

CARTON 2:2

THE GUARDIAN

WEST COAST BUREAU, ARTICLES

1969



Guardian West Coast Bureau

Oakland

The Black Panther Party here and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit have begun exploring the possibility of some type of alliance between the two groups.

April 19

More than 200 people crowded into the Black Church to hear representatives of both groups discuss the subject. There was a broad range of agreement among the speakers but some differences ~~between~~ <sup>became</sup> apparent between the Panthers and the League.

The League is composed of several revolutionary union movements and is the organizing tool of black workers in Detroit ~~industries~~ industries, primarily auto. (See Guardian, March 8).

John Watson, a member of the central staff of the League, analyzed the functioning of corporate capitalism and related this to the growing militancy among rank and file workers. "More and more workers are beginning to take the leadership of the struggle against the ~~union~~ companies away from the union bureaucrats," he asserted.

He described the use of racism by the ruling class to divide the workers, with the resulting super-exploitation of blacks and ~~relatively~~ <sup>relatively</sup> privileged position of white workers. "White workers have the position of being trustees in the prison," <sup>said Watson,</sup> "but they shouldn't want to be in the prison at all," ~~said Watson.~~

He said that white racism in both the companies and the unions necessitates "a strong, independent organization among black workers." He felt that black caucuses in white-controlled unions were largely ineffective.

Watson concluded by saying that the League is now moving outside the auto industry and is trying to develop class consciousness among a wide range of black workers, <sup>it</sup> ~~and~~ is also ~~ex~~ actively encouraging the development of revolutionary groups among white workers. The long term goal is to progress from purely local



struggles to the level of a general strike around political as well as economic issues, he stated.

The Panthers were represented by their political theorist, Masai, captain David Hilliard and chairman Bobby Seale. Masai insisted on the need for a Marxist class analysis of American society and asserted that "the primary struggle is the class struggle." He said that "a degree of self-determination" was required for black workers as the most oppressed section of the working class, proletariat, but that the Panthers were opposed to splitting the international ~~working class~~. The Panthers, he continued, are interested in raising the political consciousness of the workers, not in mere unionism.

Hilliard came down even harder on this point. He reiterated the Panthers' support of proletarian internationalism as the means of destroying capitalism. Only one union is needed to do this, he stated, and that one is called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Seale took a similar view but left open the <sup>possibility</sup> ~~question~~ of caucuses within unions to fight racism.

The difference between the two groups became explicit when a questioner asked Watson if he were ~~still~~ advocating separate unions for black workers. Watson answered yes.

The Panthers have been active in organizing a Black Panther Caucus among the 1,700 black workers at a General Motors plant in nearby Fremont. Kenny Horston, director of the caucus, said it was formed about seven months ago with the purpose of opposing discrimination against black and brown workers and fighting ~~against~~ for better working conditions. He commented that the caucus already has more than 150 members and has drafted a ten point program.

<sup>Who also coordinated the conf here</sup>  
Horston is an advocate of an alliance with the League. "We have very, <sup>in an interview with the Guardian,</sup> very good relations with these brothers (the League)," he said, "because we see who our enemy is. It's not one another. Our enemy is the bureaucracy of the unions



3/3/3/3/3/3/

and the power structure of the gigantic corporations."

Although the conference was inconclusive, it provided an opportunity to air questions that are becoming increasingly central to the future of the black movement.

— R. L. A.



AN HISTORIC REVOLUTIONARY LABOR CONFERENCE-----

HEAR THE LEADING REVOLUTIONARIES OF TODAY--

On Saturday evening, April 19, at 6:00 pm there will take place at the Black Church on 42nd and Grove in Oakland, a conference that could be the historic breakthrough we've been working toward: a Black community-worker alliance. The conference has been called by the UAW Black Panther Caucus, Fremont, to explore the possibilities and negotiate for an alliance between the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers of Detroit. The League is the organizing tool of the workers in Detroit's vast industrial complex of exploitation. The Revolutionary Union Movement began with a successful strike at the Detroit Dodge plant last summer and spread rapidly to many other auto plants throughout the area, Chrysler, General Motors, Ford, Etc. This is the workers' vanguard of the revolution--the end of exploitation of man by man: the beginning of men and women working for their own enrichment, not to swell the profits of the rich, but to enrich the minds and bodies of themselves and their children.

BE A PART OF THIS HISTORIC MEETING

HEAR BOBBY SEALE, National Chairman, Black Panther Party  
HEAR DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party  
HEAR MASAI, Political Theorist of the Black Panther Party

Introducing to the Bay Area, John Watson, member of the Central Staff League of Revolutionary Black Workers, editor of Wayne State U's controversial paper, THE SOUTH END, which has succeeded in arousing the violent wrath of Detroit's anti-union element to the tune of threats and anti-Watson rallies.

Tying it all together will be Kenny Horston, Dir. of The Black Panther Caucus, UAW, Fremont.

AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION REQUESTED

Donation: \$2.00 at the door

Labor Donated



Interview with Kenny Horston

25 Sed alliance with League "very possible." Has been in touch with League, travels to Detroit. Cited UAW harassment of L. and also Company problems. Sed alliance necessary in part ~~not~~ to "protect ourselves against these racists who are taking our union dues and then defending the company." Sed union refused to help black workers who were fired for participation in a strike. L. has been red baited by UAW board. Sed some BPP leaders in Detroit are on central staff of L; so there is already a relationship between two. "We have very, very good relations with these brothers because we all see who our enemy is. It's not one another. Our enemy is the bureaucracy of the unions and the power structure of the gigantic corporations." Himself auto worker in General Motors plant in Fremont. Director of Black Panther Caucus formed about 7 months ago. Fights against discrimination against black and brown workers and for better working condx. (Fights racism in union as well). Plans political ed. classes for caucus members. Hopes to lay basis for such caucuses in all UAW plants on West Coast. Most people in caucus not in BPP. Simply workers who see the need for their own organization. 1,700 black people in his plant, more than 150 members in caucus and its growing.

Have own ten point program.

Lead sentence: An alliance is shaping up between the Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit. here

The political vanguard  
of black America,



Doni 1138 A Hearst  
548-0497

Panther meeting

M.C. - Kenny. Conf. "to explore possibility of alliance"  
abt 200 in audience

Masai: insisted on <sup>most</sup> and far class analysis. Sed chapter program impossible without rev. theory. Party interested in raising worker's political consciousness, not mass unionism. "Only the workers can free the nation and to do this they must become a strong political force with a party with a correct ideology to guide them." "Workers must become militant rev. force." Primary struggle is class struggle. Sed recognizing need for "a degree of self-determination among black workers, but this is in no way to endorse racism." Comes out of fact that blacks most oppressed of workers. Sed further opposed to splitting international proletarian but this must be done with self rule. Main problem in U.S. not the race problem but the class struggle.

White workers must assume burden of fighting racism among white workers.

John Watson - analyzed functioning of corporate capitalism and exploitation of workers and third world. Related this to growing military among road & farm workers. More and more workers are beginning to take the leadership of the struggle against the co. away from the union bureaucrats.



Describe use of racism to divide whos resulting in super-exploitation of blacks, and privileged position for white whos. "White whos have the position of being trustees in the prison but they shouldn't want to be in the prison at all." white racism in both companies and unions <sup>strong</sup> recruitment independent organizing among black whos. Felt that black congress is ~~predominantly~~ <sup>controlled</sup> white, unions ineffective. Cultural history of DKUM and intense struggle out of which League emerged (see Guardian). Now spreading outside into industry, trying to develop class consciousness among white strata of black whos. Moves to move from local struggle to <sup>level of</sup> general strike around economic and political issues. Resulting in assumption of control of means of production by whos.

Ad struggle by black whos are in interest of all whos and League is encouraging development of revolutionary gyps among white whos.

David Hilliard - Reiterated rather support of proletarian internationalism as ultimate means of destroying capitalism and replacing it with socialism. Only one union is needed and that one's called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Seale - Should need for whos and community to own factories. See racism must be fought with solidarity. "We can't let racism keep us divided." This does not diminish need for congress to fight racism of union bureaucracy and companies.

Difference between Panthers and Watson over race and black organizations.



Guardian West Coast Bureau

Palo Alto

The nine-day student sit-in at Stanford University ended April 18 on a note of disunity and uncertainty.

~~The~~ Several hundred protestors had occupied the Applied Electronics Laboratory and were demanding an end to campus war research and that the university sever its ties with the Stanford Research Institute, which has undertaken special projects for the government in chemical-biological warfare.

Throughout the demonstration there were ~~xxxxx~~ few signs that the trustees would accede to these demands.

Instead, Stanford president Kenneth Pitzer warned that federal authorities, edgy about protecting secret files in the seized building, might send in security forces and oust the demonstrators. He turned the matter over to the Judicial Council for disciplinary action.

On the Council's recommendation Pitzer ordered the building closed for a week and gave the protestors a deadline for getting out on pain of immediate temporary suspension.

The students were divided as to what to do. A group of militant students wanted to stay in the building until police or troops were called in. But the majority seemed to feel ~~that~~ they had already won a significant victory and voted to leave the building. The students warned, however, that they may reoccupy the building ~~some time in the future~~ if the university does not take any action to end war research.

Later, Yale Braunstein, a demonstration leader said a "deal" had been made to shut the lab down while ~~the~~ university officials decided what to do next.



STANFORD 2/2/2/2 4/18/69

Guardian West Coast Bureau

Palo Alto, Calif.

The sit-in of anti-war Stanford University students and faculty ~~remains~~ continues here with no signs that the trustees will accede to demands raised by the protestors.

Instead, Stanford president Kenneth Pitzer has warned that federal authorities, edgy about ~~the~~ protecting secret files in the seized building, may move in and oust the demonstrators.

The protestors have occupied the Applied Electronics Laboratory here and are demanding an end to campus war research and that the university sever its ties with the Stanford Research Institute, which has undertaken projects in chemical-biological warfare.

Although no more than a few hundred persons occupy the lab on a 24 hour ~~hour~~ basis, the demonstrators have gotten more than 1,300 students and faculty members to sign a statement of support. They are also calling for support from the general community.

Pitzer says that he is personally opposed to secret research on campus, but he termed the sit-in "inherently an ugly, sometimes fierce threat" to the academic environment. He has turned the matter over to the Judicial Council for disciplinary action.

Early last week university authorities sought to get the names of the demonstrators. However, the demonstrators were prepared for this move and when asked for their names and addresses they merely replied, "My name is the April 3 Movement. I live in the Applied Electronics Laboratory." (April 3 Movement is the name of a coalition of groups which jointly organized the protest action.)

They also surrounded any ~~uncooperative~~ unsympathetic professors who ventured into the building and forced them to talk about the ~~implications~~ ~~merits and demerits~~ of war research.



By Robert L. Allen  
Guardian West Coast Bureau

Ft. Ord, Calif.

The defense has taken to the offensive in the trial here of 14 young soldiers accused of ~~mutiny~~ <sup>counsel</sup>.

Chief defense ~~attorney~~ <sup>counsel</sup> Terence Hallinan has turned the tables and is putting the Army itself on trial for what it allowed to happen in the Presidio stockade. Defense witness after defense witness has testified to the sordid conditions, harassment and brutality of the guards and the disturbingly frequent suicide attempts made by the prisoners. The killing of Richard Bunch, a young prisoner suffering from severe mental instability whose shooting touched off the alleged mutiny last October, has also been a focal point of defense testimony.

Law officer Col. James Hagan has allowed this testimony in the ~~trial~~ trial because it is relevant to the state of mind of the defendants at the time of the "mutiny." <sup>defense</sup> The ~~attorney~~ is contending that the stockade conditions plus the killing of Bunch drove the defendants to stage a sit-down demonstration, but that this was an effort to petition for redress of grievances, not a mutiny.

The prosecution rested after three days of testimony. Prosecution attorney Maj. John Novinger brought in a string of stockade officials, military policemen and military intelligence personnel to testify against the defendants. He sought to establish that the men were warned that they might be charged with mutiny and that they refused to break up their demonstration when ordered to do so.

The government's case was undermined, however, under cross examination.



pródded

Hallinan ~~present~~ witnesses into admitting that the words of the stockade commander were unintelligible at least part of the time because of the chanting and singing of the prisoners or static in the public address system. Furthermore, he pointed out that the demonstrators could not possibly have intended to escape and they did not engage in any violent acts. In fact, he said, they repeatedly ~~more~~ advised each other during the course of the demonstration, "Don't resist -- No violence."

by showing

The prosecution wrapped up its case ~~with~~ a video tape of the stockade demonstration. The first segment of the tape showed ~~the~~ 27 prisoners ~~sitting~~ sitting in a ~~circle~~ circle singing "Freedom" and making the peace sign with their hands. After a few seconds they began chanting "We want the press." The second segment showed a line of MPs facing the prisoners with teams of MPs removing individual prisoners to the stockade building. Some of the prisoners walked; others went limp. None was seen to actively resist the MPs.

The prosecution received a severe setback when a motion for sanity board examinations of the defendants was denied. The defense is planning extensive psychiatric testimony in its effort to show that the men did not intend to commit mutiny, and Novinger wanted to counter this by having army psychiatrists test the men. Hallinan objected to this motion, noting that the men have already been given such tests by the army and that these tests reveal most of the defendants to be unfit for military service.

Hallinan opened the defense by calling Pvt. Clayton Reum to the stand. Reum was on the shotgun work detail on which Bunch was killed. He said that Bunch several times asked the guard to shoot him and then trotted off down the road. Reum said that Bunch must have been "a little goofy to run down the middle of the street instead of running around the corner, like he'd do if he really wanted to escape." The guard shot Bunch in the back of the head.



Reum stated that he did not hear the guard yell halt.

Reum described this incident to the other stockade prisoners when he returned to the barracks, and said ~~that~~ the men became very agitated.

Under cross examination Reum stuck to his story, and even gave a morale boost to the defendants when he said that he "wanted to get out ~~there~~ there with them guys (the demonstrators) myself but I didn't want to get into any more trouble than I was already in."

The first defendant called to the stand was Roy Pulley. Pulley was kicked out of school and joined the army in 1967 to learn aircraft maintenance. But instead he was trained as a helicopter door gunner. Pulley didn't like this: "I don't believe in killing, especially women and children in Vietnam." He went AWOL and ended up in the stockade.

Hallinan questioned Pulley extensively as to what life in the stockade was like. There was "bedlam in the whole place," Pulley said. He told of food rationing, filthy toilets, overcrowding and lack of recreational activity. All this generated an air of tension and desperation that ~~lead~~ <sup>try</sup> led many prisoners to ~~try~~ to take their own lives.

After the killing of Bunch ~~several~~ <sup>he and several other</sup> prisoners decided to draw up a list of grievances ~~and stage a demonstration~~ and stage a demonstration, Pulley recounted. "I felt something had to be done in the stockade and there was no other way to get the word out." He said the men never intended to override military authority, but had hoped that a superior officer might be prompted to inspect the stockade. "I thought we would be praised for bringing this up," he added.

The next day Novinger grilled Pulley for nearly six hours, but the young ~~man~~ soldier did not lose his calm.

Afterwards, Mrs. Ginger Bunch, mother of Richard Bunch, took the stand for a few brief minutes. She described her son's mental illness and



identified suicide notes that had been found on his bunk. The notes said in part: "Well, if you're not going to give me love at least ~~you~~ do me the favor of complete extermination. I've but one click and it's over. Fuck it, it ain't work living."

Hallinan ~~plans~~ plans to call each of the defendants to the stand. So far he has called three, and the third week of the ~~trial~~ trial is expected to open with testimony from a stockade guard to corroborate what the defendants have said about the ~~stockade~~ stockade.

Meanwhile, ~~and the army has appointed a panel~~, the army has appointed a panel to inspect military stockades and suggest improvements. When questioned as to the meaning of this move Hallinan replied that it was designed to circumvent a civilian investigation of military prisons by whitewashing the stockade system.



Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

The police have finally been removed from the campus of San Francisco State College and the school is slowly returning to normal operation.

Whether the campus will remain free of armed men is still up in the air, however. Acting State president S.I. Hayakawa has warned that "I shall not hesitate to request their ~~indispensable~~ (police) help if the need should arise in the future." He added that he did not think this ~~xxx~~ would be necessary because "I believe we have learned enough as a campus community to be able to manage our own affairs without police help."

Hayakawa has agreed to go along with part of an amnesty agreement signed last month by leaders of a four-month student strike and ~~the~~ an administration committee. He said he will intervene only in disciplinary cases resulting in suspension or expulsion. He will not review cases resulting in acquittal by campus disciplinary panels. Students charge, though, that these panels are little better than kangaroo courts.

~~However~~, Hayakawa continues to oppose blanket amnesty for the students and refuses to intervene in any criminal cases resulting from the strike. So far of the 22 persons tried on charges stemming from the Jan. 23 mass arrest, ten have been acquitted, six have had ~~hung~~ a hung jury and six have been convicted.

He also insists he will not rehire Dr. Nathan Hare. Black students want Dr. Hare in charge of the Black Studies Department, won in the strike settlement, which is to be set up this fall.

Leaders of the Black Students Union have accused Hayakawa of using his office as a springboard for his political ambitions. He is said to be interested in the post of state superintendent of schools.



By Robert L. Allen

Ft. Ord, Calif.

~~Several of the Presidio "mutineers" testified in their own defense~~

The defense continued to press its case in the third week of the Presidio "mutiny" ~~trial~~ trial being held here.

Several of the young GI defendants have taken the stand to testify in their own defense. All have insisted that the sit-down demonstration that they staged at the Presidio stockade last October was not an act of mutiny, but a desperate protest against the unbearable conditions inside the stockade.

Not untypical was the testimony of Pvt. Richard Stevens who, when asked why he joined the demonstrations, replied, "because I seen all the things in the stockade and I figured this was going to be our last chance to get something done."

"All we wanted to do," said another defendant, Pvt. Patrick Wright, "was to tell somebody about our grievances, about the conditions in the stockade and about how Bunch got killed."

A point repeatedly stressed by defense attorney Terence Hallinan was that the senseless shotgun killing of Pvt. Richard Bunch, a mentally unstable prisoner, severely ~~stockade~~ disturbed the other stockade prisoners and ~~prompted~~ drove 27 of them to an act of protest.

"I was ashamed to be in the United States Army," said Pvt. Buddy Shaw in describing his feelings after the killing of Bunch. "I couldn't see there was any right for a ~~gunnys~~ guard to kill a man just because he wanted to see his family."



A former stockade guard told the court-martial panel that the "whole stockade was depressed" when Bunch was killed. "People were very, very angry," said sp/4 Roger Broomfield, speaking of the prisoners. "People were very upset; they seemed stunned and wanted to do something."

Broomfield also said that the stockade was overcrowded, unclean and short on food.



Hallinan contends that the men were driven by an "irresistible impulse" to commit their protest action and therefore could not have formed the intention to override military authority, that is, commit mutiny. He plans to bring in 15 psychiatrists to back up this contention.

The Vietnam war became an issue in the trial when Pvt. Richard Gentile testified that he became "a complete pacifist" after serving as machine gunner for a year in Vietnam. "I just don't believe in war and killing," he said.

It was his pacifist views, Gentile continued, which led him to participate in the massive October GI antiwar march in San Francisco. <sup>this</sup> For ~~his~~ effort he was rewarded with a bunk in the stockade and an existence so miserable that he tried to commit suicide by slashing his arm. A long red scar still marks the wound.



Guardian West Coast Bureau

Palo Alto, Calif.

(sitting and standing in the crowded courtyard)  
The several hundred students cheered and clapped as the votes

✓ as taken and the resolution passed.

They were Stanford University students and they were applauding because they had just decided to continue their sit-in in the Applied Electronics Laboratory to protest war research on campus and the school's affiliation with the Stanford Research Institute. The institute does research in chemical and biological warfare under contract to the government. -- ~~\$400,000 dollars~~ worth last year.

The demonstrators, who began their sit-in April 9, voted to demand that the trustees hold an open, decision-making meeting on April 14 to respond to their demands. They said that after such a meeting they would decide whether to discontinue the sit-in.

So far the demonstration has been unusually peaceful. No outside police have been called in, although Stanford's president Kenneth Pitzer has twice warned the students that he ~~plans~~ plans to initiate disciplinary action against them. →

The demonstrators are well organized. Sleeping bags and blankets are scattered throughout the laboratory. The students have set up a kitchen, medical treatment area and even a press relations office. They publish leaflets and newsletters using laboratory equipment.

About 200 students and faculty members occupy the laboratory on a continuing basis, but when rallies are called in the lab's courtyard the crowd may easily swell to more than 1,000. Stanford has somewhat more than 11,000 students enrolled.



The students voted not to damage the  
laboratory nor block entrance to anyone  
nor open classified files.



The laboratory and its 150 employees is only a secondary target of the demonstrators. The lab is not part of SRI but <sup>it</sup> ~~the lab~~ is doing some war research. The students ~~claim~~ claim that ~~the lab~~ is doing some war research.

The primary target is the Stanford Research Insititute. According to officials, SRI has more thna \$1 million in government projects in Southeast Asia, and it didx \$400,000 worth of chemical and biological research last year.

At a meeting on April 3 attended by 800, <sup>concerned</sup> ~~interested~~ students and faculty demanded that the university sever its ties with SRI and end campus war research. Out of this grew the April 3 Movement, a coalition of groups such as SDS, ~~the~~ Resistance, ~~the~~ Peninsula Red Guard, Mid-Peninsula Free University and Peace & Freedom party.

The April 3 meeting prompted Stanford's board of ~~the~~ trustees to ask SRI not to undertake any new contracts for war research. Pitzer, <sup>said</sup> a liberal, ~~told the trustees~~ that the Vietnam war w as "a great blunder" and he told the trustees: "You are being asked through your decision on SRI to say that our national priorities are wrong -- that we spend too much on the militayr, ~~too~~ on means to kill people, and not enough on constructive things, on helping ordinary people to live."

The trustee's decision did not go far enough for the students, however. "This decision doesn't affect anything," remarked one student. "They just renewed a bunch of contracts a few months ago. It doesn't stop the work going on now."

The students held another mass meeting and decided to take over the electronics laboratory.

What will happen next is anybody's guess. Pitzer has said he won't call in the cops. The Academic Senate has expressed its "moral~~xx~~



STANFORD 3/3/3/3

concern" over war research but is not planning to take any action in support of the students. The demonstrators have demanded a meeting with the trustees but at this writing none is scheduled.

Undoubtedly this deadlock will be broken, but whether that will mean busted heads or useful negotiations is uncertain.



By Robert L. Allen

Guardian West Coast Bureau

Ft. Ord, Calif.

court-martial

The ~~trial~~ of 14 young soldiers accused of mutiny opened here last week in what defense attorneys described as an atmosphere of <sup>open</sup> hostility.

The trial is being held in a remote and desolate part of Ft. Ord. Security is tight; tighter than in Vietnam according to one military defense lawyer. Four checkpoints have been set up, including three roadblocks one of which is located more than three miles from the courtroom. The area immediately in front of the court is barricaded by ~~sawhorses~~ sawhorses and patrolled by military policemen. Two closed circuit television cameras were also set up in this area by the army but were later removed after the defense objected to the photographing of spectators and family members.

On the first day of the trial the air of repression and hostility was especially thick. At one point a military helicopter circled overhead for half an hour making it difficult to hear what was being said. A nearby gate leading to the main highway was closed and guarded by MPs and California highway patrolmen. Spectators and reporters were forced to travel many miles out of the way to enter through another gate. Some people reported that they were harassed and given the run around by authorities as they sought to attend the trial.

Inside the small courtroom itself -- which can accommodate no more than 50 people -- seven or eight MPs stood guard. The 14 defendants were escorted into the court by a phalanx of MPs, some armed with riot guns.

Later the army, apparently realizing that it was hurting its own case in the eyes of the public, reduced its security precautions slightly. The helicopter was grounded, East Gate opened and the number of MPs inside



the courtroom was reduced to two.

The 14 defendants are part of the Presidio 27, a group of stockade prisoners who last October staged a sit down demonstration at San Francisco's Presidio to protest conditions inside the stockade and the killing of a fellow prisoner, Richard Bunch.

Of the original 27, three have escaped, eight have been convicted and given sentences ranging from nine months to <sup>16</sup> ~~35~~ years at hard labor, two are hospitalized and the remaining ~~14~~ 14 are now standing trial.

The first days of the trial were largely taken up with defense motions. Chief defense counsel Terence Hallinan sought to have a change of venue back to San Francisco. He argued that military authorities had originally agreed to have the trial at the Presidio but then moved it to Ft. Ord, more than 100 miles away, ~~xxxxxxx~~. He contended that this move amounted to "command influence" in the trial and was designed to harass the defense in that it would prevent some of his expert witnesses and families of the defendants from attending and testifying. He also pointed out that Ft. Ord is a meningitis pool; that two soldiers have died of the disease at the base this year and several others are hospitalized.

(now major)

Chief prosecution attorney Capt. <sup>John Novinger</sup> argued that protest demonstrations at the Presidio made security a problem. (Several demonstrations have been held at the Presidio and on the weekend preceding the current trial more than 20,000 people rallied outside the Presidio gates to protest the war in Vietnam and the treatment of the Presidio 27.) The prosecution flew in Lt. Col. John C. Ford, Presidio Provost Marshal, to support its contention. Novinger also said that there were procedures for reimbursing witnesses for expenses incurred in attending the trial.

At this Hallinan jumped to his feet and accused the prosecution



of trying to play a "cheap trick" in that the procedures alluded to would require him to reveal the details of planned defense testimony to the army prosecutor.

The court-martial law officer (or judge) Lt. Col. James Hagan ~~rule against~~ denied the motion for change of venue, however, on the grounds that "the atmosphere at the Presidio is not conducive to calmness and dispassionate consideration."

Another ~~more~~ setback to the defense followed in close succession. The defense strategy (see interview with Hallinan) is to attempt to justify the protest action of the prisoners on the grounds that they were driven to it by the oppressive conditions in the stockade and the killing of Bunch. But Hagan ruled out as irrelevant any testimony concerning the killing of Bunch or his state of mind in the months preceding his death. Hallinan had hoped to establish that Bunch was insane, that he was shot in cold blood and that this in turn touched off the protest demonstration.

However, testimony concerning conditions at the stockade and the killing of Bunch apparently will get into the trial. Hallinan requested the law officer to direct that three other stockade prisoners be brought ~~in~~ in to testify. Two of the three men, privates John Colip and Clayton Reum, <sup>it was</sup> were on the same shotgun work detail with Bunch the day he was killed, and they who told the defendants of the killing. ~~Hayes told them~~ The third man, Private William Hayes, told the 14 of Bunch's desire for suicide.

Hagan initially denied this request but later reversed himself and ordered the three men to be secured as witnesses. At defense request he also ordered Novinger to determine whether ~~any~~ complaint ~~forms~~ forms and medical records of stockade prisoners were available from the three months period prior to the alleged mutiny. Hallinan contended that these ~~form~~ documents would reveal stockade conditions and the fact that the prisoners



had repeatedly complained, but to no ~~avail~~ avail, of these conditions.

Under this "illegal reign reign of terror inside the Presidio stockade," he contended, "the young men in ~~sitting~~ sitting down were complaining, in the only way they felt would get results, of what was goin on."

What goes on inside the Presidio stockade and other military prisons has become a matter of growing public concern as a result of the Presidio 27 case. Senators Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) and Alan Cranston (D.-Calif.) have called for an investigation of military prisons, noting the deplorable conditions in <sup>these</sup> ~~this~~ institutions, the fact that stockade personnel frequently do not have the specialized training required under army regulations and the fact that at the Presidio alone there were 52 suicide attempts in the last year.

→ insert  
In Sacramento, representative John Moss urged an investigation of the mutiny charges against the soldiers. He stated that the decision by Gen. Stanley Larsen, commander of the Sixth Army, to prosecute the men "has done more damage to the image of the military services than any single action I can recall during my 56 years of life."

Numerous congressmen have expressed concern and the matter <sup>of the mutiny trials</sup> has come up for discussion on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The army itself has admitted that there was overcrowding and inadequate facilities at the Presidio stockade and, after the so-called mutiny ~~stockade~~ and ensuing public uproar, it quickly moved to clean up the place. Last week the army invited 30 newsmen to tour the ~~Presidio~~ stockade and admire its freshly painted cellblocks. They were not allowed, however, to talk with any of the 84 prisoners (down from <sup>150</sup> ~~125~~ in October), and they were expected to believe, in the words of one colonel, that the stockade was now "a sort of Hilton West."

Meanwhile, the ~~mutiny~~ trial of the men who forced these changes



was to resume here April 14 with the prosecution trying to build its case.

*the prosecution*  
~~Woxinger~~ has already called Sgt. Thomas Woodring to testify about the October demonstration but it refused to allow him, upon cross-examination, to talk about the killing of Bunch. "This deliberate narrowing of his testimony puts me in an extremely unfair position," complained Hallinan. "The prosecution is deliberately preventing me from going into the conditions which caused the whole demonstration."

The law officer upheld the prosecution. However, Hallinan ~~said~~ plans to get in the needed testimony by later calling Woodring as an adverse witness for the defense.

All testimony is being heard by a five-man panel, or jury. The panel consists of two officers -- a major and a lt. col. -- and three enlisted men -- all sergeants. Three other officers who sat on the original nine-man panel were peremptorily challenged by the defense and one was excused by the prosecution.

, which was appointed by Gen. Larsen,  
The panel determines the verdict and sets sentences. A two-thirds majority is required to convict and *under the Uniform Code of Military Justice* if this percentage is not reached on the first ballot, the verdict is not guilty and the trial is ended.



Q. What will be your general strategy in defending the 14 accused soldiers?

A. Our general strategy is to a certain extent different from that used so far in that we are going to attempt to justify what the young men did, and to defend the case on the grounds that they are heroes, not mutineers. <sup>By their act</sup> They were calling to the attention of the military authorities and to the public at large an atrocious and illegal situation that existed at the San Francisco Presidio stockade.

Now we have to fit this tack into the context of the ~~legitimate~~ legalities required, and we attempting to do so through the use of a great deal of psychiatric testimony. In a general sense the defense is going to be based on the idea that the conditions in the stockade were so incredibly inhumane that this coupled with the ~~unintentional~~ cold-blooded killing of Richard Bunch <sup>prisoner</sup> -- which ~~actually~~ actually was a suicide -- all of this drove the prisoners into a state of temporary insanity. This in turn ~~imposed~~ made it impossible for them to form the specific intent to override military authority, as is required to justify a mutiny charge, and in fact this state may very well have constituted an irresistible impulse within the meaning of the federal ~~insanity~~ insanity rule thus providing a defense to any charge.

Q. I understand that you have 17 psychiatrists who are going to testify and substantiate your contention, is that right?

A. That's right. We've got some of the biggest names in psychiatry here on the West Coast, including J.L.D. Lamm, Dr. Norman Reider, Dr. Philip ~~Schapiro~~ Schapiro, who used to be the chief psychiatrist of the Sixth Army, Dr. Martin Blinder, a man who's had a great deal of experience in forensic psychology or psychology as testified to in court, Dr. Price Cobbs, a co-author of Black Rage, Dr. Fariborz ~~Amni~~ Amini, who is with the Center for Psychiatric Research at the University of California, and Dr. Robert Wald, the chief Psychiatrist at Mt. Zion Hospital.



Each of the psychiatrists has done an examination of one of the 14 men and will testify as to their backgrounds and their state of mind at the time of the demonstration. Then Dr. Price Cobbs is going to testify on the concept of diminished responsibility which, it's our contention, made it impossible for them to conceive that specific intent required for miking. Dr. Ansel will testify concerning the idea of irresistible impulse ~~under~~ under which a person feels compelled to engage in some behavior even though it may be illegal. Finally, Dr. ~~Wald~~ Wald will do a post-humous psychoanalysis of Richard Bunch.



Q. I understand that the military plans to have its own psychiatrists testify in an effort to refute your arguments.

A. Well, they themselves have laid the basis for my claim by telling me that 13 of the 14 and 25 of the 27 are unfit for military duty according to their own psychiatric evaluation, according to which the majority of the men are psycho-neurotic, several psychotic, and recommending that almost all of them be discharged from the military. One wonders why it took a "mutiny" for them to find out that the people should never have been in the army in the first place.

Q. Does the evidence suggest that the men suffered from this mental condition before they went in the military, or was it brought about afterwards?

A. Let's say they had a tendency. Most of them came from extremely deprived backgrounds, from broken families, poor white families. There's only one high school graduate among my 14 clients, and I think only two in the whole 27. ~~By~~ They were all apparently suffering under anxiety and stress, but left on their own they probably could have made it in civilian life.

The conditions in the stockade aggravated this condition and caused them to lose control over themselves for a temporary period. That's not to say that the sit-in demonstration, the protest against these conditions, was an act of insanity, but the act of participating in a demonstration that they knew would result in mutiny charges, surrounded by more than 100 armed MPs and a twelve foot high stockade fence indicates that they were driven into a state of terror or shock and were no longer able to think about the consequences of what they were doing.

Q. Nonetheless, they all feel that the act was justified?

A. All of my clients do and I understand that in the last trial four of the five men felt that what they had done was justified. The young men who participated in this demonstration were the most courageous and concerned <sup>prisoners</sup> ~~ones~~ in the stockade because the plans originally called for the whole stockade to participate but as it turned out only 27 had the courage to go through with it.



Q. Do you plan to introduce evidence concerning the conditions at the stockade?

A. It was these conditions which drove the men to the state ~~that~~ they are in, and I believe they were designed by the military authorities expressly for ~~that~~ that purpose, to break the will to resist of the men and, if necessary, in the process to drive them insane.

So far the authorities have ruled that testimony as to the conditions in the stockade is ~~is~~ inadmissible. We are confident that we will get it in because it is essential to our defense and because I obtained in ~~January~~ January an order from the U.S. Court of Military Appeals, in denying my application for a writ of habeas corpus, an order that ended up saying "we deny this petition without prejudice to raising these matters set forth hereinafter at the court martial."

Q. What were ~~these~~ conditions in the stockade like at the time of the demonstration?

A. They had a building there built for something like 40 prisoners in 1911, expanded subsequently to a capacity of 68, but was actually holding 150 prisoners with ~~insufficient~~ a food allowance adequate for only 105 and this had to feed all the men plus the guards and the cooks. There were only four toilets and these were frequently stuffed up and filthy. There were five segregation cells, two of which were painted entirely black with no furnishings whatsoever, and the other three were white with only a metal bedrack fastened to the wall. Men were ~~usually~~ locked in these cells, ~~sometimes~~ sometimes in the dark, for weeks at a time without being let out to shower or change their underclothes. And these cells measured six feet by four and a half feet.

You can hardly imagine what it must be like to be trapped in one of these cells for weeks at a time, especially for a man with neurotic tendencies, whose basic objection is to being in the army. One thing you have to realize is that almost none of the men in the stockade are criminals. They're all in there



simply ~~has~~ because they were unable to adjust to this system of chattel slavery called the draft.

Q. Who do you plan to have testify beside the psychiatrists?  
some of their parents. We've

A. Well, the 14 defendants and ~~and some of their parents~~ got so far about six other stockade prisoners who will testify. We're hoping to ~~have a guard or two among those testifying and we'll have at least one AWOL prisoner who's willing to turn himself in in order to help these kids out.~~

Q. Do you plan to exercise your right to have enlisted men sit on the court-martial board?

A. We had to file a written request signed by each of the defendants asking that the panel be composed of no less than 1/3 enlisted men as provided under military law. What the army usually does in such a case is to ~~select~~ select 1/3 enlisted men of the highest possible rank, that is sergeants, who have little in common with the draftees or private enlisted men. But even still my research shows that having any enlisted men on the panel results in double the acquittal rate and sentences averaging one-half of those passed by other court-martial panels.

Shortly after I filed the request for enlisted men on the panel the army notified me that the court-martial was being moved, over my opposition, to Ft. Ord near Monterey. This means that the enlisted men who will be on the panel will all probably be drill instructors, hardened sergeants whose job is to break the resistance of the draftees. So they really moved it down there in an attempt to stack the jury, despite the fact that the papers have reported that an epidemic of ~~meningitis~~ meningitis is sweeping Ft. Ord. They're willing to risk the lives of the prisoners, their families, witnesses and spectators just to have a chance to stack the jury.

Q. What ~~do you think~~ are the prospects of getting a change of venue back to San Francisco?



A. It's hard to say. I feel confident that we're entitled to a change of venue, ~~from any place but~~ but General [Stanley] Larsen does seem intent on having it down there and in the army a court-martial is <sup>basically</sup> a one man show. The convening authority not only prefers the charges against the prisoners but he determines what kind of court-martial they will have and thereby what kind of charges they'll be liable to in the long run; he names the members of the court-martial panel; and then he approves, modifies, nullifies or does whatever he wants with the findings of the panel. This shows how the army court-martial system has nothing to do with justice but is simply a disciplinary set up for the commanding officer.

Q. Do you expect that the military will attempt to single out and get so-called leaders of the demonstrations or to turn the other men against these "leaders"?

A. They've been apparently doing that so far. In this last trial Ricky Dood received a sentence of six years because they claimed he played a leading role. I know that several of my clients are regarded by the army as the leaders of the demonstration and I'm sure that ~~right~~ they would like to see them get heavy sentences.

Q. Has there been any slackening of public support for the 27 as a result of the reduction of Private Good's sentence from 15 to two years?

A. There has been certainly, but not among the young people and other people really concerned with the case. Among the so-called liberals there has definitely been a slackening of interest.

Q. Your position is that the men should not have to serve any time for what they did?

A. My position is that they should receive some kind of medal for courage above and beyond the call of duty for calling the attention of the authorities to what was going on inside the stockade, and saving the lives of other prisoners who undoubtedly would have followed in Richard Busch's footsteps if those conditions had been allowed to continue.



Q. What is their morale like?

A. Now it's very good. They're looking forward to the opportunity to tell about what was really going on inside the stockade.

Q. One last question. Earlier you mentioned that Bunch's death was suicide. What evidence is there of this?

A. First of all Richard Bunch was insane. He'd gone home last May and told his mother he'd died twice and was reincarnated as a warlock with the power to walk through walls and the power to kill people with an evil glance. While he was in the stockade he used to talk to himself for hours at a time and frequently woke up from his sleep screaming with nightmares. The day before he went out on the shotgun work detail he asked one of the other prisoners what was the best way to kill himself and was advised to go to a guard and fake an escape attempt. The next day, according to the prisoners, he repeatedly asked <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ guard to promise to kill him if he tried to escape. The ~~guard~~ <sup>guard</sup> answered that he would have to try to find out. Bunch replied, "All right, be sure you shoot me in the back of the head," and started dog-trotting, not running, down the road. The ~~guard~~ <sup>guard</sup> shot and killed him.

Later that afternoon the other prisoners found on his bunk a number of hand-scrawled notes saying such things as: "If you can't give me love at least give me the satisfaction of final extermination. I've but one click and it's over. Fuck it, it ain't worth living." Things like this clearly indicate that he was taking his own life.



Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

The final outcome of the months-long student strike at San Francisco State College remained uncertain last week.

Student strike leaders have signed an agreement with a select committee stipulating terms of a settlement (Guardian, March 29), but acting S.F. State president S.I. Hayakawa said he plans to wait until an April 11 deadline before deciding whether to implement a list of recommendations concerning disciplining of student strikers. The recommendations call for the school administration to impose only minimum penalties.

In the meantime, Hayakawa stated that he will ~~keep~~ continue to keep police on the campus, which he said is still in a "state of emergency."

There is apparently little disagreement over other terms of the settlement (Guardian, March 22).

Hayakawa's statements prompted Frank Brann, an attorney for the students, to charge that Hayakawa was repudiating the agreement. Brann said that student leaders "would not have signed the settlement without receiving explicit assurances that Hayakawa would adopt the recommendations of the select committee."

Leroy Goodwin, a spokesman for the Black Students Union, said that the students would "disregard" Hayakawa "and begin to build San Francisco State College into the most profound and creative institution of higher learning in the country."

Meanwhile, jury selection has begun for the ~~the~~ trials of the more than 400 persons arrested at S.F. State Jan 23. Several of those arrested have pleaded guilty to charges of unlawful assembly, but most are demanding jury trials. ~~The~~ <sup>were</sup> ~~trial~~ trials for the first 38 defendants ~~are~~ expected to begin this week.



By Robert L. Allen

Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

The ~~historic~~ historic student strike at San Francisco State College is over, but whether it is settled is another matter.

After days of speculation that a settlement was imminent, Black Student Union leaders called an impromptu press conference March 20 to announce that the strike had ended and that student strike leaders had signed an agreement with a select committee composed of four faculty members and two college administrators, all appointed by Acting State president S.I. Hayakawa.

BSU leader Ben Stewart said, "We view the agreed settlement as a foundation for revolutionary change in bringing together this college and various communities throughout the Bay Area."

Roger Alvarado, a spokesman for the Third World Liberation Front, later told the Guardian that "all demands have been met to our satisfaction." He said that implementation of the demands was assured and that the select committee had agreed to "85% amnesty" for the strikers.

~~Acting State president S.I.~~ Hayakawa also released a statement on the next day in which he said he would ~~announce~~ "announce specific plans for establishing a school of ethnic studies, to include a black studies department, and for obtaining financing beyond the normal budget allocation to complete planning for the new school."

The next morning, however, Hayakawa said that seven provisions in the agreement granting partial amnesty are "merely recommendations" and that he is rejecting them. He added further that the agreement will be abrogated if student strike leaders fail to prevent violence on the campus in the coming



On this latter point Frank Brann, attorney for the students, said the agreement provides for a maximum of a two-semester suspension for student convicted of bombing or setting fires on campus. Any student found guilty of disruption of classes will be suspended for the two-month balance of the present semester. Students arrested for failure to disperse, unlawful assembly or disturbing the peace -- and these categories represent 95% of all student disciplinary cases -- will receive a written reprimand and nothing more.

"Nobody will be expelled," said Stewart. However, nearly 680 persons, mostly students, have been arrested on the campus since the strike began ~~in~~ last November and they still face court trials. There is speculation, though, that penalties will be ~~more~~ minimal.



weeks. He also refused to release copies of the agreement to the press.

Hayakawa's statements provoked an immediate reaction from S.F. State's top black administrator, Joseph White, dean of undergraduate studies. White predicted more student protest, although not necessarily in the form of a strike.

At this writing student leaders have made no response to Hayakawa's efforts to change the agreement.

Hayakawa's reassertion of his hard line was not altogether unexpected. Earlier in the week he had met in Washington with President Nixon. Hayakawa reported that he and the President had agreed that federal aid should be withdrawn from any students convicted of serious offenses involving campus violence, unlawful assembly or obstruction of academic procedures.

Commenting on the role of the faculty Hayakawa said he told ~~him~~ Nixon that "the students would not have been nearly as revolutionary if some of the faculty had not been so."

Nixon asked Hayakawa about differences in attitude ~~behaviour~~ and behaviour between black and white students. "I replied that the blacks have legitimate complaints about society," Hayakawa said, but he added that he believed "the white radicals are often destructive rather than constructive."

Another factor in Hayakawa's attempt to undermine the agreement may be the fact that he did not participate in the talks leading to the tentative settlement and he reportedly did not see it until ~~immediately~~ after he returned from Washington on March 18.

In related developments, the California Senate last week passed four bills designed to crack down on campus unrest. If finally enacted, the measures would ~~strengthen~~ strengthen the authority of a State college president to declare a "state of emergency" on his campus, provide imprisonment for up to five years ~~and~~ or a fine of \$5,000, or both, for anyone "willfully and un-



lawfully" disrupting classes or otherwise preventing students<sup>a</sup> from "pursuing other legitimate activities relating to his course of study," require the expulsion of student rebels and compel the firing of college employees who ~~manipulate~~ obstruct instructional programs by force of violence.

Mervyn M. Dymally, the only black member of the Senate, opposed all four bills, terming them "repressive" and reflective of the "hysteria" that has been generated in the wake of campus protests.



Berkeley Strike  
by Bruce Rappaport  
Special to the Guardian

For all practical purposes, the nine week old Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) strike at Berkeley has come to an end with no significant concession by the University administration. Though it was only last month, that upwards of 2000 students battled with police on the campus, in the last few weeks passive picket lines of 100 or less people have been the only evidence that the strike was still continuing. On March 14th, the teaching assistants AFT union declared their strike at an end and the TWLF called a moratorium on all strike activities for an unspecified length of time.

There are a number of explanations being offered by campus leaders for the failure of the strike to win any significant gains. A majority of the TWLF leadership puts the main blame on white students in general for not rallying in large numbers to the strike cause. In addition, they have a number of criticisms to direct at the support they did get from white students. They argue that the white strikers constantly refused to follow the TWLF's tactical leadership, and too often continued demonstrations after the TWLF had ordered them ended, and carried demonstrations to a level of militancy that Third World leaders felt was inappropriate.

They also blame the white leadership for not exercising greater control over the white rank-and-file strikers. In the early weeks of the strike,



they expected the white leadership to be able to explain to its supporters that certain TWLF statements, such as ones condemning "violence", were not to be taken at face value but were to be understood as tactically necessary in order to keep Third World community support. Later, when the white leadership insisted that it could not maintain white support if such statements continued, the TWLF agreed not to do so in the future but <sup>has</sup> still remained critical of white leadership for allowing demonstrations to be taken over by what they called the "street people." In addition, the TWLF feels that the white leadership failed to keep the focus clearly on the Third World College rather than on resisting the police occupation of the campus. Finally, in the most recent weeks, ~~the~~ Third World leaders have expressed a great ~~deal of~~ disappointment at the inability of the white leadership to turn out strike supporters, refusing to accept as valid their argument that the constant toning down of the strike by the TWLF had turned off many white militants.

On the other hand, a)  
A minority segment of the TWLF has been very critical of the what they characterize as the "moderate" members of the TWLF Central Committee. This minority comes mainly from the Mexican-American group while the moderate are led by leaders of the black organization on campus, joined



## Berkeley Strike

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by Asian\*american leaders. The chicano's evidently share many of the same criticisms that white radicals have made of the Third World leadership.

One segment of the white leadership itself, while agreeing that the upper middle class, politically liberal bias of the average student has been a major factor insist that a great deal of the problem has been with the TWLF leadership. From the beginning, they argue, the Third World leadership has mistakenly viewed the struggle as one between themselves and a basically liberal university structure and have refused to change this view even in the face of a massive police occupation of the campus. ~~In tactical terms, limited~~ "Liberal" Chancellor Roger Heynes, they have felt, could be forced over to their point of view if only Governor Reagan and the conservative faculty could be kept off his back. In tactical terms, limited though militant demonstrations were considered ~~significant~~ sufficient and the calling of "total war", such as was done at San Francisco State, was considered unnecessary. From the beginning, the TWLF has focused the main brunt of its demonstrations on the edge of campus and have turned down suggestions to aim ~~move~~ the main action ~~towards the~~ at students right in the classroom. As a result, most students have learned to enter campus by routes other than the one through the embattled Sproul Plaza area and have remained unaffected by the strike demonstrations.



## Berkeley strike

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The white critics ~~have~~ maintain that the week following the massive battle of February 20th was the turning point in the struggle. The tremendous momentum that had been built up was lost, they argue, in a week of ~~confusion~~ confusion and cooling off periods called to demonstrate the TWLF's "control" of the strike and ~~in the mistaken assumption~~ in the hope that a quiet period would give Heynes a chance to make concessions. Even when it became clear by the end of this week, that the strike was falling apart the TWLF leadership ~~which~~ did not organize the kind of militant activities that could have rekindled the strike and ended the disillusionment of most of the militant strikers. A specific proposal by a small group of white radicals to begin massive disruption of classes themselves was supposedly accepted by the TWLF but was never acted on.

One major problem, these critics feel, has been a distorted emphasis on cultural nationalism. They argue that a majority of the TWLF has been so concerned with the establishment of a Third World College that they have been willing to fight for it even by means that could have detrimental effects on the building of a more general revolutionary movement among Third World and white people. The Black Panther Party, in fact, which has been very concerned recently with the conservative aspects of ~~the existing~~ cultural nationalism has remained almost completely uninvolved in the Berkeley struggle as compared to the one at S.F. State where their members played a major role.



## Berkeley Strike

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The depth of this problem, it is argued, is reflected in the indredibly toned down demands that were issued ~~by the~~ last week by the TWLF as its grounds for the "settlement" of the strike. In this new set of demands, the phrase ~~the phrase~~ "participation... in programs which involve Third World people" has replaced the earlier demnd for control of third World programs and the demand for academic and legal amnesty is reduced to a demand ~~for~~ placing "people sensitive to the needs of Third World people on disciplinary committees in order to guarantee due process". Many white critics consider these changes, coming after over 150 people have been arrested (nearly 50 felonies) and 140 persons called for university discipline while fighting for the stronger demands, as having a seriously detrimental and long-range effect on the mor ale of the Berkeley movement even if they do make more likely 'some' kind of third World program of studies.

F inally, white radicals have disagreed with the TWLF attack on the lack of discipline among white strikers. They argue that what is called lack of discipline ~~was~~ often actually involved militant acts of ~~the~~ just the kind that were necessary if the strike was going to move forward. More important, they argue that the TWLF was mistaken in its belief that militant students would be willing to continuously follow Third World leadership simply because it was Third World. It is true, that white radicals at San Francisco State ~~xxxxxxx~~ followed with ~~much~~



without much dissent the TWLF leadership there and that the same is true about the relations between the Bay Area white radical movement and the Black Panthers. The critics argue though, that while a lot of leeway was given to that leadership because it was Third World, that ~~the~~ continued ~~supported~~ white support has been forthcoming because of a deeping confidence, if not occassionally awe, at the revolutionary politics of those ~~groups~~ groups' leaders. At Berkeley, <sup>on the other hand,</sup> /the calling of cooling off periods, the toning down of demands, attacks on student militancy, and so forth have hardly been conducive to building that kind of confidence <sup>in the TWLF</sup> /among white strikers.

One segment of the white radical leadership has also been critical of the general white leadership itself. When it became clear that the TWLF leadership was in trouble, attempts were made to get the white Strike Support Committee(SSC) to pressure the TWLF to take a more militant line and recover the lost momentum. Proposals along this line were finally approved by the SSC but always in the context of "mild suggestions" to the TWLF, even after the TWLF explicitly refused to take the proposals seriously enough to make major changes in its tactical approach. ~~THESE~~

The strike had begun when the credibility of the white radical leadership was



at a low point; there was a general feeling that a struggle for minority self-determination should be controlled by that minority; and that ~~the~~ any initial lack of skill or difficulty in Third World-white relations was best worked out through common participation in struggle. Thus, as the strike began, the white leadership deliberately relegated itself to a subordinate role.

The critics, mostly members of the Radical Student Union, argue that this uncritical role, while earlier a justifiable political position, became over the weeks and in the light of the TWLF's ~~failures~~ mistakes, more dogma than analysis. The result was that the white leadership ~~was~~ generally refused to assume a critical ~~role~~ enough stance towards the TWLF even when such a stance became crucial for the development of the movement.

What the future holds is unclear. The quarter ends soon and <sup>school</sup> will not ~~be~~ resume until March 31st. The faculty senate has passed a motion endorsing a Third World department ~~that would~~ but refused to take a stand on the crucial issues of Third World student and community control. On the other hand, the latest TWLF demands seem to differ from this position in only minor ways. Some sort of agreement on the new demands may be reached over the Spring interim though Heynes does not even seem to be moving in this limited direction.



all of the men also received  
dishonorable discharges

Yost was sentenced to nine months in prison; Hayes got two  
was given  
years, Dodd six years and Swanson ~~received~~ three years. Appeals are planned.

~~The~~ Defense attorneys had sought to have lesser charges<sup>earlier</sup> filed  
against the men, basing their contention on the fact that the sentence of  
another presidio ~~at~~ soldier convicted of mutiny in the same case had been  
slashed from 15 to two years. Military authorities refused to negotiate,  
however, despite reported pressure from the office of Secretary of the  
Army Stanley Resor.

So far eight of the 27 have been convicted of mutiny.



Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

Four more Presidio GIs have been found guilty of mutiny and sentenced to prison terms.

The March 27 <sup>verdict</sup> ~~decision~~ at Ft. Lewis, Wash., where the court-martial large-scale was held to avoid protest demonstrations, came after nearly two weeks of testimony.

Convicted were Privates Edward Yost, William Hayes, ~~Harold Swanson~~ Ricky Dodd and Harold Swanson. — insert

Sixth Army Commanding General Stanley Larsen had charges against a fifth Presidio soldier, <sup>Michael Murphy,</sup> withdrawn because he has serum hepatitis, a disease usually caused by infection from a contaminated hypodermic needle. Murphy, however, may still be charged with mutiny at a later date.

All five men ~~men~~ are part of a group of 27 ~~GI~~ GI prisoners who peaceful staged a sit-down demonstration last October at the San Francisco Presidio to protest conditions in the stockade and the killing of a fellow prisoner. — insert

There had been some hope that Yost might be acquitted on the grounds that his hearing was impaired by a bomb blast while he was serving in Vietnam and therefore he could not have heard, over the chanting and singing of the other protesting soldiers, an order read by the stockade commander to return to the stockade building.



## PRESIDIO

The trial of 14 other Presidio GIs is expected to open April 7. The ~~milit~~ trial was originally scheduled to be held at the Presidio but Larsen has ordered it moved to Fort Ord, near Monterey.

Terence Hallinan, an attorney who is representing the 14, is strongly opposed to the transfer. "I have <sup>17</sup> ~~14~~ psychiatrists ready to testify about the mental condition of these young men," he said, "and I don't want to have to ask them to drive to Monterey each day just because the general has ordered the case moved."

Hallinan said he will ask for a change of venue back to ~~the~~ San Francisco.

He also told the Guardian that he <sup>also</sup> plans to have other prisoners testify at the court-martial, as well as several mothers of the accused men and Mrs. Ginger Bunch, the mother of Richard Bunch whose killing last October touched off the Presidio protest.

The gist of the defense, Hallinan indicated, is that the accused soldiers were driven by an "irresistible impulse," stemming from the atrocious conditions in the stockade and the killing of Bunch, to commit their protest action, and that they had not planned to override military authority (the definition of mutiny).

Meanwhile, at the Presidio it self tension and harassment have increased. A spokesman for the National Committee for the 27 described what is happening:

"The Presidio Stockade is up tight about rumors of a full blown investigation. Everything that doesn't work is being fixed and everything that doesn't move is being painted, sometimes twice. All the guards and 'supervising' personnel now wear dress uniforms all the time. Of course all the work is being done by the prisoners, except for the cleaning and polishing of the shot-guns. And now there is a regular class every night on war, such as chemical



## PRESIDIO

and biological warfare. Major Lucas, 'permanent advisor' to Captain Lamont [stockade commander], acts as though the Presidio 27 could somehow become gung-ho killers after the 'martyr' scene blows over. A super-~~militarism~~ militarism has been imposed over the run of the mill sadism that continues to exist.

"What is really going on is an intense campaign of harassment and intimidation. The daily schedule has been changed so that prisoners now have only one 'free' hour during the entire day. The one sane outlet, the Stockade Library, is virtually unused now because there isn't any time to read. Visiting and mailing privileges are on a 'carrot and stick' basis."

Persons wishing to contribute to the defense of the Presidio 27 should mail checks to: National Committee for the 27, 322 330 Ellis St., Rm 413, San Francisco, Calif. 94102.



Nearly <sup>6</sup>7,000 people crowded onto the Marina green here March 15 to show their support for the Presidio 27. The rally, held a few blocks from the ~~The 27th~~ Presidio, was called to demand clemency for 27 GI prisoners charged with mutiny. The 27 GIs staged a ~~riot~~ nonviolent sit-down demonstration last October to object to the murder of one of their number, Richard Bunch, and to protest conditions inside the Presidio stockade.

Bunch's mother, Mrs. Ginger Bunch, was to have been a featured speaker at the rally but she was unable to travel from <sup>her</sup> ~~the family~~ home in Dayton, Ohio, because of illness in the family. Instead a tape-recorded interview with her was played in which she expressed thanks to those who have supported the accused men.

The <sup>main</sup> speaker at the event was Terence Hallinan, an attorney who is defending 17 of the prisoners. Hallinan gave a vivid and moving account of the grievances the imprisoned soldiers have expressed against the atrocious conditions inside the stockade, the sadism and brutality of the guards and the racism of the military.

Other participants in the rally included Reese Ehrlich of the Oakland Seven, Black Panther captain David Hilliard and ~~folk singer~~ <sup>Jack Morrison</sup> singer Arlo Guthrie. San Francisco Supervisor <sup>Jack Morrison</sup> spoke and called for a congressional investigation of prison conditions.

Hallinan trials changed to April 7.

Rapports



By Tom Cleaver

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

(Bob will phone in lead on March 15 rally in support of the 27. This will run two to four paragraphs.)

Additional impetus for a congressional investigation of stockade conditions came earlier in the week from Senators Alan Cranston (D.-Calif.) and Charles E. Goodell (R.-N.Y.). On March 12 the two men called on the ~~Senate~~ Senate Armed Services Committee to ~~look~~ investigate reports they have received of prisoner overcrowding, racial discrimination, mistreatment of prisoners, inadequate training of guards and uncleanness at the Presidio and 22 other such prisons.

In a statement they said "the outrageous shotgun killing" of ~~Richard~~ Bunch and "the disclosure of deplorable conditions at the [Presidio] stockade... make it imperative that Congress look not only at the Presidio but at military prisons throughout the country."



Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

The student strike at San Francisco State College remained dormant last week as striking faculty members ended their walkout and returned to their classrooms.

~~Students~~ Some 200 striking teachers accepted a settlement package (Guardian, March 1) and then voted by a narrow margin to return to work March 3. The back to work move came after the ~~striking~~ college administration warned the strikers that continued delay would mean that "the college will no longer be in a position to rehire them [strikers] or to recommend their reinstatement."

The delay between acceptance of the settlement and the return to work was prompted <sup>in part</sup> by an earlier vote by the striking faculty members vowing that they would not return until "a peaceful and free academic atmosphere prevails on the campus." Some teachers had interpreted this to mean that they would not go back to their jobs until the student strike had been settled.

The president of the American Federation of Teachers local at State, Gary Hawkins, justified the ending of the strike by contending that the teachers had won many of their demands and they would now continue to fight for the students from the inside. He urged striking students to enroll in classes taught by union teachers in order to avoid reprisals, and he said the union was discussing ways of supporting the students' 15 demands.

Student strike leaders have not commented on the teachers' move.

The day the teachers returned to work, however, striking students called for a mass mobilization at the campus. The turnout was disappointing. Only a few hundred demonstrators manned picket lines that once were swelled by thousands. Many of the student strikers have become disillusioned and are drifting back to classes.



The student strike has also been hit by internal dissension.

Some rank and file strikers have accused the strike leadership of handling the strike in an inept and elitist manner. *The dissidents went so far as* There is speculation that the *an unsuccessful* dissidents *to* may attempt ~~some sort of~~ challenge to the authority of the Central Committee of the Third World Liberation Front, the group which has led the strike. Third World women students are angry because of their *virtual* exclusion from the strike leadership and the servant-like roles they *were* *sometimes* required to play during the strike.

Meanwhile there have been reports that a college official has drafted a compromise settlement. What the terms of the settlement are and whether it will be accepted by the students are, at this point, unknown.

The prevailing calm on the campus was shattered March 5 by another bomb blast. The blast resulted in the critical injury of a black student, Tim Peebles, who allegedly was attempting to plant a time bomb in the school's Creative ~~Arts~~ Arts Building. The ~~the~~ device, consisting of a steel pipe filled with blasting powder, apparently went off in Peebles hands. He lost fingers from both hands and suffered burns and cuts over most of his body. He may also be permanently blinded.



Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

The administration at San Francisco State College has come up with ~~its~~ version of a ~~with spontaneous~~ response to the 15 demands of striking students.

In the form of an 8-page memorandum prepared by a committee consisting of four professors, a college dean and a representative of the Chancellor's office, the report contends that several of the 15 strike demands have been met or are in the process of being accomplished.

to  
As ~~for~~ the key demand of a degree-granting autonomous Black Studies Department with 20 full-time teaching positions, the committee said that authority has been received for granting a bachelor's degree in black studies. ~~It~~ It stated that a community board will be set up with power to make recommendations little ~~moment~~ — and ~~nothing~~ else — concerning faculty and control of ~~the~~ the proposed ~~Black Studies~~ department. A total of 12.3 teaching positions have been authorized, the report continued, for Black Studies with a promise of ten more for a school of ethnic studies.

was a  
Not granted, according to the committee statement, ~~was a~~ demand for unlimited admissions of all minority students who apply next fall. Also not granted ~~was~~ were ~~these~~ demands that Dr. Nathan Hare receive a full professorship as head of the Black Studies Department, and that George Murray retain his teaching position for the current academic year. Hare has been fired effective in June and Murray is serving a jail sentence for alleged violations of his parole.

Student strike leaders reacted by charging the administration with "pig tricknology," but they are said to be studying the committee report.



One of the main issues preventing a settlement of the student strike is the question of amnesty for the strikers. It cannot safely be predicted how this issue will be resolved, especially since student leaders are hardly negotiating from a position of strength. Although the leaders have promised renewed action in the future, for the moment the student strike is dormant.

As is generally recognized, the strike at S.F. State demonstrated that third world students are capable of initiating and carrying through a protracted struggle against racism on a predominantly white campus. The 15 demands mobilized not only third world and white students, but also teachers, community people and some sections of the labor movement. New styles of leadership were developed. By rotating their leaders the Third World Liberation Front was able to minimize the effects of arrests and repression. Yet the question remains: Why has the student strike become quiescent?

~~Reasons~~ Part of the reason, of course, is a court injunction against mass picketing which is still in effect. But there are also other reasons.

One of the ironies of the strike is that the difficulties of the student strike increased when the American Federation of Teachers local walked out Jan. 6. The AFT walkout meant there were now two strikes (rhetoric to the contrary notwithstanding) with dual leadership; and gradually the AFT assumed tactical leadership of the strikes on a day to day basis.

Since the AFT restricted its activities to peaceful picketing around the perimeter of the campus (as required under a court injunction) while at the same time discouraging confrontations with the police and other militant tactics, this had an overall effect of defusing and slowing the student strike.

The TWLF leadership, recognizing this fact, called for a mass campus rally Jan. 23 in an attempt to re-assert its leadership and raise the



tempo of the strike. The ensuing mass arrest, while not fully anticipated by the leadership, accomplished just this. Suddenly the student strike was again thrust into the forefront and the sagging morale of the student strikers was given a significant boost. TWLF leaders promised to return to the campus the following week to shut it down and, if necessary, to suffer arrest time and time again.

A mass campus "mobilization" was called for Jan. 30. Many students interpreted this to mean a return to the militant disruptive tactics which earlier had all but closed the campus, or they thought that there would be at least ~~another~~ another attempt to stage a campus rally and perhaps more mass arrests. But the college administration secured a court order prohibiting campus demonstrations, and on Jan. 30 the campus was an armed camp, occupied by hundreds of policemen.

Nearly a thousand students picketed the campus and a hundred or ~~so~~ but rather half-heartedly gathered spontaneously ~~near the library~~ near the library, but there was no attempt to organize a rally. Instead the leaders declared the day a "tactical victory" and asked demonstrators to leave, vowing to rejuvenate the strike on Feb. <sup>17</sup> ~~15~~ following the semester break.

This tactical retreat forced upon the TWLF leadership by the armed presence of the police further undermined the strike. Coming as it did just before a two week semester break it could only result in a ~~mark~~ cooling of student militancy. Doubts were raised as to the eventual outcome of the strike and the fate of the strikers, and many students decided to return to class rather than go down fighting for what they now feared might be a losing cause.

The situation was further complicated on registration day as reports circulated that strike leaders were urging striking students to register for classes to protect their enrollment status. The strikers were then expected to rejoin the picket lines. Many registered but few came back to the lines.



The settlement of the AFT strike two weeks later represented still another blow. The AFT had broadly ~~intimated~~ intimated that it intended to stay out until student grievances were "resolved and implementation assured." But the AFT backtracked from this position and returned to work under the terms of a very weak settlement. On the day AFT members went back to their classes student leaders called for yet another mass mobilization at the campus. The turnout was disappointing. Only a few hundred demonstrators manned picket lines that once were swelled by thousands. Clearly, large numbers of student strikers had become apathetic or had concluded that the tide was turning against them.

The student strike was also hit by internal dissension. Some strikers accused the strike leadership of handling the strike in an inept and elitist manner. The dissidents went so far as to attempt an unsuccessful challenge to the authority of the Central Committee of the TWLF, the group which has led the strike. Third world women students <sup>also</sup> became angry because of their virtual exclusion from the strike leadership and the servant-like roles they were sometimes required to play during the strike.

While all of this was happening the authorities have stepped up their efforts to break the strike. On March 10 acting State president S.I. Hayakawa "suspended" publication of three student papers, The Daily Gater, the weekly Open Process and the Black Student Union paper, Black Fire. All three have strongly supported the strike and attacked Hayakawa. The Gater has defied the ban and published several issues.

Meanwhile, police arrested BSU leader Nesbit Crutchfield March 12 and charged him with attempted arson. Crutchfield was released on \$9,400 bail after police said they saw him near three automobiles which later were discovered to have been ~~at~~ "rigged" for arson. Crutchfield and other strike leaders have been arrested repeatedly on a host of charges.



By Anatole Anton  
Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

As the third ~~xxx~~<sup>world</sup> led strike continues to develop at U.C. Berkeley and as usually quiet Hayward State College, through a series of disruptive demonstrations, appears to be moving toward a strike, the militant organizations at San Francisco State College appear at present to be barely holding the line while various "talks" and negotiations go on.

Attendance, which at the height of the strike last semester fell consistently below 20%, seems now to be well over ~~the~~ 50%, even with 200 or so teachers still out on strike. Picket lines that at times last term numbered thousands, are down to a few hundred during the peak lunchtime hours, and then dwindle away to a few lonely AFT pickets.

Money has not been coming in at a fast enough rate either to the student legal defense committee (which has more than 600 people to worry about) or to the striking teachers. Some of the teachers have gotten jobs on a day-to-day basis from the I.L.W.U. but that is just a stop-gap and it also keeps them from strike duties.

Far more damaging than the attrition factor has been the machinations of the entire power structure to break the strike. Assemblyman Don Mulford called the municipal judges to a special meeting to ask for harsh sentences for arrested strikers. Aside from a lone and tepid editorial in the ~~Sx~~ S.F. Chronicle, no cry of public protest has been heard. A number of strikers are in jail, some for violations of probations stemming from last May's demonstration, and one for illegal possession of an egg.

George Murray, the courageous Black Panther Minister of Education,



has been jailed for six months for violation of his probation. He allegedly had a concealed weapon in a car he was driving. The circumstances surrounding his arrest, however, are extremely suspicious. His attorneys exposed numerous inconsistencies in the testimony of the arresting officer, a California Highway Patrolman, and it was never legally established (there has been no trial) that Murray was the owner of the gun found in his brother-in-law's car.

Suspicious about the Murray case were reinforced when two other Black Student Union leaders, Jack Alexis and Jerry Varnado, were recently arrested on the same charge. Varnado is ~~also~~ also being brought up on a phony but nonetheless serious fire-bombing charge. It is worth mentioning that all leaders of the BSU are formally members of the Black Panther party and that, as Panther chairman Bobby Seale testified at Murray's hearing, the party specifically all its members from carrying weapons on their persons or in cars in violation of the law.

Acting ~~president~~ S.F. State president S.I. Hayakawa has been successful in getting a court order ~~in~~ placing a freeze on all student body funds. This effectively stops all functions of the student government, which supports the strike, the various community programs and the school's underground bi-weekly, Open Process, which had become one of the theoretical organs of the strike. The Daily Gater has been able to publish occasionally, as a result of money from advertising, but the school's one anti-strike newspaper, the journalism department's Phoenix, has continued to come out regularly, though few read it.

In this same connection, AFT headquarters was recently broken into and three ~~electric~~ electric typewriters stolen. This would seem an accidental ~~except that~~ occurrence if the same thing had ~~not~~ happened before and ~~at~~, on the same night at about the same time in another part of the city, an attempt was made to bust into the teaching assistants' local of the AFT.



Hayakawa has also had a totally unnecessary ~~xxx~~ structure built, cutting off the center of the commons, which he describes as ~~x~~ the foundation for a library annex. The effect of this structure, however, is to inhibit mass rallies and to make it easier for police to trap demonstrators.

And as construction of State's Berlin Wall continues, Hayakawa's special emergency judicial process against students has gotten underway. This procedure ignores ~~many~~ many of the guarantees of ordinary "due process", allowing, for example, students to be tried in absentia. As for faculty, Hayakawa has already unilaterally denied tenure to Prof. William Stanton and has <sup>first suspended and</sup> now fired Dr. Nathan Hare, the spiritual father of the concept of black studies at State.

With enemies like Hayakawa it is perhaps more harmful than helpful to have friends like George Johns of the S.F. Central Labor Council. For he, together with the conservative elite that runs the AFT local at State, has done as much to defuse the strike as anyone. It was predictable, of course, that the labor establishment would separate the student strike from the faculty strike. But it was not so clear that he would then announce his intention to withdraw strike sanction after he had engineered a very weak agreement with a five-man committee of the Trustees (headed by Louis Heilbron, whom Gov. Reagan has just replaced); an agreement which the full body of the Trustees has ~~repudiated~~ in part repudiated. Johns' move completely ignores the original demand of the teachers for resolution <sup>assurance of</sup> and implementation of the Third World Liberation Front Demands. It also ignores the fact that the union accepted the agreement only on the condition of "resolution and implementation" of student grievances.

The AFT is far from blameless in this situation. Though a ~~substitute~~ substitute motion for a weaker and more ambiguous formulation of the "resolution and implementation" condition was tabled, the union has deliberately adopted a policy of saying sweet things in public for the ears of the central



labor council and the press, while behind closed union doors it takes a ~~slightly~~ slightly stronger position. What's more the union's negotiating committee allowed Johns to first set policy for the union and then to actually run the negotiations. Prior to the official strike, Johns in effect ran the union by dangling strike ~~sanctions~~ sanctions in front of the AFT local at State, thus <sup>discouraging</sup> preventing the union from striking when it originally promised it would. Also, at the very first meetings of Local 1352 with representatives of the Trustees, before professional arbitrators came into the scene, Johns was not merely chairing the meeting but running the show. He never in fact wanted to grant strike sanction but was forced to do so by the intransigence of the Trustees.

The agreement, which he worked out and which the negotiating committee sold to the union, provides almost nothing. It is in fact a face-<sup>saving</sup>~~saving~~ formula. The formula includes a weak grievance procedure and an even weaker appeals procedure to handle local faculty grievances. There is a good likelihood that these procedures will be used to lend union approval to the many political firings to come. The formula also prevents the anticipated layoff of 125 faculty members in the spring semester; assures that if a Black Studies Department and School of Ethnic Studies are created their staffs and budgets will not be appropriated from other departments; protects lessened work loads; assures faculty members of access to their personnel files (upon consent of the college); and protects teachers from reprisals because of strike activity.

But the really important thing about the agreement is what it does not include. From a strictly trade union point of view the agreement does not include anything like the recognition Local 1352 wanted. The Trustees have made this only too clear. Nor does the agreement provide the teachers with anything resembling a contract or collective bargaining rights.

From the point of view of AFT allies the agreement is, in the words



of one of them, "toilet paper." San Jose State local 1362 recently voted to settle with loss of strike pay, like 1352, but also loss of tenure, pension and other benefits. All the San Jose local got from ~~the~~ local 1352 was a telegram congratulating them for haing settled -- and this was after the S.F. local had asked all others to go out on sympathy strikes. The fate of staff, library and cafeteria workers who went out with the AFT is uncertain. There has been no change in the policy of political firings and recent attacks on faculty job rights will probably be successful.

The students, who fought longest and hardest in the strike, have  
Student grievances have not been resolved.  
gotten less yet from the AFT settlement. Amnesty for students, in any form, is not part of the agreement; ~~nor~~ does it include anything about judicial procedure for students, suspension of student publications or the expected move on the part of the Trustees to take all control of student body funds out of student hands.

In the final analysis the rank and file of local 1352 are no less blameworthy than Johns and the union leadership. They accepted the agreement by a vote of 144 to 12. The union was run like a cheering section but the rank and file proved unreceptive to all attempts to change the tenor of union meetings or to introduce politics and principles into the meetings.

ITAL FOLIO: The author is a member of the radical caucus of AFT local 1352 and one of 12 striking teachers who voted against the union settlement.



By Robert L. Allen

Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

The Spring semester at ~~San Francisco~~ strike-bound San Francisco State College ~~must~~ opened with a head-on clash between acting president S.I. Hayakawa and Dr. Nathan Hare, director of the black studies program at State and a prominent figure in the strike. The incident resulted in the suspension of Hare from his post, a move which he termed "a declaration of war on the black race."

The ~~meeting~~ confrontation occurred as Hayakawa attempted to make a welcoming speech at a Feb. 14 meeting boycotted by two-thirds of the ~~faculty~~ S.F. State faculty. As he spoke Hare and several black students in the audience began heckling him and then climbed to the <sup>stage</sup> ~~podium~~ and surrounded the podium at which the well-known semanticist was standing.

"Get the hell out of here," Hayakawa screamed at Hare. Hare, a former boxer, laughed and replied, "We're not going." The Jerry Varnado, a Black Student Union leader, said: "When the police are removed we will leave." An enraged Hayakawa retorted that "The police will be on this campus as long as you are." ~~And that~~ And that, in a nutshell, summed up his policy for the new semester.

Later, Hayakawa announced the ~~suspension~~ <sup>suspension (for 30 days)</sup> of Hare and said the ~~administration~~ administration would go ahead and set up a Black Studies Department next fall regardless of whether any black faculty, administrators or students participated in planning the new department.



Reports were circulating last week that a settlement might be near in the teachers' strike at S.F. State. The AFT local was said to have provisionally accepted a settlement package. It <sup>was</sup> difficult to assess what this means, however, in view of the fact that the striking faculty members overwhelmingly adopted a resolution Feb. 16 stipulating as a condition for their return to work that student grievances must be settled to the satisfaction of student strikers.

A few days afterwards the leadership of the Third World Liberation Front voted that the student strike would not end until the issues in the faculty strike had been resolved.

The situation was further complicated by the jailing Feb. 21 of Black Panther George Murray as a probation violator. Municipal Court Judge Albert Axelrod ordered Murray jailed on the grounds that he was arrested at a Jan. 6 demonstration at S.F. State and again on Jan. 24 in East Palo Alto where he was charged with illegal possession of firearms.

Although Murray has not yet been tried on these charges, the District Attorney's office contended that he had engaged in illegal activity and thereby had violated a condition of his probation. Murray's attorney, Charles Garry, is seeking to have him freed on bail pending appeal.

The jailing of Murray has raised the question of whether the TWLF should ~~not~~ <sup>that he be freed as</sup> insist upon the freeing of Murray as one of its strike demands. But at the time of this writing no decision was known to have been reached.



meeting on the Berkeley campus Feb. 21,

The University of California Regents voted 18 to 3 ~~on Feb. 21~~ to suspend immediately any student who is believed to have violated campus regulations during a state of emergency. Under the new rule, which became effective immediately, grounds for suspension include "physical violence or threats thereof, willful destruction of university property, wrongful blocking of access to university facilities or other disruptive acts."



Meanwhile, token picket lines were maintained as classes resumed Feb. 17. Striking students temporarily returned to their classes in order to insure that they remain officially enrolled ~~as students~~ at the school. Striking faculty members were also back in their classrooms to register students and establish the fact that they had not "resigned" from their jobs. Both groups were expected to rejoin picket lines this week.

~~Ref~~ Enrollment at S.F. State fell dramatically this semester as a four-month old result of the strike. Strikers estimated that between 2,000 and 4,000 students (out of a ~~much~~ student body of 18,000) transferred to other colleges or dropped out for a semester rather than return to <sup>the</sup> troubled State campus.

The strike continued to hold firm despite the collapse of a sympathy strike at San Jose State College. Some 70 faculty strikers there voted Feb. 13 to terminate their five-week old walkout. Their strike had failed to mobilize widespread support. Only a small minority of the 270 members of the American Federation of Teachers local there joined the strike action. The San Jose State strikers also later accepted a settlement proposal offered by the college administration.

Reports were circulating ~~much~~ last week <sup>that</sup> a settlement might be near in the teachers' strike at S.F. State. This possibility appeared remote, however, in view of the fact that ~~the~~ striking faculty members ~~are~~ overwhelmingly adopted a resolution Feb. 16 stating that they would not go back to work until they had won the right to collective bargaining and, further, they stipulated as a condition for their return that student ~~grievances~~ must be settled to the satisfaction of student strikers.

A few days later the leadership of the Third World Liberation Front voted that the student strike would not end until the issues in the teacher strike had been resolved.



At the same time that Hayakawa was ousting Dr. Hare, the ~~mt~~ college administration struck a blow at the Associated Students -- the S.F. State student government which has been supporting the strike. The administration ~~was~~ secured a court order throwing the elected student leaders out of office and placing a freeze on all spending of student funds. <sup>claimed</sup> Hayakawa ~~mentioned~~ that some \$100,000 of student funds had been "misallocated." He charged further that some of this money had gone to buy ~~pinetix~~ pistols and guns. George Yamamoto, manager of student finances, denied that there was any misuse of student money.

Hayakawa's accusations were matched only by an incredible charge made by Gov. Ronald Reagan. Reagan attempted to create a hysterical atmosphere by claiming that black militants armed with switchblade knives had forced a dean to admit 40 students to the college last year. Reagan attributed this tale ~~for~~ to former S.F. State president Robert Smith.

Smith, however, flatly denied that there was any truth to the story. So did Charles Stone, the dean who supposedly was forced to admit the students.



Guardian West Coast Bureau

Berkeley  
via a

Black Panther Minister of Defense Huey Newton spoke ~~in his~~  
tape-recorded message to  
~~followers and supporters~~ 2,000 of his followers and supporters at a  
Feb. 16.  
special celebration in the Community Theater here ~~in Berkeley~~.

The celebration was in honor of Huey's 27th birthday. The well-known Panther leader is currently imprisoned in the California Men's Colony about 200 miles south of San Francisco where he is serving a two to 15 year sentence for voluntary manslaughter.

Huey's birthday is Feb. 17th and he noted that this also coincides with the Tet or lunar new year. "So we're celebrating the lunar new year with out brothers in Vietnam," he remarked in his message. "We're daily making the people more and more aware of the need for unity among all revolutionary people...."

"Just as our brothers in Vietnam had the Tet offensive last year, this celebration today will only be a prelude... to the offensive that we are going to wage in the not-too-far future."

Huey said that Panther minister of information Eldridge Cleaver, who disappeared late last year rather than return to ~~prison~~ prison, "is with us in spirit, and I'm very sure that this decadent fascist society wasn't worthy of him and couldn't tolerate his presence because he acted as a guide flag for the people. So we must make a society that will welcome people like our Minister of Information."

Huey expressed solidarity with the Oakland Seven who are now standing trial ~~in~~ on conspiracy charges stemming from the 1967 Stop the Draft Week demonstrations in Oakland. Six of the groups were present at the celebration to show their support of Huey.



HUEY 2/2/2/2/2

Participants in the meeting included, among others, Panther chairman Bobby Seale, Panther communications secretary Kathleen Cleaver, new left theorist Tom Hayden and Huey's attorney Charles Garry.

Donations were collected to help meet the heavy ~~large~~ legal expenses which have been forced on the Panther organization. Persons wishing to contribute should send funds to the Newton-Cleaver Defense Fund, 2777 Pine Street, San Francisco, Calif.



Howard Levine

863-2326

164 Hancock

money  
goes to  
support  
strike

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produced by students &  
faculty. political silkscreen  
prints

relevant educational posters

Linda Johnson

United <sup>sil</sup>~~silkscreen~~ Artists  
Workshop

Since NOV. 6  
made original strike  
posters,

10 people

\$2.50 - \$5.00

2814 25 ST.

285-7161

30 posters



POSTER 1/0/1/1

The strike at San Francisco State College has spurred a new interest in revolutionary art. Reproduced above is one of more than 30 ~~posters~~ ~~produced~~ "relevant educational posters" produced by a workshop of striking students and faculty members. The workshop consists of ten people and specializes in silkscreen prints. It has been in operation since the strike began last November. Prices of the posters, ~~many~~ many of which are in color, range from \$2.50 to \$5.00, and funds from sales go to support the strike. For more info write: United Silkscreen Artists, 2814 25th Street, San Francisco, Calif. (phone: 285-7161).



1/1/1/ REVIEW 2/12/69 ALLEN

Black Political Power in America, by Chuck Stone; Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1968; 261 pages, \$8.50.

produced

Chuck Stone has ~~written~~ an interesting and readable descriptive catalog of outstanding black politicians, past and present. Writing with the insight of a man who himself has been deeply involved in the American political scene, Stone surveys the achievements of black political figures from Robert Church of Memphis to Harlem's Adam Clayton Powell to the black mayors in Cleveland and Gary who were elected in 1967.

At this descriptive level the book is quite fine, but it makes only a half-hearted attempt to probe ~~below~~ beneath the surface manifestations of political life in black America. Like much of bourgeois history, Stone's volume recounts names and dates and is replete with colorful accounts of notable personalities, but it largely refrains from delving into the social forces which underlie the facts and figures or the class factors which help shape and control the black politician. ~~But~~ Rather, Black Political Power in America is concerned primarily with chronicling the rise of the black political elite as a distinct group, and in a real sense it is a manifesto of that group.

Thus Stone speaks of the black politician as the organizer and controller of the black masses (p. 164). He calls for black solidarity and asserts that the politician's "power comes from the black masses", but nowhere does he concretely discuss the politician's responsibilities to the <sup>that</sup> black community or how ~~the~~ community can insure that its politicians remain loyal to it. These are crucial matters which deserve ~~discussion~~ <sup>airing,</sup> but Stone chooses to ignore them.

Stone, of course, is no radical. A former editor of three important black newspapers and assistant to Adam Clayton Powell, Stone has been actively



involved in the moderate wing of the black power movement. In his view black power means proportional representation of blacks at all levels in the decision-making processes of government, and this is to be achieved by ~~starting~~ a concerted effort to elect more black officials to positions of power. Political patronage will then guarantee that more jobs, contracts and money will be channeled into the black community.

This, Stone tells us, is the way other ethnic groups have climbed out of the ghettos, ~~and he holds up the examples of the Irish, Italians, Jews and Poles as models to be emulated by black people.~~ Stone notes that racism makes this task considerably more difficult, but he believes that black unity can be an effective tool for overcoming this barrier. What he does not point out -- presumably because his book is concerned with "political" matters -- is that even as racism crumbles the impoverishment and powerlessness of the black masses is likely to continue. This is because blacks enjoy the unfortunate distinction of being among the surplus products of an advanced capitalist economy. ~~Structural unemployment~~ <sup>(sub-structure and)</sup> has taken a heavy toll in the black community, and with the Nixon Administration seeking to halt inflation, <sup>minimizing</sup> general unemployment among blacks is likely to rise, thus ~~minimizing~~ <sup>any</sup> the impact on community life of ~~the~~ political gains.

Furthermore, Stone sees the cities as important battlegrounds for black political power. And with the continuing increase of black populations in major American cities it seems natural to think so. But there is growing pressure to incorporate the fiscally weak cities into larger metropolitan areas or regions. This will supposedly put the cities on sounder financial footing, but it will also have the effect of transferring power from the urban centers to the surrounding white-dominated suburban areas. Again this will diminish the <sup>actual social power exercised by</sup> ~~the~~ urban black voting majorities.

Of course it is important to use the electoral process in the fight for black political representation, but the experience of Reconstruction should suggest some of the hazards involved in this process. Stone discusses



~~the~~ Reconstruction ~~era~~ but without drawing an important conclusion of this era: that ballot-box strength is meaningless unless backed by other forms of political and economic power. ~~The ouster of Adam Clayton Powell from the House of Representatives in 1967 should have made this only too evident. Apparently, however, Stone does not see this point.~~ The ouster of Adam Clayton Powell from the House of Representatives in 1967 should have made this only too evident. Apparently, however, Stone does not see this point.

Clearly, the black community must be forged into <sup>a</sup> disciplined organization<sup>1</sup> if the potential power of black office-holders is to be real and ~~not~~ sustained. But such a political organization is progressive only to the extent that it functions in the interest of the ordinary working people who comprise the major part of the black community. Otherwise it becomes merely a vehicle for the personal advancement of individual politicians.

In this, as in <sup>crucial</sup> other matters, Stone is ambiguous. He is speaking for the aspiring political elite -- the up and coming new black leaders. For them black unity and solidarity are essential, but on terms dictated by their personal aspirations. If this process is not reversed then indeed black people may well go the way of other ethnic groups, with the ensuing class division and exploitative social relationships which ~~characterize~~ characterize American society as a whole.



By Robert L. Allen

Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

California's Peace and Freedom Party, now more than a year old, is a party in search of a constituency.

Originally organized as an independent <sup>electoral</sup> political vehicle for ~~moving~~ moving people out of the Democratic and Republican parties and into radical politics, ~~however~~ P&F has largely failed in this task. Remaining P&F activists are now seeking to ~~rebuild~~ rebuild the party, but chances of mounting a successful <sup>recruiting</sup> ~~recruiting~~ and organizing drive appear slim.

in Jan., 1968,

At its peak, P&F could claim more than 100,000 registrants.

To get on the ballot in California P&F was required to sign up 67,000

registrants by the first day of 1968. But people fearful of the strength

shown by <sup>George</sup> ~~George~~ Wallace and attracted by the idea of a left-leaning <sup>third</sup> ~~third~~ party -- especially one which had formed a coalition with black militants

(the Black Panther Party) -- these people flocked to P&F and sent its membership rolls soaring.

However,

By the beginning of last summer the McCarthy-Kennedy campaigns had made serious inroads into ~~thence~~ P&F ranks, and registration was down to 68,000. ~~By~~ At the time of the November elections another thousand registrants had drifted away. Most of these people found their way back into the liberal wing of the Democratic party.

These transfusions combined with a presidential campaign which nobody liked threw P&F into a state of demoralization and disarray from which it is only now beginning to recover.

Despite these setbacks, it cannot be denied that P&F has some real accomplishments to its credit. Ironically, one of the most important of these had nothing at all to do with electoral politics -- the Free Huey



P&F 2/2/2

campaign. The party was instrumental in pulling together the many and massive ~~large~~ <sup>many</sup> demonstrations which undoubtedly helped save Huey Newton's life. And through these rallies and in other ways P&F forced many liberal and radical whites to take an uncompromising stand on the issue of racism. P&F's achievements varied from one part of California to another. ~~known to the people of the state and the nation and the world~~

In San Mateo county, P&F became an umbrella organization for various movement groups. In Alameda county it provided the vehicle for adult whites to relate to white students and blacks. In the Los Angeles area P&F groups have become actively involved in a variety of community struggles. For example, in Venice, a Los Angeles suburb, P&F is supporting a ~~immense~~ home-rule struggle which could have wide impact.

These achievements must be viewed, however, in the context of the host of problems which have beset P&F. And the most obvious of the problems revolved around the presidential campaign. First there was a split over the nomination of Eldridge Cleaver. Some felt that a man of more "moderate" persuasion would be more ~~per~~ appropriate and would facilitate organizing efforts. Then when Cleaver indicated that he wanted Jerry Rubin as his running mate another controversy erupted which further weakened the organization. Name-calling and vitriolic polemic became the order of the day. Various groups and factions dissipated more energy in fighting each other than in recruiting new ~~members~~ members for the party.

This latter phenomenon is rooted in the structure of the party. Andy Truscler, a member of the Alameda P&F steering committee, ~~recently~~ commented ~~in~~ that P&F is neither a loose coalition nor is it a tight-knit organization, but rather it is more "like an arena" in which people are forced to become part of an organized grouping in order to counter the thrust of other groups.

In San Francisco this in-fighting ~~business~~ became so serious that it has engendered what is apparently a permanent split. Late last summer an independent caucus formed to combat what it termed a Progressive Labor



P&F 3/3/3/3

take-over of the local P&F apparatus. Bob Slattery, a member of the anti-PL faction, charged that PL was "not interested in building P&F but in using it to promote their own programs."

"Our approach," he continued, "is to build a mass-membership third party around the issues of anti-imperialism, anti-racism and the other Richmond convention resolutions." He said that the independent caucus, now known as Area Council III, is planning to run ~~xxx~~ a candidate for the SF Board of Supervisors and it is pushing a police control drive.

One of the programs which PL activists in P&F promoted last year was a rent and tax control struggle. The ~~renting~~ campaign had some success, not as much as the organizers would have liked, and it was ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ projected as a more realistic program than the police control issue. A PL leaflet circulated last September pointed out that "to control the police is to hold ultimate power," and that the ruling class was not about to peacefully relinquish such control. Not to recognize this fact, the leaflet said, is to foster illusions.

It continued: "The critical element in a reform struggle is that it must develop in people the consciousness of their own power, and this is only possible where a measure of success can be won by the peoples' own struggle against the ruling class. There can be no gaining control over the police by the radical few, and there is no working class movement desiring such control. The housing victories [~~rent and tax control~~] will be limited, even over the long haul, but victories there will be."

The inevitable defeat which can be anticipated for police control struggles, PL contends, will only result in more cynicism and disillusion, and this the movement doesn't need. However, the PL-sponsored rent and tax control drive for tenants and small homeowners was far from victorious, and even what it did win one PL activist termed only a "scop." This setback gave the anti-PL faction additional ammunition, and their strength appears to be growing.

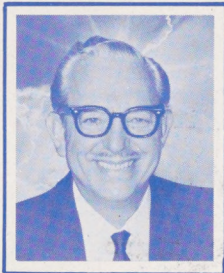


Another fundamental issue around which there is growing disunity in P&F concerns the value of electoral activity as an educational and organizing tool. The disappointing experience of the November campaigns and the continuing disaffection of many former activists would seem to point in a negative direction. Alex Stein, a PL activist, probably speaks for many in P&F when he told the Guardian that "so-called educational electoral campaigns all too often serve primarily to educate people to the weakness of the left."

But not all would agree with Stein. In Berkeley P&F came out of a Feb. 1 convention resolved to run its own candidate for city council rather than ~~joining with~~ <sup>joining with</sup> a left-liberal group known as the Berkeley Coalition. In effect, Berkeley P&F is putting itself on the line on the question of the value of electoral politics. Lee Coe, the P&F candidate, believes that if he runs a good campaign it will infuse new life into the party. Other party <sup>were</sup> members, however, ~~are~~ fearful that a mediocre campaign will alienate people and destroy P&F in Berkeley. They wanted to throw in with the Coalition and support its candidates or forget about <sup>public office campaigns</sup> ~~electoral activity~~ altogether. and concentrate mainly on police control and support for student strikes. The election is set for April, and which side is right will probably become ~~more~~ evident in the weeks immediately prior to the balloting.

What future for P&F in California? Jack Weinberg, P&F outgoing state chairman, was cautiously optimistic. "The organization over-all on a statewide basis is really quite weak right now," he remarked. He said, however, that there are many "nuclei" groups around the state, particularly ~~near~~ Around L.A., which were created over the past year and a half and which are still functioning. Interestingly, he noted that many of these groups are involved primarily in local organizing and community struggles rather than electoral activity. Weinberg sees these groups as providing the new constituency which P&F is seeking. "I think to the extent to which the party really re-emerges, it will be on the basis of these groups."





George McLain

# George McLAIN for U.S. SENATE ★ DEMOCRAT

"End Poverty... Help Americans!"

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Phone: SK 1-7666



By Robert L. Allen  
Guardian West Coast Bureau

San Francisco

The winter semester at San Francisco State College ended Jan. 31 with no let up in student and faculty strikes which have virtually closed that campus. And for the students at least, it appeared that the <sup>grueling</sup> war of attrition was far from over.

The last week of classes on the troubled campus was largely an anti-climax to the mass arrests of Jan. 23. Picket lines ~~were~~ were well-manned all week but there were no unusual incidents until Jan. 30, a day designated by the strikers as "community mobilization day." Strike leaders vowed that on that day they were going back to the campus to "shut it down until the 15 demands are met."

The mobilization, however, was less massive than might have been hoped. <sup>Perhaps 700</sup> ~~Some 700~~ demonstrators turned out to picket <sup>on sidewalks adjacent to</sup> the school, and about 100 of these drifted onto the campus commons and stood in clusters near the library. But there was no attempt to organize a campus rally such as the one which had triggered the mass arrest a week earlier. There was ~~also~~ also no picketing on the campus itself.

Student militancy was kept low-keyed by <sup>an unprecedented show</sup> ~~the presence of~~ of police manpower. Platoons of police were stationed in obvious view near the campus commons and four-man police patrols swung around the campus. Cops were evident atop ~~roofs~~ and inside most campus buildings and students carrying briefcases or purses were not permitted to enter these buildings until they were first searched.

The lack of picketing on campus was apparently due to a temporary restraining order issued in superior court Jan. 29. The order prohibited striking students from "unlawfully marching, demonstrating, or massing" anywhere on the campus. It also restricted demonstrators to the perimeter



Insert

A significant step toward massing support for the strike was taken Feb. 2 in the form of a mass meeting sponsored by the Community Conference to Support the SF State Strike. The meeting attracted more than 600 persons to the San Francisco Labor Temple and, importantly, most of ~~the~~ these were community people and rank and file trade unionists.

No story from Cleaver

Give them schedule for next  
issue



of the campus, ~~limits~~ <sup>that</sup> limited the number of pickets at campus entrances and required ~~the~~ pickets stay five feet apart. The latter two points were ignored by student demonstrators.

Another factor which may have dampened militancy was a decree issued Jan. 29 by acting college president S.I. Hayakawa. Hayakawa said that any student who has been arrested or put on notice of college disciplinary action since Nov. 6 would be suspended <sup>immediately</sup> if arrested again or cited by college authorities.

Nevertheless, strike leaders declared the Jan. 30 mobilization a "tactical victory" since ~~they~~ the strikers had successfully defied at least part of the court order concerning picketing restrictions. The leaders promised to continue the strike when school re-opens Feb. 17.

As the picketing ended in the late afternoon student ~~demonstrators~~ demonstrators and police clashed in a melee which saw five persons arrested.

Student strike leaders continue to insist that they will sit down with the board of trustees only to discuss implementation of the 15 demands. The trustees, however, show no signs of moving toward granting the demands, and the deadlock is expected to continue with each side trying to outlast the other. The success of the student strike depends heavily on the ability of strike leaders to rekindle support when the school re-opens for the spring semester. Some student leaders have complained that <sup>has</sup> the momentum of the strike ~~has~~ slowed noticeably in the past two weeks. If this momentum cannot be regained then the strike cannot attain all of its objectives and, indeed, it may face the prospect of defeat.

~~Strik~~ Militant teachers will also be assessing the success of their strike over the semester break. It has been reported that at least ~~185~~ 185 teachers will lose pay and possibly their jobs because of their strike. This is in addition to 28 teachers who have already been ousted from their jobs for staging a sympathy strike at San Jose State College.



The American Federation of Teachers had sought to escalate the strike by calling for a one-day statewide walkout of college teachers. ~~The walkout was only partially successful.~~ But the walkout was only partially successful.

The teachers, however, have the backing of the influential San Francisco Central Labor Council, which is seeking to mediate the dispute on their behalf. Already this pressure has prompted the trustees to offer one proposal for settling the teacher strike. The proposal was rejected by the striking professors -- a move which in turn was denounced by the trustees.

But despite ~~the~~ a rash of charges and counter-charges, it is becoming increasingly evident that the gap that separates striking faculty members from the board of <sup>trustees</sup> ~~trustees~~ is considerably narrower than the gap which separates students from trustees.



Special to the Guardian

Los Angeles

The Black Panther party has vowed to "avenge" the murder of two Panthers last week at UCLA. Dead were Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins. They were shot following a Black Students Union (BSU) meeting Jan. 17.

"We will avenge Bunchy's and John's deaths," declared David Hilliard, Panther Chief of Staff.

The killings brought to light a long-standing feud between the Panthers and Ron Karenga's cultural nationalist US Organization (Guardian, Nov. 23, 1968). The Panthers have blamed US for the murders. "Karenga is responsible," charged Shermont Banks, deputy chairman of the Los Angeles Panthers, "because Karenga has stated that he is responsible for any actions of US members."

Two brothers, George and Larry Stiner, were arrested and booked on murder charges shortly after the incident. They were reportedly members of US organization. Los Angeles police had issued an all-points bulletin for the arrest of the two men on the basis of information supplied by the Panthers. Two other suspects are also being sought on the basis of similar information.

The killings were apparently related to a struggle for control over a proposed Afro-American studies center at UCLA. The BSU had set up a Community Advisory Council, consisting of a cross-section of community and campus leadership, which was to oversee the setting up of the new center, including naming a director. The ~~stinner~~ director would have control over the center and the job carried with it a \$20,000 a year salary. US organization dominated the community council.

~~However, at a Jan. 16 meeting the Panther faction won control of the BSU, and a new coordinating committee was set up, sweeping aside Karenga~~



PANTHERS 2/2/2/2/

~~match the community council~~

The Panthers and US have been in an intense struggle for control of the BSUs throughout southern California. At a Jan. 16 meeting the Panther faction won control of the UCLA BSU, and a new coordinating committee was set up, sweeping aside US and the community council. The Panther faction had grown so strong that it even appeared that Huggins, who was a deputy minister of information for the Panthers, would be elected the new president of the BSU.

The Jan. 17 meeting was called to select a director of the Afro-American center. The BSU opposed the US candidate, and it seemed almost certain that a Panther would be named to the post. About 150 persons attended the meeting which ended with the slaying of Huggins and Carter. Carter was a Panther deputy Minister of defense.

Within four hours after the shooting LA police were on the move. They descended on Huggins' home, arresting his wife, Erika, and 16 other persons. They also took into custody Huggins' two-week old child. The cops justified the arrests on the grounds that they were preventing "retaliation" by the Panthers for the murders.

however,  
The Panthers, ~~however~~ charged that this incident was further evidence of collaboration between US and the Police. "The immediate repression against Party members following the political ~~murder~~ assassination of Party officers," charged Bobby Seale, Panther national chairman, "as well as the efforts to make the shooting appear to be the result of an internal power struggle within the Black Panther Party, which is a lie, indicates some collusion with the LA Pig Department on the part of the murderers."

Seale went on to denounce US as "pork chop cultural nationalists who are co-opted and used by the racist, exploitative power structure."

There was no response from US to the Panther charges. It was reported that Ron Karenga was in San Diego and unavailable for comment.



In the black community the killings were greeted by an outcry of anguish. Some thought the incident spelled the end for US organization. Others grimly prophesied that this was another sign of the decline of the entire black militant movement. "The Man has shot the black power movement full of provocateurs and ~~agents~~ agents," commented one black student. "Now he throws out a little chicken bone and gets the brothers fighting over it."

In other developments: The arrest of Bobby Seale and his wife, Artie, nearly a year ago was ruled illegal by a superior court judge in Oakland. The Seales were arrested in their apartment last February and charged with possession of a sawed-off shotgun and altering the serial number of a pistol. They were also charged with conspiracy to commit murder and to riot.

The effect of the court ruling is to nullify the prosecution's case. The judge maintained that the police lacked "probable cause" to believe a crime was being committed in the Seale home. The judge charged the police officer who led the raid with seeking to <sup>build</sup> ~~improve~~ his reputation by arresting Seale.

Seale praised the court decision. "We relate to Judge [Idonel] Wilson as a man who respects the law," he commented.

On Jan. 20, the day that this decision was handed down, ~~two~~ two men, said by the police to be Panthers, were arrested after shots were fired from an ~~apartment~~ apartment building in San Francisco. The men were booked on charges of conspiracy <sup>to</sup> ~~in~~ assault and commit murder. Three teenage girls were also taken into custody.

Meanwhile, Black Panther George Murray, whose ouster from his teaching post at San Francisco State College prompted the present strike at that college, was also having trouble with the police. Murray was arrested by the highway patrol in East Palo Alto and charged with



4/4/4/4/4/4/4

carrying a concealed weapon within an automobile. He was freed on bail but a San Francisco judge has issued a bench warrant for his re-arrest on the grounds that carrying concealed weapons was a violation of his probation on a battery conviction last fall.



By Robert L. Allen  
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

A dramatic shift in strike tactics resulted Jan. 23 in the biggest mass arrest in San Francisco history at S.F. State College.

More than 480 striking students, teachers and community supporters were surrounded and arrested during an "illegal" rally on the campus of strike-bound state college. The story is told in pictures on this page.

Explaining the change in tactics, strike leader Roger Alvarado told the Guardian that student ~~and~~ class attendance had been rising during the past week and the momentum of the strike was slowing. "We needed to escalate," he declared. "After the board of trustees met and gave no sign of meeting the demands we felt it was necessary to make it clear that we were ready to continue the strike indefinitely. So we called for a campus rally to show our determination."

The rally was held in defiance of an edict by acting president S.I. Hayakawa forbidding campus assemblies. The students contend that the regulation violates Constitutional freedom of speech guarantees, and it is expected that a suit will be filed in federal court backing up this contention.

As the noon rally got underway, some 2,000 students were on the campus, about 700 of them gathered around a speakers' platform on the campus commons. Suddenly, a 1984-like voice reverberated in monotones from loudspeakers mounted atop the administration building: "I-am-a-representative-of-Dr. Hayakawa..." (boos and shouts of "Power to the people!" from the crowd). "I order you to disperse immediately in the name of the people of California," said the voice.

The voice repeated its order as some 300 policemen converged on the campus commons, ~~surrounding~~ encircling the group at the speakers' stand. Some of



2/2/2/2/

the demonstrators broke away and escaped as the line of blue uniforms looped around the crowd. Some people, apparently under the influence of campus supermilitants, came to the rally carrying wooden clubs and vowing to "fight the pigs." They surrendered, however, without putting up any resistance.

But some of the 1,500 students who escaped arrest re-assembled in front of the library and began heaving rocks and sticks at a contingent of policemen stationed at <sup>that</sup> ~~the~~ building. The cops fled inside and the students dispersed as police reinforcements arrived.

Shortly afterwards about two dozen pro-administration students (mostly physical education majors) held ~~and~~ illegal rally of their own and marched to the main entrance of the campus ~~building~~ bearing an American flag which they intended to hoist to replace a flag pulled down by the strikers. The pro-administration rally met with remarkably different police treatment. The students were surrounded by mounted policemen~~y~~ and carefully protected from about 200 angry strikers. None of the pro-administration demonstrators were arrested as they rallied round the flag.

Meanwhile, strikers were being ~~intentionally~~ hauled away in police vans to spend the night in jail. The next day several of the more than 100 women arrested reported that high-pressure water hoses had been turned on them and they were threatened with mace. The women had been chanting and making noise to protest the solitary confinement of one girl.

Where the strike will go from here is uncertain. A one-day walkout Jan. 22 by AFT teachers at eight of California's 18 state colleges had some impact, but apparently this was not enough to force a resolution of the crisis at S.F. State. Student strike leaders vowed to return to the campus to be arrested time and time again, but among those busted there was some feeling that the mass arrest tactic was "ill-considered" or "disastrous." "There was still room for creative use of disruptive tactics that wouldn't have involved a lot of people being arrested," complained one disgruntled striker.



Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

An uneasy calm prevailed at San Francisco State College last week, but beneath this placid surface the momentum of the strike continued at full speed.

Picket lines were maintained despite inclement weather, and striking teachers continued to refuse to submit to a temporary court injunction against their strike. The American Federation of Teachers went into court Jan. 17 ~~requesting~~ to argue that the injunction be suspended but so far no action has been taken in the matter.

Meanwhile, at San Jose State College the issue of forced resignation of striking teachers came to a head Jan. 16 as 25 teachers -- including the statewide ~~head~~ chief of the AFT's college division -- were ousted from their jobs. The ~~striking~~ San Jose teachers, who began a sympathy strike Jan. 8, were removed from the payroll under a provision of the state education code which asserts that a teacher has automatically resigned if he misses five consecutive days in class without authorization. It was expected that 25 to 2 30 <sup>other</sup> ~~additional~~ faculty members would be ousted in the next few days.

This action by the college administration has increased prospects of a statewide strike by the AFT. John Sperling, head of the union's state college division, warned that unless the "automatic resignations" were withdrawn he <sup>would</sup> ~~will~~ call a one-day statewide strike Jan. 22. Sperling's threat was given added weight by the Statewide Academic Senate, representing all 12,000 of the professors at California's state colleges, which voted approval for a one-day walkout of all teachers "as soon after acceptance of the resignations as possible."



Many AFT locals have indicated that if they go on strike it will be for more than one day.

San Jose State president Robert Clark tried to gloss over the forced resignations by ~~xxxxxx~~ complaining that the law is "unnecessarily punitive" and by setting up "procedures for reinstatement of faculty on an individual basis, once the strike is concluded." Spurling <sup>scorned</sup> ~~dismissed~~ this strike-breaking gesture, declaring before an enthusiastic crowd of 1,500 striking students and teachers: "When the strike is over, we're going to march back into our regular status. You don't go on strike to come back begging."



By Robert L. Allen

Oakland

The trial of the Oakland Seven opened here with a mass confessional to the high priests of law and order.

More than 200 people turned out on a drizzling Monday morning Jan. 13 to demonstrate their support for the seven young men ~~xxxx~~ facing felony conspiracy charges, and to publicly admit that they, too, had took part in organizing the 1967 Stop the Draft Week demonstrations.

But the forces of law and order, in their usual ~~almighty~~ glory, refused to ~~xxx~~ hear of these "confessions" and instead beat ~~by~~ back the throng pressing against the doors of the Alameda County Courthouse, bleeding the head of one demonstrator and arresting another.

Inside a couple of dozen spectators — bearded, miniskirted, spaced out denizens of Babylon — crammed into the ~~in~~ tiny third-floor courtroom of Judge George W. Phillips, Jr. (The defense had asked for a larger room but this request was denied.)

On the left side of the room ~~slouched~~ seven alleged felons: Frank Bardacke, Terry Cannon, Reese Erlich, Robert Mandel, Steve Hamilton, ~~and~~ Mike Smith and Jeff Segal. They were accused of conspiring to commit several misdemeanors — a felony charge punishable by up to three years behind bars and a \$5,000 fine. There's been a lot of speculation about white Panthers, but so far only those seven have surfaced.

Next to the accused sat the defense ~~attorneys~~ attorneys headed up by Charles Garry, the man who defended Huey Newton. A few feet to ~~Garry's~~ right — but separated by an unbridgeable void — sat the man who prosecuted Huey Newton, assistant district attorney Lowell Jensen.

Garry opened the trial by calling for an indefinite continuance ~~xxx~~ of the proceedings because of the "hysterical atmosphere" ~~xxxxxxxx~~ resulting from the strike at S.F. State. He also moved to quash the panel of 36



prospective jurors on the grounds that the jury selection process ~~unintentionally~~ excluded blacks and young people. Both motions were denied by Judge Phillips, and selection of the trial jury began the next day.

During the course of questioning prospective jurors the defense strategy ~~became~~ <sup>became</sup> evident. Garry and his colleagues intend to conduct an intensely political defense. Repeatedly defense lawyers sought to elicit from prospective jurors their position on the Vietnam war, on civil disobedience, on the Nuremberg Judgment, on non-conformist behavior in general. Garry, an experienced hand in this situation, was able to eliminate "for cause" jurors who exhibited a predisposition to judge the defendants on the basis of their looks or their beliefs rather than on the basis of what they had ~~done~~ done.

Prosecutor Jensen had an easier time of it. He could count on conventional prejudices and biases to work in his favor. His ~~main~~ <sup>main</sup> concern was to remove obviously anti-war jurors.

On this latter point the defense sought to have seated on the jury persons who are opposed to the war on the grounds that international law, which is binding on the ~~U.S.~~ U.S. judicial system, outlaws the Vietnam war and people who oppose that war are only "law-abiding" citizens, not automatically biased against the prosecution. The issue came up when a middle-aged juror said he could not condemn the Seven for opposing the war. Judge Phillips, however, ruled against the defense on the grounds that the juror in question had admitted he could not be fair to the prosecution.

One of the most startling developments so far in the trial occurred on Jan. 16 when jury commissioner ~~Edmund~~ Edward Schnarr was recalled to the stand. Schnarr had testified earlier concerning the selection of jury panels from voter registration lists. Garry recalled Schnarr to ask him why there were only nine women on a panel of 36 people.

During the course of the questioning Schnarr admitted that the Huey Newton and Oakland Seven jury panels had been selected by a "special process".



OAKLAND SEVEN 3/3/3/3/3

Schnarr said that in these two cases the presiding judge of the superior court conducted the jury panel selection rather than leaving it to lesser officials ~~xxxxxx~~ allegedly because in previous cases the Supreme Court had overthrown verdicts on the grounds that minor court officials do not have the authority to exclude persons from jury duty.

It was not certain whether Schnarr's admission constituted grounds for another challenge to the jury, but it did become evident that the selection process systematically excludes young people and a major ~~xx~~ battle over this issue was expected when the trial ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ re-opened Jan. 20.

In the first week of the proceedings twelve jurors were tentatively seated but both sides have 45 pre-emptory challenges each, all of which were expected to be used. The trial could well last two months.

While the Seven were being tried their supporters were indicting the establishment. A commission of inquiry into the <sup>Vietnam</sup> war and <sup>domestic</sup> political repression opened on the Berkeley campus Jan. 18 (Guardian, Jan. 18.) Moderator Fred Gardner said the commission was not a mock trial but instead it was concerned with proving ~~xx~~ that the legal system is an instrument of the ruling class and to elucidate the radical analysis of the war in Vietnam.

Gardner introduced Dave Hilliard, Black Panther national ~~xxxxxx~~ captain and a member of the commission, who read a message of support from Huey Newton. Huey said that Stop the Draft Week "was when white students for the first time were forced to fight the pigs in defense of their lives and political beliefs."

The afternoon session included an impressive presentation by William Bennett, a former member of the California Public Utilities Commission, on corporate lawbreaking.

The second day of commission hearings was interrupted by a student



OAKLAND SEVEN 4/4/4/4/4

demonstration against the Board of Regents. The Regents were meeting in the administration building and some 400 students marched around the building voicing their support for S.F. State strikers and demanding an independent black studies program and the ~~xxxxxx~~ release from prison of Huey Newton. At one point eggs were hurled at Gov. Ronald Reagan, who was attending the Regents' meeting, but the missiles missed their target.

Black Panther chairman Bobby Seale and history professor Howard Zinn were scheduled to address the commission on its third and final day Jan. 18.



Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

The Black Panther Party has launched a campaign to purge its ranks of "fools and jackanapes." Party spokesmen indicated that the purge is aimed at removing persons who refuse to accept party discipline, or who covertly work against the party.

Panther Chief of Staff Dave Hilliard told the Berkeley Barb that "elements within the Black Panther Party are working with the establishment to destroy the ~~party~~ party. These elements are now being purged."

Hilliard's statements were corroborated by Panther chairman Bobby Seale. "Yes, we are tightening our membership," he said. "We will accept no more members for three months while we intensify our political education." Seale stated that "most of the younger members of the party haven't really gained a true political consciousness yet."

News of the purge came in the wake of increasing signs of discipline problems within the party. In recent weeks Panther publications have prominently displayed and stressed the party rules which are binding on all members. There are currently 26 rules which members are required to memorize.

The ~~seriousness~~ seriousness of problems relating to discipline and political education was suggested by an article in a recent issue of the Panther weekly newspaper. The article reminded members that the party is first of all a political organization.

"Some party members regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other," it said, "and refuse to recognize that military are only one means of accomplishing political tasks. They don't understand that the Black Panther Party is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of revolution. We should not confine ourselves merely to fighting. But we must also shoulder important tasks as doing propaganda among the



people, organizing the people, arming the people, and helping them to establish revolutionary political power for Black people.

"Without these objectives fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its ~~existence~~ existence."

The purge is aimed at restoring full discipline, improving <sup>internal</sup> political education and, according to Seale, eliminating "provocateurs and agents."

The immediate cause of the purge ~~was~~ apparently was an East Oakland bar hold-up <sup>two weeks ago</sup> in which six Panthers were arrested and charged with robbery and possession of marijuana. "It's just incredible, we don't know what happened," said Hilliard. "We didn't authorize. it."

Hilliard said the Party would arrange legal defense for three of the arrested Panthers who were innocent of any wrong-doing in the incident, but that the party would not defend the ~~remaining~~ other men arrested, because they had violated party discipline.

Meanwhile, Kathleen Cleaver, Panther communications secretary and wife of Eldridge Cleaver, has demanded an apology from the Berkeley police department. Berkeley cops stopped Mrs. Cleaver and two friends on the Bay Bridge Jan. 2 and searched her automobile for her husband. She charged that the police were "hysterical" and had "threatened to shoot them" and that their whole ~~action~~ action was "a semi-spontaneous act of intimidation." The Berkeley city council has referred the matter to a subcommittee on grievances.

The party's legal counsel, Charles Garry, is also seeking to have Huey Newton freed on bail while his appeal is being considered. In a brief filed Jan. 14 Garry contended that the trial judge had erred in refusing Newton bail on the ground that he would be a danger to the community if set free. The ~~only~~ only question at issue, Garry argued, is whether the defendant will appear in court at the required time, and the evidence in Newton's case showed that he would.



By Robert L Allen  
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

The strike at San Francisco State College appears to be entering a crucial period. Either it will <sup>soon</sup> expand and involve other state colleges, or some sort of resolution will be reached on student ~~and~~ and faculty demands. There are signs pointing in both directions, and a turn one way or the other is probable in the next few days.

About the only thing certain is that thousands of strikers are being relentlessly educated to the nature of power relations in America -- and this is a radical education that has no classroom equivalent. Confronted by an intransigent and reactionary Board of Trustees, a Governor whose concept of negotiating is to bayonet his opponents, and a glib, fast-talking college president who is adept at employing splitting tactics, the strikers and their supporters had no choice but to intensify their struggle.

~~Exactly~~ The strike is indeed growing and spreading. Last week the S.F. State AFT chapter joined what was already the longest student strike in American history. The AFT move also represented the first faculty strike in the history of California higher education. The sanctioned strike by more than <sup>300</sup> ~~200~~ of State's 1,100 faculty members followed weeks of unsuccessful negotiations.

At the same time, AFT teachers at San Jose State went on sympathy strike Jan. 8. Local AFL-CIO labor councils have granted <sup>strikes</sup> sanctions to union teachers at state colleges in Sacramento and Fresno, as well as San Jose. In addition, strike sanctions are being sought by teachers at Chico, Fullerton and Long Beach, ~~and other colleges~~ and it was expected that the strike could easily spread to more than a dozen of the 19 state colleges.

Meantime, militant student demonstrations at San Fernando Valley State College -- although not directly related to the S.F. State strike -- are adding more pressure to the state school system.



Faced with this mounting pressure, the S.F. State administration ~~has~~ at the end of last week leaked to the press a report that "secret talks" had been going on between acting president S.I. Hayakawa and a ~~possible~~ <sup>"moderate"</sup> Black Student Union (BSU) leader. On the same day Mayor Joseph Alioto let it be known that he would support dropping minor -- but not major -- criminal charges ~~are~~ being brought against striking students and teachers. These moves may represent only another attempt to split the leadership and rank of the strikers, or they may signal the maneuvering which doubtlessly will precede real negotiations.

~~The danger of splits seems to grow greater with each passing day.~~  
He wants to smash the strike and imprison ~~militants~~ // students and teachers.  
The antics of Gov. Ronald Reagan were easier to interpret. In his "State of the State" address to the legislature Jan. 7, Reagan called for tough legal penalties against "criminal anarchists and latter-day fascists" whom he said are active in ~~the~~ campus turmoil. The measures he ~~envisaged~~ <sup>sought</sup> would include stiffer legal penalties for "assaults" on teachers and students, tough campus trespass laws, and quickie dismissal of troublemaking teachers and expulsion of ~~student~~ annoying student activists.

With the intensification of the strike, the danger of splits seems to grow greater with each passing day. The faculty strike at S.F. State precipitated a change in tactics by student demonstrators led by the BSU and Third World Liberation Front. Whereas in past weeks campus rallies, demonstrations and classroom disruption had been the foremost tactics, the faculty strikers instead set up orthodox picket lines which were then joined by the student militants. The picketing was so successful, said BSU leaders, that they decided for the moment to abandon other tactics.

There could be little question as to the success of the picket lines. <sup>well-manned</sup>



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According to this report Hayakawa promised to implement some of the BSU demands and to try to get probation for anyone convicted because of strike activities. He also reportedly ~~will~~ will keep Black Panther George Murray in his present non-teaching position, although the BSU has been ~~demanding~~ demanding that Murray be restored to his teaching post.



At the beginning of the week the college administration was claiming 68% student ~~attendance~~ classroom attendance, but by the end of the week ~~administration~~ the figure had dropped to 50%. AFT spokesman ~~xx~~ contended that classroom attendance never rose above 20% all week.

There could also be little doubt that the disciplined, peaceful picketing -- restricted largely to the perimeter of the campus -- had reduced ~~xxxxxx~~ arrests and police violence. However, militant students clashed with faculty strikers over questions of compliance with new admin<sup>istration</sup> rules banning on-campus demonstrations and police regulations on picketing.

On Jan. 7, <sup>300</sup> students staged an impromptu demonstration on the campus which AFT leaders sought to disperse. Eventually the students were pushed off the campus by ~~x~~ 200 policemen, including the Tactical Squad.

Two days later students and police clashed after police ordered pickets to open a pathway through their ranks so that non-striking students and teachers could enter the campus. The AFT wanted to comply with the police order, but student leaders disagreed. Again the cops moved in but this time they were met by a hail of rocks, bottles, beer cans picket ~~sign~~ sticks and cherry bombs. Seven persons were ~~xxxxxx~~ beaten and arrested by the police, including a San Francisco Chronicle reporter. Those arrested were <sup>again</sup> ~~xxxx~~ brutally beaten while being taken to the police station.

These incidents have produced a potentially serious rift between student and faculty strike leaders. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Actually, the roots of this rift lie much deeper. Some students feel the AFT acted opportunistically when it procrastinated for weeks and then finally joined the strike only after the students proved they could maintain the momentum of the strike and actually ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ force the closing of the school. Moreover, student skeptics are suspicious of the AFT's commitment to the 15 student demands. The AFT has not declared its full support ~~xxxx~~ of these specific demands; instead it merely stated vaguely that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ BSU and



TWIF "grievances must be resolved and implementation assured."

This vague formulation sounds suspicious to student activists who also are keenly aware of the fact that the Central Labor Council studiously distinguishes between the student strike and the faculty strike: supporting the latter but not the former. The Labor Council is pressing to have mediation sessions resumed.

Nevertheless the AFT successfully passed the first test of its de-termination. A Superior Court judge issued an injunction against the strike. The court ruled that the absence of a law specifically allowing public employees to strike means that they cannot strike. Terming this ruling "absurd," the teachers voted to defy the court and continue the strike.

But this was not the only obstacle confronting the striking teachers. A section in the State Education Code provides that a teacher has resigned automatically if he is out of class for five consecutive days without authorization. The fifth day of the teacher strike passed Jan. 10, and the authorities, from college administrators to the Governor, have vowed to enforce this provision. This task was made more difficult, however, by the refusal of 22 of the college's 57 department chairmen to provide the administration with teacher class attendance records as they had been ordered. The dissenting chairmen contended that compliance with the order "tends to foster distrust and disintegration within each department."

Despite suspicions, student activists are hesitant to oppose the AFT because they believe that it could serve as a vehicle for spreading the strike to other state college campuses. And <sup>showing strike threats</sup> developments around the state is the last week seem to bear out this conclusion.

While the strike was continuing there were other apparently related developments. A firebomb was thrown into the home of an S.F. State official late one night. The bomb failed to explode. A few days earlier the home of a dean at troubled San Mateo college was set afire by arsonists. The



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junior college was the scene of student demonstrations late last year protesting cutbacks in the college readiness and minority student programs. It was re-opened after the holidays under virtual police occupation.



San Francisco

The trial of attorney Terence Hallinan ended in a hung jury Jan. 2. Hallinan, a young movement lawyer, was charged with battery on a member of the police Tactical Squad during a demonstration at San Francisco State College last May.

Hallinan testified that he merely put his hand on the cop's shoulder to stop him from beating a young girl. He further contended that this <sup>intervention</sup> was legally, as well as morally, justified under a California law which makes it a felony for police to use excessive force. "I was trying to prevent a crime from being committed," he explained.

However, Superior Judge Carl Allen, in his instructions to the jury defined battery in such a broad and general manner as to include <sup>the defendant's</sup> Hallinan's act. "In effect, ~~he~~ the judge just told them to go and convict me," Hallinan complained. In view of the Court's action, Hallinan said it was amazing that at least some of the jurors refused to be intimidated.

A date for a new trial will be set later this month.

The inconclusive trial did, however, result in a five-day contempt sentence for Hallinan's own lawyer -- who also happens to be his father -- Vincent Hallinan. The sentence has been stayed for 30 days to permit an appeal.

Meanwhile, there have been new developments in the case of 27 GIs prisoners in the Presidio stockade who are threatened with mutiny charges because they demonstrated <sup>against</sup> ~~agat~~ to protest the murder of a fellow inmate and ~~agat~~ and to protest conditions in the prison. The younger Hallinan is defending several of the men. He told the Guardian that the Military Appeals Court turned down his request for its intervention in the case. He said he will again seek federal court action. A previous attempt to involve the federal courts failed because Hallinan had not exhausted

all channels within the military.