CARTON 2:1 THE GUARDIAN WEST COAST BUREAU, ARTICLES 1968

2017/193

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

San Francsico State College has been shut down for the second time in a month as the result of a student ~~xxxxxxx~~ strike which has grown to historic proportions. The closing of the school represents another victory for striking students led by the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front.

Meanwhile, militant student actions hit San Francisco's junior college and the College of San Mateo. At the former several hundred ~~xx~~ black and brown students angrily stalked out of convocation Dec. 11 and smashed windows on the campus. The militants were angry because they said that the college president had promised them an all-day meeting to discuss the issues raised by the S.F. State strike. As it turned out, however, the meeting was limited to two hours.

Down the peninsula at San Mateo college black and brown students forced the school to close ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ on Dec. 13. The militants called for a student strike and ~~xx~~ staged a rally which attracted up to 2,000 students. The rally was followed by a march which ended with windows being shattered in five campus buildings.

The Closing of S.F. State amount to a turnabout for acting president S. I. Hayakawa. He had planned to keep the school open into the Christmas holidays to make up for classroom time lost because of the strike. However, mounting pressure forced Hayakawa to reverse himself and instead close the school a week early on Dec. 14. He had only himself to blame for this development.

Hayakawa is a "hard-liner" who has turned State into an armed camp. His tactics -- bringing hundreds of police on campus, including the notorious Tactical Squad, who in turn beat and arrested large numbers

of students, teachers and community leaders -- succeeded in polarizing the campus, and indeed the city itself, in manner the strike alone could not have. The reaction to these tactics along with the continuing and escalating pressure brought by the strikers themselves necessitated that the school be shut down.

Item: On Dec. 6 Hayakawa made a thinly veiled attempt to split the BSU from TWLF by making a few concessions to the blacks. The strikers immediately rejected this offer and instead later set six preconditions which they said must be met before they would discuss "implementing their demands. The conditions included removal of all police from the campus, amnesty for all those arrested and quashing of any warrants still outstanding, and closisng of the institution during the discussion period between the students and the "Board of Trustees or their representatives."

Item: The S.F. State chapter of the American Federation of Teachers, representing 250 faculty members, voted to seek strike sanction from the S.F. Central Labor Council. They came up with a list of six demands of their own, one of which included the 15 student demands. ~~The labor council, however, at the behest of Mayor Joseph Alioto, proposed mediation int e~~ The labor council, however, at the behest of Mayor Joseph Alioto, proposed mediation of the dispute, although it did reluctantly grant a conditional strike sanction. The teachers then called for the school to be closed down to facilitate resolution of the crisis, and they announced that they intended to go on strike Dec. 16 anyhow.

Item: A statewide faculty group, the Association of California State College Professors, urged its members at S.F. State to close the school by refusing to teach. The AFT and the statewide group together represent nearly half of the full-time faculty members at the school. The statewide group also called upon its chapters at the other 18 state colleges to do all they can to support the closing

of S.F. State. That includes closing other campuses in the state college system if necessary, explained Dr. Ross Keon, executive secretary of the organization.

Item: The S.F. State Alumni Association voted Dec. 7 to table "until the year 3000" a vote of confidence in Hayakawa. The vote represented a victory for alumni who opposed Hayakawa's policy of police repression. Hayakawa was also having trouble with his own ethnic group. A meeting of Japanese-Americans gave strong support to a speaker who attacked the acting president's efforts to keep the shhool open despite the strike and mounting police violence.

Item: The influential Academic Senate, which represents the whole faculty, also began making threatening noises. First it overwhelmingly voted in ~~xf~~ favor of a resolution ordering a speeded-up search for ~~a~~ permanent president to succeed ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to Hayakawa. At the same time it condemned Hayakawa's "policy of confrontation" with students and said that it ~~xxxx~~ "can only lead to further violence with inevitable fatalities."

Next the Senate proposed that student-faculty disciplinary courts replace the "emergency" disciplinary machinery set up by Hayakawa when he took office. Hayakawa yielded to this request and he also bowed to pressure from the Academic Senate and temporarily rescinded the suspensions of student strikers.

Item: The strikers ~~xxxx~~ themselves had called for sympathy strikes at other state colleges throughout California. The student ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ demonstrations at the City College of San Francisco and the College of San Mateo were partly in response to this call.

Furthemore, the strikers had made plans to mobilize hundreds of high school students, who began their Christmas break Dec. 16, and bring them possibly to the campus.

It was the possibility that these young reinforcements might show up in large numbers which was given as the official reason for closing the college a week ~~xxxxx~~ early. "The safety and welfare of the young people who might be attracted to our campus during this period is of grave concern to the administration and faculty of the college," Hayakawa said as bloodied and bruised State students listened ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ incredulously.

The school will re-open Jan. 6. In the interim mediation sessions will be held aimed at coming up with a formula for ending the strike. The probable nature of that formula can be anticipated simply from looking at the list of those invited to attend the sessions. The list includes city and state officials, labor leaders, business executives, legislators, newspaper and television executives. It does not include any students.

~~Xxxxxxx~~ Undoubtedly an effort will be made to put a lid on faculty militancy and then to drive a wedge between militant and moderate students. But it is far from certain that this effort will be successful. The students have demonstrated their ability to run an effective strike, and their leaders have declared that the next three weeks will be spent in intensive educational campaigns designed to enlist community support, particularly among black and other non-white groups.

Meanwhile, Black Panther George Murray, whose first suspension (he was later reinstated and then again suspended by Hayakawa) triggered the S.F. State strike Nov. 6, has been ordered to appear in court Jan. 8 to show cause why he should not be sent to ~~xxxxx~~ jail for six months. Murray had been given a six-month suspended sentence and placed on one year probation last March in the aftermath of a fracas between black students and the staff of the S.F. State newspaper, the Gater. A muncipal court judge is now considering revoking the probation on the grounds that Murray participated in "illegal activity" during the current student strike.

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12/3/69

Panther Shoot-out Trial Opens

The first of the trials growing out of an April 6 gun battle between Black Panthers and Oakland police got under way in Alameda county Superior Court yesterday.

Charles R. Garry, attorney for Warren Wells, 21, asked for a postponement of the trial, but was overruled by Superior Judge Redmond C. Staats Jr.

Wells was one of six Panthers — among them, Eldridge Cleaver, fugitive Panther leader — who were arrested after a shootout in which two policemen were injured and Bobby Hutton, a Panther, was killed.

The six Panthers, accused of assault with intent to commit murder and assault with deadly weapons on police officers, are to be tried separately.

Attorney Garry argued in his motion for continuance that a fair trial would be impossible because of the public requests by San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto for a Grand Jury investigation of the Panthers.

Garry also said that Wells' rights had been further jeopardized when San Francisco Police Chief Thomas J. Cahill called the Panthers "bandits."

In denying the request for a continuance, Judge Staats described the Panthers as a militant organization that "just like the Birchers will always get publicity."

Judge Staats said "the case would have to be continued into perpetuity" if he were to accept Garry's arguments.

Garry then launched an attack on the jury selection system in Oakland on a motion to quash the Grand Jury indictment.

SAN FRANCISCO • OAKLAND • WALNUT CREEK • PALO A

PANTHERS 1/1/1/1

Willie Lee Brent sits in the San Francisco County jail while outside friends scurry about trying to raise bail money and find him a lawyer.

Brent is the accused triggerman in the Nov. 19 shoot-out between Black Panthers and police. Three policemen were wounded in the incident. The shooting followed the xxxx robbery of a local service station. Brent and two other Panthers have been charged with the xxxxxxx daylight robbery. In addition Brent has been charged with three counts of assault with intent to commit murder.

Five other Panthers who were in the back of the van truck used in the alleged robbery xxxx were released.

The shoot-out apparently precipitated a change in Panther policy. In the past the Panthers xx have steadfastly defended any of their members who ran afoul of the law. But in Brent's case Panther leaders xxxxxxx variously accused him of being a police agent, of having been under the influence of drugs or of having gone temporarily insane at the time of the shooting. A local newspaper quoted Eldridge Cleaver, the Panther's minister of information, as saying that he was "suspicious of Brent from the time he joined the party."

Friends of Brent contend that he was none of the things with which he has been charged by the Panthers. They have set up a defense committee (3011 Shattuck, Berkeley) to raise money for legal expenses and bail. Bail has been set at $62,500. The defense committee finds itself in a very touchy situation, though, since most of the people active in it also consider themselves to be friends of the Black panther party.

Brent, who is 37, joined the Panthers about a year ago. He soon xxxxxx was made captain of East Oakland, one of the largest districts in the Panther organization. " He had a hell of a lot of responsibility for a man that was suspected of being a provocateur," said Cathy Gresher, a spokesman for the defense committee. She pointed out that Brent also

regularly handled large sums of money belonging to the Panthers, and that if he had wanted to take money he had easy enough access to it. Yet he has never been accused of pilfering Panther funds, she added.

The fact that Brent is charged with shooting three police officers cast doubt on the allegation that he was also an agent planted by the police. Cleaver himself admitted as much in an interview. "I don't believe the police would go so far in any plot as to hurt themselves," he said.

Persons intimately acquainted with Brent argue that he was an intelligent and stable individual who would not have engaged in the kind of suicidal behaviour with which he is charged.

Brent himself is not saying much, except that he is not guilty of any of the charges leveled against him by the police. Visitors report that he is reluctant to comment on the charges made against him by the Panthers because he does not wish to create any further dissension within the organization.

Whether the Panthers will alter their position and support Brent is unknown at this point. It is known, however, that they have been in touch with the defense committee, but publicly they are having nothing to do with the case.

In any event, what actually happened on Nov. 19 probably won't be known until the trial, and no date has yet been set ~~for the beginning of the trial.~~

Meanwhile, police search for Cleaver continues. It has now become "routine" with photographs and description being circulated to all law enforcement agencies. State and local police say they "have no definite leads" as to Cleaver's whereabouts.

In a related development, the trial of Panther Warren Wells began Dec. 2. Wells was one of six Panthers, including Cleaver, arrested last April in Oakland after a shooting incident in which two policemen were wounded and Panther Bobby Hutton was killed. Alle six Panthers are

PANTHERS 3/3/3/3/3

charged with assualt with intent to commit murder and assault with deadly weapons on police officers. They are to be tried separately. Cleaver's trail is scheduled for later this month.

End

Robert Allen

SF STATE 1/1/1/1/1 ALLEN 11/30/68

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

San Francisco State College has a new president and he is headed on a collision course with student strikers.

Dr. Samuel Ichiya Hayakawa, a well-known semanticist, was appointed acting president of the school on Nov. 19, just a few hours after president Robert Smith resigned from his post. Smith quit after being unable to end a student strike which began Nov. 6. He had been heavily criticized by the Board of Trustees and Gov. Ronald Reagan for not dealing forcefully enough with student strikers.

Hayakawa, who is canadian born but of Japanese descent, has a repuhation as a conservative, in contrast to Smith who was something of a liberal. His first act as president was to cancel the student-faculty-administration convocations which had replaced classes on the troubled campus.

His next major move was to plan to re-open the campus Dec. 2, in keeping with a directive adopted by the trustees. Additional pressure to resume classes was brought by a Marin County judge who ordered Hayakawa to open the school on Monday or appear in court that day to "show cause" why the campus should not be re-opened. The judge acted after a suit was filed by a student demanding that regular classes resume.

Hayakawa, apparently unmindful of the nature of the issues raised by the student strike, said he hopes to return S.F. State to the "warm swinging campus" it was when he first came there in 1952.

Meanwhile student militants made plans to keep the strike going despite Hayakawa's euphoric hopes. The students issued a call for strikes at the other 18 state college campuses in the statewide

system. Other plans made by the students include: (1) conducting mass picketing Dec. 2 and continuing "classroom education" tactics aimed at extending and enforcing the strike; (2) involving more community people in supporting student demands; (3) concentrating more attantion on holding departmental caucuses, which have proven an effective method of building more support; and (4) bypassing Hayakawa and presenting demands directly to the trsutees on the grounds that "we recognize the administration on this campus has no power."

Said one black student, "Hayakawa should not be recognized at all. He doesn't exist. Our fight is with the trustees. That's where the power is."

The student militants appear to be generally contemptuous of Hayakawa. They describe him as a "puppet" and "just an errand boy for the trsutees and Reagan."

At one point a student meeting was interrupted by a guerrilla theater group which performed a skit showing Reagan conferring presidential power on Hayakawa and saying that the new acting president "will be a good minority man and take care of everything."

The person playing Hayakawa then walked around a kissed the Reagan character on the ass.

CLEAVER 1/1/1/1/1 ALLEN 11/30/68

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

Eldridge Cleaver said he wouldn't voluntarily return to prison. And he didn't.

Police here have issued an "emergency all-points bulletin" and state and federal authorities are also seeking the vanished Black Panther minister of Information.

Cleaver had been ordered to surrender himself to parole authorities Nov. 27. His parole had been canceled by a state district court of appeal, and a last-ditch appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was rejected by Justice Thurgood Marshall. Cleaver had served eight years of a 13-year sentence on assualt and other charges and had been paroled two years ago. However, he was jailed again following a shootout in Oakland between Panthers and police, and after several legal maneuvers his parole was cancelled (Guardian, Nov. 2).

Both Kathleen Cleaver and attorney Charles Garry showed up at the State Building here Nov. 27, but there was no sign of Cleaver. Mrs. Cleaver said she hadn't seen her husband since Nov. 24 and that she did not know where he might be. She said she didn't think he had fled the U.S. as some have speculated.

(However, the S.F. Chronicle reported Nov. 30 that state officials said they had "reliable information" that Cleaver had flown from Los Angeles to Montreal, Canada, on Nov. 28. on a charter flight taking persons to the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam.)

Garry said that Cleaver "never told me he wouldn't show." "I intend," he stated, "to continue representing him, no matter what." Garry added that he wouldn't "plead" with Cleaver to give himself up.

Friends of the Black Panther leader had staged a vigil in front of his home on Pine St. just prior to the date he was supposed to surrender in order "to keep the pigs from killing Eldridge." Panther cars also patrolled the area.

Many people believe that had Cleaver returned to prison, the police or prison guards would have created some pretense to murder him.

GIS 1/1/1/1/1 ALLEN 11/26/68

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

An effort is being made to secure the intervention of a federal court in the case of 27 soldiers who face mutiny charges.

The men, prisoners at the Presidio stockade here, staged a sit-down demonstration Oct. 14 to protest the killing of another prisoner, Richard Bunch, and to protest conditions inside the stockade.(Guardian, Nov. 9)

Attorney Terrence Hallinan, who is defending 18 of the men, filed an application in federal district court Nov. 26 for a writ of habeas corpus. The brief contends that conditions in the stockade "are such as to constitute cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and to deprive the prisoners of due process and the opportunity to adequately defend themselves in violation of the Fifth Amendment."

Hallinan said that in the complaint he asked that Presidio authorities "be required to bring my clients before the federal court to justify their confine ment in the incredibly horrible conditions which exist there in the stockade. I'm also asking for the release of my clients, and I'm asking that the Army be enjoined from quartering anyone else under these conditions."

A hearing on the complaint is expected

Hallinan said that he attached to the brief nine affidavits from stockade prisoners attesting to the conditions there. These complaints were summarized in the brief itself. Among the complaints were charges that guards frequently pointed their guns at prisoners or fired them into the air. Many of the armed guards were said to be under the influence of alcohol or drugs while on duty. Sanitary conditions were said to be deplorable. "Toilets are frequently allowed to stuff up," stated the brief, "and

human excrement overflows and remains for weeks at a time." The brief also revealed the existence of "segregation cells" and "rabbit feed" diets used to break especially recalcitrant prisoners.

During the first tow weeks of October, said another complaint, the prison population ran as high as 140, yet the Stockade drew food rations for only 104 persons. This food had to be distributed among the prisoners plus eight guards and three cooks.

Preliminary hearings for the 27 GIs were completed last week. Military brass must now decide whether to convene a general court martial and try the men for mutiny, an offense punishable by death. Hallinan contended that the mutiny charge was unfounded. "It's clear," he said, "that the intent to override or overthrow military authority didn't exist. The intent of the men was to have a sit-in demonstration to publicize their demands, not to conspire to disobey an order."

Nevertheless Hallinan expects that at least some of the men— the alleged "leaders" — will be court martialed for mutiny. He noted that on three occasions immediately prior to the Oct. 14 incident the officer in command of the stockade discussed with other military officials the possibility of bringing muting charges against prisoners.

SF STATE 1/1/1/

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

Many faculty members, administrators, politicians and the mass media seemed to ~~think~~ expect that the student strike at San Francisco State College (Guardian, Nov.) would run its natural course like a bad attack of the flu and soon fade away.

If not, they figured, the strike could be beaten out of existence by the notorious S.F. Tactical Squad, plainclothesmen and student spies. Finally, certain well-meaning parties, particularly the S.F. State ~~Aca~~ Academic Senate, imagined that the strike could be compromised out of existence by offering to meet the ten demands of the Black Student Union and the five demands of the Third World Liberation Front half-way or less.

These dealings were attempted despite the fact that the BSU and TWLF have insisted that their demands are not negotiable. They have also been attempted despite ~~[illegible]~~ repeated assurances from the chancellor's office that the directive to suspend George Murray (whose suspension sparked the strike) will not be revoked.

In a few more days Murray's thirty-day temporary suspension period (with pay) will be up, but it is quite clear to all parties concerned — especially the Board of Trustees— that the Murray issue will not be settled when and if he returns to ~~[illegible]~~ teaching his classes, or receives "due process" (the original grievance committee recently admitted at least five errors in its ~~[illegible]~~ proceedings against Murray and is starting over again), or is re-hired by a beefed-up Black Studies Department.

It appears that the compromisers have found the issue of political dissent intractable.

On Tuesday, Nov. 19, another new approach to State's problems emerged, this time from the faculty as a whole. Finding support for

"the basic objectives" of the strike growing within their own ranks, finding an even more rapid growth of support among students and sincerely wanting to show at least a small measure of autonomy, a full faculty meeting re-affirmed its commitment to keep classes closed down, Gov. Ronald Reagan to the contrary notwithstanding, until a permanent solution to the strike issues was found. Moreover, they resolved to hold a public convocation involving the principal parties in the dispute in order to educate the entire campus community about the nature and complexity of the issues.

BSU, TWLF and radical white students involved in the strike all saw the proposed convocation as an evasion. Having failed to die out of its own accord, to be beaten down or compromised away, the faculty was now proposing simply to talk the strike out of existence. Nevertheless, the radical groups agreed to accept the idea of a convocation.

They made this decision first of all because the faculty meeting had honored the student strike by asking that during the convocation all classes be closed down.. Secondly, the faculty convocation was implicitly in defiance of the Board of Trustees and the chancellor's office.

The word "implicitly" is used advisedly. On the previous day, Nov. 18, the Reagan-dominated trustee board met in emergency session. Though admitting the needs of minority people, they attacked the principles of the Black Studies program as reverse segregation. It was reported that some of them went so far as saying to the one black trustee, Pete Lee, "Down Rover!" when he argued vigorously for a real Black Studies program.

Other issues such as the Murray case, a larger margin of special admissions, etc., did not even come up. Furthermore, the trustees made statements which humiliated most members of the rather conservative and conciliatory Academic Senate who attended the meeting as a body to express faculty support of S.F. State president Robert Smith's decision to close the college after what amounted to a pitched battle

Nov. 13 between students and the Tac Squad.

Smith was not fired at this session, but a resolution prepared by Reagan's staff and presented by Charles Luckman, formerly of Proctor & Gamble, was passed putting everyone on notice. The three-part resolution demanded immediate re-opening of the college, prohibited any negotiations, arbitration or concessions until the normal educational process was resumed, and asked for immediate disciplinary action against all those who "interrupted the educational process." It was devised, of course, for TV audiences, but it had the tacit effect of telling Smith to go hang himself, a request with which he has more or less complied.

By asking that classes be kept closed Nov. 20 the faculty was defying the trustees. But they were doing it in the weakest possible way. The convocation was to be regarded purely as discussion, not negotiations, and it was viewed as one big open class, thus meeting the trustees' requirements.

Nevertheless, Smith failed to comply with the faculty decision. While the convocation took place on Nov. 20 classes were open. Smith, who participated in a convocation panel, when confronted with this fact was found by the whole audience to be incapable of giving an acceptable answer.

The following morning leaders of the BSU and TWLF walked out on Smith after he once again refused to close down classes. By 12:30 that afternoon students had marched through at least three buildings clearing out classes using chants, pounding on doors, flicking off lights, etc. Ubiquitous plainclothesmen crawled out of the wood-work to arrest and work over a few students. The Tactical Squad moved onto campus and executed a couple of fancy maneuvers.

At least on plainclothesman got what was coming to him in the form of a bloodied face, and demonstrators "liberated" several students who were being arrested. The Tac Squad returned the next day in order to rescue plainclothesmen driven off the campus. like pigs, by chanting,

shoving crowds of students.

Finally, on the afternoon of Nov. 22, Smith acceded to the request of an angry ad hoc group of faculty members, almost two hundred in number, to allow the convocation to continue without any classes going on. This proposal was later passed overwhelmingly by a meeting of the entire faculty. However, an amendment to delete a part of the proposal advocated by Smith and calling for unconditional resumption of classes on Dec. 2, after Thanksgiving, was voted down. So unless the strike is settled by that date, the cycle of pickets, classroom education, classroom disruption, charges by the Tac Squad, closing down of classes, etc., will begin again.

It should be stressed that the actual effect of the convocation was, and no doubt will continue to be, to win more student support for the strike. This became clear when, folowing the convocation, more departments voted to accept resolutions favorable to the strike. This result had been anticipated by strike leaders and was an additional reason ~~xxxxx~~ for their acceptance of the convocation in the first place.

It is ~~xx~~ quite probable that back-room "negotiations," despite the trustees orders, will take place quietly during the entire period of the convocation.

OAKLAND SEVEN 1/1/1/1/1

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

Terry Cannon, one of the Oakland Seven and a member of the editorial board of the Movement newspaper, was sentenced Nov. 22 to three months in jail and two years probation on charges stemming from the Haight ~~riot~~ rebellion last July.

Rick Epstein, a graduate student at S.F. State College who was arrested with Cannon, was sentenced to 45 days behind bars and two years probation.

Cannon was beaten and suffered a broken rib while he was being processed by the cops. He was charged with inciting to rio t, resisting arrest, interfering with an arrest and profanity. At his trial on Oct. 28 the first three charges were dropped and Cannon pleaded guilty to the profanity charge.

The probation sentenced was imposed with the aim of severely curtailing any political activity by Cannon and ~~Epstein~~ Epstein.

The Oakland Seven trial itself has been postponed until January. The Seven are charged with conspiracy to commit two misdemeanors -- trespass and interfering with the lawful duties of an officer. None of the Seven are accused of actually doing these crimes, but conspiracy is a felony.

The charges grew out of the October, 1967, Stop the Draft Week demonstrations at the Oakland induction station. Some 10,000 demonstrators sought to close down the ~~Oakland~~ draft center. The STDW action was the first of the militant street demonstrations which have become almost commonplace over the past year.

Steve Hamilton,

The Seven are Frank J. Bardacke, Cannon, Reese Erlich, Bob Mandel, Jeff Segal and Mike Smith.

Segal is also presently in jail in the Alameda County Courthouse where he is serving a four-year sentence for draft refusal.

Several of the others have other charges outstanding against them. Cannon, for instance, was arrested two days before STDW and charged with 29 counts of p ossession of a lethal weapon when police discovered 29 picket sticks in the trunk of his car.

The importance of the Seven trial is that it will involve a major effort to fight California's conspiracy laws. Already the defendants have taken steps to bring an affirmative suit to enjoin the prosecurtion on the grounds that the proceedings infringe upon rights guaranteed by the first amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

Another important event is a planned public tribunal on the Vietnam war and domestic repression which is to take place at the same time as the trial of the Seven.

Funds are urgently needed for the defense. It is expected that the trial alone will incur expenses amounting to $30,000.

Contributions should be sent to: STDW Defense Fund
6439 Benvenue Ave.
Berkeley, Calif. 94618

PANTHERS 1/1/1/1/1/1

11/22/68

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

Leaders of the Black Panther party charged, following a gun ~~battle~~ fight and other incidents here, that city officials are trying to destroy the Panther organization.

Eight Panthers were arrested Nov. 19 in the aftermath of a service station robbery and a gun battle with police. Three policemen were wounded in the shoot-out. None of the eight men arrested were injured.

Following the shooting Mayor Joseph Alioto demanded a grand jury investigation of the Panthers. Alioto said such a probe would determine whether "indictment of specific leaders of any such group on charges of conspiracy to murder" is justified by "the evidence in this case." Bobby Seale, chairman of the Panthers, replied that there was a conspiracy on the part of city officials to destroy the Panther leadership. He asserted that among the men arrested Nov. 19 were police provocateurs who had been infiltrated into the Panthers.

The grand jury decided against investigating the Panthers on the grounds that this might prejudice other cases pending against the militant black organization.

Another result of the Nov. 19 incident was the forced relocation of a fund-raising meeting for Eldridge Cleaver, Panther minister of information who was due to return to prison on Nov. 27. The meeting was to have been held Nov. 21 at the city-owned Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park and was to have been jointly sponsored by the Guardian and the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver. However, the morning after the gun fight city parks department officials announced that they were denying use of the hall for the benefit.

Mayor Alioto, who took personal responsibility for the eleventh-

hour decision to cancel the permit, charged the Guardian with having made a fraudulent application for use of the hall. Pamela Allen, a Guardian staff member here, replied that the charge was "ridiculous."

The meeting was re-scheduled for the same evening at the California Hall, a private auditorium.

The gas station hold-up occurred shortly before noon on Third St. Attendants stated that a truck emblazoned with the name "The Black Panther" pulled into the station and a passenger robbed the station of $80. The truck then drove off and police were alerted.

Several blocks away, near the Hall of Justice (police headquarters), a police car stopped the Panther van. Police said that when an officer ordered the driver of the vehicle to get out, shooting erupted. The two men in the patrol car were seriously wounded in the exchange of gun fire. But a second police car arrived and men from the nearby police station also rushed to the scene. Shooting continued and a third officer was slightly wounded, then the eight men were arrested.

Police said they recovered a 9 mm. automatic and assorted ammunition at the scene, as well as $78 which they said was part of the hold-up loot.

Five of the eight arrested were later cleared, although at this writing not all of them have been released. The remainder are being held on charges of robbery and assault with intent to commit murder.

Meanwhile, the California Supreme Court refused Nov. 20 to review a Sept. 27 ruling by a lower court ordering Cleaver to return to prison as a parole violator. The charge stems from an April 6 shoot-out with police in Oakland in which Black Panther Bobby Hutton was killed and Cleaver was wounded. Trial of Cleaver and several other Panthers on charges of attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon against police officers has been set to begin Dec. 23. Another Panther involved in that incident

must stand trial Dec. 2.

Speaking of the Hall of Flowers cancellation decision, Mayor Alioto charged that the Guardian had not in its original application advised that Cleaver would be a speaker. "The city has no objection to the use of the hall for expression of unpopular political views," he said. "But when we are dealing with a speaker who counsels the shooting of policemen and other acts of violence, as Eldridge Cleaver has done, we have a right not to let them do it."

At a press conference Nov. 20 Mrs. Allen, who made application last September on behalf of the Guardian, said that officials at the Hall of Flowers had been fully advised of the political nature of the proposed meeting. She said the event had originally been planned as a 20th anniversary celebration for the Guardian. At the time the application was made, she added, it was not known who the speakers would be, and officials did not ask for the names of speakers.

It was only after the application was made that William Rose, acting general manager of the Guardian who recently returned from a trip to North Korea, agreed to be the main speaker and Cleaver also agreed to take part. However, she continued, when it became known that doctors had advised Rose against coming to California due to illness in his family, it was decided as an act of solidarity to instead co-sponsor a meeting with the Cleaver committee in which any funds raised would go to Cleaver's defense.

The irony is that Cleaver was to be present but was not scheduled to speak at the new meeting. It was only after the shooting incident and Alioto's statements that it was decided that Cleaver should in fact speak.

A statement released by the Guardian and the Cleaver defense committee charged that the cancellation was "nothing more than an attempt by city bureaucrats to screen the use of public facilities to suit their political prejudices."

The co-sponsors threatened to "file suit against the city and county of San Francisco for recovery of ~~xxxx~~ damages resulting from the last minute change of location of the event."

The statement contended that no violation of the contract had occurred. It said in part:

"Over three months ago the Guardian rented the Hall of Flowers for a benefit lecture featuring Eldridge Cleaver and Bill Rose... Two weeks ago, the Guardian informed the committee that Mr. Rose would be unable to attend, and invited us to co-sponsor the function.

"Last week, members of the Guardian staff who had contracted for the hall, phoned Mrs. Gerde Speck, secretary and caretaker of the hall, and the person empowered to make rental agreements for the hall. They informed Mrs. Speck of the change in program. Mrs. Speck acknowledged and agreed to the change, raising no objections. Last Friday [Nov. 15], Carlos Aponte, committee coordinator, visited Mrs. Speck and sealed the agreement for use of the hall for this purpose."

Mayor Alioto contended that the cancellation was not politically motivated. "I want to make it clear we are not concerned with the political ideas expressed," he said. "If the National Guardian [sic] wants at any time to hold a fund-raising affair which does not involve the use of personalities who exhort the public to criminal violence, they can use the Hall of Flowers for it."

But the Guardian and the Cleaver committee argued that the cancellation was directly tied to the gun battle and constituted a political decision on the part of city authorities that Cleaver was somehow responsible for or indirectly involved in that incident.

The defense meeting did take place but not without running into more trouble. Two state alcohol inspectors showed up and prevented the charging of a three dollar admission fee on the grounds that a champagne punch was being sold and this constituted a violation of the liquor law.

Officials also sought to block an art auction, contending that no permit had been obtained. To cap off the evening, author James Baldwin, who was the featured speaker, failed to appear.

Despite these problems more than 500 people came to the meeting which was chaired by author Jessica Mitford. Ramparts editor-in-chief Robert Scheer, who also heads up the defense committee, gave an account of previous defense efforts on behalf of Cleaver. Mrs. Allen re-affirmed the Guardian's solidarity with the beleaguered author of Soul on Ice. Cleaver's attorney Charles Carry also spoke, and Phil Ochs provided a musical interlude.

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He pointed out that he had pleaded not guilty to charges resulting from the April incident and that there was no substantial reason for returning him to prison except a vague charge of "failing to cooperate" with his parole officer.

Cleaver warned that what was happening to him was not simply an isolated phenomenon. He also reminded the crowd that verbal militance is not enough. Alluding to these facts, and with a slight note of bitterness in his voice, he said: "I want those who wish me good luck and who say they're behind me to know that I wish them good luck, too, and I'm behind them."

The audience, which ranged from richies to hippies and seemed to include the whole ethnic spectrum, gave the Panther leader a standing ovation.

PANTHERS 1/1/1/1/1/1

Leaders of the Black Panther party charged, following a gun fight and other other incidents here, that city officials are trying to ~~xxxxxx~~ destroy the Panther organization.

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

Eight Black Panthers were arrested Nov. 19 following the robbery of a service station and a gun battle with police. Three policemen were wounded in the shoot-out. None of the eight men arrested were injured, ~~and they have refused to make any comment.~~

In the wake of the shooting Mayor Joseph Alioto demanded a grand jury investigation of the Panthers. Alioto said such ~~xx~~ a probe would determine whether "indictment of specific leaders of any such group on charges of conspiracy to murder" is justified by "the evidence in this case." Bobby Seale, chariman of the Panthers, replied that there was a conspiracy on the part of city officials to destory the Panther leadership. He said that among the men arrested were police provacateurs who had been infiltrated into the Black Panthers. The grand jury decided against investigating the Panthers on the grounds that this might prejudice others cases pending against the militant black organization.

Another result of the Nov. 19 incident was the forced relocation of a fund-raising meeting for Eldridge Cleaver, Panther minister of information who was due to return to prison on Nov. 27. The meeting was to have been held Nov. 21 at the city-owned Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park and was to be jointly sponsored by the Guardian and the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver. However, the morning after the gun fight city parks department officials announced that they were denying use of the hall for the benefit.

Mayor Alioto, who took personal responsibility for the eleventh-hour decision ~~xxxxxxx~~ to cancel the permit, charged the Guardian with having made a fraudulent application for use of the hall. Pamela Allen, a Guardian staff member here, angrily replied that the charge was "ridiculous." The meeting was re-scheduled for the same evening at the ~~California~~ California Hall, a private auditorium.

The gas station hold-up occurred shortly before noon on Third St. Attendants claimed that a truck emblazoned with the name "The Black Panther" pulled into the station and a passenger robbed the station of $80. The truck then drove off and police were alerted.

Several blocks away, near the Hall of Justice (police headquarters), a police car stopped a Black Panther van. Police said that when an officer ordered the driver of the vehicle to get out, shooting erupted. The two men in the patrol car were seriously wounded in the exchange of gun fire. But a second police car pulled up and men from the nearby police station also came on the scene. Shooting continued and a third officer was slightly wounded, then the eight men in the van were disarmed and arrested.

Police said they recovered a 9 mm. automatic and assorted ammunition at the scene, as well as $78 which they said was part of the hold-up loot.

A spokesman at Black Panther headquarters said that "the people in the truck had nothing to do with the robbery. The truck was going around its normal business

Five were later cleared

Among those arrested was Raymond Lewis, managing editor of the Black Panther newspaper. The men are being held on charges of robbery and assault with intent to commit murder.

A spokesman at Black Panther headquaters said that "the people in the truck had nothing to do with the robbery. The truck was going around its normal business of delivering our weekly publication, or other normal business."

Bobby Seale added that the Panthers would not be so stupid as to rob a gas station in a truck bearing Panther emblems.

The gas station hold-up shortly before noon on Third St. Attendants said that a truck emblazoned with the name ~~of~~ "The Black Panther" and robbed it of ~~a~~ $80.

At a press conference Nov. 20 Mrs. Allen, who made application last September on behalf of the Guardian, said that officials at the Hall of Flowers had been ~~kept~~ fully advised of the political nature of the proposed meeting. At the time ~~of~~ the application was made, she added, it was not known ~~that~~ ~~[illegible]~~ who the speakers would be, and officials did not ask for the names of speakers.

She said the event had originally been planned as a 20th anniversary clebration for the Guardian.

It was only after the application was made that William Rose acting general manager of the Guardian who recently returned from a trip to North Korea, agreed to be the main speaker and ~~Eldr~~ Cleaver also agreed to take part. However, she continued, when it became known that Rose would not be able to come to California due to illness in his family, it was decided as an act of solidarity to instead co-sponsor a meeting with the Cleaver committee in which any funds raised would go to Cleaver's defense. The irony is that Cleaver was to be present ~~also~~ but ~~not~~ was not scheduled to speak at the new meeting. It was only after the shooting incidents and Alioto's statements ~~[illegible]~~ that it was decided that Cleaver should in fact speak.

Meanwhile, the California Supreme Court refused Nov.20 to review a Sept. 27 ruling by a lower court ordering Cleaver to return to prison as a parole violator. The charge stems from an April 6 shootout in Oakland in which Black Panther Bobby Hutton was killed and Cleaver was wounded. Trial of Cleaver and several other Panthers on charges of attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon against police officers has been set to begin Dec. 23. Another Panther involved in that incident must stand trial Dec 2.

Speaking of the Hall of Flowers cancellation decision, Mayor Alioto charged that the Guardian had not in its original application advised that Cleaver would be a speaker. "The city has no objection to the use of the hall for expression of unpopular political views. But when we are dealing with a speaker who counsels the shooting of policemen and other acts of violence, as Eldridge Cleaver has done, we have a right not to let them do it."

At a press conference Nov. 20 Mrs. Allen, who made application last September on behalf of the Guardian, said that officials at the Hall of Flowers had been kept fully apprised of the nature and content of the proposed meeting. She said that the event had originally been planned as a 20th anniversary celebration for the Guardian at which Cleaver was to speak. However, she continued, when it became apparent the William Rose, acting general manager of the Guardian who recently returned from a trip to North Korea and who was to be featured speaker, would not be able to come to California due to illness in his family, it was decided as an act of solidarity to co-sponsor a meeting with the Cleaver committee in which any funds raised would go to Cleaver's defense.

A statement relaeased by the Guardian and the Cleaver defense

committee charged that the cancellation was "nothing more than an attempt by city bureaucrats to screen the use of public facilities to suit their political prejudices."

The co-sponsors threatened to "file suit against the city and County of San Francisco for recovery of financial damages resulting from the last minute change of location of the event."

The statement contended that no violtation of the contract had occurred. It said in part:

"Over three months ago the Guardian rented the Hall of Flowers for a benefit lecture featuring Eldridge Cleaver and Bill Rose, ~~foreign editor of the Guardian.~~ Two weeks ago, the Guardian informed the committee that Mr. Rose would be unable to attend, and invited us to co-sponsor the function.

"Last week, members of the Guardian staff who had contracted for the hall, phoned Mrs. Gerde Speck, secretary and caretaker of the hall, and the person empowered to make rental agreements for the hall. They informed Mrs. Speck of the change in program. Mrs. Speck acknowledged and agreed to the change, raising no objections. Last Firday [Nov. 15], Carlos Aponte, committee coordinator, visited Mrs. Speck and sealed the agreement for use of the hall for this purpose."

~~Mrs. Speck, however, contended that she had not been advised that Cleaver was to speak. [This is a fucking lie!]~~

Mayor Alioto contended that the cancellation was not politically motivated. "I want to make it clear we are not concerned with the political ideas expressed," he said. "If the National Guardian [~~sic, he must be an old lefty reader!~~] wants at any time to hold a fund-raising affair which does not involve the use of personalities who exhort the public to criminal violence, they can use the Hall of Flowers for it."

But the Guardian and the Cleaver committee argued that the cancellation was directly related to the gun battle of Nov. 19 and constituted a political decision on the part of city authorities that Eldridge Cleaver

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SF STATE 1/1/1/1/1

(No byline)

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

Robert Smith, a rotund, soft-spoken, liberal thought he could govern San Francisco State College where his predeccessors in the president's office had failed. He couldn't. S.F. State was closed down Nov. 14 in the wake of a student strike (Guardian, Nov. 16) and at this writing it is uncertain when it will re-open.

Smith enjoyed the confidence of a large part of the faculty, having come up through the ranks himself and having resigned as Dean Of Education in protest against arbitrary actions on the part of the Chancellor's office. After becoming president he moved immediately to establish an ombudsman on campus to mediate disputes. He encouraged preparations for a new "constitutional convention" which aims at overhauling decision-making procedures and at making room for some student voice in campus issues. The development of new, more fair grievance, suspension and firing procedures was also encouraged. Finally, Smith bargained long and hard for a measure of autonomy from the Trystees of the state college system before accepting his post.

Smith assumed the stance of a man of character not to be pushed around by anyone — trustees or students. Early in the semester, for example, he made it clear that he had "no ideological block" against calling in the police.

Whatever the subtleties of his approach, it has now become altogether obvious that he has utterly failed to run the college. The notorious S.F. Tactical Squad has become a permanent fixture on campus. Plainclothesmen are everywhere, and college police can be seen posted on roof-tops with telescopes and cameras.

On Nov. 13 the Tactical squad provoked a near riot, involving about 1,500 students, when, having appeared at a Black Students Union press conference, they suddenly broke ranks, spread out in various directions and arrested and beat as many student leaders as they could lay hands on. At least seven people were arrested in that melee, and more than twenty have been jailed since the strike began.

A partial explanation for Smith's failure to govern the campus is the rabid Board of Trustees and the chancellor of the state system. In an interview in the Sept. 23 issue of U.S. New & World Report, Chancellor Glenn Dumke proclaimed, "We've had experience -- we're 'combat-ready' -- we have made it absolutely clear that we are going to maintain the academic operation and integrity of our institutions, with whatever force we have to apply to achieve it."

Dumke, reflecting the attitudes of the Trustees, was recently described in the Sacramento Bee as testifying before the state senate that "the matters about which they were concerned were really the result of a world-wide conspiracy among students, the SDS and certain faculty members in a three-pronged race to take over society. He said that this conspiracy had advanced through three stages. First was the Vietnam protest; second was the racial disturbances, and... third, an attempt to undermine society by displays of pornography."

The most important explanantion of Smith's failure is to be found in the militancy and the precarious unity achieved by radical forces on campus. An early sign of this development came when radical groups combined to denounce a planned Military Information Day, where armed services recruiters and anti-recruiters were to set up tables ~~xxx~~ to present literature on all available alternatives. In unison, the radicals announced that if military recruiters came on campus they would physically remove the recruiters' tables and literature. Smith backed down. There was no Military Infacrmation Day at State.

This was only a prelude. Smith next had to face a furious BSU. His administration was short-cahigning the BSU out of its long-awaited Black Studies Program. Moreover, Smith acquiesced to Dunke's wishes and summarily suspended Black Panther George Murray, who was an English instructor

Before this dismissal, however, Smith had already set the grinding wheels of due process to work on Murray anyway -- though nobody yet knows what Murray is charged with and though the Academic Senate grievance committee has admitted that proper procedures were not followed in the Murray case. Originally, Smith had wanted to postpone Murray's suspension until the proceedings were completed.

The BSU responded to Murray's ouster with a strike ~~on~~ whihc began Nov. 6. The strike was immediately joined by all the other radical groups on campus. Moreover, it has received support from unexpected ~~pt~~ quarters. An ad hoc committee of about fifty faculty went on ~~xxxxx~~ strike Nov. 13 over the Murray issue.

At a meeting that same day the entire faculty, after seeing the tactical unit's vicious work, adopted a resolution which stated that "the instructional program of San Francisco State College is hereby suspended indefinitely effective immediately, the faculty to remain in continuous session to deal with the immediate and long range problems of the campus..." Smith acquiesced. The school was closed, and subsequent faculty deliberations have resulted in some progress.

Meanwhile groups of students in such disparate schools as engineering, education and social work organized and joined the strike. Many department chairmen admitted that attendance in their departments had fallen off 50% or more. In other departments, where attendance had not dropped so markedly, the tense strike atmosphere, radical classroom education teams and a relatively small amount of classroom disruption (turning off lights, property damafe, etc.) made ~~xxxxxxx~~ classes as usual absolutely impossible.

The tone and strategy of the BSU strike was underlined by

Stokely Carmichael in an address before black and third world students Nov. 5, the day before the strike began. Discussing last Spring's demonstrations at Columbia University, Carmichael asserted that Columbia students gained "nothing but notoreity" by their tactics of confrontation. "Victory is what we want, not notoreity." Thus, he argued, black poeple "must heighten the contradictions that will awaken the people." Closing on a note of caution, Carmichael warned that "it is easier to die for one's people than to live and work and kill for one's people." Many of the groups involved in the strike do not go along with all of Carmichael's analysis. Nevertheless, the BSU, applying Carmichael's precepts, has managed to provide successful leadership for the strike.

The establishment's response to the strike's successes have been sadly inappropriate. On Nov. 11 one Dr. Cyril Rosemann of the Department of Urban Studies, a specialist in "urban renewal," offered to set up "binding arbitration" between the BSU and the administration. Mayor Joseph Alioto has also made similar offers. Both of these obvious ploys were laughed out of existence by the BSU.

All that the administration has left is the Tactical Squad and other police forces. Robert Smith has given the police a blank check. Campus cops, plainclothesmen, low level administrators and even — as in the latest and most serious incident — television cameramen can summon the tactical force.

The police strategy seems to be selective arrests of strike leaders but, as could be expected, this tactic, together with police violence (in the Nov. 13 confrontation alone policemen drew their guns on a least four occasions) has only inflamed the situation.

If S.F. State is re-opened without the basis for solution of its long-range problems, even blodier confrontations than the Nov. 13 one can be anticipated. Indeed, that demonstration was only "kept under control" by a group of about 30 radical faculty who interposed themselves between a crowd of nearly 800 angry students and the Tactical Squad.

SF DEMONSTRATION 1/1/1/1/1/1 ALLEN Nov 6, 1968

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent

San Francisco

In the Bay Area the white left first went psychedelic and now it has freaked out altogether. People on ego trips, drug trips and political trips have fused into one angry mass of flesh seemingly devoid both of brain and heart. They have gone beyond protest and beyond resistance. They are doing their own thing. They are changing the world by engaging in public transformations of their individual selves. But this metamorphosis is ominous. These are no longer the flower children or the gentle hippies. These are men and women pushed up against a wall with no place to turn except inward. They are devouring themselves.

Around the outskirts of this feverish activity stand the politicos -- impotent. (In Berkeley, the activists in traditional left-wing groupings and parties are referred to -- somewhat derisively -- as politicos.) Also on the fringes are the bulk of the students -- indifferent and unconcerned. For them the antics of the psychedelic left are no longer interesting. They've discovered that grooving on pot -- like sneaking into a speak-easy during Prohibition -- doesn't necessitate a declaration of rebellion against "the system." As far as they are concerned, you can beat the system and make it in the system all at the same time. So why strain yourself?

But the freaked out psychedelic left is still here, and it massed its forces -- such as they are -- at San Francisco's Civic Cneter Nov. 5 to protest the elctions. Actually protest is a bad word since it connotes a structured rally generously larded with exhortatory speeches. Rather the Civic Center gathering was more like the last

in an endless chain of Be-ins, if you can dig that.

While milling around in the crowd of 500 or so, waiting for the action to start, a chick walked over and handed me a leaflet. "Elections are obscene," it announced. And beneath this banner was a line drawing of a naked girl lyingon her back with her legs spread wide. "I don't vote," said the naked girl, "why should you?" The leaflet, an attack on the traditional process of elections (erections?), was signed by the Berkeley Commune, the hippest of the ~~hip.~~ (street people.) Of course, the drawing was a put on, but then too it was still a massive put down of (white) women. After reading the leaflet and mulling over its conclusion -- "Fuck politics" -- I came to the racist conclusion that all too many white males act increasingly like ~~xxxxxxx~~ castrated freaks and the only thing that will give them back their balls is for their women to tell them to go jerk off in a closet.

The appearance of Pigasus, the Yippie candidate for the presidency, cheered me up momentarily. By this time Pigasus was also, unofficially at least, the Peace and Freedom cnadidate since a few nights earlier, at a Pre-Erection Day party in Berkeley, Eldridge Cleaver had conceded all his support to Pigasus. (INSERT A) At the Civic Center rally Pigasus -- "the honest candidate" -- was ~~displayed in the crowd in~~ in a wire cage which also sported a "Sirhan lives" bumper sticker. Not everyone was happy about the cage, and cries of "Free the pig!" rose from the crowd. Eventually a vote was taken ~~and~~ but nothing was done. (INSERT B)

Peace and Freedom was not happy about the Pigasus candidacy, but then Peace and Freedom was falling apart at the seams. If you walk over to 55 Colton St. you will find a ransacked office. People have been taking equipment and files as Peace and Freedom in San Francisco dissolved amid bitter feuding between the Progressive Labor faction and an "independent radical" faction.

The main events at the rally were live music by a rock band and an antiwar, anti-election skit by the Agit-Prop Theater called "The Saga of Moby Mao." For the press, however, more choice entertainment was provided by a guy with a toy gun who made a point of taunting the state humane officers -- all for the benefit of newspaper and television photographers.

The toy gun was symbolic, I suppose, of the real shotguns that people in Berkeley have been buying lately. The activists intend to use the guns, not aginst the pigs, but against each other. It seems that recently an anti-PL student was leaned on rather heavily by a goon squad, resulting in a rush on easy-loading weapons. Clearly, the left is now entering the stage of "armed struggle."

About midway through the rally the cloud of marijuana smoke which hung over the assembly was thinkened by wisps curling up from a burning American flag. I rushed over to have a look but couldn't see anything. Instead I ran into a friend from Newsreel who, with tape recorder slung over his shoulder, was busily recording the whole event.

"Heard anything about the student strike in Berkeley?" I asked.

"They're all supposed to be over here," he replied.

"They are?"

We looked around at the small crowd, then we glanced in the direction of the Bay Bridge, then our eyes met again.

"Well, see you around," I said. (INSERT C)

Around 3;30 someone grabbed the microphone and told us we were supposed to march down to the financial district on Montgomery St. to play a game of Monopoly. I jumped into a car to try and get ahead of the crowd but instead got stuck in the traffic.

The crowd, meanwhile, surged along Market St. heading toward Montgomery. Cop cars with sirens wailing rushed to intercept the group. Several demonstrators were beaten and arrested but most of the crowd managed to reach its destination.

The demonstrators massed on Montgomery ~~near the inter-sections of~~ between Sutter and Post, where several large banks are located. Some people spilled into the street and blocked traffic momentarily, and bonfires were lit, but the cops were cool and well-organized and I think our side dropped about two million dollars in that Monopoly game.

At that point I gave up and decided to go home and watch the election returns on TV. We had voted in the streets -- but what we had voted for or against was difficult to say.

INSERTS ~~xxx~~

INSERT A

(In all fairness it must be admitted that Eldridge (who was stoned) gave a pretty poor account of himself that night.)

INSERT B

There was no real reason for concern. Pigasus was adequately protected by two Humane Officers thoughtfully dispatched by the state government.

INSERT C

A student who did show up from Berkeley (who were not present) spoke for many when he quipped: ~~commented:~~ "I think I'll go and vote to protest against <u>this</u> shit."

Later Pigasus did get loose and we had a merry, if brief, game of Tag the Candidate.

CALIFORNIA ELECTION RESULTS: This should be incorporated into round-up article on protest candidates.

No info yet on vote for Eldridge Cleaver or Dick Gregory. Expect to have this in a few days, will phone in.

Paul Jacobs (PFP Senate candidate) polled 1.3% of total vote cast in state for this office. He had hoped to get 2%. However, since his opponents were an arch conservative (Max Rafferty) on the one hand and a Democratic liberal (Alan Cranston, who won) on the other, most former PFP supporters opted for the Democrat.

Huey P. Newton, running for Congress on PFP ticket in 7th C.D. in Alameda Country, polled 12, 164 votes out of a total of 162, 405 votes cast. Democrat Jeffery Cohelan, the incumbent, won with 102, 108 votes.

Bobby Seale, running for state assembly on PFP ticket in the 17th A.D. in Alameda county, polled 4,725 votes out of a total of 56, 349 cast. Democrat John J. Miller, the incumbent, won with 44, 568 votes.

Kathleen Cleaver, running for State Assembly in the 18th A.D. in San Francisco (on PFP ticket), polled 2,688 votes out of a total of 55, 772 cast. Negro Democrat Willie Brown, the incumbent, won with 35,729 votes.

SF Express-Times editor Marvin Garson, running for Congress on PFP ticket from 5th C.D. in SF, polled 4,549 votes out of a total of 120, 319 cast. Democrat P. Burton won with 86,647 votes.

Mario Savio, running for state senator on PFP ticket in 11th district in Alameda county, polled 11,555 votes out of a total of 341,383 cast. Democrat Nicholas. C. Petris, the incumbent, won with 181, 955 votes.

To stay on the ballot in California 1/10 of 1% of registered PFP voters must participate in the election. It would appear that PFP met this requirement and will remain on the ballot. Whether the organization will survive the election, however, is another matter.

SAN FRANCISCO 1/1/1/1/1/1 ALLEN Nov. 1,1968

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian staff correspondent
San Francisco

National GI Week came early to San Francsico. In effect it was wrapped up into one day — Oct. 12 — when a large GI peace march was held. The march attracted some 10,000 demonstrators, including several hundred active-duty GIs.

The march was what its chief organizer, Air Force Lt. Hugh Smith, called an "historic event." It was the largest antiwar action to date sponsored and organized by soldiers.

In an interview with the Guardian 26-year-old Smith explained how the march came about. Smith was a reservist in the 349th Military Airlift Wing at Hamilton Air Force Base. He was called to active duty last January because of the Pueblo crisis. Many airmen felt at that time, Smith recounted, that the Pueblo crisis was different from Vietnam and that they were duty-bound to respond without complaint to the call-up. "I tried to explain to them several times over a period of weeks," he said, "that basically the Pueblo crisis involved the same sort of conflict and the same sort of gesture by the American government that the Vietnam situation was."

The men, however, were largely indifferent to Smith's abstract talk about politics, although a handful of them gathered around him who felt a need to "do something about the random and illegal use of the military" in intervening in foreign countries. Their first effort was to become active in the "Dump Johnson" movement."

Gradually Smith recognized that any organizing effort, to be successful, must also speak to the many personal grievances which

are rife among enlisted men and draftees. It was enough simply to try to get the men to relate to political movements in the civilian world. "We began to realize that a great deal of the structure within the military had to be questioned, had to be changed." In short, there was a crying need for an organization within the armed forces which would champion GI rights and grievances and help free them of the oppressive military heirarchy. Usually this discontent is expressed in the form of individual acts of protest such as going AWOL, refusing orders and petty sabotage. The individual protestor is summarily and severly disciplined and his action is soon forgotten. Organized protest by large numbers of men, however, offered the hope of breaking this circle of despair.

At the same time Smith and his fellow organizers, airmen Michael Locks and John Bright, saw the necessity "of setting up a foundation movement within the armed forces that would establish a bridge between members of the armed forces who were concerned about what is happening and the concerned public on the outside." They sought to "destroy the chasm between the antiwar groups, many of whom look on the soldier as a mercenary, and the dehumanized soldier who believes in many of the same things as the antiwar groups."

With this new orientation Smith found a much wider interest in his ideas and doings. Men began coming to him for advice on their rights and what kinds of things they could do. Things went so well that Smith was able to get 50 GIs to take part in last April's antiwar march in San Francisco.

Then came the first repression. Severl of the GI antiwar marchers were discharged and other s were demoted. Smith himself was assigned to menial duties for three months and investigated by the Office of Special Investigation (the Air Force equivalent of the FBI).

But the antiwar officer continued his organizing work — his father was a labor union organizer — and he discovered that the harassment, far from intimidating the men, had radicalized them further.

It was now possible to begin seriously talking about a GI-sponsored peace march. They very thought of this totally panicked the military brass. They tried to ship Smith out to Taiwan and hustle Locks and Bright off to Utah. The men fought back through the federal courts and the press. They managed to have the transfer orders stayed and thereby won an immense propaganda victory. Support for the proposed march mushroomed. Money and volunteer workers started flooding in.

The organizers decided to keep the tone of the Oct. 12th march moderate and restrained in order to attract as many GIs as possible. "We did this knowing that the idea of active-duty GIs having a peace march is horrifyingly radical anyway," Smith explained. In their off-duty hours the organizers passed out leaflets and talked to the men at Bay Area bases.

It is now a matter of history that, despite continuing harassment, the march came off and was a fantastic success. It demonstrated to hundreds of thousands of soldiers around the country that they can legally organize within the military, even when that means organizing against the war.

This is not to say that all problems have been overcome. Of the GIs who participated in the march some were removed from "critical" jobs, some were demoted or discharged and others were punished by their commanders under Article 15. Mike Locks and Lt. Sue Schnall — she flew over Alameda Naval Station in a small plane dropping antiwar leaflets — who wore their uniforms at the march are being court martialed. But a precedent has been set and cracks are appearing in the military

monolith.

The next phase will involve stepped up organizing efforts, Smith stated. He hopes to see a GI Association ("GIA" — a pun on CIA) established at every U.S. military installation in this country and abroad. Already, he said, GIAs are being organized at "every single fort, station and base on the West Coast." The main ~~The main focus of the GIAs will be on GI rights and grievances, and antiwar activity.~~ focus of the GIAs will be on GI rights and grievances, as well as antiwar activity. The ultimate goal of this effort, according to Smith, is to "re-establish the GI as a citizen and a human being." Also, he believes it is necessary to ~~xxx~~ constantly remind GIs that they are ~~xxxx~~ civilians first and soldiers second to counteract the growing fascism which grips the careerist officer corps.

A specific project Smith is working on hinges on setting up what he calls a GI civilian review board. He said that such a board would hear GI complaints and review the functioning of the military bureaucracy. Already three U.S. congressmen, whose names ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Smith said he was not free to divulge, have agreed to sit on the proposed review board.

Smith expects that the GI activists will shun public demonstrations for awhile. "We want to burrow down into the military," he said. "We're not interested in trying to prove how much we can march." Only one public meeting is planned for the immediate future: a GI teach-in to be held here in December.

For the moment black GIs are not active in large numbersin the movement that Smith is organizing. This is because in may ways, racism in the military is more vicious than it is in civilian life, and black soldiers are hesitant to tie in with a group of white GI activists. Nevertheless, Smith reported that among the more solid antiwar organizers at one base are two black master sergeants who

are career men with 17 years in the service.

Lt. Smith was one of the casualties of the Oct. 12th march. He expects to be discharged from the Air Force shortly. Another officer, recently returned from Vietnam, will then take over the group. One of the organizing principles of the GI movement is to have flexible leadership so that groups are not disrupted by transfers or discharges of known leaders.

Asked if his antiwar sentiment isn't in basic conflict with what the military is all about, Smith replied: "Not at all. We believe in the defense of the nation when there is a just cause, but we oppose use of the military for outright aggression."

He added that there is a growing awareness among GIs that because of the role the U.S. is playing today on the international scene, it may no longer be possible for this country to be involved in what could be termed a "just war." This is one reason for the increasing disillusionment with the ranks in the armed forces, he said.

Soldiers who would like to know more about the GI movement should write to: GIs for Peace, 546 Fillmore St., San Francisco, Calif. (Phone: 415 552-2939).

PRESIDIO 1/1/1/1/1/1 ALLEN 10/31/68

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

A dissenter in the U.S. army must be prepared to pay a high price for his nonconformism. Some 27 GIs, friends and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ acquaintances of Richard Bunch, a 19 year-old enlistee, recently rediscovered this harsh fact.

Richard was shot and killed Oct. 11 ~~xxxx~~ by a guard at San Francisco's Presidio while allegedly trying to escape from a prisoner's work detail. He was in the stockade for having gone AWOl some months before. Richard was mentally disturbed. The killing was totally unjustified. The 27, realizing this, staged a sit down protest three days later to call attention to this cold-blooded murder and to protest the grim conditions which prevail in the Presidio stockade. The 27 were arrested and charged with mutiny, a capital offense. They face a possible death sentence.

Military stockades around this country are filled with "misfits" -- soldiers who have expressed antiwar sentiments, men who refused orders to go to Vietnam, GI's who went AWOL rather than submit to an oppressive military heirarchy and men who, for a variety of reasons, simply could not adjust to ~~xxx~~ military life. Richard Bunch probably feal into the latter category. Richard's father and grandfather had served in the army and when Richard's best friend was drafted in January, 1967, he decided to enlist so that he could stick with his buddy. Later he told his mother, back home in Dayton, Ohio, that he wanted to make a military career. Richard -- or "Rusty" as his friends called him -- was a "sensitive and religious boy," Mrs. Leon Bunch recounted, and his first year of military service was without blemish. Then he was transferred to Ft. Lewis in the state

PRESIDIO INSERT A

On his bunk was found a scribbled suicide note that said in part: "Well if you're not going to give me love at least do me the favor of complete elimination. But one click and its over."

of Washington and "something happened." No one is quite sure what happened. Apparently ~~Bunky~~ Richard suffered a nervous breakdown. He went AWOL and drifted to the Bay Area where he lived as a hippie for several months. Then, last May, he returned to Dayton and announced to his family that he had been twice reincarnated and could fly like a bird anyplace he wanted. Within a few days, after it had become all too obvious that Richard was out of touch with reality, Mrs. Bunch ~~made the mistake of seeking~~ sought help from the military. (Civilian hospitals refused to treat the young GI because he was AWOL.) MPs showed up and hustled Richard away. Shortly, the Bunch family received a form letter reporting that Richard was in the stockade at Ft. Meade, Md. Mental help was promised but there is no public record of Richard reveiving any treatment.

At some point during the summer the troubled young man was transferred to the Presidio stockade. His family has not notified. His condition was unchanged. Fellow prisoners reported that he frequently talked to himself. His thoughts turned to death and he asked one inmate about ways of commiting suicide.

On Oct. 11, the day before the GI peace march here, Richard was part of a work detail. During that morning he walked up to one of the guards. A ~~prisoner~~ prisoner heard him ask the guard: "If I run will you kill me?" What the guard answered is unknown, but Richard ran. He didn't run far. A blast from a shotgun smashed into the back of his head and he fell dead. — Insert A

Army brass claimed that Richard was ordered to halt three times before being shot. The killing was justifiable homicide, they contended. Later, under public pressure, this was changed and the army announced that the matter was "under investigation" and refused to say anything further.

The whole stockade was agitated by the killing.

That evening there was a small-scale riot. The GI peace march the next day added to the tension, especially since it was no secret that military brass were taking steps to prevent soldiers from participating in the march or speaking out against the war.

On the morning of Oct. 14 the stockade inmates were hustled outside for morning roll call and assignment to work details. Everything was back to normal, or so the officers thought. When the first name on the list was called 27 men answered in unison "Here!" Immediately they sat down on the lawn, locked arms and began singing "We Shall Overcome" and "Freedom Now." They demanded to see the stockade commander, a 25 year-old captian. When he appeared the angry men read him a list of grievances and demanded an investigation into the Killing of young Bunch.

Confusion and shouting followed, and the commander apparently tried to read a direct order to the protesting soldiers. When this had no effect, he then read Article 94 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice which refers to the charge of mutiny. MPs were called in and the men were physically carried back into the prison building and placed in isolation. Later, they were formally charged with mutiny.

Back in Dayton the Bunch family read of the protest. Everyone chipped in and Mrs. Bunch was put on a plane to San Francisco. She wanted to do something to stop the persecution of the men who had enough courage to protest the murder of her son. She contacted Attorney Terrence Hallinan and he agreed to defend the men.

Hallinan thinks they "will face a general court martial which very likely will convict them and for which they can, and possibly might, receive the death penalty."

In his view the army is using the mutiny charge to create a smokescreen over the death of Bunch. "They want to cover up for the death of this young man," he said, "and the army's failure to treat him. Also, this is clearly intended as an example to soldiers who participated in the peace march that they better stop monkeying around with antiwar activity and they better get in line."

Mallinan sought to press a damage suit against the army on behalf of Mrs. Bunch, but he found that the army is immune to such civil suits. At best Mrs. Bunch can hope for statutory compensation of a few thousand dollars as "blood money" for her slain son. But even this is granted only if a GI dies "in the line of duty." Richard Bunch, the army will probably argue, doesn't meet this requirement.

Meanwhile, those GIs who stood up for the slain soldier can expect severe punishment for their dissent.

Generals are fond of saying -- from their protected bunkers -- that war is hell, but being a GI is shit.

INTERVIEW WITH PHIL HUTCHINGS by Robert Allen
San Francisco, Oct. 24, 1968

Q. There has been a great deal of talk lately about the "new SNCC." What's behind this?

A. Well, at our staff meeting in June, 1968, we made a conscious attempt to try and define the objectives and goals of SNCC which were relevant to the struggle of 1968. A three page basic manifesto of general goals toward which the organization is striving was adopted. This manifesto grows out of a series of meetings dating back to an October 1967 meeting of the central committee. At that meeting we elected a political committee charged with further hammering out objectives of the organization. In February this committee met with a broad spectrum of the organization and hammered out a statement on Pan-Africanism as the basic goal and objective of SNCC. This statement was approved at our June meeting.

In this manifesto we link black people in this country with people of African descent all over the world. We're talking about the fact that our basic identity is shaped through an identity of struggle, around the fact that we are fightin international white racism, international white capitalism and that we are fighting those forces that have kept down black people all over the world for both racial and economic reasons.

We are also trying to gear and structure our organization to what we feel is a revolutionary concept of how an organization must run.

We are talking about a group and a central committee as being the decision-making body — as the Algerians had their political bureau, as the Vietnamese have their central committee. There is no one key person who becomes the spokesman and key decision-maker, and we think that a move in that direction — toward collective leadership — is the kind of move we have to make because of the increasing intimidation that has happened to SNCC, and the fact that during the last year H. Rap Brown, as the chairman and official spokesman of SNCC, was in constant danger of house arrest, intimidation and all kinds of manifestations of naked racism. We felt that no individual, no one person should have to go through that kind of thing again, and that was one of the reasons which prompted us to change not only our structure but begin to xx try xx and tighten up on a much borader organizational level.

My role in SNCC, for example, is not as leader or decision-maker but as the individual charged with implementing in the organization the decisions of the central committee. We have decentralized the role of spokesmen among the ten deputy chairmen.

Q. You spoke of the struggle against capitalism. What is the significance of some recent developments in which black power has been equated, or very nearly equated, with black business or black capitalism. How would

you interpret this?

A. We think that anybody who is talking about black capitalism and of black control of black communities in a system where you have international imperialism is insane. We beleive that there are going to be a lot of conscious attempts by the power structure and black hustlers to say that black power is everything but what it really is. Black power is exactly what Nkrumah said it was: it means getting guns to get your own control; it means getting the necessary political organization and apparatus to begin to destroy this racist, decadent, capitalistic system and bring it down by recognizing that in the final analysis it stands on violent force — that racist cops are just the beginning points of the NationalGuard, and that the army is a part of the institutional framework which has to be confronted.

People who are talking about getting power without first confronting the cops and the National Guard and the army are not talking about revolution. People who are talking about gaining economic and political power first, and not understanding where political power comes from — from the barrel of a shotgun — are not talking about revolution. They are talking about reform. They are talking about copping out. They are not talking about change

What we have to talk about is what is necessary for black people and what kind of strategy begins to make sense for the kinds of changes that black people need to have power and basic human dignity. That is not black capitalism. It is not control of a black community within a white capitalistic system. It is only by moving on their own, building a political organization springing from an ideology which transcends the boundaries of locality, of state, of nation, that black people and oppressed people all over the world can begin to win liberation.

When we understand that this country controls 60% of the wealth of the world, then we cannot talk about getting freedom in certain parts of the country. We cannot talk about achieving political control of key cities in this country. We cannot talk about having little hamlets of freedom in what is basically an oppressor country. This is pure fantasy.

Q. What, then, should be the response of radicals to efforts, such as those being made by LeRoi Jones and the United Brothers in Newark, to establish black self-government in certain cities?

A. Well, I come from Newark where one of the thrusts of the black movement is toward self-government. We give that movement critical support because we think that black people have got to have a black person over them in a position where that person makes some decisions,

no matter how important or unimportant they may be, so that they can understand that the contradictions in this system are not only in terms of race but also in terms of the structure of the system; that Carl Stokes, Richard Hatcher and even a black mayor of Newark cannot change this country. He cannot even change the decisions that affect black people in a particular city or county. Black power, as we have stated in SNCC for so long, is not black visibility. What we are talking about is total change and not just substituting black faces for white faces in what is basically an oppressive system.

Q. What is the significance of the Presidential election for the black liberation movement?

A. We think the major significance is the whole rise in terms of repression, in terms of what will happen whoever is the next President. What we see that Wallace has done, not that he will win, is to legitimize the whole cracking down on dissent, repression and the theme of "law and order." No matter who is elected, Humphrey or Nixon, they will carry out the same policies in the black community that Wallace would have. This is what many people have said is the beginning of the rise of probable fascism in the country, and the black communities are most dertainly going to bear the brunt of this.

As far as actual voting, the position of SNCC is that the elections are basically irrelevant, that they have nothing to do with power in this country. The basic power in the country is economic, which is something that people never vote on. We have no power over how the big corporations are run, and the power of these corporations remains whether you have a Democrat or a Republican in office.

We also try to explain how the immediate things that affect black people are also not up for the vote. You can't vote on who is going to be your welfare caseworker, or getting rid of some merchant who is selling you bad meat. You are not able to vote out the cop who intimidates your kids or beats your head. And you can't vote to get rid of a slumlord. All these are political problems but there is nothing in the electoral system that relates to them.

We also think that the idea of third and fourth electoral parties is a mistake in terms of radical organizing because it simply reinforces the impression among people that somehow you get change in this country by being able to vote for something. We think people should ignore elections because they have little or nothing to do with the reality of how black people and poor people live.

Q. I understand that one of the important objectives of SNCC is to build

a black political party. What would be the nature and program of such a party?

A. We see a black political party as being very,very important to the mobilization and organization of the black liberation movement in the country, because we are beginning to take a very long-range view in terms of black liberation and how the struggle will eventually come out. A black political party will not happen overnight. Such a party has to be built from the ground up, and not top down. All of the various black groups around the country must be tied into some type of statewide, regional and national organization, and this will take a lot of time.

This tying together of local community groups is necessary because many of these groups were brought into being by first the civil rights movement and then the war on poverty. But neither of these two movements were able to deal with the basic problems which brought these groups into existence. This was because of the nature of the power structure in this country. Secondly, these groups are not as well known as the national black organizations and leaders. It's my personal position that the day is fast coming to a close for the Stokelys, Raps, Karengas, Eldridge Cleavers and even Phil Hutchings; that the mood of repression which will grow after the elections means that they will certainly crack

down on black dissent. It will be very easy to put away the visible national leaders. What we have to do is to get our radicalism into those grassroots groups. A whole lot of these groups are militant and we have to tie them together on a ~~minimum~~ national level and make them more radical and revolutionary oriented. We see this as a three to five year project, at least. We are now sending SNCC organizers around to lay the basis for a national black political party by setting up a nationwide communications network.

Q. Would you hope that the Black Panther party would participate in this organization?

A. Most definitely. We think that the Black Panther party, because it has begun to move on a national level, is making many of the same contacts, and we see that the time will come, because we are working within the same country, when those contacts will have to merge or mesh together.

Q. There have been reports recently about conflicts between the Panthers and SNCC. What does this mean?

A. We think there is a deliberate attempt by the white power structure, specifically the federal government and some of its police agencies, and also the white power press, to give the impression that SNCC and the Black Panthers are fighting each other or are at each other's throats. The

effect of this is to cause a whole lot of confusion in the black movement and the community, and this is exactly the intent. It's the old game of divide and conquer again.

As far as we're concerned, any differnces that SNCC has with the Black Panther party we would try to solve them the way that borther Malcolm always talked about black people ~~xxx~~ resolving their differences: behind closed doors, and not out on the street.

Q. How does the concept of the black united front relate to the idea of a black political party?

A. We see the black united front as an organizing vehicle. What we have to understand is that when the black united front moves to do something revolutionary then it is going to be split apart and crushed by the white power structure. Now the people in the community must be made to understand why the split has occurred and who has sabotaged black unity. Those who stay with the militants and the black radicals will then form the nucleus of the black political party.

~~Thx~~ During the existence of the black united front, the radicals will have an opportunity to work in the black community and appeal to a broaders spectrum of black people than they could if they were working only under the banner of their own organization. SNCC can

talk to more people, say, in four years time within a black united front than we could simply as SNCC. That's why we've pushed the idea.— not as an end in itself, but simply as a means to get somewhere else.

Q. Would it be correct to say that in building the political party you hope to counteract co-optation by adopting a militant program and building the organization from the ~~xxx~~ ground up?

A. That's right.

Q. SNCC has been accused of overly stressing cultural nationalism. How do you react to that accusation?

A. I don't think that anybody who's looked at SNCC seriously can say that. I mean, SNCC has some weaknesses like most organizations, but cultural nationalism is not a problem. Our position on culture is very close to Huey Newton when he says that revolutionary culture is what you do here and now; that you learn from the past so as not to make mistakes, and you begin to build the new man, the new revolutionary man, in the here and now based on present realities. We think that it's nice -- emphasis on "nice" -- that our ancestors may have ruled some kingdom in Mali or Ghana, but that doesn't mean anything in terms of power today. The real unity of black and colored people around the world is not based so much on the idea of a common history or common ancestry, but on the fact that we're fighting against a common oppression. This is a unity which is

based around politics, not just on culture.

Q. It has been suggested tha perhaps it is time to re-evaluate the tactical separation between the black and white movements. Do you agree that this is necessary?

A. I think we have a lot to learn from the Vietnamese. It's very much in the interest of the Vietnamese to have an American peace movement, not because the peace movement is going to end the war or break the white power structure in this country, but simply because the peace movement was able to some degree to hamstring Johnson. The Vietnamese understand where the real business has to be taken care of, and that's in Vietnam, but it helped very much for them to have that American peace movement which serves as a brake on the U.S. government.

In the same way, the real liberation struggle will have to be organized in the black communities, but it is very much in our interest to split the white community; to neutralize the racists and to encourage legitimate white radicals to do their thing in the white communities. For example, the effect of what happened at Columbia University and other universities, and what happened at Chicago, benefits the black movement because it begins to legitimize dissent against the white power structure on all levels and by all kinds of groups.

Now we must not become dependent on white support or use it as a crutch. And we must understand that white support plays a role, not simply as outright support of the black movement, which is one effect of it, but it is important in terms of radical white groups moving into the white communities to have disruption and to work around their ideas of what they think a revolution could be in white America. We think it is key to encourage this kind of thing.

Our immediate goal is to organize the black communities and to tie in with groups such as the Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and Indians -- what Rap Brown once called "The wretched of the American earth." This is basically a movement of colored peoples against institutionalized white racism. At the same time we think it's important for white radical groups to organize in white ~~xxxxxxxx~~ communities around class interests and special interests such as those which concern the students, or the intellectuals, or the professionals. Wallace has been able to organize a whole lot of the white working ~~xxxxx~~ class around anti-government, anti-establishment themes, which could be potentially radical. This is how the white left has got to move; to show these people it is in their interest to smash the whole system.

Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

Eldridge Cleaver continues to be the most controversial figure in the Bay Area. Last week hundreds of students at the Univeristy of California at Berkeley were arrested after they staged sit-ins protesting the fact that Cleaver's UC course on racism would not be given for credit as had been originally promised.

On the night of Oct. 22, 120 demonstrators were arrested after they camped in Sproul Hall. The protestors were supported by a sympathetic crowd of over 1,000 which gathered outside the buidding. Two days later another large group of students was arrested after barricading themselves in Moses Hall and staying there overnight.

These campus confrontations have grabbed the headlines in the local press, but an equally important drama is being played out in the Ramparts office on San Francisco's Beach St. overlooking the Bay. In this outwardly tranquil setting a small staff is scurrying to keep Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther party and Peace and Freedom party presidential candidate, out of jail.

Cleaver and several other Panthers have been charged with attempted murder in the aftermath of an April 6 shootout in Oakland. In that incident Panther Bobby Hutton was killed by local police. Cleaver was on parole at the time. His parole was immediately revoke and he was jailed on the basis of the murder indictment. His lawyer, Charles Garry, contended that the jailing was illegal because Cleaver hasn't been found guilty of anything or of violating the conditions of his parole.

It required two months of intense work and massive public pressure to have Cleaver set free. Judge Raymond Sherwin, who

had Cleaver released, took cognizance of the political nature of the imprisonment when he wrote in his opinion: "The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals.... Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

But judge Sherwin is in pastoral Solano County, not in Oakland, where Cleaver will be tried and where, if the past is any guide, the racist climate tends to ensure political convictions of black men. Hence the haste with which the staff of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver goes about its work. In a brief free moment sandwiched between telephone calls and conferences, Carlos Aponte, coordinator of the committee, told the Guardian that "There is a very good possibility that Eldridge will be jailed again" unless tremendous public sentiment can be generated to stop it.

State parole authorities appealed Judge Sherwin's ruling. The appeals court, presided over by Judge Monroe Friedman, the same judge who presided over the Huey Newton trial, ruled Sept. 27 that Cleaver must return to prison in 60 days. This ruling, in turn, is being appealed by Cleaver's attorney, but it may be months before a decision is reached. Meanwhile, Cleaver faces the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ prospect of more time in prison. The trial on the murder charge is set for Dec. 2, but it is expected that actual trial proceedings will not get underway for several more months.

Some people think, Aponte explained, that the Panthers are being taken care of by the ACLU. While Garry and other attorneys are offering their service free of charge, the fact is, he continued, that court fees, printing and secretarial costs have already run to

$23,000 of which only $11,000 is paid up. "We expect," he said, "that total cost for the Cleaver case will be about $50,000 and for both the Cleaver and Newton cases, combined expenses will be $100,000."

The defense committee is dispatching a team to Europe to build international support for Cleaver and to arrange for a European edition of his best-selling book, Soul on Ice.

"It is necessary to put aside any political differences we might have with Eldridge," Aponte stressed, " because now is the time to stand up against the type of political suppression that is increasingly coming down on all of us."

He urged sympathetic individuals and groups to (1) send contirbutions to the defense committe at 495 Beach St., San Francisco, Calif. 94133 (literature may also be obtained from the committee) and (2) write letters of protest to Gov. Ronald Reagan in Sacramento and to Henry Kerr (chairman), California Adult Authority, State Office Building No. 1, Sacramento, Calif.

3740 25th St. #101
San Francisco 94110
October 22, 1968

Dr. Herbert Marcuse
8831 Cliffridge Ave.
La Jolla, Calif.

Dear Dr. Marcuse:

Enclosed is a partially editied transcript of the interview we did this weekend for the Guardian. I think that it is a good interview, but that it can be strengthened further by any comments you wish to add on the article in PL Magazine.

To make matters a bit easier for our editors in New York I would suggest that any additions be typed on separate sheets of paper and that it be clearly indicated where they are to be inserted in the interview. If you find it necessary, please feel free to formulate and answer any additional questions which you think are relevant. As to ~~xxx~~ small changes you may wish to make in the transcript, simply strike out the words to be corrected and print immediately above them the corrections.

I would be grateful if you would return the corrected interview to me at the above address no later than October 28, together with any specific insturctions you may have. I will retype it and forward the manuscript to New York. It is scheduled to be published in the November 9 issue of the Guardian.

It is customary in our interviews to have a brief introductory statement describing the interviewee and the occasion of the interview. I would suggest that you might advise me as to what you would like to see in such a statement. I would further suggest, assuming some decision has been reached, that we indicate as the reason for the interview the fact that you will be speaking at the Guardian meeting in New York December 5. I think that this would be much preferable to saying that the interview was done in response to the PL attack. What are your thoughts on this matter.

As soon as we know his schedule we will write you as to when Bill Rose would be available to speak in La Jolla. We should have this information within the week.

Thank you again for granting the interview and for your kindness in offering to arrange a campus meeting for Bill. If there are any problems or delays please call me collect anytime at this number: 415 285-5171. Please keep in mind that I will need the manuscript back by Oct. 28. Otherwise we must reschedule publication.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Allen
Guardian

Q. In view of the upsurge of militancy in the student and black movements in recent years, and particularly in view of the new developments in France, would you re-assess any of the conclusions which you drew in <u>One Dimensional Man</u>?

A. I tried to present such a re-assessment in my forthcoming essay, which is called tentatively "An Essay on Liberation," to be published in January. All I can do here is very briefly summarize a few points.

By and large I am indeed more optimistic. I think the main reason for this is what happened in France in May and June of this year. Now this event has been tabled, as it were, because apparently it was, if not defeated, at least contained, but I think that it indeed marks a turning point in that it was what I would call a symbolic event in that it illuminates the possibilities of an entire historical situation.

What the events in France indicate is first of all the possibility that radical change, or, if you wish, revolution, may originate not from among the laboring classes but outside the laboring classes. And that once originated in this way, change would spread and activate militant opposition among the laboring classes.

Secondly, the events in France have shown that it was precisely the highly qualified elements among the laboring classes — white collar

workers, technical personnel -- who were most easily accessible to the most radical demands of the students; that is to say political as well as economic demands. It was the less qualified and less skilled rank and file of the laboring classes which was, under the impact of the Communist party and the Communist trade unions, led to advance traditional economic demands. This I think is a very significant event.

Thirdly, the developments in France suggest the radically new features of a potential revolution, such as those aspects of our material and intellectual culture which are capable of redefining socialism, no longer primarily in terms of the development of the productive forces, planning, etc., but in terms of the emergence of a qualitatively new type of human being, of man as the builder of socialist society with radically new needs and radically new aims which far transcend the traditional concepts of socialist theory.

The example which perhaps best illustrates what I mean is seen in the famous inscriptions on the walls of the universities in Paris during the events. They may be summarized as "All power to the imagination." This stresses the allegedly utopian -- but in reality not at all utopian -- prospects of a really free society in this historical period.

There are other indications which lead me to be more hopeful. These relate to developments in the thrid world, and also in the capitalist countries. The main the indication for more hope is again a symbolic fact; namely, that one of the poorest and weakest of peoples on the earth can effectivel resist the monstrous power of the technically most highly developed, best armed and most powerful nation in the world. This shows the ability of guerrilla warfare to draw the limits for even the most advanced and best equipped imperialist power.

Another is the development of the Cuban revolution, where, in my view, an attempt is made to build socialism from below rather than from above by the use of bureaucratic authoritarian means. Perhaps the Chines Cultural Revolution should also be included here because, as I understand it, it also attempts to counteract the bureaucratic authoritarian trends in the construction of socialism.

Finally, there is the growth of the opposition in the United States.

All of this happened after I had written the book, and it requires a re-assessment of the prospects of liberation.

Q. You referred to that fact that it was the "more qualified" rather than the "less qualified" workers in France who took up the more radical demands.

INTERVIEW 4/4/4/4/4

Why do you think this happened?

A. This indicates one of the main concepts which must be re-assessed. We have to come to grips with the concept of a revolution which may occur at a very high level of productivity against a very well functioning, highly developed industrial society, and a revolution which is not immediately and primarily the expression of impoverishment, misery and toil.

Now I know perfectly well that according to Marx a revolution against impoverishment was not the only possible kind of revolution. He could envisage a revolution carried by the more advanced elements of the working class, but he did not elaborate the requirements for such a development taking place not in and against a disintegrating and very inefficiently functioning society whose apparatus of domination is in disorder, but instead against a terribly cohesive, terribly powerful and well functioning society.

A. Some members of the new left in this country view the so-called new working class as a key agent of social change. It would seem, however, that the advocates of this view must contend with the twin tendencies of elitism and bourgeois reformism which arise when radicals orient themselves toward the more privileged sections of the working class instead of the more

oppressed sectors of that class. How would you suggest that these tendencies be counteracted?

A. Let me first say a few ~~xxxxx~~ words on the concept of the new working class. There is a very large substantive truth in this concept. It is the expression of the mere fact or tendency that in the further development of industrial society the blue collar element will decline in proportion to the white collar element not only numerically but also in terms of their respective importance in the productive process. Thus the rise of the new working class occurs in the process of production itself and is not simply an invention of the academicians or the professors.

This new strata, ~~xxxx~~ these white collar or highly qualified strata, of the working class will in the future occupy more and more the decisive positions in the productive forces, and for that reason alone they become objectively ~~xxx~~ potential carriers of social change because they would potentially be capable of arresting the capitalist process of production.

Q. Could you be more specific about how this arresting of production might take place?

A. Well, you can draw the analogy tothe old Marxist idea of a general strike. ~~xxx~~ The simple withdrawal of the manual laborers from production would by itself already be the beginning of the revolution if sustained

and not limited to 24 or 48 hours. By the same token, if now those strata which have the key role in the material process of production would be able to sustain such a strike it could well be the beginning of the end.

Q. Let's return to the original question concerning elitism and reformism.

A. The term elitism has been terribly abused. You can just as well call the Leninist concept of a vangaurd an elite. There is nothing wrong with elites. We have to know what kinds of elites, what are the goals of the elites, are they moving in the direction of socialism or are they doing the opposite? I would prefer to use the Leninist term of vanguard elements, or leading minorities or catalysts or whatever. There is nothing wrong with being a minority. All great historical changes have started with a minority and not with the majority.

Now as to reformism, it depends on what you mean. Do you mean that by stressing the importance of this class in the change toward socialism you may actually be working to streamline capitalism?

Q. Yes.

A. This possibility can never be avoided. The decisive point is to drive the reforms to a level which can no longer be sustained within the capitalist framework. At this level the reforms would indeed become revolutionary. They would entail basic changes in production relations, and that is no longer a reform.

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Q. Within the left there are serious differences over programmatic approaches to the question of ~~xxxx~~ automation. Some argue that to favor automation within a capitalist framework is tantamount to a reactionary struggle against the interests of the working class. Others contend that if the potential of automation could be radically ~~xxxxx~~ incorporated into the demands of industrial workers then this would advance the total revolutionary struggle. How would you asses the merits of these differing approaches?

A. Let me first say that I find it kind of strange to approach the problem in terms of favoring or not favoring automation. Automation is one of the basic trends in industrial society. In capitalism it is inherent in the ~~xxxx~~ structural drive for constantly increasing the productivity of labor. In socialist society it is inherent in the aim to save every more physical energy spent in socially necessary work and transfer it to machines, thereby freeing the energy of men and women for work that is not in any sense toil.

In ~~these~~ this sense automation is a bsic trend in both societies. There can only be a question of accelerating or slowing down automation. At present it seems to me that organized labor is definitely interested containing the process of automation because within the capitalist framework

it would mean -- if not slowed down to a certain dosage -- rising technological unemployment. I see no such danger in a developing socialist society and there automation would be accelerated in accordance with the technical pesources of the society.

Q. But within a capitalist society such as the U.S. how should radicals relate to this question of automation?

A. I don't think that is one of the issues with which the radical opposition, and especially the students, are directly concerned. This is at present an issue with capital on the one side and labor on the other. The trend toward socialism will be strengthened by the progress in automation, but the ability of the studetn opposition, for example, to do anything effectively about it seems to me minimal.

Q. In a recent issue of PL Magazine you were attacked for supposedly minimizing the role of class conflict under modern capitalism. The writers contended that in your view the class differences that remain are not sufficient to spur revolutionary opposition by the workers. They went on to point out that the actual economic situation of the working class has deteriorated in recent years prompting an increase in strikes. Would you comment on this criticism?

A. Let me first say that I enjoyed tremendously the first daption in this

article which says "The Professor Studies His Navel," which I'm afraid is one of the few relatively correct statements in this article. I must indeed confess that when I take a bath I usually comtemplate my navel. I believe that this is neither a specific quality of the professor nor is it something that can be considered a crime against socialism, so I will continue ~~xxx~~ doing it.

Now as to your question. I have not minized the class conflicts in the Unites States. I have not said that ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ they don't exist. What I did say is that they are -- I would even say exclusively -- economic conflicts which are being carried out within the framework of the capitalist society itself. The increasing number of strikes in recent years is no argument against what I've said, unless these strikes were political strikes. Economic strikes for higher wages and better working conditions belong to the traditional reformist operation of organized labor and by themselves do not in any way indicate the acceleration of class conflict.

The political attitude of the trade union leadership, and this is not limited to the leadership of recent years, I think strengthens my point and shows very clearly to what extent organized labor in this country is committed to the reproduction and strengthening of the capitalist system.

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~~Hmm~~ As to how far the rank and file follows the leadership in this respect I cannot say. It seems to me that recent polls and the large potential votes for Wallace points in the same direction.

Now with all this I will not say, and I did not say, that class conflicts have disappeared. They are evident on the traditional economic level. They have not by any means reached the point where any such thing as a sharpening of class consciousness can be expected. This remains, however, a temporary sitaution -- temporary in the sense that capitalism, in keeping with its very structure, will never be able to do away with class conflict. What I have stressed is the very strong capacity of advanced capitalism to contain these conflicts, or, one step further, to suspend them by virtue of mechanisms we well know: the increasing imperialist trend, the growing productivity of labor and the possible increase in the standard of labor, political indoctrination, etc. This is certainly not saying that capitalism will be able to do away with these conflicts altogether.

Q. You would not agree then that the struggle for economic reforms can be a viable mechanism for increasing political consciousness?

A. This again is an old Leninist concept. All reforms can lead to a strengthening of class consciousness if and when the merely economic

reforms are extended to political demands. As long as capitalism is capable of ~~of~~ coming to terms on ~~them~~ purely economic demands ~~they~~ these will not lead to greater class consciousness.

Q. You seem to discount the black liberation movement as an agent of revolutionary social change on the grounds that most of the black population is outside the capitalist economic system and therefore is precluded from building a movement capable of transcending that system. However, it could also be argued that blacks people are more correctly described as simply the most exploited and oppressed section of the working class and therefore the black movement could play a vanguard role in a revolutionary struggle. Would you comment on these differing views?

A. You see there is, as far as I can see, no essential link between the most exploited strata of the population and revolutionary consciousness. Frequently the opposite is the case. Some people tend to succumb to the fetish ~~that~~ of considering the laboring classes as a priori revolutionary classes and, against the most elementary concepts of Marxism and Leninism, simply overlook or neglect the fact that the working class itself ~~changes~~ changes within changes in the structure of capitalism, and these changes have to be taken into consideration by anyone worthy of being called a Marxist.

Now as far as the black power or black liberation movement

is concerned, I have not discounted its radical potential. Just as in the case of the students what I did say is that by themselves they are not a revolutionary force but as we have seen in France they can very well, and perhaps already do, function as a catalyst of radical change in their role as a leading minority, politically conscious, whose task it would be in the present situation to extend their consciousness, to extend their goals, in a process of radical education, to broader strata of the population. And by radical education I do include actions on the streets and use of those means which may awaken the attention and consciousness of other groups.

Q. Speaking of the process of education, there is some sentiment in the student movement that the university as it now exists in American society should be destroyed rather than reformed. What is your view of the role of the university and what do you think of this sentiment?

A. As far as the destruction of the university is concerned this is already well underway in California, for instance, through the actions of the Legislature, the Governor and Mr. Rafferty [state superintendent of public instruction], and I think it would be an unfair competition with these forces if the student movement on its part would engage in the

destruction of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ univeristy. I have always said and I still say that the American universities are the oassis or refuge of free and critical thought, at least the better ones.

What the student movement ~~xxxxxx~~ should do, in my view, is insist on structural reforms of the university; that is to say radical transformation of the existing universities rather than trying to build up competing universities which necessarily within the framework of capitalism will remain second or third rate insitutions.

Q. This summer you had occasion to talk with ~~xxxx~~ European student leaders. What do you think are some of the leading ideological currents within the European student movement which may be instructive to American student activists?

A. Well this was one of the most heart-warming experiences I've had in my life.— to see that in the student movement you have an international movement which grew up and is developing without any organization. In other words there is such a thing as solidarity, there is such a thing as a community of ~~xxxxx~~ goals which emerges even without the proper traditional organization.

I found a general trend toward socialism in the international student movement, but I met with a new definition of socialism, very ~~x~~

different from the Stalinist and post-Stalinist socialism. It is a kind of libertarian or humanistic socialism which is more radical than the traditional concept in as much as it is the expression of the vital need for qualitative changes in the entire way of life. In other words, socialism no longer appearing as ~~xxx~~ more rational or more effective than capitalism, but as rendering possible an entirely new way of life in all dimensions of the human existence. I saw a movement which does not wait for the new man and the new woman to devlop after the change has come about, but a movement in which this new type of man and woman is already alive while working for the change. I think this is one of the most optimistic elements in the present situation.

Q. How does this new vision of socialism relate to the traditional ~~xxxxxxxx~~ socialist goal of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the classless society?

A. If it will be at all, it will be a classless society. It should be unnecessary to stress that the Marxist concept of the basic institutions of socialism will remain the prerequisite for even the most libertarian and humanistic society, that is to say the socialization of the means of production, their collective control by freely associated individuals and planning in accordance with the developing needs of men and women.

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Q. After you returned from Europe there were reports that German student leader Rudi Dutschke (sp?) might be coming to this country to study at your invitation. You denied that you had invited Dutschke, and this was interpreted by some as a disavowal on your part of the militant student movement...

A. This suggestion is for me of very great importance. As I think I have made clear, I see in the student movement today one of the greatest hopes for the future and everything and anything that may be interpreted or look like my dissociation from the student movement I have to reject categorically, not on personal grounds but on objective grounds. I did talk with Dutschke about the possibility of him coming to this country and completing his studies. I did not invite him because obviously the political climate in this area is, to say the least, not exactly conducive to the presence and to the studies of a man like Dutschke, and I certainly didn't want him to risk his life a second time.

Q. Earlier you agreed that it is necessary for the radical movement to begin now developing the new man and the new woman. Yet within the movement itself there have been charges that bourgeois tendencies still persist, especially in the form of male chauvinism. Partly in response to this tendency a women's liberation movement has sprung up. What do you think

A. I would say that if it is possible to talk seriously of a women's liberation movement then there is something basically wrong with the movement as a whole. The concept of human freedom does not establish any distinctions between man and woman other than those -- and I use the term here very intentionally -- which are derived from the very nature of the woman. And what we can reasonably call the nature of the woman does not imply inferiority. This is a bourgeois concept, and if it is retained in any form in the new left then this is disastrous.

The equality between man and woman, on the other hand, should not mean that women partake equally as exploiters and oppressors; that is, that women become equally efficient as competitors in business, for example. Equality means that under no circumstances can the woman be treated as a mere object, neither as a mere sexual object nor as a mere kitchen object nor as a mere political object. Whatever specific qualitites a woman may have, she remains subject as well as object.

The notion of giving up oneself, surrendering or abandoning oneself to another is again a bourgeois notion which contains, although in a clever and sophisticated form, the idea of woman as mere object.

Let me add that as long as the separation is practiced

between what I do as a political person and the way I behave outside the formal political arena, the new type of man and woman is not being created. You cannot be on the one hand a political revolutionary and speak against exploitation, and, on the other hand, continue to practice exploitation where it is not immediately political or economic, for example, in your personal relations.

Q. You have been criticized for stressing the need for individual freedom. I s there any way to reconcile your idea of individual freedom with the concept of the individual who finds fulfillment and freedom through commitment to the social welfare of his fellowman?

A. To contrast or oppose individual freedom and commitment to the general welfare and to the socialist community is simply one of the most regressive and reactionary petty bourgeois concepts and plays right into the hands of the establishment. It is a token of socialism that individual freedom presupposes concern for and commitment to the common welfare. Further, socialism eleiminates the conflict between the common interests and the individual. As long as this conflict exists there is neither individual freedom nor freedom for the society as a whole.

Q. With the growth of the movement for social change in this country there has developed a debate over forms of organization. Briefly,

the debate centers around whether the movement should adopt a Leninist form of organization or some more decentralized form. What is your position on this issue?

A. I don't think I can talk concretely about forms of organization because these must be developed and concretized in the course of political action. There is one thing, however, I would like to say. It seems to me that the traditional centralized forms of organization have become obsolete to the degree that the repressive apparatus or the apparatus of survelliance available to the powers that be is ever more effectively streamlined and extended to cope with such organizations. We can very well envisage a situation in which within 24 hours all of the key personnel in such an organization could be rounded up and jailed, and that could very well finish the organization.

Therefore I believe that a trend toward a decentralized form of organization corresponds to the actual development of advanced capitalist society. But the concrete forms must be developed in the course of struggle itself.

I add, however, that mere spontaniety will never suffice. There is, and I know that, a strong anarchistic element in the new left. This may be a potent catalyst, but without organization there cannot be

an effective movement. The two poles simply must be in one way or another combined, and I rather like to call that, not entirely flippanlly, something like organized spontaniety or spontaneous organization.