, the perspectives and concerns of the students do not differ from one group to the other. It is this similarity that has made student unity possible at this time...The unity between the "Pol" and the UNAM is an accomplished fact that will not disappear.

QUESTION: How do you think this unity can be maintained?

ANSWER: We believe the goal should be a national student federation or a national student union or something along those lines, with characteristics similar to those the National Strike Council now possesses. It should become what Lenin once called the "catalyst of the revolution", a nucleus, or a spark that will start a fire. The student group has certain basic characteristics that make it the first sector to react to the social situation. It is the sector that has greatest access to information, is the most educated, and has the greatest critical capacity. It is also the sector of society that is least subject to pressures--that is, in this system workers and peasants are subject to innumerable pressures and obstacles that hinder their mobilization...

In Mexico, a worker who even attempts to plant the seed of an organization that is independent of the (PRI-controlled) unions is immediately fired from the factory. A peasant who attempts to go outside the canons established by the CNC (National Confederation of Peasants) of the PRI is immediately ostracized.

LIMITS OF STUDENT MOVEMENT

Nonetheless, the bourgeois outlook of Mexican students--the class origins of the majority of the students--causes this mobilization to be one of sporadic nature; that is, it is one that definitely cannot reach large sectors of the population. The moment has come in which the student movement--by its very nature--finds itself incapable of moving any farther... The student movement has given all that it had to give; that is, it arrived at the greatest possible degree of radicalism. But what is necessary is that it move on to a second stage...to fulfill its role in showing that the regime in Mexico is not invulnerable, that massive mobilizations are possible, that the structure is not hermetic. At this moment there should have occurred--and it would have occurred in a country where the labor movement was not so controlled--a great mobilization of support that would have reached the leadership with much more serious demands. What was lacking here...was organized labor; a class-based political party, a functional mechanism that would have permitted the whole current of sympathy and support that developed among the working classes in general to become organic support.

In spite of the distortions of the radio, the press, etc., everybody in Mexico supports and sympathizes with the student movement. However, this cannot be translated into practical action because in reality they are controlled. For this reason all the attempts to overcome these organizational obstacles have been futile owing to the enormous corruption that exists.

...Political movements cannot remain static; they advance and become radicalized or they retreat. The student movement began to move, reached its apogee, and at the moment in which it should have been replaced by something else, there was no suitable organization to carry this out and now, in terms of organization, it is beginning to decline... Student awareness is not disappearing; it is an irreversible process.

The problem of creating political awareness does not rest so much on convincing people that things are bad, but...that they could stop being so. They must be convinced that mobilization of their own forces could indeed affect government structures.

STUDENT FROM FACULTY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

QUESTION: What is the function and importance of the student brigades?

ANSWER: The formation of brigades has been the tactical form the struggle has taken in the face of aggression. Through our experience with them we know that it is possible to continue the struggle in a decided way...Some of the brigades have developed such an awareness of the situation that they themselves are formulating their slogans and flyers and they have set for themselves a long-range program. The brigade system has been so successful that the President acknowledged in his "report" that we have excellent means of communication with the people. Thus even though the brigades arose spontaneously and automatically, they are now functioning under a set discipline that became necessary as the movement gathered momentum.

The "politization" that the brigades have achieved has been effected by means of round table discussions, seminars, assemblies and studies they have been carrying out--a political awareness that has been in turn transmitted directly to the public in general.

The brigades are the backbone that has sustained the movement in practice.

QUESTION: Do you believe that the organization of a new political party is possible?

ANSWER: The problem of determining the most appropriate form of organization that will result from this movement has already been discussed by the COMITES de LUCHA. I believe that the creation of a revolutionary party is beyond the capacity of this movement even though we in fact lack a truly revolutionary party. But I doubt that a party is the most appropriate organizational form the movement should take in Mexico at this time. In the event of the creation of such a party, the role of students would have to be studied...

We do not believe that the necessary political work can be sustained by the work of the brigades. This work, even though it represents the backbone of the movement, clearly reveals the lack of national direction that might formulate more centralized and more effectively directed strategy for the struggle. The fact that the lack of national direction may be seen does not necessarily imply that a political party should be formed. We students must seek a unique form of organization that will allow us to become more consistent theoretically, and simultaneously more consistent in practical work.

VANGUARD?

QUESTION: How has the movement been viewed by the institutions, groups or parties of the left?

ANSWER:...at no time has it (the Communist Party) been able to propose an appropriate direction for us to take. In general terms, we do not believe that either the Communist Party or other so-called parties of the left are in a position to organize anyone.

QUESTION: Do you believe that the student movement has limited perspectives?

ANSWER: By definition the student movement has been limited in its perspectives. We believe that it is a mistake to think that the students can sustain popular demands in practice or ideology. The fact that student demands are close to those of the people does not mean that this movement has assimilated other political or class sectors.

QUESTION: Do you believe that the student movement is the vanguard of a popular movement?

ANSWER: It has been shown over and over that even if a popular movement has its genesis in the university, students cannot be the vanguard of the movement because of their class differences (with those who form the popular base). It may be said, however, that students can serve or participate in the leadership of a popular movement.

QUESTION: Do you believe that government repression has been unsuccessful with regard to the brigades?

ANSWER: The regime's efforts at repression have at no time been a true representation of the repressive capacities at its command. The repression becomes "serious," when there is not only intervention on the part of the army but also the active, armed participation of the Fascist groups of the Government. Things are going to get rough for students --who have neither arms nor the necessary



ZAPATA

training in how to use them. Within the university itself, the brigades would not only be ineffectual but it would be irresponsible on the part of the leadership of the movement to be forced to confront repressive forces that would be undoubtedly implacable. When this happens, it will be necessary to define the struggle in terms of two alternatives: either we take up arms or we opt for a ...cessation of all activity which would not only permit students to return to the university but would also allow the

STUDENT FROM NATIONAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

QUESTION: What are the specific differences between the Polytechnic Institute and the National University (UNAM)?
ANSWER: There is no difference in organization...All the schools have the same organization, the National Strike Council. But I suppose that there are some tactical and theoretical differences.

However, the Polytechnical Institute originally created for the poor, has become more bourgeois since the last educational reforms. Whereas before only students of scarce means studied here, now almost half the student body is composed of students having some resources.

These differences can also be seen in attitudes toward student struggles. Students at the National University even have a special understanding of autonomy. Although theoretically they are unaware of it, we can see by their attitude and behavior

hurts us, does not frighten us. As a student who lives in the slums or tenements can affirm, our children and many older workers die daily of curable, simple illnesses. We lack the means to fight even these small infirmities we suffer owing to the environment, the lack of hygiene, malnutrition, etc.

QUESTION: What about the struggle and its organization?

ANSWER: The greatest desire of Mexican youth has always been to become united around common, concrete problems. The lack of organizations that truly represented the students at large kept us all disoriented. Even those groups that have represented government interests among students such as the FNET (Federación Nacional de Estudiantes Técnicos) owe their existence to the lack of organization among the students themselves. Yet the present movement has achieved great organization in that the National Strike Council alone has 250 members and the whole network of over 800 brigades has 8, 10 or up to 15 members in each brigade.

QUESTION: Do you believe that the student force may become a popular force in the future?

ANSWER: Our movement is already popular; this you may see by our demands in the petition movement. It is true that there is a lot of passivity on the part of truly proletarian sectors; but in order to overcome this we have created and we will continue to create and promote the whole system of brigades.

QUESTION: What do the students of the Polytechnical Institute think of the intellectuals of Mexico?

ANSWER: Intellectuals have always made their demonstrations outside the social context of the real "people". They have never had the courage--or they have not wanted to have it--to develop a theory on which a protest could be based. The majority of them are a very important part of the whole State apparatus...Honest, dedicated intellectuals--such as Jose Revueltas--who support and bravely participate in a popular movement, are rare.

QUESTION: Much has been said to the effect that the Mexican people greatly distrust the movement and its leaders. Do you believe that this phenomenon is present among the students of the Polytechnic Institute, owing to their very class origins?

ANSWER: No, in the Poli, the student body now believes in its leaders; it has faith in the movement, as do the workers. You have been able to see that here in the University (representatives of) many popular sectors have been brought together--taxi drivers, among others. This shows that the distrustful attitude of workers and peasants is already disappearing. It should also be pointed out that the pressure of students at large has been responsible for the emergence of good, authentic leaders.

Translated by Jackle Skiles Quayle



development of other possibilities for future democratic movements.

QUESTION: If students are not the vanguard of the popular movement, how can they take up arms?

ANSWER: We are convinced that students have no possibility for victory in terms of an armed struggle, owing to their class origins; but we are convinced that we have great political capacities. With regard to the question of arming students, we believe that it is pointless to raise it. What we believe possible is that students, in addition to political ability, have the capacity to take control of the streets and taking control of the streets does not mean taking up arms.

QUESTION: Don't you believe that the importance of the movement resides in the exemplary action the student can show the people?

ANSWER: Of course; in almost all struggles students have been an example for the people; however, this does not mean we are responsible for the movements. It should be understood, however, that we students are no example for the working class in the sense that we have anything to teach them since the worker, through his own experience, already knows how to do things. Of course the demonstrations we have held are an example; so is the takeover of the university, but not the taking of arms.

QUESTION: Do you believe that clandestine action would be a more effective weapon in case repression is stepped up?

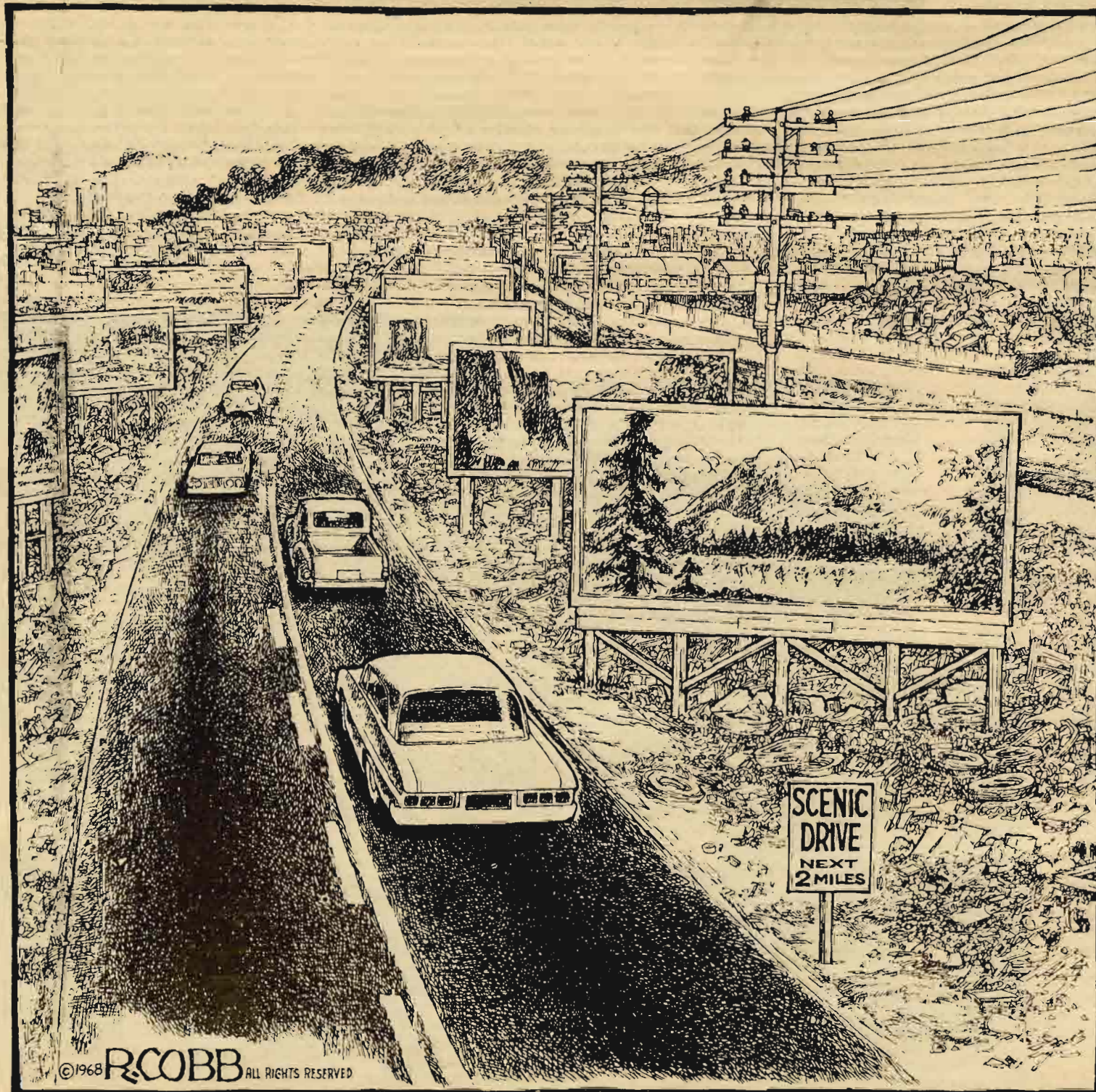
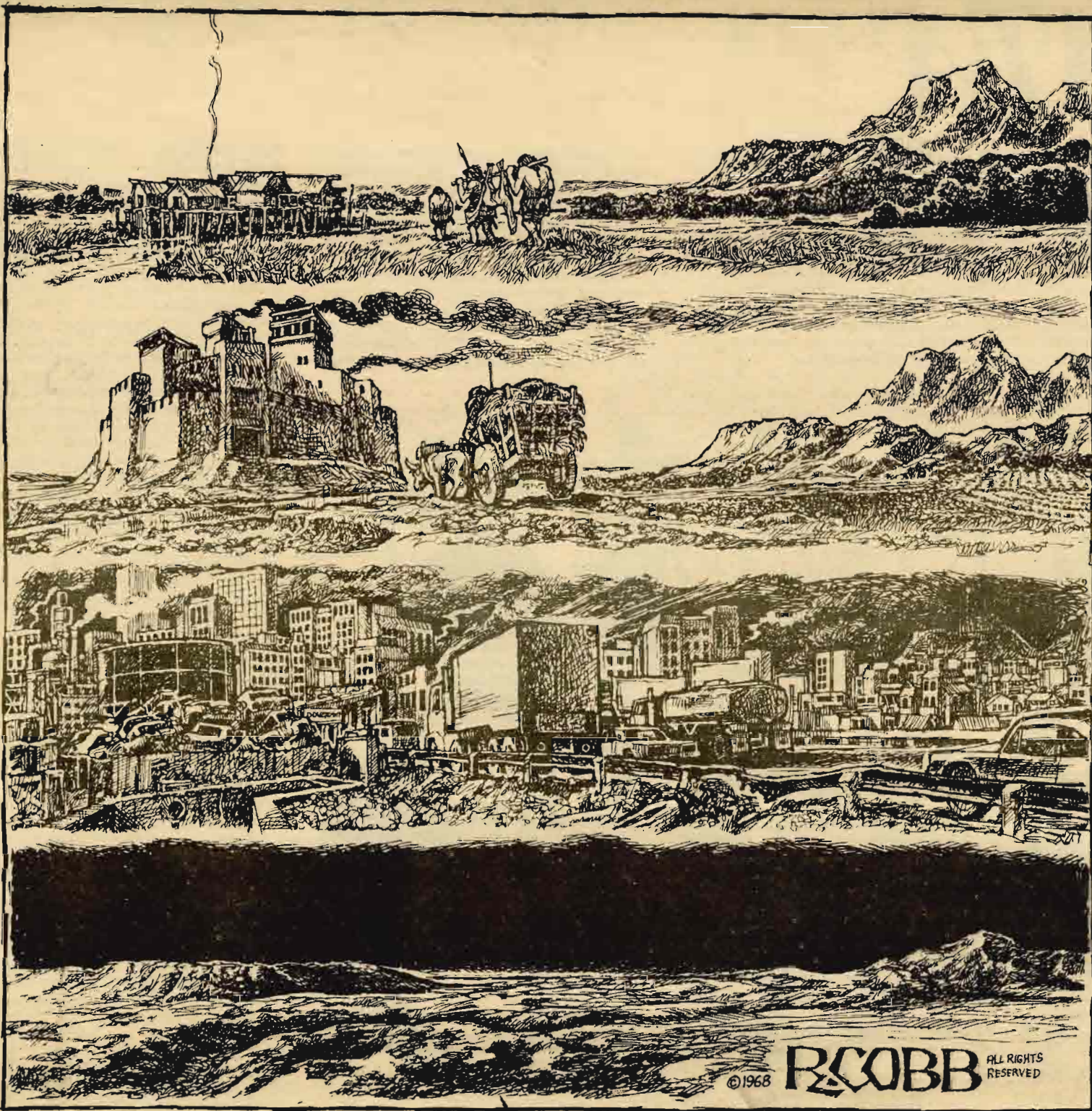
ANSWER: We believe that a clandestine movement is necessary at this time for two reasons: (1) because it makes it possible for many cadres to be permanently active and (2) because it guarantees the combativeness in students themselves. However the clandestine movement demands many things that are not present in the university; among them, discipline. If operating underground does not guarantee the mobilization, it is logical that not only will the clandestine system of opposition be sacrificed but the rational basis for the movement as well. Clandestine activity for its own sake is meaningless.

The problem of the University is that its constituency is much more theoretically oriented than we are. By our very class origins--the sons of workers and peasants--we live the conditions of hunger and poverty more than do those who live them only in words. At the Poli we have a large number of students who have no place to sleep; they live in truly precarious, difficult conditions. We also have a very small number of scholarships available, while at the University there are persons with greater economic means and there are more scholarships.

how each student feels autonomous, whereas in the Polytechnical Institute the students have a more gregarious concept of themselves. For students of the University, contact with workers is a new thing. That's why they brag so much about the brigades that go to the people. We also have brigades--and very good ones--but going to the workers does not make a special impression on us because we live in their midst, we share the same conditions.

We are no longer afraid of anything. An assassinated worker, although it deeply





SMOKEY BEAR OR PIG?

A new radical action group emerged in the middle of December in Madison, Wisconsin, with its first offensive to "get the crap out of the environment". The DDT Commandoes, action arm of the Conservation Research and Action Project (CRAP) converged on the State Capitol, where hearings were being held concerning a possible ban on the use of DDT in the state. In Panther fashion, twenty commandoes, armed with machine water guns full of what they told newsmen was DDT, forcibly entered the state capitol, after squirting all available flora and fauna. Inside the Capitol they proceeded to the hearing room where they checked their arms with state guards and peaceably attended the hearings. This was CRAP's first action.

CRAP was founded in early November by a group of radical scientists and SDS activists. Interest was generated earlier in the summer when one CRAP organizer dove into Madison's lake Mendota and came out green, from head to toe. After a long shower, she set out to find out why. Most Madisonians already know that it is due mainly to excess nutrients washed in from unregulated overfertilization of fields in the area. However, she found much more, like the fact that a University of Wisconsin Regent had bought up important marshland (which acts as a natural filter for nutrients) and made it into a housing development. More research uncovered more shady deals, and more of a realization that corporate interests had an almost free hand in exploiting the environment for profit, disregarding the ecological systems involved.

REGULATION BY INDUSTRY

Industry has a free hand because the regulating bureaus of the government are usually staffed from people with experience and ties to related industries. Thus we have paper company executives on water pollution control boards. They define their regulatory capacities in very specific areas, usually leaving plenty of room for the companies to get by. For instance, you'll get quickly slapped with a twenty dollar fine for fishing without a license in Lake Michigan, but the city of Milwaukee can dump in its sewage and business can pour in wastes, killing millions of fish without having to worry. The only great lake which isn't a stinking mess is Lake Superior, and there is little doubt that it will be next.

In Madison, agri-business and chemical concerns are putting up a strong fight for the continued use of DDT, despite conclusive scientific proof that the chemical is completely uncontrollable. Not only does it kill a wide variety of species other than target species, but it does not decompose for long periods of time, and it is incredibly mobile. Penguins in the antarctic thousands of miles away from anywhere DDT is used, have been found to carry significant levels of DDT. We are powerless to change this, the decisions lie in the hands of bureaucrats responsible to business interests.

BECOMING A WASTELAND

How to be a radical conservationist has to be worked out. There is no way to stop our own poisoning and destruction of our environment through existing channels, just as there is no way to end imperialism through the Democratic Party. Every day our chances of dying of old age get slimmer and slimmer, and every day, America charges closer towards becoming a wasteland. Lefties have hardly talked about this at all. We constantly rap about control over the decisions that affect our lives like the draft, school issues, etc. Dig--it is entirely possible that business, with the help of the government, can wipe out human life on this planet without the help of nuclear war. DDT acts as a hormone, affecting reproduction, and it is present in all of us in levels that can WORK ACTIVELY. Put that in your anti-capitalist critique and smoke it. It is no longer a question of a few birds and fish dying; when these cats start fooling with the ecology of the earth, they are fucking around with dangerous kind of shit, for this is the balance of life we are talking about.

NEW ISSUE FOR THE MOVEMENT

CRAP organizers in Madison see this as a whole new issue opening up for the movement. Wisconsin has always been a conservation minded state. For half a century its been an important issue for the liberals--Gaylord Nelson was just reelected to the Senate by going around the state pledging to save the "natural resources" of the state. But Nelson, and the rest of the libs have failed. There is no such thing as a liberal solution, only liberal failures. Nelson has no plans to attack the companies that dump the shit into the environment.

so the folks in CRAP are putting down their lefty journals and picking up their scientific journals. They aren't forgetting their anti-capitalist critiques, but are boning up on an ecological critique. This isn't talk to scientists, but to be able to talk with regular people. One attitude that has had to be combatted among scientists and laymen is that people are not capable of making decisions that affect the environment and themselves, like the use of DDT. Horseshit. If they can't, it is only because there is a massive professional and social conspiracy to keep relevant data out of their reach. We must bring it to them. It is really explosive stuff, once you get on to it. It is also inexhaustable--for every thing the government conservationists think they have saved, you can show hundreds of things they have destroyed in saving it. Their position is indefensible. A radical solution of the problem of our own poisoning and putrifaction of our world is the destruction of the bourgeois state. THE ENVIRONMENT BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE.

by Huntley Barad



This leaflet was distributed by a group of rank-and-file workers at International Harvester Company's Tractor Works in Chicago. It is the latest in a series of leaflets that have been passed out there.

The 90 days in the cartoon refers to a suspension given one man for absent-mindedly walking out with a 29¢ roll of masking tape.

The South African blood money refers to IHC investments which were exposed in an earlier leaflet. That leaflet exposed the fact that IHC employs over 1000 workers in South Africa, two-thirds African. It pointed out working conditions, social conditions and wages in South Africa are a world wide scandal. The leaflet continued:

Now get this--here they are in Chicago with their "New Start" program, trying to show how concerned they are with the problems of black people, and there they are in South Africa with their teeth sunk into the neck of the black people. Did you ever wonder why there are so few black workers in the skilled trades and higher classifications at Tractor Works? IT'S ALL PART OF

THE SAME POLICY.

Give one group (whites) a few miserable crumbs to make them feel better than the rest. THAT'S COMPANY POLICY.

What's OUR policy? Is the old union principle "An injury to one is an injury to all" out of date? The response to the latest leaflet was terrific. As soon as they saw it the company canceled the suspensions of six men who were up for a "hearing". The union officials were to have a friendly Christmas coffee clatch with the company; when they saw the leaflet they called it off.

Right now there are about a hundred men on the day shift (about twenty of whom are white) wearing the fist button, out of a total of around a thousand. In some departments all the workers, black and white, greet each other with the up-raised fist. The greatest potential lies in the 2nd and 3rd shifts, which have a higher proportion of young workers.

The MOVEMENT will be covering this struggle in the IHC shop in coming issues. Hopefully it will provide some lessons for factory organizing for the movement. (Editor)



IF YOU HAVE BEEN USING A TELEPHONE CREDIT CARD, READ THIS!!

1) At some point, about \$70,000 worth of calls was made on Dow's card. They were pissed, cancelled the card, but refused to press charges for interstate fraud.

2) Since April, the telephone company has separate codes in addition to just the number. If you don't automatically give the other code, they know it's a phony and tape the conversation for identification purposes.

3) All of the credit cards commonly used by the movement are known. Some of them have been out of date since 1963.

A leak inside ITT told us that names were being kept; when the source read off the names, they were mostly movement people. Later a guy from SNCC was called in for questioning by the FBI, ITT detectives, and local cops. He denied everything, but they played back some tapes showing evidence. Dow and ITT won't press charges, so the FBI can't get people just yet. The assorted cops pointed out that national SDS people are the biggest offenders. If use of phony credit cards continues, they may press charges. Under the new crime bill, it appears that the tapes can be used as evidence in court.

GET READY TO FIGHT!



Who's the real thief?

The company has begun a deliberate campaign of harassment and intimidation. For weeks they have been handing out maximum penalties for even the smallest human errors in the piece count. They ignore the fact that under the speed-up conditions of many piece-work operations, mistakes are unavoidable.

The aim of their campaign is to break us down from working men and women, proud of our history of struggle, into ghosts and shadows who jump at every word from the boss.

The union officials have started to talk about strike action. For our part, we fully support any militant action, including strike action, against the arrogant behavior of the company.

What we want to know is: DO THE OFFICIALS OF LOCAL 1301 MEAN BUSINESS, OR ARE THEY JUST SHUCKIN' AN' JIVIN'?

IF THEY MEAN BUSINESS, THE TIME TO START PREPARING IS NOW!

1. We should prepare ourselves for a strike which may not be an easy one. This means department meetings and leaflets explaining the issues. We should prepare our spirit by organizing sit-downs, slow-downs, walk-outs and other "solidarity actions" - department by department, wherever an incident of company harassment takes place. In case of any reprisal, the whole plant should be ready to back up each department. Stewards should be spending eight hours a day writing grievances.
2. We should prepare our families for a strike, to guarantee solid support at home. This should be done by a letter to our wives and husbands from the local, explaining the issues and why the company has forced us to take strike action. Meetings should be called for our families to hear the facts.
3. We should seek support outside of our own ranks, so we will not have to rely only on the international for help. Right now, not after we are on the street, we should begin contacting unions and other groups around the city, asking them to organize to come to our aid.
4. Along with our other demands, we should demand an end to the white monopoly of the skilled trades and higher classification jobs. This is the key to achieving solidarity within the plant and the key to winning outside support. This demand will turn the tables on the company. It will take us off the defensive and put us on the offensive.

STOP THE COMPANY CAMPAIGN OF HARASSMENT!

FOR EQUALITY IN EMPLOYMENT THROUGHOUT THE PLANT!

Our symbol at the right means that if we stick together like a clenched fist, we can't be broken like the fingers of an outstretched hand.



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munity. The staff existed at the pleasure of the students.

The program was changing the orientation of the college. One of the things that angered the President and the police more than anything else were the posters they found on the walls of the center--posters of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Marcus Garvey and Che Guevara.

ADMINISTRATION HARASSMENT

The administration and Trustees began to harass what many thought was an innocuous liberal program. They recognized the issue clearly: Was the program going to be controlled by the Trustees to continue to raise the "skills" of black people so they could be fed into the system as the other students at the college; or were the third world students going to control the program, allow the program to provide radical education and build radical leadership?

They started to cut back the program's funds. Only 5% of the program's money came from the college. Then the Board of Trustees made a rule that all donations to the program had to be approved by them. The Board empowered the Administration to open all mail that came into the program and remove all checks. Those checks had to be approved by the Board of Trustees, then go to the Financial Aids Office and be allocated to ALL programs on campus.

The Board decided that all volunteers who worked for the program first had to be screened by them. At the end of last summer the students forced the resignation of one counselor and tried to hire Aaron Manganiello. They not only refused, but also got a court injunction to keep Aaron off campus.

Aaron was jailed for violating this ban. He wrote the following about his experience: "Jail is the womb of the revolutionary, the essence of the contradiction between man and society, the hub from which social change emerges, the manifestation of all social illnesses. In jail you understand how poorly society is prepared to deal with its problems. Most of the time the system won't even admit the problems exist. It just dumps one problem on top of another. But instead of smothering each other, each one adds fuel to the fire."

Life became a running battle with various white administrators and their secretaries. Something had to give. In October students went on strike for 11 demands--new counselors, reorganization of financial aids office, separate third world studies division, more third world faculty, the hiring of Aaron and another third world counselor (Pat Sumi), etc.

Police broke up a sit-in in the Administration building ending the strike. The administration made token concessions. Pat was hired and fired a little later when they discovered she marched with the GI March for Peace. Aaron was not hired. A division of minority studies was agreed on in principle, but no move was made to implement it.

Harassment of the program increased. Aaron describes the intransigency of the Administration this way: "One of the things that hangs the administration up is the whole idea of non-negotiable de-

mands, when it's obvious that what we could do is sit down and write another five demands: we want a swimming pool in every classroom, we want grass for our PE classes, and then we could say we were ready to negotiate with them, and throw away those five extra demands after the first 15 minutes. But we aren't playing those kinds of games; these are our basic needs and we can't play those kinds of games with respect for them. And they don't understand that."

BLOW-UP

On Friday, December 13, there was a rally. The demands were presented again and there was going to be a march around campus. The administration closed the building and sent all office workers home. People were pissed off. About 2 or 3 hundred white students were wearing blue armbands. They were harassing third world kids all day. It was pretty tense and things exploded.

Every window in at least three buildings were shattered. About 12 people were hospitalized. The press reported that third world people were indiscriminately attacking any white student. This mini-riot was unplanned, but provided the Administration with the excuse they wanted. They fired Hoover on the pretense that he was responsible for the violence. Hoover was not on campus, but they said he allowed the demonstration to be planned in the program's office.

CHECK POINT CHARLIE

San Mateo was transformed from a glorified vocational school to a concentration camp. The college on the hill was invaded by cops. For weeks all entrances but one were closed and each student and faculty member had to prove he had legitimate business on campus before he was allowed thru the checkpoint. A helicopter flew above to make sure that no one tried sneaking thru another entrance.

Many were arrested and suspended. A conspiracy investigation is expected. Everyone must show his ID card on demand. No rallies, meetings, leaflets or collection of ball funds are allowed on campus.

Christmas vacation came and went, and the cops remained on campus. Isolated acts of terrorism made headlines. There seemed to be a vacuum in radical political articulation.

COOPTATION

The radicals were out organized. Some of the more moderate members of the BSU negotiated with the Administration. Hoover was given a new post "higher up". He can name counselors to the Readiness Program, but all his nominations must be approved by the Trustees. As a result, he is naming people who are relatively unresponsive to community needs. The program remains, but not under Third World control. It will probably become just another tutoring program.

There is now a split in the leadership of the struggle between reformists and terrorists. The terrorists articulate no radical political program that could mobilize support for a continued struggle. Politics are left to the reformists who play on white guilt, but refuse to put forth political demands that would involve the whole campus.

There will probably be more individual terrorism at San Mateo, but it will be a while before people can organize around the political issues as they have at San Francisco State. ◆

There was absolute chaos, but nobody starved. There were places for everyone to sleep, if not in a school, then in someone's home. People stayed for two or three months.

STUDENTS AND WORKERS

MOVEMENT: What was the relationship between students and workers?

CHRIS: Red Guards would go into some factory. Many times they didn't do it so hot. They'd act like outside work teams. They'd go in and with little investigation just say, "Aha, here's a bureaucrat". They created a lot of disturbances and some workers got pretty pissed off. But this wasn't necessarily typical--it all depended on the political level of the students involved.

MOVEMENT: Did you personally take one of these trips?

CHRIS: Yeah, I was gone for three months. Part of the time we went to a coal mine. We didn't just barge in and attack people. We just talked to people and after a while we began to make contact with the rebels in the mine. They would come to our dormitory and ask us how we did it in Peking and explain their own problems. They expected us to stir up some shit. We would get off work and there'd be 100 or 200 workers outside our dorm. We were the first student group that the workers respected because we didn't just start telling them what to do. We went there and asked if we could work. Gradually they opened up to us. This work style was invaluable.

There were some groups of students who did a better job than others. Some were arrogant, others would go out just for a good time and there were some who went out to do a specific task.

THE LONG MARCH

MOVEMENT: What kinds of tasks did they have in mind?

CHRIS: We went out because we figured we couldn't revolutionize the educational system because we didn't know a god-damned thing about working people. We'd been cooped up in a classroom for years; how could we know anything?

So we decided to walk and emulate the Red Army and learn what it was to suffer. At the time we decided to walk, most people were taking the train. We went out with the idea of having a rec-tification campaign among ourselves and develop a collective that could work

functionally together when we got back to school.

We made a lot of mistakes. Here we were trying to learn from the working people and we spent 9 or 10 hours a day among ourselves. When we got to a village, we'd be so tired. Even though we might sleep and eat with peasants, we had no time to find out anything about them. After a month we split into 5 different groups and went in 5 different directions. We had no Party or adult supervision.

PARALLELS

MOVEMENT: Do you see much similarity between this youth movement in China and youth movement in other countries?

CHRIS: Sure, there's some. Everyone struggles against what they think is unjust. But there's got to be a class analysis. People rebel for different reasons. I'm not sure where to draw the line. In Czechoslovakia, for example, I'm sure some people are rebelling in the right direction. But it seems that others are rebelling to try to get back to what the U.S. has, which is just what we're trying to get away from.

MOVEMENT: How has your experience as a Red Guard affected your action in the U.S. movement?

CHRIS: It has made me quite optimistic. The Chinese are no supermen. If they can build socialism, we can too. Also, I think I'm more tolerant of people after seeing the rapid changes people went thru during the cultural revolution. You can't say someone is better than another because he became a revolutionary first. And you can't say some revolutionary is better than someone who isn't revolutionary. People change. I learned just how fast that can happen.

MOVEMENT: What's your feeling when people talk about a "cultural revolution" happening in the U.S.?

CHRIS: My reaction is, that's groovy. I'm not going to put them down or anything. I might point out a few contradictions. It has no political level for one thing. It's not aimed at power. It's an individual thing which doesn't relate to what other people who are oppressed are doing. Talk about liberation on an individual basis ("smoke some dope, get a little high and I'm liberated")--That's bullshit. ◆

s.f. state

distributed to whites off campus has been a subtle variant of the regressive campus autonomy issue: "police off campus". Thus the faculty, which has played the role of opponent and enemy of most of the previous activity of the student movement on campus, has now become the only link by which white students on campus directly relate to working-class whites off campus. A union strike, at least, is something white workers can relate to. An ism is not so effective.

But all these problems aside, if the student strike ends shortly the political vacuum inside the white movement will probably not have hampered the strike's dynamic. At present, the political momentum generated by TWLF/BSU and by the AFT is sufficiently strong to keep attendance down near twenty percent even without massive picket lines (although these massive lines have been up almost every day). The campus has been shut long enough to

break the back of the current semester. The administration has recognized that the fail-safe point has been passed; there is no chance now to catch up on work in time. For this semester the strike has won. If the trustees and the administration want the campus open for business next semester, they will have to yield on the 15 demands. Chances are they will break before long, although they are by no means as politically together as the strike is, and they may take a while to come out in the open, as TWLF insists they must. On the battlefield of political power, the war has been decided; only the forms of the settlement remain to be worked out.

As for the white students, it will have been "a very educational experience". Whether any lasting gains in the collective level of consciousness arise out of that experience depends on the strike support committee's ability to engage in criticism and self-criticism. ◆

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Suppose you have an elephant
 with 56 millimeter trunk
 and say he's tearing up the jungle
 (say you think he's drunk
 or crazy)
 How're you going to bring that elephant down?
 lion can't
 bear could but don't want to
 and the panther's too small for that job.

Then suppose you have an elephant
 with million millimeter trunk
 and his jungle is the whole green world?
 (and drunk
 and crazy)
 you see the problem. one more word

about elephants
 No matter how hard they try
 elephants cannot pick their noses
 any more than bankers can hand out money
 or police put away their pistols
 or politicians get right with God.

a sty
 in the elephant's eye
 aint nothing
 but a fly in his nose
 is a serious if not fatal condition
 when the fly
 gets into that nostril
 it begins to swell
 and stay closed
 he cant smell cant drink cant think
 cant get one up
 on anybody
 he begins to regret
 all that flabby ammunition
 hanging on him
 he begins to wish
 he'd been a little more bare-faced
 like an ape or a fish
 all those passageways
 he needs to feed himself
 tied up

ELEPHANT TURNED UPSIDE DOWN
 by a fly
 a million flies
 outweigh a trunk
 a tank
 a bank
 a million flies
 outthink a pile of IBM
 junk

we must be wise
 to the elephant's lies
 you may think we should try
 to sober him up
 but the trouble isn't that he's drunk
 the trouble is
 that he's an elephant
 with multi-millimeter trunk
 who believes the world is his jungle
 and until he dies
 he grows and grows

we must be flies
 in the elephant's nose
 ready to carry on
 in every town
 you know there are butterflies
 there are horse flies and house flies
 blue flies, shoo flies and it's-not-
 true flies
 then there are may flies and wood flies
 but I'm talking about
 can flies & do flies
 bottle flies, rock flies and sock flies
 dragonflies and fireflies
 in the elephant's nose
 ready to carry on
 til he goes down



ELEPHANT

Judy Grahm