

# sds new left notes



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Vol. 4, no. 20 ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE May 30, 1969

# Convention Postponed

Dear Brothers & Sisters,

Because of the great advances we have made in the past year in both theory & practice, the ruling class has come to understand that we are a real threat to their power & has refused to give us a place to hold the convention & plan further actions. We have been forced to postpone the convention for at least a week & are still looking for a suitable site. SDS members everywhere should try to reserve a place in their area for the NC, with a meeting hall & housing available for 2,000-3,000 people. You should call the N.O. immediately about any possibilities.

# FROM OCCUPIED BERKELEY

(Reprinted from THE MOVEMENT)

The white student/street movement has suffered its first fatality. James Rector, 25, of San Jose died of wounds in a Berkeley hospital May 20—his body ripped apart by 00 buckshot. He was murdered by Alameda County pigs during the first day of fighting over Berkeley's People's Park.

Berkeley, California is occupied by over 2000 National Guardsmen and 500 police from various communities. The Guard was called in May 15 after police and demonstrators engaged in the heaviest street battle in Berkeley history. More than 200 people and 70 police were injured on that day. Cops used shotguns and rifles against the people. The people fought back with everything they had—bricks, bottles, rocks, and pieces of metal from various construction projects.

On the surface the battle is another in a series of street/turf battles between the people of Berkeley and the police. The turf this time was "People's Park", a one-half block vacant lot located just south of the Berkeley campus. Just a park? No. People's Park is of much greater significance to both the people who built it and the pigs who are trying to destroy it.

For the first time the movement in Berkeley has raised, in a clear and sharp way, the question of private property. Many people in the movement certainly understand this; some have clearly articulated it. The pigs definitely understand. According to Berkeley City Manager James Hanley, "The basic question, therefore, was, and is, whether public property is to be developed and controlled by duly constituted authority or by any ad hoc group that chooses to assert rights and powers over it." Then, calling attention to the fact that the movement also understands that this is what is at stake, he continued, "Or, as it was succinctly put in a 'people's' handout on May 16, 'control over that Park represented more than just a piece of land. It raised the basic question of who will control the institutions and property in this country and for what purposes?'"

So it is clear that both sides understand that the question of OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF PROPERTY is the basis of the current struggle.

But there are additional factors. The Park became more than simply a place to go on sunny afternoons. It became a concrete manifestation of non-alienated labor; a place where the collective ingenuity of youth and community was manifest for others to see. People felt it was their own...regardless of the shibboleths of "private property".

"For the first time in my life," said one participant, "I enjoyed working. I think lots of people had that experience. Ever since I was 18 I hated every job and either quit or was fired. But this was something different. With aching back and sweat on my brow, there was no boss. What we were creating was our own desires, so we worked like madmen and loved it." People were therefore willing to fight



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# LETTERS

## Preamble

Elsewhere in this issue is printed a proposed constitutional amendment submitted by members of the Revolutionary Socialist Caucus of University of Chicago SDS. I have been asked to explain this amendment briefly.

The amendment would amend by substitution the preamble to the SDS constitution. It is offered as an alternative to the proposed new preamble submitted by Bob Kirkman and others and printed in NLN May 13. Though the existing preamble is thoroughly liberal in nature and we would not want to vote to retain it, the one proposed by Kirkman and others has several drawbacks. Aside from weaknesses of analysis, which could not be discussed briefly, the major problems of Kirkman's amendment are:

(1) It defines SDS as opposing capitalism, yet contains no reference to socialism as the goal of a struggle against capitalism. This apparent oversight actually allows the authors—and SDS if the amendment passes—to avoid specifying what kind of socialism they are for. In practice, the failure of SDS as a whole to specify this would leave the leaders free to specify it in whatever way, and at whatever time, they pleased. This defines SDS in an elitist way, since the members would be fighting for a form of society which they did not specify, and which SDS did not specify to its constituency.

(2) Related to this, the proposed preamble drops all reference to democracy as a goal of SDS. We believe the "participatory democracy" concept enshrined in the existing preamble is in practice classless and non-revolutionary. It should be replaced, but by a statement of workers' democracy as the goal of socialist struggle, not by the deletion of democracy as a goal.

### Step Backward

Although stating an explicitly revolutionary perspective is a step forward for SDS, dropping the statement of democracy as the goal of struggle would constitute two steps back. This is especially true when SDS is starting to define its relation to non-middle class groups. The Kirkman amendment should be rejected.

Since the Kirkman amendment was printed in the last issue before the deadline for amendments to take effect in 1969, we were not able to submit our alternative amendment within the specified time. This means that while our amendment may be discussed and voted on at the June convention—and our intention is that it should be—it would not take effect, if passed, until June 1970. It is our hope that retaining the old liberal preamble for one more year will not cripple SDS's organizing any more than it has in past years.

Chris Hobson  
Revolutionary Socialist Caucus  
University of Chicago SDS

## Australia

I am writing on behalf of the Sydney University Chapter of SDS, which was established in Australia in 1966. Since then chapters have been set up on 12 campuses in the 5 major states of Australia, with a hardcore membership of over 1000, and with a much larger sympathetic following.

Our activities have, up till now, centered on the National Service Act (which is similar to your Selective Service System). In the case of Australia conscription was not introduced till 1965 in order to boost the sagging armed forces, so as to enable the Australian government to maintain its active participation with its glorious American patron in Southeast Asia.

Sydney SDS was in large part responsible for the warm welcome that LBJ received when he visited here.

At present we are conducting an active campaign to encourage people not to register for National Service, and, more recently, staged a demonstration which developed into a near-riot on the Sydney campus against the presence of militarism on campus as represented by the Sydney University Regiment (a branch of the Citizens' Military Forces, which are similar to your National Guard). Coincidentally, at this demo the Governor of NSW was present and was hit by some of the flying missiles such as rotten tomatoes; this aroused the expected backlash in the government and the press circles, which only aided us in recruiting more members.

A National Conference of SDS is to be held this week in Sydney and should provide the basis for a much more active radical movement on Australian campuses.

Peter Landau  
Sydney SDS

## SUBPOENAS!

The McClellan Committee has issued subpoenas to at least 15 universities to produce records and any other information about a series of organizations and hundreds of individuals. The organizations being investigated include SDS, various black student unions, the Black Panther Party, Progressive Labor Party, YSA, and a host of local groups. Very preliminary figures indicate that (at a bare minimum) several hundred individuals have also been named. The schools we know about are Harvard, Berkeley, Stanford, Cornell, and possibly Columbia. Most universities will, unless successfully challenged in any manner possible, turn over their records to the McClellan Committee.

Therefore: first find out if subpoenas have been issued at your university, get as complete details as possible, and NOTIFY THE SDS NATIONAL OFFICE IMMEDIATELY. Second, be prepared to mobilize a fight in your area.

## New Left Notes

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## Amendments

The present Constitution of SDS now contains an Article VI (National Council). This article begins:

Section 1: (a) The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative from each chapter with from five to twenty-five members, and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof in that chapter....

This proposed amendment would change that section to read as follows:

Section 1: (a) The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative from each chapter with five members, and one additional representative for each additional five members in that chapter....

It is intended by the sponsors of this amendment that this amendment shall take effect at the Fall 1969 meeting of the National Council.

### ARGUMENT

(1) Recent sessions of the National Council have consistently attracted more than 1,000 SDS people. Yet fewer than 250 of them have been voting delegates. The primary purpose of this amendment is to vastly increase the number of representatives each chapter can send to the National Council. Making the National Council more representative of the membership of SDS by increasing the number of chapter delegates will result in giving more weight to the decisions of the National Council. The membership will likewise have an increased opportunity to shape the politics and programs of SDS, an increased opportunity that will hopefully encourage more SDS people to take an active role at the national level.

(2) The dramatic increase in delegate votes at NCs which would result from the adoption of this amendment would tend strongly to minimize the effect of any attempt to influence NCs through the creation of "paper chapters" (chapters which exist only for the purpose of sending delegates to NCs). While it is probably impossible to "prove" that this or that chapter is a "paper chapter", it is possible to minimize the effects by providing for a vastly increased number of delegates from genuine functioning chapters.

(3) Likewise, the occasional practice of splitting up larger chapters into more numerous smaller chapters in order to acquire more voting strength at NCs would be eliminated. Under this amendment, one chapter with 25 members would get the same number of votes (5) as five chapters with five members each.

(4) The only argument which has been raised against this amendment is that it could tend to make NCs awkwardly large (that is, it takes longer to count 750 votes than 250). Yet no one has faulted the system of representation at the National Convention on those grounds; in fact, most people think the National Convention is more democratic precisely because of increased representation from chapters.

We think that the National Council should be democratized by increased chapter representation not merely because democracy is an abstractly good thing, but because a more democratic National Council means a more effective National Council and a stronger SDS. For these reasons we urge the adoption of this amendment.

Submitted by:

Ed Clark, New Orleans MDS, PLP  
Ed Dubinsky, Tulane SDS  
John Donald, Louisiana State University at New Orleans SDS  
Pam Geraci, Louisiana State University at New Orleans SDS  
Eric Gordon, New Orleans MDS  
Sue Munaker, SDS at-large (New Orleans)  
Phil Sandford, Florida State University SDS  
Gail Shaw, Tulane SDS

Preamble: Change to read:

Students for a Democratic Society is an organization of young people committed to the struggle for international socialist revolution.

We stand together with the struggles of oppressed peoples throughout the world. We support the just demands of the black, Asian, and Latin peoples for self-determination. We are part of the international movement against imperialist exploitation and aggression. Within the United States, we stand together with the struggle of black and brown people for their liberation, and we believe that racism must be fought at every turn. We support and identify with the growing movement for women's liberation. We oppose capitalism as the source of racial and imperialist oppression and as a system of class exploitation.

Our conception of socialism is revolutionary and democratic. We believe that the needs of the people can only be achieved when the people seize power in the state. The task of revolutionaries is to organize workers and all other oppressed peoples to fight to control production and the state. Socialism is, above all, democracy—full and unequivocal democratic power for the producers of social wealth, including the power to develop, choose, and replace their own leadership.

Our activity as a movement is to build the struggles of young people against imperialist wars, and against education, training, and channeling designed to make us the agents or passive victims of oppression; we are part of the struggles of youth, black and brown people, women and working people for their liberation. We extend complete support and solidarity to popular struggles against oppression everywhere in the world.

Submitted to the 1969 National Convention by:

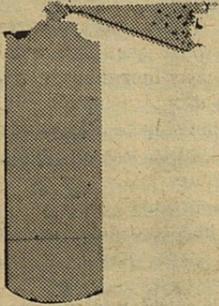
Dave Finkel  
Chris Hobson  
Derek Linton  
Miles Mogulescu  
Steve Rothkrug  
Robin Sandow

University of Chicago SDS  
Revolutionary Socialist Caucus

Constitutional

# in the name of the law

The pig power structure continued to vamp on people's struggles across the country this week as one black youth was murdered in Greensboro, organized right wing forces continued their increased mobilization in places like Houston, heavy indictments and phony drug busts of the past weeks continued across the country, and more political prisoners were ripped off the streets. The following summary of some of the week's moves gives a picture of the pattern and levels on which the Man is moving to counter the growing strength of the people's movement.



## NORTH CAROLINA

Barely a year after the massacre at Orangeburg, South Carolina, where three black students were killed by pigs, local police and National Guardsmen charged the North Carolina A & M campus last week, guns blazing and lobbing tear gas at hundreds of black students who defended themselves in buildings on the campus. One black youth was murdered by the pigs.

During the past few weeks the black students from the campus had been aiding local black high school youth in their fight against the racist high school in Greensboro. Police had attacked demonstrators at the school, and A & M students had been enjoined from demonstrating at the high school.

A number of students were injured in the pig attack and others arrested at A & M, which is the site of the beginning of the student movement in 1960. In February of that year four black students sitting in at a lunch counter sparked a wave of mass demonstrations and organization throughout the South, and the renewed cry for justice and self-determination was raised by this generation of black youth throughout the country. At that time the ruling pigs tried to tell the people that the black youths' tactics were "too extreme", that there were "other, better, more rational ways" to win justice in this country. This week the mass media carried the same line: the black youths' tactics were "too extreme"; they had no business arming to defend themselves from the attacking mass of pigs. And they asked the question that only the fool pig could ask: why couldn't they have non-violent sit-ins as in February 1960?

Meanwhile, on Saturday, May 24, a newly forming chapter of the Black Panther Party held its first public rally in Charlotte in solidarity with the Greensboro students. An armed drill was part of the rally. On the night of May 27, a Panther meeting at the home of Michael Laney was attacked by about 40 Federal, state, county, and city police, armed with full riot equipment and submachine guns. When Raney asked them for a warrant, he was arrested and charged with felonies such as obstructing police, interfering with arrest, etc. Raney's bond was set at \$25,000.

One man the cops were really after was brother James Covington, who was charged with purchase and possession of firearms after a felony conviction, a federal rap. Bond is \$5,000. All the weapons found in the house were confiscated.

Four hours later, the pigs returned and opened fire on the house with high powered rifles, clearly trying to get the people inside to fire in self defense so that they would have an "excuse" to wipe them out. But since the guns had all been confiscated, no shots were fired, so the pigs broke into the house once again. This time they confiscated all that remained in the house—the

supply of food which had been collected for the Panthers' Breakfast for Children program.

## ILLINOIS PANTHER CHAIRMAN JAILED

Attacks on the Black Panther Party continued elsewhere too as Fred Hampton, deputy chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, was sentenced to 2-5 years in prison this week for allegedly robbing an icecream truck of \$71 worth of ice cream and distributing it to the kids in the neighborhood. He was jailed immediately as his appeal bond was denied. The judge said that Hampton "advocated armed revolution" and that he would not be responsible for "letting him out on the streets" during his appeal.

Meanwhile city officials stepped up a terror and propaganda campaign against youth organizations in the city, which are becoming more and more political and consciously trying to reorganize and serve the people of their communities. The city has launched an "all out war" against "street gangs" that ranges from daily scare headlines about "gang violence" in the mass media to murder and assault of black and brown youth by the large Gang Intelligence Unit here, attempts to provoke warfare among the gangs, increased levels of infiltration throughout the ghetto areas of the city. Community organizations throughout the city joined the Panther Party at a press conference about Hampton's kidnapping by the pig power structure and vowed to see that Chairman Fred was freed.



## HOUSTON, TEXAS

The KKK, which had been threatening local movement people in the Houston area throughout the spring, escalated their attacks as a car was firebombed Monday night, May 27, in front of an SDS regional traveler's house in the middle of a low-rent housing district here. The car was completely gutted, but no one was injured. After the fire bombing renewed threats were phoned in from persons saying they were from the Klan.

Meanwhile it appears that one of the TSU (Texas Southern University) 5 may go to trial on June 9, more than two years after the pig assault on that campus. The 5 are charged with precipitating an action which led to the death of a local pig who was killed by another pig as they fired on dormitories there. In one of the heaviest frame-up cases in the country, the 5 still face charges which are a capital crime in Texas.

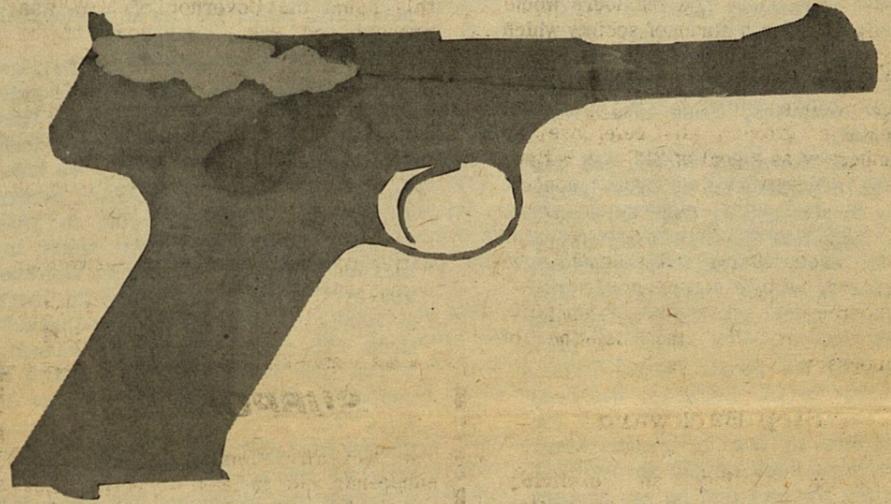
## PHONY DOPE BUSTS CONTINUE

The pattern of phony dope busts continued in several areas this week. In Albuquerque, New Mexico, 13 movement folks were arrested in a set-up raid. One member of the Brown Berets was among those arrested. And in Fayetteville, Arkansas, 16 SDS people were busted in similar set-up raids last week as local pigs vamped down on three places in the city simultaneously.

In Palo Alto, California, two separate court injunctions have been placed on the people's movement. The struggle against the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) which has been escalating since a year and a half ago exploded in April. Since then, the Defense Department announced that it was canceling its contracts with SRI. However SRI, of course, didn't shut down, but just got its contracts through different departments and corporations instead. On May 19 the Stanford movement marched on the Hanover plant of the SRI, blocking all access to it. Since most of the pigs were over in Berkeley, the Stanford folks were able to virtually shut down the Palo Alto Industrial Park, where the Hanover

Plant is located. When the police finally arrived at Hanover, they gased the students with grenades and canisters. In retaliation, the students nearly destroyed one whole side of the Plant with thrown objects.

This Monday two injunctions came down. The first named 30 individuals, and SDS, the April 3rd Movement (sit-in coalition) and the Free University. It prohibits picketing, blocking entrances, disrupting, etc. at any SRI properties. The second injunction, against these same parties, prohibits any actions on campus at Stanford. And just to make sure they had the whole thing sewed up, the police were equipped with 500 John Doe warrants for anybody they picked out as a potential disrupter. These warrants are numbered "Doe 1", "Doe 2", etc. through 500, and so far 80 have been issued. On May 26, seven specific warrants were issued for "leaders" of the Stanford movement, and by Tuesday all seven had been arrested. Stanford SDS people report that since November 1968 there have been 10 important political cases in Palo Alto, and the cops have lost each case so far. It is clear that they are trying to set enough people up this time to at least win some victories for imperialism.



## ILLINOIS CHAPTER, BLACK PANTHER PARTY 2350 WEST MADISON, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS PRESS RELEASE —MAY 27, 1969

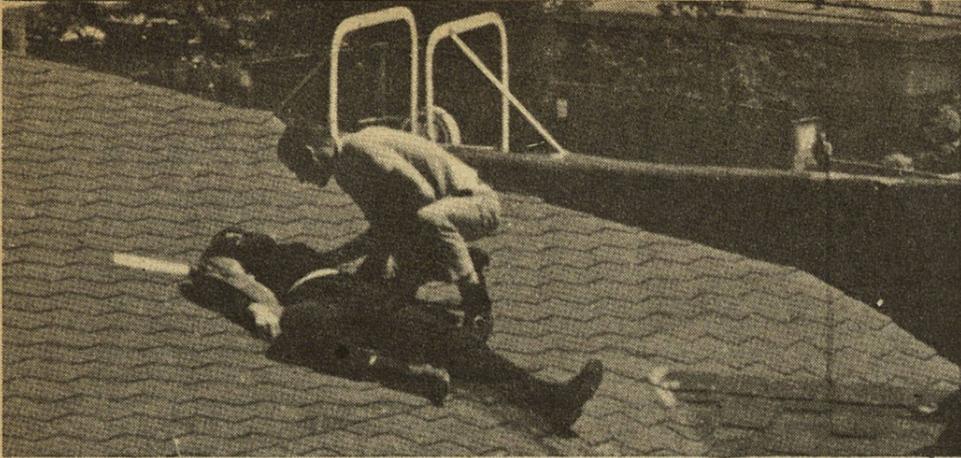
We the Black Panther Party, and other revolutionary organizations, realize that Chairman Fred's only crime, in the pigs' eyes, was to try to liberate all oppressed people. This is only another act of repression on the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords, the Black Disciples, and Young Patriots. This is merely another attempt to try to make the people think that we are against them--that we are criminals and gangs. But the pigs don't understand that the people know who their friends are, and unite with them to fight their enemies. If anybody is a gang, it is Pig Daley and his lawless servants of the law. We say to Pig Daley, Pig Hanrahan, Pig Conlisk, and the others, that we're going to put you up against the same wall that you try to put us up against and have the people try your crimes of murder, brutality, and torture.

In the past month, pigs have murdered four known brothers and have not been arrested. They have not been arrested because the fat fanatics that they serve and protect think that murderers of innocent, oppressed people deserve time off for "good behavior." But the people have closed the books of lawlessness and drawn their line between legality and illegality. They have drawn their line and have said "no more"--no more brothers will be taken from us without cause.

Fred was convicted in almost the same manner that Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton was convicted. Chairman Fred was convicted not for robbery of an ice-cream truck but for helping to initiate a free Breakfast for School Children program, a free health clinic, for believing that all oppressed people--be they black, brown, red, or white--should have the power to determine their own destiny. Fred was convicted and denied an appeal bond on his political beliefs alone.

Why was Chairman Fred denied an appeal bond when Pig Nuccio can kill a black brother and walk the streets, when four brothers can be murdered in the past month and not one pig be arrested, when Jerome Huey can be killed in Cicero by four racists and not one of them be jailed, when the same lackey, Sissy Jones, who sentenced a man to two-to-five years for a \$71 ice-cream robbery let a hit-and-run murderer of a 15-year old off? Why? Because we tried to use legality in a system of illegality. The people have drawn their line and now say that whenever anyone--be he armed or unarmed, uniformed or out of uniform, representative of law or representative of lawlessness--steps out of the realms of legality into the realms of illegality, then no matter who he is, if his approach is illegal, the response will be to halt illegal acts.

Sissy Jones committed an illegal act when he locked Fred Hampton up. The people will move to halt this illegal act. Fred is gone, gone from the streets where his heart and the people are, but not for long. For the people's love for Fred Hampton is lovelier than lovely, and they will join with the vanguard of the people's revolution in exhausting all legal means, appealing to the highest courts, and raising all necessary funds to get Fred back on the streets. The people know that you can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail revolution. The pigs will find out that they will no longer be able to do either.



James Rector lies mortally wounded.

Photo: LNS

# Occupied Berkeley

(continued from Page 1)

to preserve what they had labored to build.

A third factor of some importance is the internal politics in the state of California, and especially in the educational system. The vacant lot is property owned by the Regents of the University of California. It was purchased in 1968, although it was designated for University use as long ago as 1956. Plans originally called for the construction of dormitories on the site, but due to the budget cuts imposed by the legislature in response to the Cleaver controversy (see MOVEMENT November 1968), the winter TWLF strike (see MOVEMENT April 1969), and the general turmoil on California college campuses, these plans were abandoned.

The land remained vacant, and was used as a parking lot by those people willing to risk getting their cars stuck in the mud. Now the University claims that it wants to build recreational facilities (a soccer field) on the site, but these plans only began to surface AFTER the first weekend of park building by the people. Roger Heyns, Chancellor of UC Berkeley, has been under heavy pressure in the state for his failure to act in a determined fashion to put down campus unrest. This is despite the fact that he has brought pigs onto the campus numerous times over the last year. Still, in the public eye at least, he has been no Hayakawa. Persistent rumors indicate that the Regents plan to get rid of him. With the question of private property at stake he saw his chance to show just how tough he is when basic issues arise.

In addition, in California we are faced with two mad-dog fascist pigs—Governor Ronald Reagan and Alameda County Sheriff Frank I. Madigan. Both saw their opportunity to escalate their struggle against the movement and perhaps crush it. Madigan, who was in charge of all police, ordered the firing on students and others, later giving the excuse that "our men were being assaulted" and "I have reason to believe that the radicals have developed an antidote for tear gas." He denied that police used anything but #8 birdshot, but Rector's death shows that to be a lie.

Reagan made clear his desire to crush the movement. When questioned about the Park he termed it a phony issue, an excuse for radicals to bring about a confrontation and a riot. But over this phony issue he has had white students gunned down for the first time and he has occupied the city of Berkeley with 2000 National Guardsmen.

As the struggle continues, Reagan hysterically screams that revolutionists are responsible for the entire disorder and that they must be given appropriate justice.

## The Situation Now

It is difficult to assess the situation at this point with any certainty, but several tentative observations can be made.

First, it seems clear that the movement has entered a new stage. The fact that pigs will actually shoot us, like they have been shooting our black and brown brothers for so long, is something whose meaning will only become clear to us as the shock wears off and the reality settles in. But it is the beginning of the loss of at least

one part of our white skin privileges.

Second, and this is directly related to the first, is the fact that more and more white radicals and revolutionaries are beginning to understand, not only intellectually, but concretely, that we must begin to pick up the gun. Some early reactions suggested that we get everyone with a gun to appear at the next demonstration armed and ready, but of course this is unrealistic. The black struggle has shown us that much more must be done before that will be even remotely possible. Nevertheless people are now confronting the question of self-defense for the first time as a necessity, rather than as an intellectual exercise, and that is healthy.

Third, we have tried to put the pigs on the defensive by exerting economic pressure on downtown merchants. This of course is also safer militarily than staying in our own "ghetto". We have moved a LITTLE beyond purely spontaneous riots to trying to pick physical targets which will afford us maximum protection from pig violence and at the same time cause the most economic pressure to be exerted against those who control the city government.

The pigs have now reacted with a containment policy and we will have to work out a counter-tactic of small groups that still gives some protection when the pigs arrive.

Fourth, the movement has responded correctly to the repression and institution of fascist laws. The city has been under curfew and military occupation for the last six days. Rallies and assemblies have been banned. And yet we have been in the streets in mass numbers every single day and with the latest developments that seems likely to continue for quite some time.

Fifth, some good mass propaganda has been done by various groups. Much of the talk about the need to relate to the masses, to reach the working class is beginning to be concretized. Excellent leaflets have been passed out to the National Guard. But, since much of our energy has been devoted to the need to be on the streets every day—with leaflets for our own people, raising bail and responding to crisis—this has not been done enough. Hopefully much more of this will occur in the future. The resources are still too limited to do everything that must be done, and most of the leadership is devoting its time and energy to defying the fascist police state, which is the correct strategy at this point. Help from people around the country in the form of demonstrations and rallies is vital at this time. The situation at Berkeley is a question of national importance, and brothers and sisters everywhere must respond. Students at UC Santa Cruz and UCLA have already gone to the streets, and hopefully that will begin to happen in many other places.

Also encouraging is the beginning of some discipline and some unity among people with a great diversity of ideology. While certainly this has not been completely satisfactory, there does seem to be considerably less friction and sectarianism among the people. There are of course some exceptions. More than ever before we are united, willing to debate out the various actions and alternatives open to us and take what action we can. Spontaneity has not been stifled, but we are much more together this time than we were before. There is a good chance that we can unite even further in the next few days.

# Chronology

## (Since May 15)

**SATURDAY, MAY 17:** People gathered on Shattuck at 11 a.m. and found most of the stores closed and the street pretty well deserted. They marched around the street for about an hour before police and National Guard troops began herding them up to the campus. A short rally was held, and it was decided that on Sunday everyone would meet at Herrick Hospital for a silent vigil.

People were continually harassed throughout the day, particularly on Telegraph Avenue, where the police again used gas and clubs to disperse crowds. But the National Guard, obviously obeying orders reluctantly, behaved like the unwilling slaves they are. Extensive contact between youth in and out of uniform produced results surprising to both sides.

**SUNDAY, MAY 18:** People began arriving for the vigil at Herrick Hospital shortly after noon, but found that all access routes were blocked by the Guard. Spontaneously, people began to break off into smaller groups and went off to different parts of the city to establish new People's Parks. The vacant lots created by BART along Hearst were the scenes of a number of "plant-ins". At Hearst and Grove the people planted trees and flowers and raised a pole with a sign on top reading "People's Park Annex #1".

Shortly after the sign was raised the police and Guard used clubs and bayonets to move the people off the lot. The police then ripped out all the plants that had been planted.

Another group of people marched to the north side of campus, to what is an upper-middle-class neighborhood, pausing on the way to plant small trees and flowers at many points along the route. The police followed behind the march pulling up the plants as they had done at People's Park Annex #1.

Many people spent time over the weekend talking to National Guardsmen, many of whom were openly sympathetic to the park struggle. Some of the Guardsmen bivouacked in People's Park told demonstrators that they were watering and weeding the garden every day. Guardsmen, at different points around the city, were seen flashing peace signs and clenched fists at the crowds, and the Guard formations and marches were frequently comical as the men were deliberately negligent in following orders. Relations between the Guard and the park supporters were generally quite friendly, especially when contrasted with the relations with the police.

**MONDAY, MAY 19:** Monday was another "no business as usual" day. People were greeted on Shattuck by several hundred Guardsmen and police who contained them by cutting off the ends of all the access streets. People who were cut off from the main body when the police blocked the access street were beaten indiscriminately, and many were arrested.

Police used tear gas on campus to disperse marchers there, and in one charge by the National Guard a man was stabbed by a bayonet. The guilty Guardsman, upon being taunted by the crowd, yelled back at them: "Eat me!" and "Suck my cock, you punks!"

At 10 o'clock in the evening James Rector died of his wounds.

**TUESDAY, MAY 20:** Repression got much heavier on campus. A vigil to honor James Rector, led by some faculty members, tried marching off campus at Bancroft and Telegraph but was blocked by a ring of Guardsmen and police that had sealed off the entire campus. Police then herded the bulk of the march into lower Sproul Plaza, where people then found themselves trapped. About 15 minutes later a National Guard helicopter flew over the crowd spraying massive doses of a gas which left people's skin burning, eyes pouring forth tears, and which caused many people to vomit. Eighty-five people were arrested on this day alone, including one National Guardsman who threw down his rifle and refused to obey further orders.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 21:** A serpentine march around campus ended at Heyns' house on the north side, following a few tear gas attacks by police. The crowd sat on the ground in front of the house facing a hundred or more bayonet-wielding, gas-mask-toting Guardsmen and an equal number of police. Both preceding and following a two-minute silence for James Rector, songs were sung and cries went up from the crowd for the Guardsmen and police to remove their masks. When the Guard finally did remove them, the people clapped and cheered and yelled to the soldiers: "If you want to go home, smile." Most of them smiled at the crowd and at one another.

Calm prevailed until the crowd dispersed on its own at around 4 p.m. Some people went up to College and Ashby, a minor business district, where police in cruising patrols would jump from their cars and pull people out of the crowd to arrest them.

At 8 in the evening, a small riot broke out at the dormitories overlooking People's Park between dorm people and Alameda Sheriff's, California Highway Patrol, and SF Tac Squad. The police had attempted to enter a dorm to remove a sign from an eighth-story window which read "Fuck the Pigs!". The dorm people poured out into the street and confronted the police. Before it was finally over more people had been arrested and beaten. The arrest toll for the seven-day battle had reached 288 by the time the 10 o'clock curfew went into effect.

**THURSDAY, MAY 23:** During a march following a noon rally at Sproul, police and Guardsmen herded nearly 500 people into the Bank of America parking lot on Center Street. The people were all arrested for failure to disperse and illegal assembly. This marked the first time that the mass arrests to break up a march had been used.

In a mass meeting held at 8 p.m., the people decided on tactics for the next week. It was decided that next Friday, Memorial Day, would be Tear Down the Fences Day in Berkeley.

Alameda County District Attorney Frank Coakley announced that arrests would not end with a return to normal in Berkeley. He said that his office is making a "complete and thorough investigation" of events in Berkeley and that "appropriate action" will be taken "as has been done in other episodes of mass violence and criminality".

Over 300 faculty members had signed a petition pledging not to teach while the city was under military occupation; some of them confronted Governor Reagan in his office in Sacramento. Statewide actions of solidarity with Berkeley had involved thousands of students in San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Cruz, Stanford, Riverside, and San Jose. Faced with a statewide crisis and outraged cries from liberals influential in the state (some of whose children had been gassed by the National Guard while on a picnic near the campus), Reagan withdrew most of the Berkeley curfew and rotated nearly all of the National Guardsmen. Many of them promised students they'd return—on a different mission.

With hundreds of injuries, a death, a blinding, and searing anger in the hearts of all, Berkeley prepared for another week of struggle, and called on all supporters throughout the state to plan to come to the city for a Memorial Day Celebration.

The Park is not dead. James Rector and our former selves are dead.

# seattle rebellion

Special to New Left Notes

Action last week at Seattle Community College touched off a major rebellion in Seattle on Monday, May 26. Students at SCC had been carrying on a three-month campaign against planned expansion of the college. Plans for three new campuses divided curricula among three areas in the city—"college parallel" and high level technical training for the middle income north area of town, aeronautics related courses for the sons of Boeing workers in the south, and for the central area ghetto food services and practical nursing.

The SCC Black Students Union and SDS had raised demands around equal curricula, community control for the central campus, and a black member on the board of trustees. On Thursday those groups, joined by SDS and BSU from the University of Washington and members of the community, initiated action on a minimal demand for a black member on the board of trustees. The BSU called for an enforced strike on Thursday. 200 demonstrators occupied two buildings (one twice) and hassled the administration building with a mobile demonstration. The pigs were finally forced to shut down the main branch of the college.

Friday 300 demonstrators picketed and marched through the schools smashing windows. The BSU negotiated with the administration—to no avail.

Monday morning the main branch of the school was shut down from the outside in violation of a court injunction against disruption. Later two attempts were made to enter the building; both were repulsed by pigs swinging clubs

and gas.

Soon after the second charge on the building, demonstrators massed and began a march through the black community to another branch of the college. Along the way they stopped at predominantly black Garfield High School and Washington Junior High School. At the other branch of the college 500 demonstrators (about 1/3 white) confronted about 30 pigs. The pigs were bombarded with rocks and bottles and forced to retreat. After about 15 minutes the pigs resorted to tear gas and the crowd broke up into smaller groups of 50-80 people.

These groups spread out over a 15-square-block area battling pigs with rocks and bottles wherever they were found. Finally the people reassembled at the high school where the major battle took place as pigs tried to disperse the crowd and demonstrators retaliated, returning the pigs' own tear gas canisters. The crowd of about 800 was finally dispersed with heavy gassing and demonstrators roamed the areas until late that night offing pig cars and making hit and run attacks on pigs themselves. Eventually 1000 pigs were pulled into the area. Nine were sent to the hospital with broken bones and three were shot; at least 20 pig cars were demolished.

Tuesday demonstrations were temporarily halted as the BSU negotiated a settlement for a black trustee. That night contempt of court citations were served on nine people; four charges were dropped the following day. More contempt charges are expected.

Meetings are now being held in the community and at the schools to determine further demands and actions.



Seattle pig grapples with a black insurgent.

## CALIFORNIA IN STRUGGLE

BERKELEY (LNS)—The struggle for the People's Park in Berkeley precipitated the greatest show of solidarity in the history of the student movement in the United States.

Strikes have been called at all eight undergraduate university campuses in California, and support has come from as far away as Rome, where students are occupying an administration building.

The people in Berkeley have called on all their brothers and sisters to come together here on Memorial Day, May 30, to tear down the fence around People's Park. As many as 50,000 people are expected to converge on the city.

This week, students at two university campuses have occupied administration buildings to show their solidarity, and on a third campus students blockaded the administration building.

Students at UCLA moved on their administration building when about 1,500 sat in Wednesday, May 21. Some 250 stayed the night, and they cleared out the next day just before noon. A faculty meeting attended by 450 professors protested gassing, the use of firearms, and the "occupation of the Berkeley campus by armed troops".

The teachers also supported "Berkeley faculty members who have refused to teach while their campus is under occupation by outside police and military force". A strike call was also issued.

About 250 students at the Riverside campus occupied the administration building on May 22 at noon to express solidarity with the struggle at Berkeley. The students left the building the next morning, and, at a meeting, they decided to strike.

Students at Santa Cruz campus barricaded the administration building Monday, May 19. Of the 2,000 students on the campus, 500 voted May 22 to go on strike immediately "in protest of the university's policy concerning People's Park and the shootings and arrests resulting from it".

The students in Santa Cruz issued five demands, including returning People's Park to the people, removing the National Guard and outside police forces, amnesty for those arrested, the lifting of the state of extreme emergency, and the payment by the university, the City of Berkeley, and Alameda County of all medical and legal expenses incurred by the people May 15 (the day the park was seized).

Five thousand students attended a rally May 22 at the Davis campus, deciding to boycott classes. The next day students—most of whom are studying agriculture—marched around the town and made plans to march Monday on the state capital in nearby Sacramento.

Davis campus Chancellor Emil Mark, and Chancellor Designate James Meyer, sent a telegram to Berkeley Chancellor Roger Heyns calling for the immediate removal of "all outside forces" and the initiation of "negotiations on the final disposition of the disputed land".

At a rally May 22 on the Santa Barbara campuses, about 1,500 students voted to strike in solidarity with the people at Berkeley.

A strike started May 23 at the Irvine campus, after 600 of a student body of 3400 had met the day before and issued the strike call. The strike there is to continue until the National Guard and outside police forces are removed and the People's Park returned to the people.

A strike was called May 20 at the San Diego campus "in solidarity with the Berkeley students" and it has been about 50% effective.

Other colleges and junior colleges around the state have shown solidarity with the people's struggle at Berkeley. Students at San Jose State College planned a march for May 26 on the State capital at Sacramento, and students promised to come from Cal State at Hayward, Chico State, Sonoma State, Sacramento State, UC at Davis, Stanford, San Francisco State, Marin Junior College, Foothill Junior College, West Valley Junior College, De Anza Junior College, and San Jose City College.

Students at San Francisco State planned a rally at City Center in San Francisco to support the People's Park and those arrested.

Stanford students planned an action against the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) to protest the development of gas and tactics used against the people at Berkeley.

At San Diego State, 300 students marched May 22 in vigil, and the university flag was flown at half mast to honor James Rector, who was murdered by police in Berkeley. The Chancellor ordered the flag kept at half mast.

Support has been growing in other parts of the country. At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, more than 200 students marched May 21 in rainy, 35-degree weather to protest "oppressive police tactics used at Berkeley".

At Columbia, 67 faculty members issued a statement condemning the recent police action.

And, far away, from an occupied administration building in Rome, came a telephone call to the Berkeley student body saying "We're behind you." The student body secretary said the Italians kept shouting slogans and talked about taking over "in the name of socialism".



Pig helicopter sprays tear gas on the people of Berkeley.

Photo: LNS

# REVOLUTIONARY BLACK WORKERS

## excerpts from an interview with john watson

(reprinted from the Fifth Estate)

John Watson, editor of the Wayne State University South End, has been involved in Detroit revolutionary politics for a number of years. Former editor of the black community newspaper The Inner City Voice, Watson was one of the original founders of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. He is currently serving as a member of the Central Committee of the League.

**FIFTH ESTATE:** What is the history of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers? Why was it formed?

**JOHN WATSON:** The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is a federation of several revolutionary union movements that exist in Detroit. It was originally formed to provide a broader base for the organization of black workers into revolutionary organizations than was previously provided for when we were organizing on a plant-to-plant basis.

The beginning of the League goes back to the beginning of DRUM, which was its first organization. The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement was formed at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant of the Chrysler Corporation in the fall of 1967. It developed out of the caucuses of black workers which had formed in the automobile plants to fight increases in productivity and racism in the plant.

All the caucuses which had developed previous to DRUM had been co-opted, either by the company or by the union. In other words the company had either fired the leadership of these caucuses or bought them off by giving them jobs as foremen or supervisors, or the union had managed to buy off the leadership one way or another.

The organization of DRUM was in direct response to numerous attempts by black workers over the last several years in the Hamtramck Assembly Plant to organize a movement which could resist racism and oppression both on the part of the union and the company. We wanted to be a revolutionary organization which would not be co-opted by the moneyed forces.

Briefly, the history of DRUM began with a series of wildcat strikes which we held around the issues of productivity, production standards, and

overt racism. The first strike was held when Chrysler Corporation speeded up the production line six cars an hour, during the UAW Convention last May.

After this strike, in which both black and white workers participated, the company imposed disciplinary action on those who they considered to be leaders of the strike action. This disciplinary action was taken primarily upon black workers. A number of black workers were fired, and quite a few received suspensions from anywhere from three to thirty days. In response to the racist attack which the company laid upon black workers after the first strike, DRUM organized a number of other strikes at that particular plant.

With the development of DRUM and the successes which we had in terms of organizing and mobilizing the workers at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant, many other black workers throughout the city began to come to us and ask for aid in organizing some sort of group in their plants. As a result, shortly after the formation of DRUM, the Eldon Axle Revolutionary Movement (ELRUM) was born at Eldon Gear and Axle Plant of the Chrysler Corporation. Also, the Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (FRUM) was formed at the Ford Rouge Complex, and we now have two plants organized within that complex.

Since that time the organizational activities have been expanding. We've moved into hospital industries with the HOWRUM, NEWRUM for the newspapers in Detroit, an UPRUM which stands for United Parcel Revolutionary Union Movement for black Teamsters who work at United Parcel. There's a JARUM which is Jefferson Assembly Revolutionary Union Movement, and there's the development of a CRUM, which is Chevrolet Revolutionary Union Movement. Other automobile plants and other industries are in the process of being organized now.

### Conditions on the Job

**FE:** What types of conditions exist in the plants that are being organized by the League?

**JW:** Working conditions at the plants are deplorable. What's been happening over the last fifteen or twenty years in industry in general, but especially in the auto industry, is the increase in productivity. A lot of people describe the increase in productivity as meaning that there's automation or something like this going on. But in most of the automobile plants, what's been going on is "nigger-mation".

"Nigger-mation" is simply when you hire one black man to do the job which

is previously done by two or three or four white men. There's a constant struggle which is going on inside the automobile plants in which the foreman and the general foreman and the supervisor are constantly attempting to work the men harder. They are constantly attempting to speed up the production line. They are constantly attempting to cut down the number of people who work on the lines.

In their insatiable drive to make greater profits for the company, they have negated all considerations of the welfare and safety of the workers in the plant, especially the black workers. As a result, in the foundries, for instance, almost 95% of the workers in those plants have some sort of industrial illness, usually silicosis or some sort of other lung disease. In the stamping plants all kinds of guys are walking around with two or three fingers missing from one of their hands because of the unsafe machinery.

Besides the problems that black workers have with productivity and safety standards, they have the added problem of overt racism, which exists under these monopoly capitalist corporations. In the first place most of the supervisory personnel, white collar personnel, skilled trades are all white. It's almost impossible for the average brother who gets a job in an automobile factory to be able to move into one of these positions.

Besides that those white foremen generally have very degrading attitudes toward black people. Every day there are instances in which there are clashes between black workers and white foremen because of racist remarks or racist actions on the part of company representatives.

The racism of the company presents itself not only in the form of verbal abuse and in the form of various kinds of disciplinary action which are laid on the heads of black workers, but also on the very basic level of the allocation of jobs. In almost all plants you find the black workers on the hardest jobs in which you have the heaviest work and in which you have to work the fastest and in which the conditions are most unsafe, whereas you find white people with less seniority are generally employed at lighter jobs which don't have the same sort of safety hazards which the black workers must face. Moreover, white workers are not subjected to the kind of racist insults and harassment that black workers constantly find themselves subjected to.

### How to Organize

**FE:** How do you organize the plants you are working in? What kinds of things do you find necessary for organizing a plant?

**JW:** Black revolutionaries in Detroit have a Marxist-Leninist position and have recognized the necessity of organizing in the working class for a number of years now. We had made attempts a number of times to begin to move in the direction of mobilizing the black working class; but up until this point those attempts had been pretty futile, although they had given us a lot of experience into the things that are necessary to successfully organize.

One of the things that we find is that it is absolutely essential that the workers have some sort of support from outside of the factory. When we carry out strikes at any of the plants, we usually have a large number of people come down from the community to man the picket lines. They often bring drums, huge congo drums. This helps to raise the morale of the workers in those actions.

Anyone who works in a plant who participates in a wildcat strike can be fired, if the company can prove that he actually participated in it. So by having people from the community man the picket lines we can begin to avoid the problem of having large numbers of members losing their jobs and livelihoods.

We find that the basic things that are necessary in terms of organizing a plant

are, first of all, a clear understanding of the needs of the workers and the kinds of problems which they are facing in the plant; second, an ability to articulate those needs and to set forth demands which can begin to solve those problems; and third, the establishing of a mechanism, an organizational structure which can effectively mobilize the workers to resist the pressures of the company and the union. This organized mechanism generally requires that we produce a publication for the plant.

This publication is an organizing tool in and of itself in that workers themselves begin to write for the publication and distribute it in the plant. Through recruiting reporters and through distribution of the publication, we develop a network of communication throughout the plant, throughout the department.

The production of the publications, the publication of the various documents which are needed, for instance, the constitution for the group, demand organizational skills which don't exist among the workers. A wide variety of tasks which have to be done are generally done by people who are outside the factory.

It is also essential to understand that the cats working in an automobile plant killing themselves for ten hours a day, working six and sometimes seven days a week, are generally too tired to do all the work which is necessary to tie together membership meetings, produce publications, get in contact with community groups for support, raise funds, and so on and so forth. Therefore it is necessary to have some group of supporters outside the factory who can carry out all of these services to the workers.

In terms of providing this support, providing the print shops, printing facilities, community support, raising money, the League is very important because through the League workers in a number of plants throughout the city can combine their resources together so that they can be serviced by the same administrative staff. This prevents duplication of a lot of activities which would be necessary if we didn't have this kind of broad federation.

### The Community

**FE:** What are the differences between a community oriented and a factory oriented type of organizing?

**JW:** We have a certain program, a certain understanding of the dynamics of American capitalist society and we're acting on the results of our analysis. This doesn't mean that we're against those people who are involved in community organization. Our analysis tells us that the basic power of black people lies at the point of production, that the basic power we have is the power as workers.

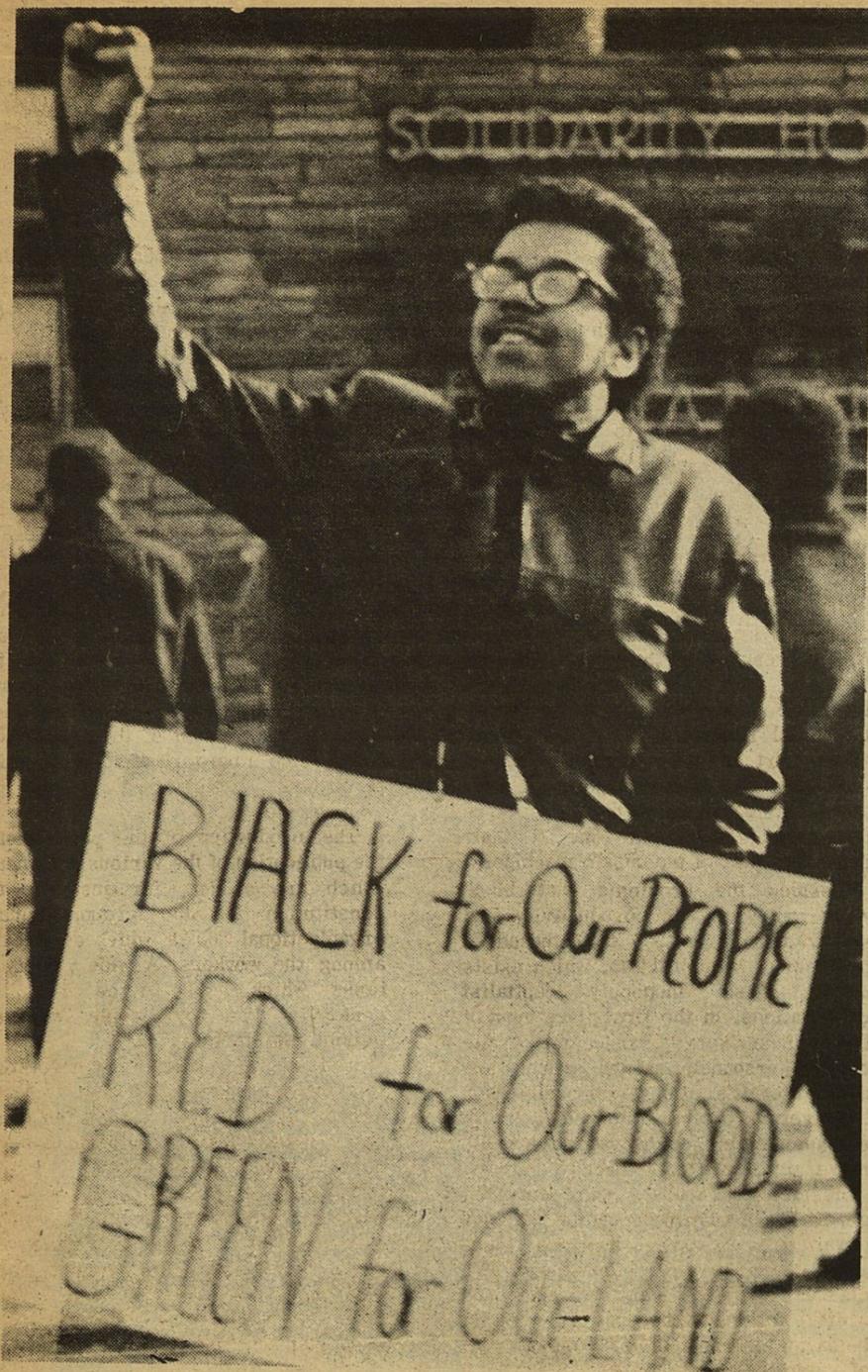
As workers, as black workers, we have historically been and are now an essential element in the American economic sense. Without black slaves to pick the cotton on the Southern plantations, the primitive accumulation of capital which was necessary to develop industry in both Europe and America would never have been accomplished. Without black workers slaving on the assembly lines in automobile plants in the city of Detroit, the automobile companies would not be able to produce cars in the first place, and therefore wouldn't be able to make the tremendous profits which they have been making.

Therefore, we feel that the best way to organize black people into a powerful unit is to organize them in the factories in which they are working. We feel that black workers, especially, have the power to completely close down the American economic system. In order to implement that power, we have to become organized.

In one factory you have 10,000 people who are faced with the same brutal conditions under the same system from the same bastards every day, eight hours a day, ten hours a day, six or



From THE MOVEMENT



Black auto worker pickets UAW headquarters.

Photo: NOC (Detroit)

seven days a week. When you go out into the community, the interests of the people, let's say in a particular neighborhood, more than likely are going to be much more greatly dispersed than the interests of the workers are. That is, people have different landlords, they are exploited by a number of different shop-keepers, they are faced with a number of different kinds of problems throughout the community, and they don't represent the same sort of homologous mass as 10,000 people in a factory do. Therefore just in terms of expediency there are greater possibilities in the organization of the plant.

And when you consider even farther than that, when you do organize significant sectors of the community, the kinds of actions which can be taken are not as effectively damaging to the ruling class as the kinds of actions which can be taken in the plant. For instance, when you close down Hamtramck Assembly Plant, you do a number of things automatically. If you close it down for a day you cost Chrysler Corporation a thousand cars. That, considered in relationship to their investment, means the loss of a sizeable sum of money.

Also, when you close down a large automobile plant, you automatically can mobilize the people in the streets, 5,000 or 10,000 people at a single blow. Whereas when you attempt to organize the community, especially if you go from house to house or block to block, it is much more difficult to gather together that many of the people at the same time.

Finally, we feel that in conjunction with the organization of workers in plants you automatically have the development of community organization and community support. After all, workers are not people who live in factories 24 hours a day. They all go home and live somewhere in the community. We have found that it's almost an inevitable and simultaneous development that as factory workers begin to get organized, support elements within the community are also organized. We feel that it is necessary to have broad community support in

order to be able to effectively organize within the plant and effectively close down significant sectors of the economy.

Therefore, we have an overall analysis which sees the point of production as the major and primary sector of the society which has to be organized and that the community should be organized in conjunction with that development. This is probably different from these kinds of analysis which say where it's at is to go out and organize the community and to organize the so-called "brother on the street". It's not that we're opposed to this type of organization, but without a more solid base such as the working class represents, this type of organization, that is, community-based organization, is generally a pretty long and stretched out and futile development.

### Black and White

FE: What generally has been the relationship between the black union movement and white workers? For example, recently out at the Chrysler Sterling Stamping Plant there was a wildcat strike, led mainly by white workers, who called on the League of Revolutionary Black Workers to come out and help them out with their organizing. Is this kind of thing happening very frequently?

JW: This kind of support between black and white workers in militant actions, is in its beginning stages of development now. Our position vis a vis white workers has been distorted by the ruling class, the UAW, and various white radical organizations which are opposed to us for some reason or other.

Basically, we have organized an all-black revolutionary union movement, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, because of the racism existing in American society, because of the fact that the working class is already divided between the races, and because it is necessary for black workers to be able to act independently of white workers. We have learned historically that in too many instances white workers have been willing to sell us out because of their own racist

## Free the Brown Brothers!

Comite para Defender Los Siete de la Raza  
P. O. Box 12217  
San Francisco, California 94112

May 1, 1969, 10 p.m.—In San Francisco's Mission District barrio seven brothers were accosted by two unidentified men claiming they were policemen. The brothers were innocently transporting a TV set in front of the Rios home at 438 Alvarado Street. The two unidentified men, not in uniform, began to harass and antagonize the brothers. Out of this resulted one man dead and one wounded. Both were later identified as policemen. Immediately 150 to 250 policemen were sent to the scene of the incident. The entire area was surrounded by police with rifles, guns, and dogs. The fire department was brought in to hunt out the so-called criminals. Rounds of ammunition and tear gas were shot into the Rios home without regard for those in the surrounding homes. The fourteen-year-old Rios girl was inside the home at the time this was taking place. She was skinned by a bullet and she was also gassed. The police were carelessly shooting, even at one another. The furniture in the Rios home is completely destroyed. Persons thought to resemble both carnales were pulled over and questioned.

The police hunt for these brothers is considered the biggest in the history of Northern California. The search went on for five days. These were the ones they picked up: Mario Martinez, Rodolfo Martinez, Jose Rios, Nelson Rodriguez, Jose Melendez, and Gary Lescallet find themselves in City Prison in San Francisco facing charges of murder, and the gas chamber. Another brother, Gio Lopez, is being sought on these same charges.

All of these hermanos worked to help La Raza, in the schools, in the streets. Tres Carnales and Brown Berets patrol the streets in San Francisco; they participate in the College Readiness Programs at the College of San Mateo, in the Third World Liberation Front, fighting this oppressive system. They are our brothers. Their fight is ours. As usual, nuestra Siete were harassed. Constitutional as well as human rights were violated. Persons known as friends to Los Siete have been stopped by police and FBI agents and questioned at gunpoint. Police have gone into various homes and have ransacked them without warrants. They have tried to buy off people known to be amigos de los Hermanos. The Mission District has been patrolled nightly by a troop of super-pigs. Roadblocks have been set up, people stopped at random. The furniture of one of the families was confiscated when they could not produce receipts. Senora Rios lost her job as a laundry worker in Mary's Help Hospital because they did not want their name involved in such a case.

Right now our people in the Mission District are carrying the fight to save the lives of Los Siete de la Raza. Our fight will be a long one and a hard one. But we are determined that our brothers shall be set free. But we need the help of all our Raza. We will need funds to help with legal expenses. We want the word to go out so that La Raza can see that once more the gringo has tried to suppress our people in every way. La Raza must wake up to this and fight for our rights. Most importantly, Los Siete must be sent back to us, the masses of brown people.

misunderstandings of the dynamics of struggle.

Since the beginning we've had relationships with white workers at the plants that we've organized. For instance, at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant there has been the formation of an organization among white workers which hopes to begin to organize them to struggle against the company and against the union in regards to their own interests, and to support the development of organizations like the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

We have found that among older white radicals and older union activists, even though we're carrying on positive struggle against capitalism, these people tend to be opposed to us because of purely academic arguments. They got all kinds of theoretical ideas about how we're splitting up the working class between black and white, when actually they know damn well that the working class has been split between black and white a hell of a long time because of conditions which I alluded to before. They have been doing very little to eliminate any of these conditions. Part of the problem is that white radicals tend to think that they have the sole solution to the problems involving all humanity. As a result of this, they become extremely dogmatic and incapable of working out any kind of alliance or coalition with other organizations.

In recent history, however, there have been some positive developments along the lines of the League being able to move into coalitions with groups of white workers. For instance, at the Detroit News there has been the development of an organization known as the News Revolutionary Union Movement (NEWRUM) among black workers. And this organization has attempted since its very inception to encourage the development of militant revolutionary organizations among the white workers at the plant.

In other plants such as the Sterling Plant, for the first time militant whites have called for us to support their action. Our position on this is that we, of course, support any progressive action on the part of any workers,

white or black, who are moving to resolutely confront this racist, capitalist system.

I think that there's going to have to be an awful lot of discussion over the next few months over the relationship between the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the various white organizations which are beginning to organize among white workers. The National Organizing Committee (NOC) has begun to implement a very positive program in this city among the white working class, and all indications are that it is going to be a fairly successful effort. Our relationship with that organization at this time, although unofficial, is very good in that both of us understand the positions which we're coming from and we both understand who the enemy is and what the nature of the enemy is. Therefore, we're not attempting to dominate one another; we're attempting to begin to coordinate our activity for a more solid attack.

I think the black people who are involved in the organization of the black working class should recognize that the theoretical conception of black people being the vanguard of revolutionary struggle is not just a conception which is meant to be laid in the clouds somewhere above everyone's head. It can be applied in a very practical and programmatic fashion. What it simply means is that as political beings we have to understand that the development of the white movement has been retarded, that it has not developed as rapidly as the black movement has had to develop.

Therefore, even though many of these white radical organizations have resources in terms of money and manpower which far exceed ours, because of their lack of experience most of them are unable to put these resources to work in a positive fashion at this particular time. As political animals, we have to realize that it is necessary for us to provide them with the kind of leadership which they lack at this moment and to begin to do all that we can to help them to develop that leadership to the point where it can be self-sufficient.

# Hard Rain At Dartmouth

by Judy Stoll

Dartmouth College, an institution of gentlemen and scholars dedicated to reason and calm wisdom, had one of its buildings taken from it for 12 hours on the night of May 6-7 in the climax of a series of events which threatens to jar that 200-year-old institution into the realization that the Empire it supports is a negation of the True and the Beautiful.

Reaction to that threat has been swift and severe. Two days later, 45 young people were already beginning a 30-day sentence in the New Hampshire jails, the harshest reaction yet to anti-war actions of this kind.

Dartmouth's anti-ROTC campaign has a long history. Its key obstacles were sophisticated co-optation, Victorian reaction, and "keep your hands clean and look at both sides of the issue" liberalism, interspersed with long parliamentary debates and ambiguous resolutions. Throughout the entire campaign, the predominant cry was to keep peace on the Dartmouth campus at any cost, to remain gentlemen, and to maintain the "normal processes of the College".

Last spring, in response to a call from a relatively small SDS to abolish ROTC, approximately 100 students engaged in a six-day fast to draw attention to their demand for the "de-institutionalization" of the ROTC program.

The so-called Fast Committee avoided discussion of Dartmouth's relationship to American imperialism through the ROTC program, much against the urging of SDS. It was discovered that the arguments which gained the widest support were those which emphasized the irreconcilable nature of armed forces and scholarship.

Throughout the fall, SDS and the radical student movement continued to grow. The obstruction of a military recruiter by 45 students in November and the subsequent hearing of four hand-picked members of SDS before the college judiciary brought with it prolonged and intensive discussions of radical politics, the nature and practice of imperialism, and the College's relationship with that imperialism. While the faculty committee was preparing its resolution on the place of ROTC on a liberal-arts campus, SDS was preparing, through intense internal education, pamphleting, films, and speakers, a much more political critique of the presence of ROTC at Dartmouth.

## The Three Demands

In April, SDS put forth three demands to the faculty and trustees: 1) that ROTC be abolished as of the beginning of the 1969-70 academic year; 2) that students now in ROTC who would need financial aid receive that aid from Dartmouth College; and 3) that military recruiting be terminated immediately. A sit-in at Parkhurst Hall, the College's administration building, was called for Tuesday, April 22, to demonstrate in support of the three demands. The campus was almost instantaneously awake with the question of ROTC. A right-wing student group, calling itself Students Behind Dartmouth (SBD) was formed as an expression of anti-SDS sentiment. A half-dozen moderate groups sprang into existence with the express purpose of keeping the peace at Dartmouth—keeping the SBD and the SDS from battling it out on the green, keeping SDS from "creating another Harvard or Columbia". An open, college-wide forum was held the night before the sit-in. The sit-in itself attracted some 350 people, over-spilling Parkhurst's crowded staircase into President John Sloan Dickey's personal office. The SBD marched around for a while in the rain, under the Imperial German flag.

The major issue at the sit-in was the degree of militancy that the demonstration should take. The apprehensions of the Parkhurst group became immediately apparent. There was a strong desire to go through all

possible channels before engaging in any violation of college guidelines, a strong belief that these channels would be productive and that militancy would not be necessary at Dartmouth. It was finally decided to leave the building at closing time. A resolution was passed giving the faculty and trustees until April 29, one week, to meet the three demands, at which time, if they had not been met, the Parkhurst group would return to the administration building to "engage in an act of civil disobedience".

The April 29 sit-in was peaceful. And boring. When a motion was made to stay until 9 p.m., the administration announced that it would permit the demonstrators to stay all night if they liked. With a dwindling and disheartened crowd, it was decided to give the faculty and trustees a new deadline of May 12—at which time the Parkhurst group would consider the situation "intolerable". It was argued that the trustees should have a full 10 days after the faculty meeting to make their decision. SDS argued that it was pointless to wait 10 days for the trustees to approve or disapprove a resolution the Parkhurst group could not accept. At that meeting, a new piece of information was disclosed—that, contrary to previous assumption, the Navy and Air Force ROTC required only 90 days notice to be removed from campus and that Army required only one academic year's notice. It was felt that everyone in the Parkhurst group should try to convince the faculty to pass a resolution to rid the campus of ROTC as soon as legally possible. Toward the end of the sit-in a representative from a group which called itself the "May 7 Movement" read a statement that members of that movement would take militant action on May 7 unless the demands were met. He called for those who were tired of stalls, of retractions and of compromise to join that movement. The reaction to him was poor.

## Faculty Sell-out

The executive committee of the faculty came back from the drawing boards with a new resolution which called for the four-year phase-out of ROTC (they were now considering the "rights" of the incoming freshman class) and the assurance of full access to all information about alternative military service. At the Friday meeting of the faculty a counter-proposal was raised which called for the abolition of ROTC as soon as was legally possible (i.e., 90 days and one year). Another proposal which was essentially a re-wording of the three demands was thrown out for technical parliamentary reasons, and the faculty member who presented it was not even allowed to speak to his own proposal.

After telling the students to be patient and go through all legal channels in order to settle the issue reasonably, after themselves expressing a concern equal to that of the students about the College's complicity in an immoral war, after soliciting student opinion, the faculty overwhelmingly rejected the voice of the student community and refused to take a strong moral stand. The Parkhurst group was not scheduled to find the situation intolerable until May 12. But the May 7 Movement had found it intolerable for too long. If the faculty were not going to make a moral stand with their votes, they were going to make a moral stand with their bodies.

When they called a meeting on the afternoon of May 6 for all those interested in "some form of militant action" on May 7, plans had already been laid for the occupation of Parkhurst Hall that afternoon. The risks were great for those few who had made the plans. Would there be any support from the rest of the Parkhurst group, or only resentment? How many people would be ready to make that ultimate commitment? Or were there a large number of people who needed militant leadership, who were ready and willing to participate in a fait accompli?

By 3:30 May 6, the building had been taken and the deans carefully hustled

from their offices. Some 75 students nailed shut the front doors, barricaded all possible entrances, hung up a banner saying "Join Us" and began to talk to the rapidly gathering crowd from a second-floor window. Early in the afternoon supporters bringing food encountered a barrier of right-wing student toughs, but although there were no other incidents the crowd outside was not completely friendly. Inside, the mood changed with each shift in the crowd. Tension and fear was high; important personal decisions had to be made on the spot. By nightfall the number of supporters outside had grown. Some came in to join the occupation. A large group of supporters outside guarded the doors and talked to the growing crowd. At 7:30 the sheriff arrived with the temporary restraining order. The tension inside increased. Students wandered nervously around the occupied building. By 9:30 the injunction had been read. It was ignored. By 10:45 the decision was made. They were in to stay—until they were removed.

The rest of the night was spent in waiting. A dozen rumors of approaching pigs—a dozen times students assembled quickly from corners where they had been talking, singing, or sleeping, to laugh at their panic. The mood was "Let them come!"

When the pigs did come—at 3:30 a.m.—they broke down the doors to find a group of students massed together, facing the door, with clenched fists raised, chanting loudly.

This time, the pigs came without clubs. And they left no blood at Dartmouth College. They carried, dragged, or escorted 55 young people into waiting police vans, while the crowd, swelled to nearly 1000 at the sound of a warning tocsin from the chapel bells, screamed in near-rage. A few were arrested from the crowd. A few in the building were allowed to "escape" to reduce the number of arrests.

## Only the Beginning

The 55 were booked at 4:30 Wednesday morning and released on \$200 bail that afternoon. Their trial date was set for 10 Friday. Without adequate time to prepare a defense even for those who had not been in the building, without time for those in the building to help build a strong base for a student strike, 45 of the 55 were sentenced to 30 days in jail and \$100 fine in the most severe and railroaded act of repression yet against an anti-war movement in this country. The remaining defendants were granted continuances. By Saturday morning, the convicted had been spread out to seven different jails throughout the state and appellate process had begun on the grounds of violation of due process. It took 10 days to get the few "innocent" students out on bail pending a new hearing.

This incredible repression has been a severe shock to the movement at Dartmouth. The courts acted with unprecedented speed in removing the bulk and the leadership of the movement from the campus. The College has already acted in recommending that two faculty members who had participated in the occupation but were not in the building at the time of the bust be fired at the end of the term. College discipline will be decided upon when those in jail return to campus, shortly before the end of exam period.

But the movement is only wounded. It is growing again with renewed energy. New people have stepped in to assume the burdens of that movement. Those in jail are in good spirits. They know now that jail is a paper tiger. And that their part in the movement has just begun.

Legal fees have already exceeded \$8000 in addition to the \$100 fines for the 55. Legal expenses to fight the firing of the two faculty members are anticipated. Our financial resources are extremely limited. Contributions—of any size—are desperately needed. Please send contributions to Hanover Legal Aid Fund, Box 592, Hanover, N.H.

