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GI MARCH 1/1/1/1 ALLEN 10/12/68

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

The largest anti-war march organized by active-duty GIs and veterans was held here Oct. 12. Some 10,000 demonstrators, mostly civilians, turned out on a drizzly, overcast morning to show their ~~militancy~~ ^{solidarity} with ~~the~~ anti-war soldiers, and to demand that the GIs be brought home from Vietnam now.

Compared with the Pentagon confrontation of a year ago or the August Battle of Chicago, the GI's and Veterans' March for Peace was a mild-mannered affair. ~~But~~ its importance lay not in its militancy ^{however,} ~~but~~ in the fact that several hundred active-duty soldiers participated in it. For ^{them} this was something of a radical step. Many of them will face harassment or reprisals when they return to their bases.

That the march was held at all bordered on the miraculous. Military brass tried to ship Lt. Hugh Smith (USAF), ^{one of the chief organizers,} to Formosa on Sept. 30 in an attempt to quash the demonstration. Smith has ~~appealed~~ ^{appealed} to the federal courts to halt the action. Two other ~~ax~~ march organizers, ALC Michael Locks and ALC John Bright, got orders to ship out to Utah, but the brass backed down after the two men sought a federal court injunction against the obviously punitive order.

On the day of the march, military bases around the Bay Area scheduled inspections and parades to prevent soldiers from joining the anti-war action. At the Presidio, for example, it was reported that all weekend leaves and passes were cancelled, and inspections were held at frequent intervals. Some 300 soldiers who wanted to attend the demonstration could not do so,

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but they did manage to send a message of solidarity.

Several servicemen sought to stop this interference with the march by filing a federal suit. They argued that such moves constituted an infringement on the rights of free speech and assembly. However, Judge Albert C. Wollenberg ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{denied} their suit on the grounds that the inspections "lie within the sphere of legitimate military concerns..."

The march got underway at the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park. Led by several hundred GIs, some in uniform, it snaked slowly down Fulton Street to Civic Center and halted in front of the City Hall where a rally was staged.

March monitors were clergymen who had been instructed to cool out any "agitators." One man who brought a poster of Ho Chi Minh was compelled not to display it. Signs acceptable to the ministers were in the pacifist vein of "Stop the War." There were no NLF flags -- plenty of American flags -- or other symbols of solidarity with the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

The rally itself was like any rally. Featured speaker was former Green Beret ~~xxxxx~~ ^{Donald} Duncan ~~xxx~~ who talked about the growth of anti-war sentiment in the military. Entertainment was provided by veteran folksinger Pete ~~Sim~~ Seeger. The crowd cheered ~~xxx~~ ^{as} greetings ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{were read} by men and women representing all branches of the armed forces.

The real/ excitement of the occasion ~~af~~ occurred days in advance of the march. There was, for example, the tension of cat-and-mouse skirmishes with military brass. Or the hastily called press conference at which four AWOL servicemen announced that they would join the march and then give themselves up to the authorities. (Military police did arrest two persons at

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the demonstration, but at this writing it is not known who they were.) Or the drama of a small plane flying over the Alameda Naval Station and the aircraft carrier Ranger, dropping peace leaflets.

Where will things go from here? The march was aimed at bridging the gap between a largely civilian anti-war movement and the men who must do the fighting if the war is to continue. The fact that it was successful~~that~~ -- that hundreds of soldiers joined in despite intimidation and harassment -- will probably spur more GI anti-war organizing efforts.

INSERT for Allen story on GI MARCH

Delete eighth paragraph beginning with words: "The rally itself...."

Insert the following paragraph:

The rally itself was like any rally. The crowd cheered as greetings were read by men and women representing all branches of the armed forces. Entertainment was provided by veteran folksinger Pete Seeger. Featured speakers were former Green Beret Donald Duncan and Brig. Gen. (ret.) Hugh B. Hester. Hester was vigorously booed when he announced that he supports Richard Nixon -- "the lesser of three evils" -- for President.

Please also delete the sentence in parentheses in the following paragraph.

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

Berkeley

In what is shaping up as the first major confrontation ~~between~~ of the new school term, thousands of returning ~~students~~ University of California students have rallied to the support of Eldridge Cleaver in his battle with the Board of Regents.

Cleaver, minister of information for the Black Panthers and Peace and Freedom Party Presidential candidate, had been scheduled to give ten guest lectures in an experimental course dealing with racism in the U.S. But the UC ~~Regents~~ Regents, under pressure from state officials, limited Cleaver to one appearance.

This decision provoked an angry reaction from students and faculty members alike. Student government president Charles Palmer told reporters Sept 23 that Cleaver would give the ten lectures regardless of the regents' edict. The student senate ~~also~~ adopted resolutions demanding that the regents rescind their decision and calling upon the faculty Academic Senate to reject the regents' decision "as neither valid nor binding."

CLEAVER 2/2/2/2

More than 2,000 students jammed into Wheeler Hall Sept. 24
~~What exactly the faculty as a whole will do is still~~

and unanimously voted that the Cleaver course "be given on campus, as
~~planned and for credit.~~

planned and for credit." Prior to the vote, psychology professor Jonas
Langer, one of four sponsors of the experimental ~~course~~ course, told the
~~crowd that "we will offer the course notwithstanding the~~

crowd that "we will offer the course notwithstanding the ^{action} ~~decision~~ of
the regents.2

What exactly the faculty as a whole will do is still

~~uncertain at this point.~~ Philosophy professor John Searle, head of
the Academic Senate's Academic Freedom Committee, said that his group had
agreed that "violations of academic freedom were involved in the regents'
~~decision.~~" He added that the committee was preparing a series of
recommendations on actions to be submitted to the entire Academic Senate.

The faculty group is scheduled to meet in special session Oct. 3.

What exactly the faculty as a whole will do is uncertain
at this point. Some faculty members, while criticizing the regents' action,
have indicated that they are not willing to "go down fighting" for Cleaver.

Thus some sort of compromise appears likely to emerge from the faculty
meeting.

Two broad lines of attack have developed out of the Cleaver
controversy. Some, probably a majority of the moderate students and faculty
members, ^{view} ~~see~~ the dispute as a traditional free speech issue. That is, the

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regents
~~regents~~ and state politicians have infringed on academic freedom and this
must be resisted. According to this argument, the university is an
autonomous
~~academic~~ institution devoted to the unhampered pursuit of knowledge.

This was the position taken by the student newspaper, the
Daily Californian. The paper gave its unqualified support to the portesters
and said: "We must maintain academic freedom or we might as well close this
University." Speaking of the role of the Board of Regents, the paper stated:

"Though it was designed to act as a buffer between the
university and temporal state politics and to defend the university, its
students, its faculty and its freedom, the board has subverted them all in
an attempt to halt change and experimentation."

A second position, endorsed by the Center for Participant
Education, which initiated the special Cleaver course, ~~academic~~ contends
that academic freedom is illusory because the university is a servant of American
corporate society. In a lengthy position paper CPE charged that the Board
of Regents was composed of a few wealthy men who "run the University on the
basis of their interests, that is, the interests of the corporations they
represent..."

"The corporate, financial, real estate and government interests
in American society need the University in order to exist. These interests

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need the research of the University to build more efficient profit making ventures. They need the knowledge of University experts to maintain the far flung financial and military empire of the United States, and they need the students of the University to fulfill the roles of administrators and staff of that empire.

"The same people who are swaging the war in Vietnam, and who determine government policy in Chicago, Southeast Asia, Bolivia and Oakland also determine policy in the University.

"One can see then, that the idea of the University as a neutral value free institution is a sham. The 'autonomy' of the University that is supposed to be ~~guar~~ guaranteed by a non-political Board of Regents is exactly the opposite. The actual make up of the Board insures that the University be tied in with the ruling areas of American society and used as an instrument of that society."

Talk of ~~un~~ defending academic freedom, then, can have little meaning until the servant role of the university is abolished. At the same time, however, CPE activists believe that demands relating to academic freedom must be pressed as part of the process of redefining the university. Thus CPE was instrumental in shaping the demands formulated by the student senate.

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CPE was set up less than two years ago as an outgrowth of the Free Speech Movement. Its purpose is "to help students initiate, and develop credit and non-credit course that had personal, political, intellectual or cultural relevance for them." CPE activists have defined two goals for themselves: 1) to better educate interested students by providing a curriculum of significant content and a structure that encourages dialogue, independence and critical sensitivity, and 2) to develop "class consciousness" among students. "This consciousness," stated the CPE position paper, "includes an understanding of the direct involvement of the University in the means of oppression of our society, as well as in the preparation of individuals for submission to that oppression by learning to submit to the will of others, throughout the educational process, including our own University."

For the moment there is no conflict between moderate students and militant ~~students~~ students over the meaning of the Cleaver issue.

All are opposed to the regents' decision. But as the debate sharpens,

sympathetic increasing numbers of ~~most~~ students will be forced to decide whether they

where they stand on the broader issue of the function of the university
~~are for reformism or radicalism.~~

Meanwhile, in characteristic fashion, the Ford Foundation has moved into the situation and provided money for a study of "university reform."

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

ill-concealed
Eldridge Cleaver's attempt to spread infectious revolutionary
at the University of California
ideas ~~in the University of California~~ in ~~San Francisco~~ Berkeley has been
countered by an alert state legislature and Board of Regents.

Cleaver, Black Panther official and Peace and Freedom
Party Presidential candidate, was scheduled to give ten guest lectures
in a new University course called ~~Black~~ Social Analysis 1391X. The
course, part of an experimental program which grew out of the old Free
Speech Movement, was to deal with "problems of racism, poverty and justice"
in the U.S.

Right-winger Max Rafferty, Republican candidate for U.S.
Senate and State superintendent of public instruction, was the first
to draw attention to the threat posed by Cleaver's nefarious plans.
Ever-vigilant Gov. Ronald Reagan quickly lined himself up on the side
of (white) Motherhood, (white) Patriotism and (white) Apple Pie, and
~~in a statement to the press~~ declared that Cleaver's
lecture appointment was "an affront ~~to~~ and insult to the people of
California." KDIA, a black radio station in Oakland, picking up on
the fact that the Governor had no qualms about white radicals teaching

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may perhaps uncertain as to what to do about the matter, the legislators in their wisdom extended the censure to the regents, even though Reagan, Lieutenant Gov. Robert Finch and Assembly Speaker Jesse Urruh are all members of the regents board.

The regents made their move Sept. 20. They hassled out a compromise and decided to let Cleaver lecture -- but only once. For good measure the regents also censured "those in the Berkeley Academic Senate and the Board of Education" who created the controversial course and invited Cleaver to be main lecturer.

Cleaver, meantime, seemed largely unruffled by this sordid affair. He announced that he was going to teach his class even if he had to do so on the streets. He said that Reagan was uptight about the proposed course because "one of the lectures will deal with negatives influences of Grade-B movies on the American mentality, using Mickey Mouse Reagan's career as a text." Cleaver's student and faculty supporters are mobilizing an all-out campaign against what they regard as incursions on academic freedom by state officials and regents.

Cleaver's relative unconcern may stem from the fact that he has plenty of other things on his mind. On Sept. 17 he and six other Panthers were in court to plead not guilty to charges of attempted

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murder and assault with a deadly weapon. The charges grew out of a shootout with Oakland police last April 6, in which Cleaver was wounded and young Bobby Hutton was killed by the cops.

On the same day that Cleaver was in court his parole officer tried to come between him and his wife, Kathleen. Mrs. Cleaver, exercising her Constitutional rights, publicly purchased a ~~shotgun~~ heavy-gauge shotgun and ammunition to defend herself against those, including cops, who have threatened her life. She also applied for a police permit to carry a ~~musket~~ concealed weapon.

All of this completely freaked out the Parole Board which hastily told Eldridge that either Kathleen or her guns had to go. ~~Parole~~ Parolees, it seems, aren't allowed to consort with gun-toters.

Beside such worries as these, it is no wonder that Cleaver isn't particularly upset over the antics of state politicians.

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

Black student dissatisfaction with curriculum/ and faculty ~~faculties~~ composition resulted in the temporary closing of three ~~h~~ high schools in the East Bay last week.

Student demonstrators picketed, blocked school entrances to enforce boycotts and presented lists of demands to school administrators. Many black parents and black community leaders expressed support for ~~it~~ the young activists.

The basic demands at all three schools were similar. The ~~the~~ students called for more black teachers and counselors, and better and more sophisticated courses in black history. There were also a number of local demands referring to specific grievances at each school.

Although the demonstrations were largely without serious incidents, some violence flared between black and white students, ~~xxx~~. The violence reached a peak the night of Sept. 18 in East Oakland, resulting in the arrest of more than a dozen black youths.

Oakland's Fremont High School is where signs of the new

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militancy first developed. The school was closed Sept. 14 and remained closed most of the following week after fights broke out between some of the school's 1,200 white students and some of the 600 black students.

student unrest
The ~~unrest~~ soon spread to Vallejo's Senior High School

which closed its doors Sept. 17 after some 200 members of the Black Student Union refused to attend classes, but stayed on campus. The immediate ~~cause~~ cause of the trouble was the racial composition of the school's pep team. The black students, who make up 30% of the school's 1,850 pupils, felt that they were grossly underrepresented on the pep team. The school was closed for two days as student activists, parents and community leaders used the school auditorium to work out strategy and demands. The ~~students~~ students were also given some tactical advice by members of the BSU at nearby Solano Junior College.

Meanwhile, in Emeryville ~~the~~ BSU members blocked the ~~the~~ doors of Emery High School Sept. 18 and turned away some 800 students. This ~~prompted~~ prompted an all-day meeting of faculty members and administrators to decide what to do.

By the end of the week the Oakland and Vallejo schools were open again after some of the student demands had been met. Negotiations were ~~still un~~ derway in Emeryville.

9/19/68

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

"Pig control" has become a ~~major~~ major issue in the Bay Area.

Spearheaded by the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), an effort is being made to bring local police departments in Oakland, Berkeley and Richmond under community control.

In San Francisco, the first round in a fight to abolish the police Tactical Squad appears to have been won by the cops. However, Attorney Terence Hallinan, prime mover behind this effort, said that further steps were planned against the squad. The tactical unit has been accused of an elite brutalizing citizens and operating as a paramilitary force. (Guardian, Aug. 24)

Whether any of these moves to curb local police power will have any serious effect is difficult to assess at this point. Even those intimately involved with organizing the efforts are hesitant to make any unqualified predictions.

In the East Bay police control has taken the form of a petition campaign to have an amendment to city charters placed on the ballot in next year's Spring elections. Three separate petitions are

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circulating although ~~in~~ in substance they are quite similar. The Berkeley petition, for example, provides for community control of the police by establishing separate police departments ^{that city's} for ~~the~~ three major communities: the black community, the campus community and the predominantly white areas. The three departments would be completely separate and autonomous, although empowered to use common facilities by mutual agreement. Each department would be administered by full-time police commissioners. The commissioners in turn are to be selected by various Neighborhood Police Control Councils consisting of people elected from local neighborhoods. The Councils are to be the highest authority in the reconstructed police departments.

To protect against police force elitism the proposed amendments require that all policemen must live in the areas they patrol.

The proposed amendments differ only in that the Oakland and Richmond petitions recognize only ~~two~~ two major communities in those cities: black and white.

The idea of a police control campaign has been around for some months. Both the Panthers and ~~the~~ FPP have long stressed the need for such controls in their agitational literature. But it was only in the wake of increased police harassment of the black communities,

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particularly in Oakland, that a serious campaign materialized. The basic charter amendment was drafted by representatives of the Panthers and PFP, and the petition campaign in Berkeley and Oakland was launched nearly ~~two~~ two months ago after both city councils refused to place the issue ~~on~~ on the ballot. If the campaigners can sign up 15% of the ~~total~~ registered voters in each city then they can override the council decisions. This means that 26,000 signatures are needed in Oakland and 10,500 in Berkeley. In Richmond, where the petition effort began only last week, 8,000 ~~valid~~ signers are needed. The names must be secured by the end of January.

~~In~~ The situation in San Francisco is somewhat different.

^{curbing}
At the moment police brutality, rather than instituting community control, is the major focus of attention. Over the past month Hallinan and his ~~supporters~~ supporters have been going before this city's police commission to demand the abolition of the tactical squad. A little more ~~than~~ than a week after the fourth such hearing, Police Chief Thomas Cahill announced Sept. 12 a plan to reorganize the squad. The new plan would include psychological ^{supposedly} ~~tests~~ tests ^{to determine if squad members} ~~could remain calm under~~ could remain calm under ~~stress.~~ stress.

The Chief also proposed a "revolving process" under which senior members of the ~~squad~~ 34-man squad would be returned to their previous stations every 90 days. This allegedly will prevent the squad from developing

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an elitist military character. For added goodwill, the Chief also suggested that the tactical unit be inspected at "unannounced, irregular and frequent intervals." His plan was endorsed by a police commission anxious to get itself off the firing line.

Hallinan scoffed at the idea that psychological tests would eliminate police brutality. He also charged that the rotation scheme was nothing but a cover for covertly increasing the size of the tactical force. He plans to press a suit pending in California Superior Court to have the squad disbanded, and he said he is considering instituting a federal suit to place the police department in receivership as was done in Newark, N.J.

Both Hallinan and the petition campaigners are trying to fight a system by using its ^{own} ~~own~~ rules against itself. This is tricky because the system makes the rules and holds the ~~own~~ high cards. For example, even if the proposed charter amendments win ^{overwhelmingly} ~~overwhelming approval~~ at the polls next Spring they still must be approved by the state legislature before going into effect. The likelihood of this occurring is virtually nil.

Another problem is posed by the liberals. Not content with letting the city council or state legislature do the hatchet work,

POLICE 5/5/5/5/5

the liberals come up with proposals of their own which have the effect of undercutting the radicals' efforts. Thus a few weeks after the police control campaign was launched the Better Berkeley Council proposed that a civilian review board be set up. This of course, is unacceptable to the radicals since it doesn't raise the question of control and, if implemented, might simply reinforce the present police situation. But by offering this proposal the liberals can create disarray among forces which might otherwise gravitate ^{more} toward the left.

Meanwhile, the Berkeley city council showed its utter disdain for the petition effort by authorizing the hiring of 30 more policemen to deal with student unrest.

The Panthers have tried to deal with the problem of co-optation by organizing the black community first around guns and self-defense, and only then supporting electoral efforts to achieve police control. The Panthers believe that only an armed black electorate can make its votes count, and that in the end police control will be instituted by those who are prepared press the fight outside existing institutions.

Special to the Guardian

Berkeley

University

A third attempt to blow up a building housing the Naval ROTC occurred here Sept 13. The blast destroyed a porch, main door, hallway and part of the roof and floor of Callaghan Hall. The noise of the explosion was audible throughout most of Berkeley.

University of California police said that the bomb went off seconds after a young man jumped from a Volkswagen and placed a black bag at the front door of the building. Policemen unsuccessfully pursued the vehicle. Berkeley police aided by the FBI are now searching for the suspect, but so far no arrests have been made.

OAKLAND shooting 9/10/68

Oakland

More than a dozen rifle shots ripped into the headquarters of the Black Panther party ~~on Grove~~ 9/10/ ~~at~~ Grove St. Two white policemen were formally charged with the shooting and were discharged from the Oakland police force.

^{also} The incident took place at about 1:30 a.m. as the policemen, on duty at the time, fired round after round into the building. No one was inside ~~at the time~~ ^{at that hour} and no injuries were reported.

The cops were apparently aiming at a large poster of Huey Newton which was in the window of the office. The poster was literally ripped to shreds by carbine bullets. ~~Two~~ At least two shells also struck the window of a cafe next door.

City and police officials were quick to contend that the shooting represented misbehavior on the part of two individuals, cops "who were acting outside the scope of their duties," and that it did not reflect on the police dept. as a whole. This contention was hotly ~~is~~ disputed by black community residents who gathered in front of the Panther office later ~~that~~ in the morning. One black minister commented that "these policemen were just carrying out Mayor Redding's prediction that violence would erupt after a verdict was handed down in the Huey Newton case. This shooting is not surprising. It's typical of the police that we have to deal with."

Panthers leaders responded to the incident by saying that they would not be provoked into irrational action by the shooting.

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

Berkeley

Berkeley is slowly returning to normal following a week-long police clamp-down on Telegraph Ave.

At Guardian press time a municipal ~~ban~~ proclamation banning demonstrations and loitering was still in effect, but it was expected to be lifted at a city council meeting Sept. 11.

The ban was imposed following three days of violence over labor day weekend (Guardian, Sept. 7).

Although it was supposedly city-wide, reinforced by ~~the ban~~ it was selectively enforced, by city cops ~~and highway~~

highway patrolmen, largely only on Telegraph and the immediate vicinity, where police broke up a large crowd two weeks ~~ago~~ ago after a rally in support of Chicago demonstrators.

At that time a policeman and a demonstrator were shot, and two explosions occurred, one ripping ~~wiping~~ up a stretch of railroad track at Bancroft Ave. and Third St.

BERKELEY 2/2/2/2/

All last week the three blocks of Telegraph near the University were heavily patrolled by police wearing riot helmets and carrying tear-gas masks. Promptly at 8 p.m. each night cruising patrol cars would stop and disgorge the officers inside, who would immediately sweep up and down the Avenue, breaking up small ~~gangs~~ groups ~~of~~ talking together, frisking and arresting those who looked "suspicious," particularly hippies and blacks.

The wise found sanctuary in local restaurants and bars, but some of these also closed at 8 p.m. to encourage compliance with the ban. Over 100 "loiterers" have been arrested.

Angry radicals and street people met at the Community Theater Sept. 5 to decide how to respond to the ban. The meeting drew over 2,000 people and it revealed once ~~again~~ again the ~~mutual~~ mutual suspicion and distrust with which the political radicals and the street people view each other. The latter, a small minority at the meeting, appear to be an assortment of drop-outs, hippies, ^{would-be} anarchists and terrorists.

Hundreds of street people live or hang out on the Avenue, but only a few of ~~these~~ ^{their} more vocal spokesmen attended the strategy session and that mainly for the purpose of disrupting it.

BERKELEY ~~2/2/2/2/2~~ 3/3/3/3/3

The street people are largely anti-organization individualists, each doing his own thing. They have a strong communal spirit and identify closely with life on the Avenue.

To the extent that the street people have any cohesion it is found in the Berkely Commune. And the Commune exists to "liberate" the Avenue; that is, to force the removal of all cops from Telegraph and have the street officially closed to automobile traffic so that the street ~~people~~ ^{people} can bring in rock bands and otherwise have complete use of the area.

The Commune people responded to the ban at the gut level: it interfered with their lives. They wanted action, immediate action, to end it. They called on people to organize in ~~small~~ small groups to engage in retaliatory action. No more "steering committee revolutions," they declared.

But even this much they had difficulty articulating and instead, at the Sept. 5 meeting, devoted themselves mainly to heckling.

The radicals, on the other hand, responded to the ban in an intellectual manner: it interfered with their political rights.

"The city council is using terrorism to act against what they really

BERKELEY 4/4/4/4/4/4

fear: the radical movement in Berkeley," ~~he~~ asserted a Students for a Democratic Society leaflet. The radicals, meaning members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Independent Socialist Clubs and SDS (in which Progressive Labor is active), were agreed on the necessity to break the ban with some kind of mass action. They were also united in their opposition to individual acts of terrorism.

The question for the radicals was what kind of mass action and when to move. SBS proposed a march on City Hall that night. ISC opposed this on the grounds that it wouldn't allow time to mobilize the whole community. "Hundreds of citizens in Berkeley this community have found their civil liberties abridged, their lives disrupted," ISC argued. "We must mobilize them on our side, if we can." ISC proposed that action take place the next day and suggested that mass picketing ~~of~~ in support of the farm workers' grape boycott would be a suitable form of action.

After three hours of wrangling, shouting obscenities, and occasional debate, during which time a shoving match developed and the chairman was nearly physically removed from the stage, the meeting overwhelmingly opted for the ISC proposal.

BERKELEY 5/5/5/5/5

At that point most people left and only ~~hardened~~ hardened meeting-attenders stayed on to decide which store would be the target.

Next day, however, the target selected, Lee Brothers Market, announced that it was taking the offending grapes off its shelves. City Hall would have to substitute.

Some 600 people showed up ~~on the City Hall lawn that~~ on the City Hall lawn that night. Apparently the mass mobilization was somewhat less successful than had been hoped. The radicals declared the occasion a great

victory, but Commune people grumbled that it was nothing of the sort

since at that very moment hippies were being busted on Telegraph,

~~employing flexible tactics,~~ ^{building,} Police carefully avoided the ~~near City Hall,~~ where only a couple of months ago they had stood guard, armed to the teeth.

several blocks away

At 9:45 p.m. everyone was told to go home since sound equipment permits normally end at 10 p.m. and the radicals didn't want to "confuse the issue" by possibly provoking arrests on charges unrelated to the ban. Assemble at Sproul Hall on campus tomorrow to decide our next move, the dispersing crowd was told.

BERKELEY 6/6/6/6/6/6

The Sept. 7 campus rally drew less than 250 people.

It was agreed not to have any more organized actions until the city council meeting on Sept. 11. Then there was to be a mass rally which would demand the lifting of the ban, rescinding of the law ordinance under which the ban was imposed, and amnesty for all those arrested for violating the ban. An SDSer who is close to the street people also called for demands relating to police control, closing the Avenue off to cars and requiring cops to walk unarmed when patrolling Telegraph.

Although one speaker at this rally denied that a ~~serious split exists between the street people and the radicals,~~ serious split exists between the street people and the radicals, ~~for the past few years off Telegraph and in the city for a~~ close observation indicates that the opposite is the case. Both ~~main factions~~ sides are fond of exchanging accusations and name-calling, but the causes of the rift, other than differing life styles, reach deeper than this.

The radicals are faced with the problem that the number of demonstrators tends to diminish from one rally to the next as the impetus provided by the original confrontation dies out. This leads the street people to adopt a cynical attitude concerning the efficacy of so-called mass actions which attract

BERKELEY 7/7/77

only a few hundred people.

By actively discouraging ^{(terrorism and} direct confrontations with the police, the radicals are acting not only in their own interest but also in the interest of Berkeley's liberal power structure. This power structure normally wants no violence of any sort, and the radicals, by their actions, buy time for it to regain its senses, revoke the ban and withdraw the cops. As a result the radicals are charged with "selling out."

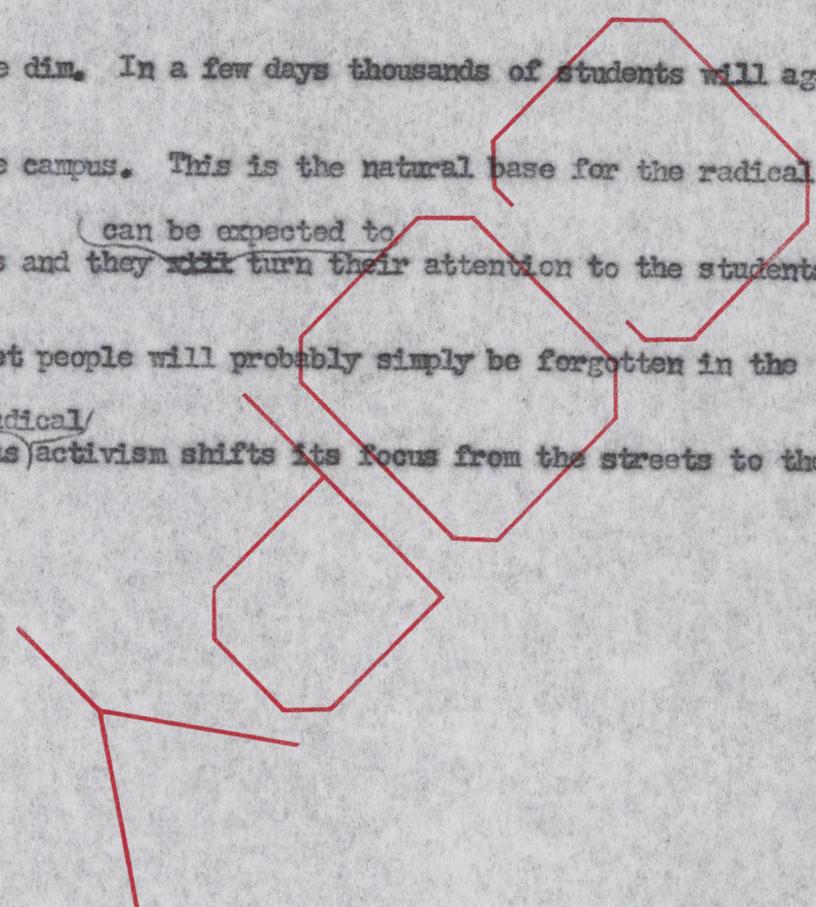
Some of ^{the} street people, on the other hand, unable to deal with their frustration and powerlessness, advocate terrorism as a means of change. But acts of terrorism ~~lead to increased repression,~~ only increase repression, as the radicals frequently point out. The street people also ~~are primarily concerned with their own needs as a community~~ are primarily concerned with their own needs as a community and are not overly concerned with the needs of a movement which extends beyond their community. For this they are criticized by the radicals.

Finally, the radicals frequently find themselves on the defensive, fighting to defend the rights of free speech or free ~~assembly;~~ assembly when they have been abridged by the authorities. The Commune people are more concerned with taking the offensive

BERKELEY 8/8/8/8/8

and winning new ^(concrete) concessions (such as cop removal and closing of the Avenue) rather than defending ~~political~~ what they regard as intangible political rights.

The upshot of these differing perspectives is mutual distrust on both sides. And the prospects for bridging the chasm are dim. In a few days thousands of students will again flood the campus. This is the natural base for the radical ^(can be expected to) activists and they ~~will~~ turn their attention to the students. The street people will probably simply be forgotten in the ^(radical) shuffle as activism shifts its focus from the streets to the campus.



The drama of Chicago spilled over into Berkeley Aug. 30.

9/2/68

by Morry Wright
special to the Guardian

Berkeley

A rally "to show solidarity with the Chicago brothers and to protest police repression of people on the street here" drew ~~2500~~ 3000 persons ~~August 30~~. Speakers were at Cody Plaza, a wide place in the sidewalk in front of Cody's bookstore at Telegraph and Haste, at the center of the two-block section where police violence had erupted two months earlier.

The story of the rally was eclipsed next day in the mass media by window-breaking and shooting the wounding of a police sergeant that started more than an hour after the speaking program had ended.

people, but the huge

Cody Plaza is big enough for only a couple of hundred ~~the~~ crowd filled streets in both directions. The 24 cops in the area, apparently on ~~their~~ good behavior because of mass protests against their brutality reroute in June and July, ~~confined~~ did nothing more than ~~direct~~ traffic ~~around~~

About 10 o'clock the microphones were turned off by the Young Socialist Alliance people on the flat-bed-truck platform. (Rumors that the police had cut the wires were untrue. ~~MS~~ The YSA wanted to make sure they did not overrun their permit, which might have given the police a pretext for smashing their ~~expense~~ sould equipment.)

People then started drifting in both directions along Telegraph. ~~About~~ ^{Around} ~~about~~ 11:30 rocks were ~~thrown~~ thrown through windows of ~~the~~ ^a Bank of America branch two blocks from the rally scene, ~~toward~~ ^{near} the University of California campus. Windows of two clothing stores were smashed and red paint was thrown into the bank.

and CS "smoking" gas,

As the police moved

Two hundred police, who had been waiting (at headquarters were rushed to quell the demos. with clubs & teargas on eye flying in. ~~One of them~~ was shot in the leg, another was cut by glass. ~~Another~~ ^{and} ~~one~~

democratic *the melee and*

~~person~~ was ~~not~~ shot, 27 were jailed under bond totaling \$60,000.

The next day, Saturday, YSA covered the area with a leaflet asking everyone to "Be Cool Tonite." *one of the better organized guys in Berkeley*

"A couple of brothers took their tension out on the Bank of America," it said. "Their target was right but their timing was wrong. When we use violence, it must be planned and with some chance of maximum damage to them, minimum to us. A few people busting windows or a couple of sporadic ~~fi~~ fights with the cops, means more of us beaten or in jail. It doesn't mean the Bank's been overthrown or the cops ~~xxxxxxx~~ controlled. Right now we have to control the cops, just to survive. The 27 they busted last night just adds to the 200 ~~not~~ brothers and sisters arrested since July 4.

"So let's cool it. We've got to organize to beat the heat. For a start, in about 10 days there'll be a meeting to organize police patrols for the avenue and the community -- so we can control the cops every time ~~ix~~ they show on our streets."

The street people were cool Saturday night. *They watched quietly as* hundreds of cops patrolling *Tension began to build* the south campus area. *Not all* There were cops from *Highway* Livermore, ~~Hay~~ Hayward, Fremont, Albany, Richmond and other towns. *They*

patrolmen

drove in formations of from three to seven cars, four men to a car. ~~When some of the bystanders took up a chant, the streets were cleared by cops on foot. When they left, a little after midnight, the people came out and made their scene just like any other Saturday night.~~ *insert*

~~Contrary to prior announcement, the rally was not sponsored jointly by several organizations. According to Darrel Myers of YSA, that organization took the initiative in forming an ad hoc committee. Subjects, in addition to police repression and the Democratic convention, were the Huey Newton trial in the Oakland and the Vietnam war.~~

Darrel Myers of YSA sed his 7/7

YSA intends to continue calling rallies, ~~Myers said~~, including one

insert

At about 11 p.m. tension reached the breaking point and people began tearing up the YSA leaflets and chanting "we want more pigs!" ~~More pigs is what they got as cops. on foot moved to clear the streets.~~ Later, a little after midnight, the police left and people returned to the streets and made their scene just like any other Saturday night.

Cops on foot ^{quickly} moved into the crowd and began clearing the streets

To be held

as soon as possible after the decision is announced in the Huey Newton trial.

Commenting on City Manager Hanley's decision to let the August 30 rally occupy the streets, ~~from~~ contrary to the city's policy on June 28 Myers said: "It is not a question of principle or law and order but what he can get away with. If public sentiment is on our side, he will ~~let us hold street meetings~~ not try to stop us from holding street meetings."

Blacks for Justice

8466

Mrs. Ruth Hagwood 655-~~777~~

Mrs. Marie Walker Johnson 655-1791

Will meet with Oakland City Council

Sept 5. Afterward will hold

press conference on city hall steps - about 10am.

11-1-57

Practically since its inception the American Communist party has been confounded by how to approach the "Negro Question."

There is no record of black participation in the founding of the CP in 1919, and early Communists apparently viewed black oppression as only a more complicated version of general proletarian exploitation.

In the middle 1920s, however, under the ^{tutelage} ~~influence~~ of Stalin and the Communist International, members of the CPUSA began thinking about the "national question" and how this applied to black people in the U.S.

Stalin was a leading expert on the subject, having written in 1913 a classic document, "Marxism and the National Question." In this Stalin argued that ~~the~~ in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the fight of oppressed nations for self-determination and political equality is a struggle which revolutionary socialists must support since it acts to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution and lays the basis for ~~a~~ a struggle for socialism.

In 1928 the Sixth World Congress of the Communist

sanctioned
International ~~movement~~ this theory as the official perspective
according to which work among U.S. blacks was to be conducted by
the CPUSA.

The American Communists immediately began a mechanical
application of Stalin's theory to the domestic situation. The Civil
War and Emancipation became the incompleated bourgeois-democratic
revolution. The Southern black belt ~~was~~ became an oppressed
nation, and the Communists viewed their task as that of demanding
self-determination and democratic rights for the subjugated nation
of blacks.

But feudal Russia of 1913 was not the U.S. of 1928, an
advanced capitalist country. This was the first error the Communists
made.

A related
The second, and in the long run more serious, error the
CPUSA made in mechanically ~~applying~~ ^{interpreting} Stalin's theory was that they
came to view the ^{among blacks} struggle ^{for blacks} for political equality, or democratic
rights, as ^{necessarily} preceding the struggle for economic democracy, for
socialism. It was this error, of taking a principle suitable
for one historical period and applying it in an entirely different
period, which led the Communists of 40 years ago to adopt an

~~From the beginning~~
Communists have been
vigorous proponents of black
liberation, but their theory
of how that liberation is
to be achieved has proven
to be a trap. Some of
^{american} ~~them~~ communists appear to be aware of
this, but the party as a
whole ~~has not~~ ^{has not} moved to
~~rectify its~~ ~~current~~ ~~theoretical~~
a stone which derives from
theoretical errors of many
years standing.

Irwin Silber

855-9466

REVIEW 3/3/3/33

inappropriate program for the black struggle.

It is this same error, reflected today in Claude
that keeps
Lightfoot's book, ~~misrepresenting~~ the CP ~~from~~ playing anything
but a vanguard role vis-a-vis the black liberation movement.

~~Thus~~ Lightfoot defines his perspective this way:

"The Negro seeks a share of government power now to help en-
force the laws which his own actions helped to bring into
existence." (P. 19) Further along he specifies that, "The
Negro in the United States at present wages his struggle to
secure the maximum benefits within the capitalist system."

(p. 126)

The black struggle, then, is a democrat struggle,
Lightfoot asserts, which should be supported by all democratically-
minded Americans, and which can achieve some of its goals ~~and~~
short of socialism.

All of this leads Lightfoot to give a thoroughly
reformist and dead-end definition of black power: "The concept
of black power means essentially the right of the Negro people
to have a share in the power structure of this country. In this

regard, the struggle for Negro representation, for Negroes having a share of power, is in the national interest and is not divisive."

(p. 109) Lightfoot's words here sound uncomfortably like what the Wall St. Journal and Fortune magazine have been saying ~~was~~ recently about black power.

Certainly Lightfoot is no agent of the ruling class, but the theoretical stance adopted by him and his party places them, at the practical level, in league with the Urban Coalition and the National Alliance of Businessmen.

The dilemma is this. Because Lightfoot and the CP view the black movement as only a struggle for basic democratic rights, they conclude that this struggle can and should be supported by all "progressive" elements, regardless of class. In other words, the chief task becomes "broadening the base" of support for black political equality. In this effort the party begins to water down slogans to attract wider support. In working through caolitions and fronts the party separates its reformist goals from its revolutionary objectives. Reforms become an end in themselves.

"Thus the party, quite unintentionally, creates an oppositional dichotomy between reform and revolution, and the dialectical continuity which should exist between the two is destroyed. Objectively speaking, this works to the advantage of the ruling class, which seeks to portray reform and revolution as totally unrelated ~~social~~ social goals.

Fortunately, within the party there are signs of opposition to this dogged reformist tendency. ~~Rank~~ Roscoe Proctor and Carl Bloice, ^{for example,} have spoken out against it in party publications. Both of them recognize the basic strategic error committed by ~~the~~ ^{their} party.

Proctor, in a thoughtful critique of black power ~~Revolution~~ appearing in the March, 1967, issue of Political Affairs, contends that, "The national liberation struggles of today can no longer be appraised from the viewpoint of the bourgeois revolution of the old world before World War I and the October Revolution. Prior to that time the national question constituted a part of ~~the~~ the world bourgeois-democratic ~~Revolution~~ revolution; since then the national question has

become a part of the world workingclass socialist revolution. Therefore, national liberation movements must now exercise an independent role which objectively favors peace and the struggle against imperialism and the capitalist monopolies."

"The struggle for political independence," Proctor concludes, "must enhance the struggle for economic and social well-being."

~~well-being~~ In other words, Proctor is saying that it is in the present historical setting incorrect to separate political and economic struggles. The

fight for political equality and socialism must proceed hand-in-hand, not as a one-two sequence.

~~February~~ in the ~~January~~, 1968, issue of the same Bloice agrees ~~with the author's position~~

journal and adds further: "The mistake that has characterized the immediate past period has been that the struggle for equal rights was viewed not only as an important part of the strategy for the liberation but as the ultimate resolution of the question."

In this era of advanced capitalism and imperialism, Proctor and Bloice contend that the black struggle must become much more than a fight for simple political independence. ~~It~~

REVIEW 7/7/7/7/7

The mass struggle for reform must be replaced with a consciously revolutionary mass struggle.

This is not to say there is no place for reforms.

But at this point in the history of ~~capitalist~~ imperialist America, reforms have value only to the extent that they are won in battle by a consciously revolutionary movement. Reforms without this consciousness ^{primarily} ~~only~~ aid the ruling class.

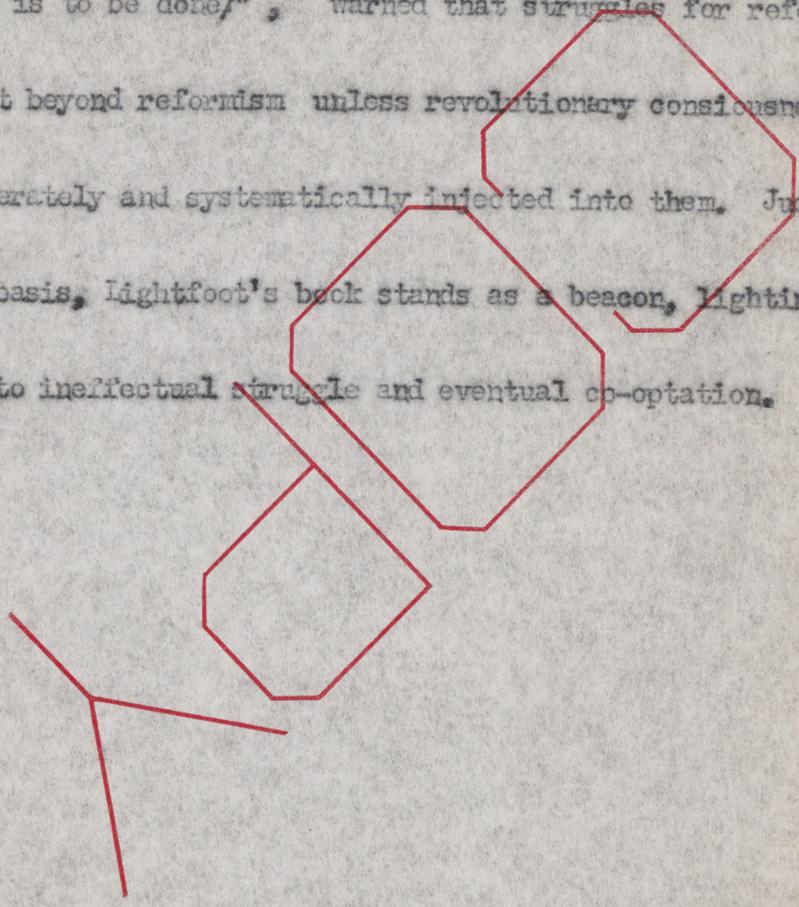
Lightfoot is not altogether unaware of the reformist bind into which he has gotten. He admits that ~~fundamental~~ blacks cannot hope to make fundamental political and economic changes under capitalism, but he falls back on that time-worn and doubtful argument that, "The fight for partial demands within capitalism can lead to an awareness among the masses of the need to change the system..." (p. 112) To those among the black masses who already have such an awareness, and their numbers are growing, he has nothing to say, no program to offer.

There are other points in Lightfoot's book which deserve analysis (e.g. his reasons for rejecting calls to armed struggle, ~~or~~ his insistence that black-white unity is

REVIEW 8/8/8/8/8/8

a pre-requisite for basic social change, his exhaustive but ~~unconvincing~~ effort to prove that socialism ~~is~~ automatically ~~anti~~ ~~racist~~ (ends racism) but space does not permit.

It was Lenin who, at the turn of the ~~19th~~ century/ in "What is to be done?" , warned that struggles for reform never get beyond reformism unless revolutionary consciousness is deliberately and systematically injected into them. Judged on this basis, Lightfoot's book stands as a beacon, lighting the way to ineffectual struggle and eventual co-optation.



Special to the Guardian

Sacramento

The California Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) nominated Carl Oglesby as its vice presidential candidate over the strong objections of ~~Eldridge~~ Eldridge Cleaver, the party's presidential candidate.

Cleaver, who had urged that Yippie leader Jerry Rubin be selected as his running mate, branded the Oglesby nomination as part of a power play within PFP.

Some 80 delegates meeting here Aug. 24 in a special convention ~~selected Oglesby~~ nominated Oglesby and selected Peggy Terry of Chicago JOIN in case Oglesby ~~was not available~~ is not available to run.

as second choice

Rubin placed fourth in a field of six contestants for the vice-presidential nomination.

Most of the convention delegates were vehemently opposed to Rubin. One delegate summed up the mood when she said, in answer to a question about Rubin, "Well, he isn't political. Also he doesn't belong to PFP and he certainly wouldn't build it. His candidacy is just some of theatrical protest kind of thing."

Cleaver, who did not attend the special convention because he was on a speaking trip in Nebraska, told the Guardian later that, "There is a continuing struggle going on within PFP. This vice-presidential nomination is just a vehicle for that power struggle." He accused a "small minority of manipulators" of angering the PFP rank and file because they operate in a secretive manner and are trying to control the party. "But the rank and file likes the way that I move because I do it openly," he said.

He suggested that there would soon be a confrontation with those whom he termed manipulators.

Earlier Cleaver had strongly defended Rubin and sharply criticized the Radical Caucus because of its opposition to Rubin's nomination. In a speech in Marin City Aug. 22, Cleaver accused the Radical Caucus of exhibiting class bias toward Rubin "by calling him scum and looking down their noses at him."

He reiterated his contention that PFP should not lean to the right in an effort to win over disillusioned McCarthyites. "In the white community the cultural revolution is more to the left than the political revolution," Cleaver contended. He argued that this "cultural revolution," as represented by hippies, yippies and other drop-outs from white middle-class society, represented a potential left-leaning mass base for the PFP. "The cultural radicals are also less racist than the political radicals," he added.

Cleaver 2/2/2/2 588/26/68

Cleaver said that he wanted to encompass this cultural revolution within his campaign. Many of those who otherwise supported him, however, ~~appeared to disagree~~ expressed disagreement with these remarks.

Whether Cleaver himself will appear on the ballot in California is open to question. Calif. Secretary of State ~~announced~~ Frank Jordan announced that Cleaver's name would not be placed on the November 5 ballot because Cleaver is ineligible to be President as he is under 35 years of age. The PFP responded by retaining a lawyer and ~~vowing to take this ruling~~ vowed to challenge this ruling in the courts.

8/25/68

By Robert L. Allen
Guardain staff correspondent

Oakland, Calif.

Stokely Carmichael has re-emerged as a vocal black liberation spokesman.

After a months-long period of relative silence, Carmichael made appearance on the West Coast at "Free Huey" rallies in Marin City, Los Angeles and here, during which it became clear that he has moved easily from ~~the~~ SNCC, from which he was recently ousted, to the Black Panther Party. At these rallies Carmichael ~~also~~ reiterated and elaborated the line of thinking which he has developed over the past year.

Carmichael spoke only briefly of his break with SNCC in a press conf. here Aug. 22. Wearing the black leather jacket which has become an identifying feature of the Panthers, Carmichael said he still had the "greatest admiration" for SNCC and that, although he had some "political and ideological differences" with SNCC, he would never publicly attack the organization.

That night Carmichael spoke in Marin City and he spoke again here on Aug. 25. The content and style of delivery of both speeches ^{were} were virtually identical. Introduced by Eldridge Cleaver as "the functional Prime Minister of the Black Panther party," Carmichael spoke in a low-keyed ~~and unemotional~~ ^{but intense} voice. He was much like a teacher patiently lecturing to a group ^{of pupils he regarded as} of eager but somewhat dull ~~pupils.~~ pupils.

In Marin City he spoke to a ~~good~~ standing-room-only audience of nearly 1,000 jammed into a recreation center gym. In Oakland his audience of several thousand sat on the grass of what was once Defremery Park. The Panthers have renamed it the Bobby Hutton Memorial Park. Both crowds were about ~~one-fourth white to one-~~ ^{2/3} ~~third white.~~ black.

A comparison of these recent speeches with Carmichael's remarks here last February reveals ~~some~~ some interesting changes and developments. The February speech drew heavy criticism from Bay Area white radicals who said it smacked of racism and anti-socialism.

Whether the changes are due simply to the independent development of Carmichael's thinking or to the influence of the Panthers, can only be speculated.

There are two initial stages of the black struggle, Carmichael said in Marin City: entertainment and education. "Entertainment is the first stage of a struggle. In that period we have to tell ourselves how bad we are. We have to make fun of our oppressor just so that we can feel that we are psychologically prepared to ~~gi~~ fight. you know, at that time we had to jump up and say "We can get the honky, we can burn his cities down!" We had to act bad to convince ourselves, because prior to that time we weren't even acting bad."

Talking bad about honkies, however, is exactly what Carmichael did in his February speech. Evidently he thinks some black groups are still at this level.

In the earlier speech Carmichael laid heavy stress on the threat of genocide, as though to convince his hearers of its reality. By August, though, the possibility of genocide was one ~~aspect~~ of the assumptions of his remarks, not something which had to be proven.

Exactly who is defined as the enemy seems to be one of the matters which Carmichael has re-assessed. In February there was no doubt that the white man, the honky, was the enemy. "We are talking about a certain type of superiority complex that exists in the white man where-ever he is," he said then. "We have to recognize

CARMICHAEL 3/3/3/

who our major enemy is. The major enemy is not your brother,
flesh of your flesh and blood of your blood. The major enemy is
the honky and his institutions of racism..."
But in Marin City the ~~emphasis was placed~~ ^{enemy became the system and} its
upholders. "Black people in this country are fighting against
two evil systems: racism and capitalism, or imperialism. (In ~~his~~ the
recent Oakland speech, Carmichael was even more explicit. "The
government of the United States of America," he said, "is racist
and imperialist. Therefore, we are fighting the government of
the USA.")

Black people and the Panthers are antiracist, he contended
"That means they're out to destroy racism and racists. I don't
make thin definitions anymore about people and systems. A system
is upheld by people, and the people are responsible for that
system. So black people are out to destroy racists." This
is not black racism, he stressed, but simply a matter of surviving
the threat posed by white racism. ^{But depending on one's}
definition, as Carmichael suggests, ~~The line between a honky and a~~
~~racist, however, as Carmichael suggests, is a thin one.~~
a racist can become very thin.

In February Carmichael ruled out socialism as an alternative
because it did "not speak to the problem of racism." Now he ~~is~~ says
it is necessary to ^{move} "go beyond" socialism. "Our goal ~~is~~ a society
^{in Marin City} free of racism," he said. "Whether we will be able to have ~~a~~ society
free of racism with white people in it is a question which has
not yet been resolved."

"We need a society that is free of capitalism. There
are basically three economic systems in the world today: capitalism,
socialism or communism. Since we can't have capitalism, we need
either socialism or communism, clear.

"Now the question that is uppermost in our minds as

black people is whether or not inside a communist or socialist society you will automatically eliminate racism. I ~~used~~ tend to think that just because one has socialism or communism does not necessarily mean you get rid of racism. And so I tend to believe that black people will have to move beyond socialism and communism."

Carmichael went on to talk about revolution. "We are not in a revolution because a revolution only begins when you have seized power and begin to change the system," he stated. "For us black people, our revolution will never come about until we have seized some territory inside the U.S., blocked it off, are able to maintain it, hold it and say, 'This is our property, we will now divide it among all of the people that live here.' Then the revolution begins."

"We are beginning the stage ^{that} precedes the revolution. ^{told the Marin audience} That stage is called armed struggle." He ~~said~~ that picking up the gun, while necessary, was not in itself enough. "Once you are willing to kill for your people, then you begin to talk about revolution. With gun in hand and once you have an ideology which says you are fighting basically for the masses of our people, then you can begin to say you are revolutionary."

There can be no doubt, he continued, that revolutionary violence is absolutely essential to black liberation. This violence will move through three stages: attacking the symbols of oppression, attacking the tools of oppression and finally attacking the oppressor himself. Black people have mostly attacked the symbols of oppression such as stores, he said, but blacks are now beginning to move against the police who are the tools of oppression.

CARMICHAEL 5/5/5/5/5

He asserted that this step would require conscious armed struggle in the form of guerrilla warfare. This in turn, Carmichael said, demanded the full support of the masses of the people if the guerrillas are to survive.

In his February speech Carmichael seemed to discount the idea of any alliances with whites. Last week he chose largely to ignore the subject. Unlike the other black speakers, Carmichael was the only one to address the totality of his remarks ^(solely) to the blacks in his audiences. What little he had to say to the whites was almost a digression, made for the sake of appearances.

In Marin City he told his "white liberal" ^{listeners} ~~audience~~ that he would take them seriously when they begin seriously planning to ~~talking about the~~ appropriating the ~~land~~ property and land of the big capitalists. "This cannot be done by the white middle-class," Carmichael advised. "They must have behind them white workingclass people, armed and ready to seize that land. You're not going to get that land through talk. You get land with guns."

In Oakland he made a ^{passing but candid reference to} ~~passing reference~~ the Peace and Freedom party. "Now as we (blacks) move toward the step of seizing power there are a lot of political movements that we make. We have to make those political movements because they are at that time a political necessity. For example, the coalition with the Peace and Freedom party, to help get the publicity for brother Huey P. Newton and the freeing of Huey P. Newton, was a political necessity, and we have to try and understand those political necessities and work ~~with~~ with them within that given perspective."

At the close of his speech, Carmichale ~~took a pot~~^{critized}
~~shot at~~ cultural nationalists. He said that many cultural
nationalists think that blackness and black culture alone
are the answer. "We have to recognize that culture ~~is important~~
is important because culture is that which binds you together
as a cohesive force. Culture is necessary, but it is not
sufficient. We have to move on beyond culture.

"⁺oo many times people stop at the cultural level.
And the man wants us to stop at the cultural level, 'cause the
cultural level is no threat to his political or economic system."

This remark was ~~loudly~~ applauded by the ~~whites in the~~
~~many~~ ^{some} audience, ~~most~~ of whom were probably aware that clinging to
cultural nationalism is one of the prime accusations that the
Panthers have made against SNCC.

SANTA CRUZ 1/1/1/1 ALLEN 8/22/68

Special to the Guardian

Santa Cruz, Calif.

The University of California is being pressured to build an Afro-American College on its campus here. If constructed, it would be the first such college at a predominantly white university anywhere in the U.S.

A group of more than 100 black and white community people, calling themselves the Santa Cruz Black Liberation Movement, recently demanded that the university construct ^{the} a black-oriented college. Some 20 colleges are scheduled to be built on the Santa Cruz campus. Four have been completed, and the black liberation group is demanding that the seventh college be devoted to giving instruction "in the black experience" under the supervision of a black administration, and that it be named Malcolm X College.

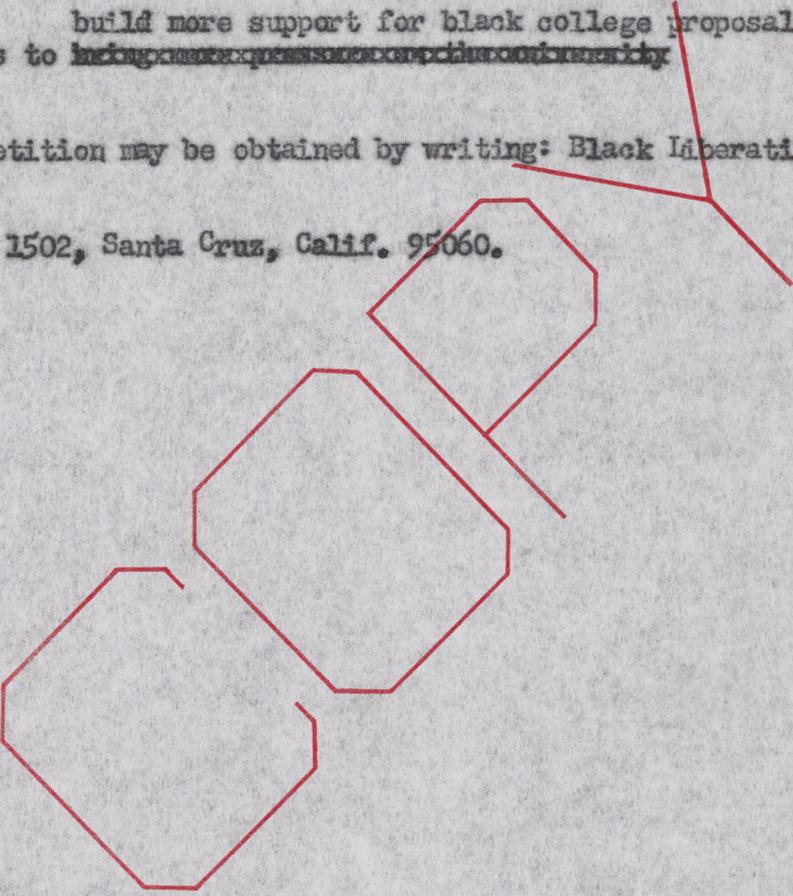
However, Bill Moore, a spokesman for the group, told the Guardian that the university has not yet responded to the demand.

Moore went on to state that his group has gained support

SANTA CRUZ 2/2/2/2

from local chapters of the NAACP, Peace and Freedom Party and the Black Panthers. The proposal has run into heavy opposition from the ~~local~~ TACT Committee, a local right-wing group.

Moore's group is circulating petitions among California residents to ~~build more support for black college proposal. Copies~~ build more support for black college proposal. Copies of the petition may be obtained by writing: Black Liberation Movement, P.O. Box 1502, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95060.

Three red hand-drawn octagons are arranged in a descending diagonal line from the middle of the page towards the bottom left. A red line starts from the top right corner of the page, points down and left towards the address, then turns right and points down and left towards the middle octagon.

THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT
P.O. Box 1502
SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA

AUGUST 18, 1968

Brothers & Sisters:

The University of California is in the process of erecting some twenty (20) colleges on their campus at Santa Cruz, Calif. To date four (4) are complete.

On the night of August 7th, 1968, The Black Liberation Movement of Santa Cruz answered the question white America has posed to Black People for a long time with a new reply - a revolutionary proposal which can be implemented now. That is:

1. The (seventh) 7th college built at UCSC - be Afro-American - instructing in the "Black Experience".
2. This college be architecturally designed by an Afro-American reflecting their heritage.
3. This college must be named Malcom X.
4. A forum room seating up to 250 people be open to the people, where the "Black Experience" will be expressed from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. covering the whole spectrum of the people of color: African, Latin, Asian. Here the finest minds and talents of The People of Color will be expressed.
6. The degrees awarded will be:
 1. Bachelor of Afro-American studies
 2. Masters of Afro-American studies
 3. Ph.D. of Afro-American studies
7. The instructors will be of the Black Experience.

The reason the proposals are revolutionary are:

- plus
426-3000
- A. It would be the first Afro-American College on a white campus anywhere in the world.
 - B. It would be received as an "act of good faith" if implemented as proposed and only as proposed. We ask no more, will accept no less.
 - C. There is absolutely no reason why it cannot be done.

However, we need the support of all the people: the support of Black people in the U.S. and throughout the world.

This support is needed in two ways from all the people: financial and written.

In short, we need any type of financial and/or public expression we can receive: Papers, periodicals, T.V., Radio, speeches, etc.

We will send our spokesmen anywhere to discuss, and speak on this subject at your convenience.

The Black Liberation Movement can be contacted by writing:

The Black Liberation Movement
P.O. Box 1502
Santa Cruz, California 95060

408 - 438-0384 - Bill Moore

"Yours in Freedom,"
The Black Liberation Movement

* AN INTERVIEW PLEASE

I wish to show proof, in the form of positive action, that I support non-violent projects that will give evidence to the black community that we are interested in them and are willing to accept their ideas on what is best for them. I support the proposal that the seventh college at the University of California at Santa Cruz will instruct "in the black experience" under the supervision of a black administration, and that the college shall be named the Malcolm X College.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>STREET ADDRESS</u>	<u>CITY</u>	<u>STATE</u>
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This petition is supported by a citizen's group that has no political affiliations.

WATSONVILLE

Register - Pajaronian

AND SUN

Watsonville, California, Thursday, August 8, 1968

16 Pages

No. 135

'Black-oriented' college proposed for UCSC campus

By NICK MILICH

A cheering crowd of more than 100 Negroes and whites last night drew up a plan they hope will help shatter racism in Santa Cruz County and possibly across the country.

Their plan centers on one demand: That the University of California at Santa Cruz build a "black-oriented" college and name it after Malcolm X, the assassinated Black Nationalist leader.

The planners — who were christened "non-violent guerrillas" — said such a plan, if advanced by black and white people together, could help wipe out racism and possibly save the non-violent civil rights movement.

The planners indicated that

such a college, nurtured by the University of California's prestige, could become a world center for black learning.

It would be a college run, they decided, by Negroes, but not just for the benefit of Negroes.

They agreed to prod those in authority to build such a college — and as soon as possible.

Speed in forming such a college is necessary, explained Black Liberation leader Bill Moore, who presented the plan to the group which met at Cabrillo College.

For, he warned, it's later than most white people think.

He charged that Negroes are still held in slavery today by subtle social and economic pressures.

But, he warned, a revolution will come and only humane action by whites can prevent the revolution from becoming a violent one.

Moore and Cabrillo College instructor Bradley Smith, a white man who recently returned from teaching in predominantly Negro Miles College in Alabama, were conducting a "community encounter" session sponsored by St. John The Baptist Episcopal Church of Capitola.

The subject: Non-violence. The conclusion: Non-violence is in trouble.

It's in trouble because it has failed utterly in the past, said Smith.

So far, democracy to black people has translated only into

400 years of political oppression, economic exploitation, social degradation and violence to Negroes on the part of whites, Moore maintained.

Attempts at a non-violent solution to this have gotten Negroes a few grumbling concessions but little else, Smith said.

The failure to do more was "not due to blacks but due to whites . . . the failings of white America in the face of black non-violence," Smith asserted.

Moore added that the non-violent campaign is striking an especially hollow note today in black ghettos in the face of what seems to be outright hypocrisy.

"In Vietnam you're killing women and children," he said. "The only non-violent man

you had was Christ and you put him on the cross."

He accused whites of lynching Negroes, molesting black children, assaulting black women.

In the midst of this, Moore sneered, whites ask Negroes to be non-violent. What this appears like to Negroes, he said, is that many whites who preach non-violence so piously are only trying to protect what they have.

He and Smith said the only solution to the racial problem is the exorcising of racism.

"Racism is a cancer," Moore said, "and if you don't catch a cancer soon enough, it's going to kill you."

"I don't want to kill you," he shouted, "and don't get the idea that I do. But I'm a human

being and I'm enslaved."

Those in the crowd, especially the Negroes, cheered, clapped and shouted, "Tell it like it is."

Whether or not racism exists in Santa Cruz County wasn't even worth questioning as far as Moore was concerned.

"If it wasn't here, I wouldn't be here," he said.

He admitted that black racism exists, too, but noting that whites control the country, he centered his attack on white racism.

"I don't think a white person can come through this society without that stuff trickling through his system someplace," Smith said.

Whites should first admit the existence of racism, then try to

Continued on Page 2, Col. 4

Racism

Continued from Page 1

eliminate racism, in themselves, in others and in institutions, he said.

The most important institutional target is the educational system, Moore said. Here, educators can take children who are "not infected with this disease (racism) and begin to build a new world.

"Education is our last hope." Which led Moore to challenge the crowd.

He pointed to a tape recorder and explained that he was taping the entire session. The tape, he said, will go to black communities throughout the country as a demonstration of how Santa Cruz County people feel about racism.

Then he proposed the college.

"Don't kid me, don't shuck me, don't jive me," he said. "If you don't want a school up there say no."

But the crowd wasn't about to say no.

They greeted the proposal with cheers, they formed a committee, they made preliminary plans and they agreed — with a couple of exceptions — that such an action must come soon.

Robert Kress, of Soquel, a San Jose City College teacher, was named to head a committee which will draw up a detailed plan of action.

Moore said such action could constitute a "non-violent shot" heard around the world.

The college won't do everything, he said, but "It's like a seed."

Friday, August 9, 1968

Santa Cruz Sentinel

'Black-Oriented' College Surprises UCSC Officials

Published reports that a "black-oriented" college should be established at UCSC came as news to university officials.

Gurden Mooser, assistant chancellor for university relations, said today that neither Chancellor Dean E. McHenry nor other key-top level officials have been approached by proponents of the idea.

Mooser declined further comment.

The proposal was advanced Wednesday night during a meeting of some 100 persons, white and Negro, at Cabrillo College. The meeting was sponsored by St. John the Baptist Episcopal Church of Capitola.

It was suggested by William Moore, identified as a Black Liberation leader, who warned

that only "humane action" by the white society can prevent the Negro revolution from becoming violent.

He told his audience that Negroes are still enslaved by subtle social and economic pressures. He added that to many black persons, democracy means only 400 years of political oppression, economic exploitation, social degradation and violence.

The new college could be named for Malcolm X, the assassinated Black Nationalist leader, Moore suggested.

Robert Kress of Soquel, who teaches at San Jose City College, was named to head a committee to work for establishment of the college.

an offshoot of the JBS

**ARE HATE AND VIOLENCE BEING SPAWNED IN SANTA
CRUZ UNDER THE GUISE OF "RACIAL HARMONY & CIVIL
RIGHTS"?**

The local TACT Committee chapters of Santa Cruz, San Lorenzo Valley, Scotts Valley, Soquel, Capitola, Aptos, and Watsonville will present the program

"ANARCHY U.S.A."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14 AT 8:00 P.M.

CABRILLO COLLEGE FORUM BLDG. ROOM 456

The purpose of the program is to reveal the ultimate goal of those who preach that "whitey" suppresses the Negro and to question the bold assertion that the so-called Negro revolution springs from this suppression!

ANARCHY U.S.A. may also help answer how Black Liberation leaders can speak of the need for "humane action" to prevent the "Negro revolution" from becoming violent—while in the same breath they call for the establishment of a "black-oriented" college in Santa Cruz carrying the name of Malcolm X College—when in fact the X means that the name holder has seriously maimed or killed a white person! One must wonder what Black Liberation leaders can mean by their call for "humane action"?

The public is invited to see this program and to come to understand why the Negro is being told he is still enslaved in America.

SANTA CRUZ SENTINEL 8-13-68

San Francisco

Another instance of Mexico deporting Americans en route to Cuba occurred when 10 law students and two attorneys were jailed for four ~~six~~ days in Mexico City and then ~~released~~ put ~~back~~ on planes back to the U.S.

The group was arrested on the night of Aug. 12 and not released until Aug. 17 when all of its members were deported to various points in the U.S.

At a press conference at the Hastings law school here Aug. 20, eight of the students reported that they were going to Cuba for a brief tour of that country and a study of its legal system. The tour had been arranged with Cuban government officials, ^{although} ~~but~~ the students were to pay their own fare to that country. Several members of the group also belong to the National Lawyers Guild, but the Guild was not involved with the tour.

The students linked their experience to the recent deportation of three Black Panthers from Mexico (Guardian, Aug. 24) who also were bound for Cuba.

In a statement, the students declared that such deportations "took place because the ~~american~~ Mexican government is being pressured by American intelligence agencies who do not want American students visiting Cuba, regardless of what the courts declare the law and Constitution to be."

also said,
"Our experience," they ~~state~~ "is only one example of a general wave of repression within Mexico preceding the Olympic Games. Thirty-two students have recently been killed in conflicts with the police."

~~It was the fact that~~ while in Mexico City they watched a massive demonstration by Mexican students. ~~that~~ According to Jennie Rhine, a spokesman for the group, this fact was used by the Mexican government ~~as~~ as "a pretext to threaten us with criminal charges and, when the charges could not possibly be brought, to deport us as suspicious and undesirable."

In jail the students were intimidated, harassed, threatened and, she said, forced to pose "for a staged photograph holding a student placard in Spanish that none in the picture could read." They were allowed to make one call to the U.S. Embassy, she continued, but it did nothing to help them.

Panthers 1/1/1/1

8/20/68

San Francisco

Black Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver confirmed ~~here~~ that a deep rift exists between his organization and SNCC.

In an interview here with the Guardian Cleaver said that the six-month-old alliance between the two groups was "definitely off." He attributed the ~~immediate~~ immediate cause of the split to SNCC's effort to "torpedo" a Panther move to bring its call for a UN-supervised black plebiscite before the United Nations and secure NGO status for the Panther organization. Referring to the resulting near violence which erupted between the two black organizations, Cleaver stated that ~~Referring to SNCC members, Cleaver stated that~~ "The ~~feeling at that time was that a few of them should~~ feeling at that time was that a few of them (SNCC members) should have paid for their treachery with their lives."

~~In~~ discussing information contained in an article by Julius Lester appearing in this issue of the Guardian, Cleaver contended that the root causes of the break could be traced ~~to SNCC~~ on one hand to a contradiction which has ensnared SNCC and, on the other, to SNCC's problems with Stokely Carmichael. At one time SNCC was able to mobilize large numbers of people in the South, Cleaver asserted, whereas the Panthers have been "dealing with what we consider to be the primary focal point of the black liberation struggle: the large urban ghettos in the North." SNCC was "nonfunctional" in that area, he said. "The best they could do was to go around and exhort people and project an analysis which people, by and large, had already absorbed."

Cleaver argued that SNCC has "played a valid role historically, but we also recognize that the task of our day is to organize people as opposed to awakening them. SNCC has foundered and didd because it has been unable ~~to~~ to make the transformation from a movement to an organization."

This is the contradiction that has destroyed SNCC."

Last summer ~~Rap~~ Carmichael and Rap Brown visited the West Coast and met with the Panthers, Cleaver continued. "It was very clear to me that Stokely and Rap were deeply influenced by Huey Newton and what Huey had to say." Commenting specifically on Carmichael, Cleaver said "I noticed a qualitative change in his speeches after he had been exposed to Huey P. Newton."

Later Carmichael visited Cuba, and there, according to Cleaver, he spoke about "an upsurge in the use of revolutionary violence. He was not referring to SNCC. What Stokely had in mind was the Black Panther Party and similar groups around the country." Cleaver stated that upon Carmichael's return, "he met the hostilities of the State Dept., LBJ and the Central Comm. of SNCC." The SNCC people were angry, he continued, because Carmichael "hadn't informed them in advance of what he was going to say." SNCC was fearful that the government might crack down on the organization as a result of Carmichael's statements, Cleaver contended. He quoted a SNCC staff member as having told him that "SNCC was more concerned with its own survival than it was about the needs and the tasks of the liberation struggle."

Meanwhile, Carmichael was drafted as the Panther Prime Minister "because we felt that he had an affinity for the positions that the Black Panther Party might take." In fact, within SNCC it was Carmichael who first developed the idea of a ~~x~~ close relation^{ship} between the two groups, said Cleaver.

But, he added, and ~~an~~ anti-Carmichael faction, centered around James Forman, had developed in SNCC. This faction argued, he said, that some kind of control must be exercised over Carmichael. When Carmichael returned from his trip abroad a special Central Committee ~~meeting~~ meeting was called. "The purpose of that meeting was to censure and discipline Stokely Carmichael for the trip that he had made and for the statements he

Panthers 3/3/3/3

had made," Cleaver said. Carmichael refused to attend the meeting.

When Carmichael moved to build a closer relationship with the Panthers, Cleaver stated, this presented a crisis for the anti-Carmichael faction. Either they must "go beyond Carmichael in pursuing the Panthers or denounce them as another of Carmichael's excesses." The ~~former~~ ^{latter} course presented serious political difficulties, so the ~~latter~~ ^{former} was chosen, he said. These members of SNCC "thought they were going to co-opt the Black Panther Party," Cleaver asserted. "They thought that the party was full of ignorant niggers or a gang of bandits and they thought they could come in and provide leadership and guide us as ~~they~~ they saw fit."

Insert
The original idea was for a full merger of the two groups, not simply an alliance, Cleaver maintained, "but when SNCC found out that it was not going to be able to control the Panthers they began to back away."

obviously stressed
Under these circumstances, why did the Panthers accept an alliance with SNCC? Cleaver ^{replied:} ~~answered candidly~~. "We recognized that they had invested in them a lot of the heritage of the black liberation struggle," he said, and "we felt that we would receive a form of ~~endorsement~~ endorsement or a certification by having the brothers in SNCC accept positions" in the Panthers.

Main City
~~BROWN~~ Brown, Forman and Carmichael all accepted such positions, but the first two have now resigned. What about Carmichael? Cleaver declined to answer this, but he said that he felt sure that Carmichael himself would answer the question ~~at~~ the next time he makes "a major public speech." Carmichael ^{was} ~~is~~ scheduled to speak in the Bay Area on Aug. 22 ⁱⁿ and again at a rally in Oakland on Aug. 25.

R. L. A.

Tactical 1/1/1/1/1/1 ALLEN 8/14/68

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

That police are frequently sadistic and brutal is an unchallenged fact in any black community. Indeed police brutality is a part of the normal ~~xx~~ life experiences of large numbers of black people.

In the past year the fact of police brutality has been brought home to many whites: students, hippies, demonstrators, innocent bystanders. In cities from New York to San Francisco whites have now experienced the casual but heavy-handed use of police clubs and mace. White faces are smashed with the same unprovoked action used to beat down blacks.

The initial reaction ^{in the white movement} to this brutality was sudden fear of some kind of general repression. ~~Repression~~ became a central theme in discussions and articles.

But the best defense is a spirited attack, and this tactic is now being tried against the San Francisco police.

~~ALLEN~~

BARB BARN

POLICE ~~2/2/2/2~~ 2/2/2/2

Led by a young movement lawyer, Terence Hallinan, this assault is aimed at one of the most hated instruments of the police establishment: the elite tactical force.

It was the tactical force which jumped antiwar ~~demonstrations~~ ~~activists~~ ^{here} demonstrating against Secretary of State Dean Rusk last January. In the Spring this same unit was deployed against students at San Francisco State College and most recently it was used in the so-called riots in Haight-Ashbury. Not only have activists of various stripes been victimized, but a group of teenagers in the Mission District were pistol-whipped July 30 by four drunken, off-duty members of the tactical squad.

The revelation of this incident prompted the suspension of two of the cops and promises of an investigation, but more importantly it spurred an effort to have the elite unit disbanded. Some 200 people, mostly Black Panthers and hippies but also many ordinary citizens, jammed a Police Commission hearing Aug. 12 to demand abolition of the squad.

Attorney Hallinan thinks the success of this effort can be instructive to activists in ~~many~~ other cities burdened with tactical units. "I think that if we knock them off here then that's the basis for doing it everywhere," Hallinan told the Guardian.

At present tactical police squads are also operating in Detroit (of Algiers Motel infamy), Chicago and New York (all too familiar to Harlemites and Lower Eastsiders).

The creation of tactical squads represents an effort to curb demonstrations and urban unrest. ~~They are~~ Hallinan described the members of such units as "almost all Marine Corps veterans who get out early by signing up to serve a hitch in the police department. They get three months training in riot control with the National Guard, and they drill one day a week in military drill. They receive four hours a week of training in judo, karate and use of the baton."

"What makes the tactical squads unique," he continued, "is that they do nothing except handle riots and disperse crowds. They have no contact either with the police department or with the people they ~~are~~ are supposed to be serving and protecting."

It is this detached, semi-autonomous character of the San Francisco tactical force which has laid the basis of its possible downfall. The unit was set up last November shortly after Mayor Alioto was elected to office. General Order No. 105, establishing the elite unit, stated that one of its specific priorities was to "constitute a mobile striking force for the control of major incidents and civil disturbance."

squad

The ~~force~~ has indeed been a "mobile striking force," terrorizing a not insubstantial part of the population. Even middle-class whites, who normally regard the police as friends, are fearful of a unit which ~~was~~ ^{a writer} reporter in the ~~Examiner~~ Examiner & Chronicle Aug. 4 described as a "group of men operating in a fringe zone between conventional police and World War III shock troops."

The 34 men (one is a Negro) of the tactical unit are divided into four squads and patrol in unmarked cars. They blanket "high crime areas" (read: black and hippie districts) and can converge quickly on any part of the city.

But when members of the squad beat up a bunch of non-political, non-hippie white teenagers, they overstepped what few restrictions there were on their behaviour.

"These guys have specialized in beating hippies," contended Hallinan. "People have tolerated that and refused to do anything about it now for months. It wasn't until they went out and beat ~~thix~~ these white working class kids that the city responded."

But exactly how the city chooses to respond is problematical for Hallinan and his supporters. Within the city government and police establishment there is a split over how to deal with "civil

POLICE 5/5/5/5/5

disturbance." An alternative approach exists in the Police Intelligence Unit. According to Hallinan, this unit is "supposed to do community work and takes steps to prevent troubles, whereas the tactical squad approach is to run in there and beat the shit out of everybody."

City Supervisor Terry Francois, ~~xxxxxx~~ black liberal, wants to improve the efficiency of the intelligence unit by adding more Negro officers who will be able to keep tabs on ghetto unrest and promote the police department's image in the black community. But the head of the unit, Inspector Thomas Fitzpatrick, is violently opposed to "subversives" and claims that the minority group officers thus far assigned to him have all found better jobs elsewhere in the department.

Francois even called for the resignation of conservative police chief Thomas Cahill. He thinks Cahill is hopelessly inefficient is likely to inadvertently plunge San F^Rancisco into a race riot. He wants the chief replaced by a more liberal man.

Meanwhile, Mayor Alioto seems to be wavering. He sometimes makes noises about better "community relations" but he is always quick to defend his pet project, the tactical squad. "I never heard of any charges substantiating police brutality," is typical of Alioto's pronouncements.

Members of the tactical force have ^{beaten} ~~allegedly~~ attacked Hallinan, newsmen and even other plainclothes policemen. At a press conf. Aug. 19 a group of 50 ghetto youths strongly denounced the tactical squad and added their weight to the move to have the elite unit abolished.

~~Also~~
Already, across the bay in Oakland, a police community relations office was recently set up on East 14th St. The black policeman who mans the office described his job this way: "We're relaxed. We want people to trust us."

POLICE 6/6/6/6/6

Sentiment for change, however, is strong. Even one of the three members of the Police Commission is said to favor disbanding the tactical force as ~~an~~ a separate unit.

If the tactical squad is ~~disband~~ dissolved it will probably be replaced by a beefed-up intelligence unit. What this will amount to, to use Ken Cloke's ~~idom~~ idiom, is replacing the hangman with a priest. That is, replacing drunken sadists with liberal-fronting spies.

These are the alternatives offered within the police establishment. The problem is to get around both.

#

August 8, 1968

Dear Jack,

Here's our suggestion for a story on the West Coast office. Mail hasn't yet been delivered today so I haven't gotten Cleaver program from David Welsh who is editing it. Will send it as soon as we get it, and certainly by deadline. Either Jim Fight or Don Newton will send in something on the IA shoot-out. Stokely is scheduled to speak in Oakland on Sunday. Will call in three or four takes Monday afternoon (NY time).

Pam would like to receive copies of promotional and advertising material being sent out from New York. We may be able to modify some of it for use here. Also send a bunch of advertising rate cards.

You might insert in the second paragraph of the PFP story that total attendance at the two conventions was well over 2,100.

Telephone to be installed Friday afternoon. Will call you Friday night (NY time).

8/8/68

Good news for West Coast readers! The Guardian has ^{re-opened} opened
a full-time news bureau in San Francisco.

Guardian staffers Robert L. Allen and Pamela Allen have
(from New York,
been transferred to the Coast to operate the combine news and business
office.

Not only will more West Coast news receive coverage and
analysis in the pages of the Guardian, but plans are being made for
eliminating the delay experienced by West Coast readers in getting
their copies of the paper. For example, one of the possibilities
being investigated involves ~~simultaneous~~ simultaneous printing of the
Guardian in New York and San Francisco. This would mean that West
Coast readers would receive the paper at the same time as subscribers
on the Eastern seaboard.

Eventually it is hoped that a West Coast edition of the
Guardian could be published in which several pages would be written
and laid out by the San Francisco staff.

In the meantime the new office will have much to keep it
busy. "We plan to do more than simply cover political events," Bob
~~He also plans to cover a number of political events.~~
told us. "We expect to do a number of feature articles and we hope

WEST COAST 2/2/2/2/

to find writers who are familiar with the West Coast theater and arts scene."

Pam, who is handling promotion and circulation, talked about other ~~new~~ plans. "We found in New York that the Guardian can play a use-

ful role and attract new readers by sponsoring political ~~events~~ ^{activities} ~~for~~

One of the things we want to do in San Francisco is to organize ^{political} events,

such as an evening of Cuban films, for example, or maybe a forum on

male chauvinism in the movement. I think a debate on the ^{merits} ~~importance~~

of black capitalism would also attract a lot of interest."

Bob and Pam will be working with special correspondent Karen Wald, who will continue to cover the ^{murder} trial of Black Panther Huey P.

Newton, and Margaret Driggs, who previously handled Guardian business in ~~San Francisco~~ ^{Northern California} but is now retiring.

While the focus of news coverage for the moment will be Northern California, the new West Coast office is actively seeking special correspondents, and persons willing to help with promotion, from Washington through New Mexico. Anyone with skills to offer should contact the Guardian at 3740 25th Street #101, San Francisco, Calif. 94110 (Phone: 415 000-0000).

WEST COAST 3/3/3/3

Pam and Bob both were involved in the ~~radical~~ movement before they joined the Guardian. Pam, who has been with the Guardian ~~last~~ for the ~~past~~ eight months, participated in the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964 and later organized support activities for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Minnesota, where she attended Carleton College. For the past year she has been an organizer in the women's liberation movement in New York.

Bob, known to Guardian readers for the past year and a half, graduated from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga., and was involved in civil rights activity there in the early 60s. He refused military induction in 1966 and helped organize one of the first draft resistance groups, Afro-Americans for Survival. He later received a master's degree in sociology from the New School for Social Research in New York and is currently working on a book on the black liberation movement.

Pam and Bob were married in 1965. Their one capitalist venture, a bookshop near City College of New York, was a total failure. So it's obvious that financial solvency of the West Coast office will depend on help from dedicated Guardian readers and supporters.

WEST COAST 4/4/4/4/4

Contributions are welcome, but readers should also be aware
that the long-range growth of the Guardian requires a sustained in-
crease in subscriptions and newsstand circulation. ^{Immediate} ~~Some~~ increases
are needed to justify and offset the costs of the West Coast bureau
and make possible other improvements and added expansion.

Readers interested in working on promotion-circulation
should contact Pam as soon as possible.

#

PFP Convention 1/1/1/1/1 ALLEN

8/7/68

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

The ^{presidential} nomination victory of Eldridge Cleaver at the dual conventions of California's Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) represents a halting shift to the left for a party beset by many problems.

At simultaneous conventions held here and in Los Angeles

Aug. 3 Cleaver won nearly 62% of the state delegation's 70-plus ^{minister of information of the party,} members, despite strong opposition by supporters of comedian-activist Dick Gregory.

Both men must now carry their campaigns to the national PFP convention which is scheduled for Aug. 17-18 in Ann Arbor, Mich.

Two conventions were held in California to allow widest possible participation by all PFP registrants. A Cleaver victory at the San Francisco convention could have been safely forecast days in advance. His supporters were everywhere in evidence and obviously well-organized.

PPP Convention 1/11/1/1 ALLEN

At the convention itself the Cleaver caucus was larger than the combined strength of the ~~Gregory~~ Gregory caucus and the only other convention caucus, a group demanding an uncommitted delegation to the national convention.

In Los Angeles Cleaver supporters ran into stiffer opposition. Not only was there a Gregory caucus but also groups calling for a "credible candidate" and an uncommitted delegation. Both of these swung to Gregory by convention time.

The basic argument in favor of Gregory was that he could become a broad-based unifier of the peace and freedom movement. He is clearly committed to both black liberation and opposition to the Vietnam war, say his supporters, while at the same time he is not pledged to any particular radical group, ideology or strategy. Gregory also possessed the supposed advantage of appealing to PPP liberals and disenchanted Democrats and McCarthyites. PPP has suffered heavy inroads into its ranks as a result of the McCarthy campaign and it's anxiously looking around for some way
lure
to ~~xxx~~ this group back into the fold.

INSERT A

The Cleaver forces came down hard on Gregory. "Compare Gregory," they said in a leaflet distributed here, "who for all his sincerity is not

PPF CONVENTION INSERT A

In a pre-convention rally Aug. 2, Gregory told ~~his~~ supporters that they were in the midst of a "revolution of right against wrong." He appealed to the youthful audience to use its economic power in a ~~general~~ boycott of consumer goods designed to bring pressure for an end to the war.

PTF Convention ~~2/2/2/2/2~~ 3/3/3/3/3

committed to building grass-roots organization, and who has no ~~program~~ concrete, consistent program of any sort, let alone a radical program."

Gregory is a moralist and an individualist, contended the Cleaver people,

this may be good in itself, it doesn't make for building a and while ~~these are good in themselves~~

radical political movement.

(and persuasive)
In an eloquent statement, Prof. Richard Lichtman, a Cleaver supporter, told the assembled delegates ^(here) that his candidate represented organized political opposition to the system rather than mere personal willingness to undergo suffering. Further, he added, "the person we want to present as a candidate is not the one who represents the broadest base but the one who represents the deepest truth. From the deepest truth the broadest base will follow."

just
Cleaver himself spoke to his supporters prior to the convention sessions and reassured them that he is committed to the coalition between PTF and the Black Panthers and to building the radical movement throughout the U.S.

Cleaver's program (see Liberation Forum, p. x) calls for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and throughout the world, and the conversion of defense industries to peacetime production. His

PPF Convention 4/4/4/4/4

program also demands ~~economic and~~ self-determination for blacks, chicanos and American Indians, and the disarming and disbanding of police forces "of the present type."

It is Cleavers position as a leader of a militant and radical black group, however, rather than the specific details of his program, which lends significance to his candidacy. While all PPFers avow their support for black liberation, there is still some hesitancy to fully endorse a group like the Panthers. Indeed, one of the arguments put forward for Gregory was that he was black but less radical and more respectable than ~~Gregory~~ "ex-con" Cleaver.

The endorsement of Cleaver, therefore, represents a clear break with liberal, media-oriented politics.

Of course, the basic question underlying all this activity is why ~~PPF~~ radicals, most of whom believe that structural change cannot be achieved by electoral means, are involved in electoral politics.

The answer one gets is that "we're using the electoral arena to build a movement for radical change." An old story.

In practice the situation seems to work out differently for the Panthers and the PPF. There can be little doubt that the electoral

PPF Convention 5/5/5/5

campaigns the Panthers have been running have served to educate many people as to what the Panthers are all about, and at the same time they have generated badly-needed publicity for an organization which is under constant attack from the authorities. While engaged in electioneering the Panthers have been successful in doing what PFP claims to be about: community organizing. Also, as a unified group, at least to the eye of an outside observer, the Panthers haven't been troubled by the sectarian bickering which has crippled PFP.

Within Northern California PFP, for example, there are three radical factions contending for power. There are the Independent Socialist Clubs (ISC), Progressive Labor Party (PL) and a group calling itself the Radical Caucus. PL and the radical group both want a "radical" presidential campaign whereas ISC wants a ~~thorough~~ "broad-based" campaign. PL has made a stab at community organizing around the issue of ~~rent~~ rent control, but it is attacked by the others for doing so in a "reformist" manner and taking over the PFP county organization.

While these groups may say that they're not fighting each other, the fact is that they are, and the tendency is to dissipate much energy in sectarian battles. Fortunately, a ~~strong~~ firm hand by chairman James

PFP Convention 6/6/6/6/6

Vann prevented any prolonged fights from erupting on the convention floor.

As to whether electoral politics can be employed to mobilize radicalize and ~~organize~~ middle-class whites -- the answer as evidenced so far by PFP appears discouraging. Radicals are drawn from other work into PFP in the hope that they can "radicalize" an amorphous electoral organization with, at best, a ~~is~~ doubtful constituency. Doubtful because this is McCarthy country. As one veteran PFP activist ~~explains~~ explained: "Many people registered PFP to express opposition to the war, not because they were disillusioned with the Democrats or Republicans. So when McCarthy came along there was a mass exodus from Peace and Freedom."

In a word, the liberal whites who came into the organization simply remained liberals and drifted out again when a liberal Democrat appeared on the horizon.

Some PFPers hope to recoup this loss when McCarthy is defeated at the Chicago convention. ~~But~~ At this point, however, it is not at all certain that a McCarthy defeat would automatically work to ~~the advantage of PFP.~~ the advantage of PFP. ~~constructive~~

California PFP was organized as a radical alternative to the two-party system. But to speak of a radical alternative within a ~~radically enhanced~~ ~~two-party~~ system is in itself a multi-faceted

PPF Convention 7/7/7/7/7

contradiction. And it is this ~~network~~ web of contradiction which, at least for the time being, has ensnared PPF.

#

8/7/68

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

A move to recall California Governor Ronald Reagan apparently failed earlier this month. Organized by dissident liberal groups, the move was designed to embarrass Reagan on the eve of the Republican Convention by making a massive show of his unpopularity at home. However, the six-month campaign produced only 450,000 of 780,000 required signatures.

The press here interpreted the failure as a boost to Reagan's image. The Governor himself commented, "I've had faith in the common sense of the people of California, and that faith is vindicated."

Organizers of the recall movement, however, say the campaign will go on. They contend that the California Constitution guarantees an additional 40 days in which the necessary additional signatures may be filed. State officials disagree, and the whole matter may soon be thrown into the courts for settlement.