

SDS new left notes

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 27

the fire next time

BRING THE WAR HOME

ALL U.S. OCCUPATION
TROOPS OUT OF VIET NAM,
OUT OF THE BLACK AND
BROWN COMMUNITIES, AND
OUT OF THE SCHOOLS.



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WHO WE ARE & WHERE WE'RE AT

All over the world people are rising up and fighting for their freedom. The Vietnamese are winning their war for independence, while the strongest military machine in history sinks deeper into the jungle mud. The Cuban revolution, shouting "Yankee Go Home!", has inspired new freedom struggles in nearly every other Latin American nation. Puerto Ricans living under the colonial rule of the United States are refusing to fight for the U.S. Army. Over 200 American cities have burned as black people have thrown off the yoke of 400 years of slavery and oppression. Workers in factories have disregarded their sell-out leadership and staged wildcat strikes for higher pay and better working conditions. American GIs are marching against the Vietnam War and are tearing up the stockades. And in the schools and streets of America, young white people are beginning to make demands and fight for them.

There is a monster in this world. A monster whose wealth has been built by systematically gaining control over nearly every country, raping their resources, enslaving their peoples, and extracting their wealth for the profit of a few rich Americans. In Vietnam this ruling class has fought history's most brutal war, destroying villages, crops, and entire economy, and practicing genocide against a people, simply to maintain economic control of Southeast Asia. And the same is happening in Guatemala, Argentina, Portugal, and Laos, under-developed Third World countries where American Green Berets have been sent to crush movements for national liberation. We call this monster imperialism and we say it must be destroyed.

Within America's affluent borders live millions of black, brown, and Oriental people, systematically denied jobs and education, adequate medical facilities and housing, and even enough food to feed their families. The open rebellions of black people in the last five years have shown us that they, like the Vietnamese, will no longer accept the bondage of imperialism, and that a movement is being built that will stop at nothing short of the total liberation of the black colony in America.

Yet we can see that more people than the Vietnamese and Third World peoples, more people than the black and brown people of America pay the price of imperialism. The sons and brothers of working people, not of politicians or corporation executives, are forced to fight and die in Vietnam. Mine workers die daily of the black lung disease because the mine owners won't pay to make the mines safe to work in. Factory

workers are forced to work faster and faster, the factory owner calls in the pigs to bust their strikes, and strike organizers often lose their jobs. The cities choke with air pollution, but the power companies would rather pay small fines than redesign their plants to make electricity without smog. Places to live are impossible to find because there's no profit in low-rent housing, and the hospitals are known as butcher shops because you can't make a buck by healing the poor.

Women are exploited in the lives this society forces them to live. They are paid less than men for the same work, discouraged from higher-level jobs, and trained only for technical assistance and secretarial jobs in which they are always subordinate to men. Advertising and social pressure force women to define their lives in terms of men—as wives, mothers, and sexual objects.

As students we are not taught what we need to know to survive, but we are instead taught not to think or question. We are molded to accept the alienating, destructive jobs and culture of America. As young people we face constant harassment from pigs who enforce curfew and drug laws and try to keep us from getting together to dig our music and our culture, and from fighting those forces that keep us down. If we can find a job, we lack seniority and are the first to be fired. And it is we, as young men, who are forced to fight and maybe die for imperialism.

The imperialist ruling class maintains its power by a network of miseducation and lies, the biggest of which is racism. We are taught in a thousand ways to be racist. The fact that white working people are better off than blacks and have a little more bread, the history of white strikes broken by black scabs, and the hysteria whipped up by the pig newspapers and TV stations that black people are about to overrun white communities are a few of these lies. As long as the ruling class can convince white workers and youth to oppose the demands of black people fighting for freedom, their own power is not threatened. But when white people understand that both black and white are exploited by the same enemy, the ruling class will be on the run.

They have also tried to divide us from our brothers in other countries. The Cubans, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Koreans have all won their struggles for socialism and are leading the world-wide movement to topple American imperialism. They have begun, after

centuries of colonial oppression, to transform their nations into modern, free societies. The American people are never told the truth about these socialist revolutions, and are instead hit with a barrage of anti-Communist propaganda to prevent us from allying with these peoples and their fight.

This is not the America we read about in school, where we were taught about the democratic process and the American way. But these are the reasons why people have picked up the gun all over the world, and it is this America that has created our movement.

In SDS we believe that the only solution to the problems of imperialism is a socialist revolution. Liberal reforms which do not change the basic structure of society will not end the exploitation of working people by the rich. If we are to be free, the imperialist monster which totally controls our economic and social lives must be totally destroyed and replaced with socialism.

By a socialist revolution we mean the complete reorganization of America. Workers will control the goods and wealth they produce. Schools, transportation, housing, and all the other institutions of social welfare will be controlled by the people and not by the few rich men who now run America. Black and brown people will seize control of their communities and take back the culture which centuries of imperialist oppression has robbed from them. Women will break from the secondary roles they fill in capitalist America, and along with men will develop non-exploitative human relationships.

In the past, SDS has been an organization primarily made up of students, and at one time we even fought for reforms in universities that only increased the privileges enjoyed by students. But SDS is getting bigger, because to make a revolution in America we must build a youth movement that includes not only students but also the masses of young people who have been excluded from school. We are building a working class youth movement that understands imperialism and its ruling class as its main enemy and socialism as its main goal.

All over white America young people are in motion. Older people are too tired, too tied down by their jobs, their mortgages, and their security to move. Making a revolution means giving up everything to create something better. As white organizers, we in SDS are building a movement of revolutionary white youth that can fight alongside the Vietnamese and black people to defeat imperialism and build a socialist society.



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"When we say that we want revolutionary black power, we mean that we want the necessary amount of guns and force to destroy racism and neocolonialism in the world." This is the Black Panther Party.

You hear a lot about the Black Panthers nowadays. You hear about their guns, the shoot-outs with the pigs. You hear that some of them have died. You may even hear that they are socialist revolutionaries.

For 400 years America has subjected the black man to oppression and exploitation. Black people have served as a cheap labor force for American capitalists to exploit. For centuries they have been brutally and systematically denied the right of political self-determination, exploited as slaves and tenant farmers in the South and oppressed in the cities of the North. As a cheap source of manual labor they have been forced to settle en masse in the rotting slums of decaying cities. Black ghettos are subject to what amounts to occupation by racist police forces. Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, has written that the pigs occupy "the Black Community in the same manner and for the same reasons that the racist U.S. Armed Forces occupy South Vietnam."

"The police can't possibly be in the black community to protect our property because we own no property; and they aren't here to protect our constitutional rights because it is the police themselves who deny us those rights."

The Panthers began in Oakland, California in 1966 around a program of self-defense, protecting the community against the pigs. Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and Bobby Hutton started a police patrol. They followed the pigs around. Every time somebody was stopped by pigs the Panthers would pull up, inform people of their rights, make sure people didn't get pushed around or beaten. They would then bail the brother or sister out of jail. The cops didn't like all this, but the Panthers backed up their stance with guns. At that time in California it was legal to carry guns, a right that has since been wiped out. The Panthers' position was, and is, that black people have a right to self-defense, a right to protect themselves and their community.

The Panthers have understood the ways in which black people are fucked over. Their program has responded to the needs of the black community. Starting with the Police Alert Patrol in 1966 they have moved into a free breakfast for schoolchildren program, and are now setting up free community health programs, paid for with the profits ripped off from the exploitive ghetto merchants. A socialist program, expropriating from the businessman for the benefit of the people. And if a businessman refuses his share for the children's breakfast, the Panthers will boycott, saying "Don't buy from them." Chairman Bobby Seale says the Panthers plan "to institute free health clinics. The word 'free'. They (the power structure) talk about freedom in very abstract, superficial rhetoric. FREE breakfast for children. Now we got some freedom working. FREE health clinic, see what I mean—that's freedom. There's something materially valuable there, something for the survival of our people.... We're educating the people through a practical functioning operation of a socialist program. Once the people see a socialist program is valuable to them, they won't throw it away."

black panther



The Panthers have made it clear that they are not racist. They understand that black people must fight the liberation struggle with oppressed Latins and white working class people. They have put this idea into practice in forming coalitions with other groups. In the fall of 1968 Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, ran for president on the ticket of the Peace and Freedom Party, a primarily white organization, with Peggy Terry, a Southern white woman, as the vice-presidential candidate. In Chicago, the Panthers are part of a "rainbow coalition" with the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican revolutionary group, the Young Patriots, a group of white working class kids, and SDS. The Panthers have said: "We hear 'Hate Whitey' and 'Kill the Honkey'. These statements ignore the analysis...and they ignore the possibility of allies."

In a capitalist society, one based on economic and social domination over most of the people by a small ruling class, to speak out and act as the Panthers have done immediately creates conflict. The Panthers are about POWER. Their work in the black community poses a direct threat to the capitalists' need to keep those communities down. Because of this, the Panthers have been the primary target of fascist repression in this country.

The Oakland pigs were out to get Huey Newton, the founder of the Panthers. They ambushed him one night, and one of them came up dead and another wounded. Huey lay chained to a hospital bed under armed guard (he had been wounded in the stomach) for seven months.

Everyone thought he would get the gas chamber, but the Panthers and the Peace and Freedom Party (a largely white organization) mounted public support for Huey and the Panthers. In one of the most important and most publicized trials in American history, Huey was convicted of voluntary manslaughter, not murder. The manslaughter conviction, instead of murder, was a compromise. But Huey is still in jail.

While Huey was in jail the Panthers planned a big barbecue to raise funds for his trial. Three days before the barbecue the Panther leadership was ambushed by carloads of Oakland pigs. Bobby Hutton, aged 18, and Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, took cover in a house. After hours of the house being machinegunned and gassed, they came out with their hands up. Cleaver was wounded in the leg. The pigs told Bobby to run to the pig car. Gasping for breath he stumbled toward the car, and was shot down, murdered in cold blood.

People said of "Li'l Bobby"'s killing: "By lifting their hands against 'Li'l Bobby', they lifted their hands against the best that humanity possesses." Cleaver said: "The night they murdered 'Li'l Bobby' they killed Eldridge Cleaver, but so long as the ghost of Eldridge Cleaver walks this land, the pigs of the power structure will have an enemy."

In the last year Panther offices have been vamped on by the pigs wherever they have become forces in the black communities. Over 20 Panthers have laid down their lives—been murdered by the pigs—in the struggle to build a revolutionary movement. 21 Panthers in New York, 8 in Connecticut, and 16 in Chicago have been busted on trumped-up conspiracy charges. The repression is heavy, but the real result is that more and more people, black, brown, and white, understand the true nature of America.

To most white kids, the Panthers are an image—an image of militancy and struggle, of black people picking up the gun to protect their communities, their identities, their culture, and their lives. More than that—we are all beginning to dig how we are fucked over. All of us have been touched by the new motion in this society. More and more of us are into fighting back. "Something's happening here", something that we first saw exploding in Harlem and Watts in 1964, and then in city after city, school after school, where we work, and on military bases. It is black people who led the action, fought back first against the pigs. Black people raised the cry of revolution and the flash of exploding firebombs. The struggle has grown and the Panthers emerged out front, a vanguard. Their love for their people and their willingness to die in the fight is a model for all who will fight.

"The cats on the block out there, man, they never have been too impressed with America...but along come two niggers with some guns who stand up their on the street and talk to the cops just like the cops were talking to them. Now, they check that out."



LONG HOT SUMMER: NEWARK REBELLION

Most people will remember the 1967 Newark black rebellion. Along with the rebellions in Watts and Detroit, it was the most violent and sustained in this decade. The "long hot summer" in black urban communities has become an American tradition. What follows is an account of what it was and is like in Newark. It was written for the GI newspaper SHAKEDOWN by two whites who have lived in Newark and by some black GIs at Fort Dix who were born and raised in Newark. Though it was written with GIs in mind, it is relevant to all Americans. To white GIs and all white people it will hopefully bring about a better understanding of what black people in this country face every day.

TROOPS IN THE GHETTO

Two weeks ago New Jersey State Police received riot-control training at Fort Dix. They were housed in the 759th MP barracks and were given their training by military personnel. The training consisted of the techniques of crowd dispersion, i.e. proper use of the billy club; uses of tear gas, mace, and CS; implementing mass arrests; and the employment of confinement vehicles. It has been learned that other State Police units will also receive riot training at Dix within the next month.

The events of the last few weeks and our knowledge of past summer occurrences make it important for us to understand what riot training is really aimed at, since we all will be subjected to mandatory training and in some cases will be called to "pacify" areas here at home. Vietnam, Berkeley, Newark, and Columbia are all recent examples of the armed power of the state in action against the people. In the past, the army has been used against workers fighting for economic rights and union recognition, most infamously during the Pullman Strike of 1894, during the Haymarket Square Affair of 1886, and during the Flint Strike of 1936. And today as the student and anti-war movement grows, police and National Guard troops are used increasingly to suppress it.

The most vicious use of armed power by the state has been against people of color—at first to annihilate the Indians and take their land, later to preserve

and protect the slave system, and today to control the ghettos of our country.

The Newark ghetto is really like every black northern ghetto in America. It contains all the conditions which have fueled the anger that has flared into the explosions and rebellions that have rocked the ghettos. Many white people don't understand why black people revolt, and since it doesn't seem right to them, they put it down.

The facts of Newark are pretty ugly, and they speak for themselves. It has the highest percentage of slum housing in the nation, the highest rate of VD, maternal mortality, and new cases of TB, and it rates seventh in absolute number of drug addicts. Newark has the second highest birth rate in the nation and also the second highest rate of infant mortality. The unemployment rate in the black community is consistently more than 15%.

In the summer the ghetto is hot to baking in the "homes", and crowded and sweating in the streets. Even the parks are not within walking distance of the ghetto. In the winter landlords don't provide enough heat, and people have to light their ovens and pay huge gas bills. Rents in the black community are higher than in the more spacious tree-lined area that is white populated. One man paid \$140 for a small four-room cold-water flat with cracked paint, broken plumbing, and the usual company of rats and roaches that share everything but the rent. The residents of the ghetto are always on the move, looking for a decent place to live, but they never find one. Many landlords in Newark won't rent to black people, others won't rent to people with children, but nobody will rent to black people with black children.

Families are crowded into apartments with their relatives who come up from the South looking for "freedom" in the North, only to discover that they cannot find jobs and places to live. Usually there are two or three beds in every room, two or three or more children in a single bed. People are stacked on top of each other like animals, in tenement houses and huge high-rise projects.

Newark's black population is the MAJORITY population in the city, which is at least 55% black. But blacks have no voice in the affairs of their city.

There are a few blacks in token government positions, but the real control is by whites. The black people in Newark have nothing to say about THEIR city. Almost all of them are squeezed into two wards, which means simply that they get to elect only two of the nine men that make up the city council. In other words, the black people of Newark haven't really even had the "power of the vote". (Whether that "power" really means anything is a matter for another discussion.) The essential fact of being black in Newark—or of being black anywhere in America—is powerlessness.

Not only don't blacks control their city, they are also not allowed to control their own neighborhoods. The economy of their community is owned and controlled by basically the same white structure that controls the city.

And the money leaves the community at 5:00, when the whites leave the city for the comfort of their suburban homes. In other "ethnic" neighborhoods, the corner grocery store or tavern is owned by someone of the same ethnic group. In the black community however, black people owned practically nothing—not the stores, not the bars, not the houses—until the rebellion two years ago. The reason blacks didn't own anything (still don't CONTROL anything) was not because they didn't want to make money like everybody else. It is because they HAVEN'T BEEN ALLOWED TO! Black people who owned their own homes were constantly harassed by local officials about the condition of their homes or the sidewalks in front, while the white slumlords who owned blocks of houses that violated every section of the city's housing code were never bothered—they paid off and the City shut up.

Blacks (and all poor people) have to pay MORE for LESS than the middle class or rich. All food prices are higher—and they go up on the 1st of each month when welfare checks arrive. All food quality is lower; any meat dealer will tell you (if you're white and suburban-looking) that only the lowest grade—often BELOW commercial grade—is packaged and delivered to ghetto stores. This is even true of supermarkets that are part of a chain. It is impossible for most

people to get outside of the area to more suburban markets; many people don't have cars, a family's groceries cannot be carried on the bus, and by the time they lay out for a cab, they have spent what they were going to save. And it doesn't matter how smart or thrifty you are—if you've got to have furniture and you don't have cash, you've got to get it from the man who will give you credit. There is only one man like that. He is the "loan shark" who charges four times in interest what the merchandise is worth! Like the jewelry store owners in Wrightstown do to us.

If you're on welfare and you go get a job, as much money as you earn is deducted from your welfare payments. So it doesn't make sense to work—the hard, bad-paying, humiliating jobs that most women are able to get don't pay any more, so why not be at home with your kids? It's important to note, too, that black people didn't create welfare—the state did.

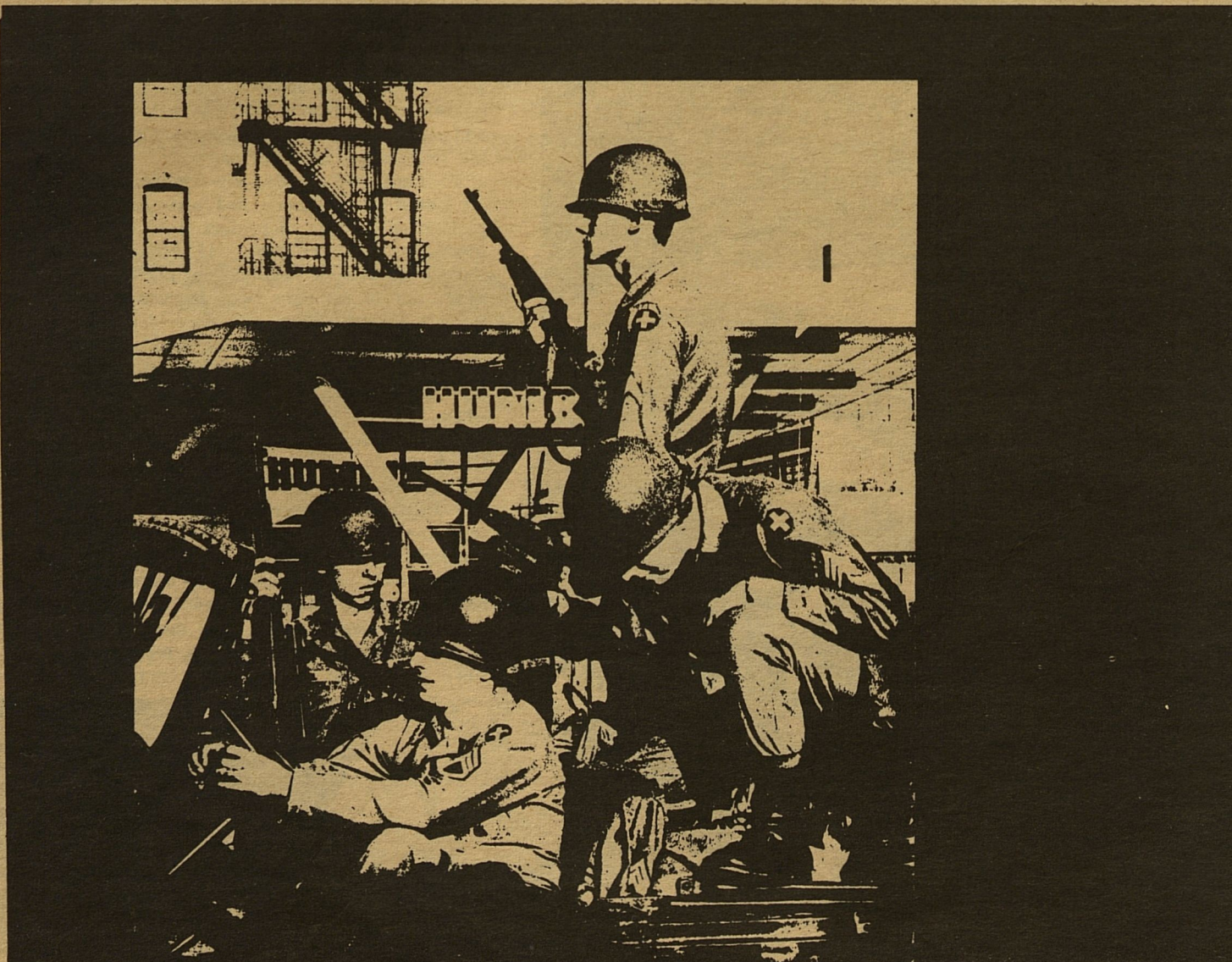
What people on "the outside" don't understand is that the ghetto is a trap. Black people don't like to be poor, wear raggedy clothes, or eat neckbones all the time and steak never. In Newark, significant sections of the community had organized for change. People had gotten together peacefully in all kinds of ways over a period of several years. They had protested bad conditions and unfair practices. They had signed petitions to the City Hall, made phone calls, written letters, gone on rent strikes, demonstrated for better garbage removal, construction of traffic lights and recreation centers, an end to split-sessions in the schools, an end to the worst practices of the Welfare Department, an end to police mistreatment of the people and creation of a civilian review board, etc., etc. THEY HAD TO DO IT THAT WAY BECAUSE THEY HAD ALREADY FOUND OUT THERE WASN'T ANY SUCH THING AS DOING IT ALONE—by pulling your own butt up by your own bootstraps. So they did it together. And the city responded. It responded by framing rent-strikers on phony charges or having them evicted; it responded by jailing peaceful pickets; it responded by calling local leaders communists. The police in the local precinct arrested and beat teenage kids who were associated with protest activities. Neighborhood action offices had their windows busted out. Welfare mothers were left without their food money for a month.

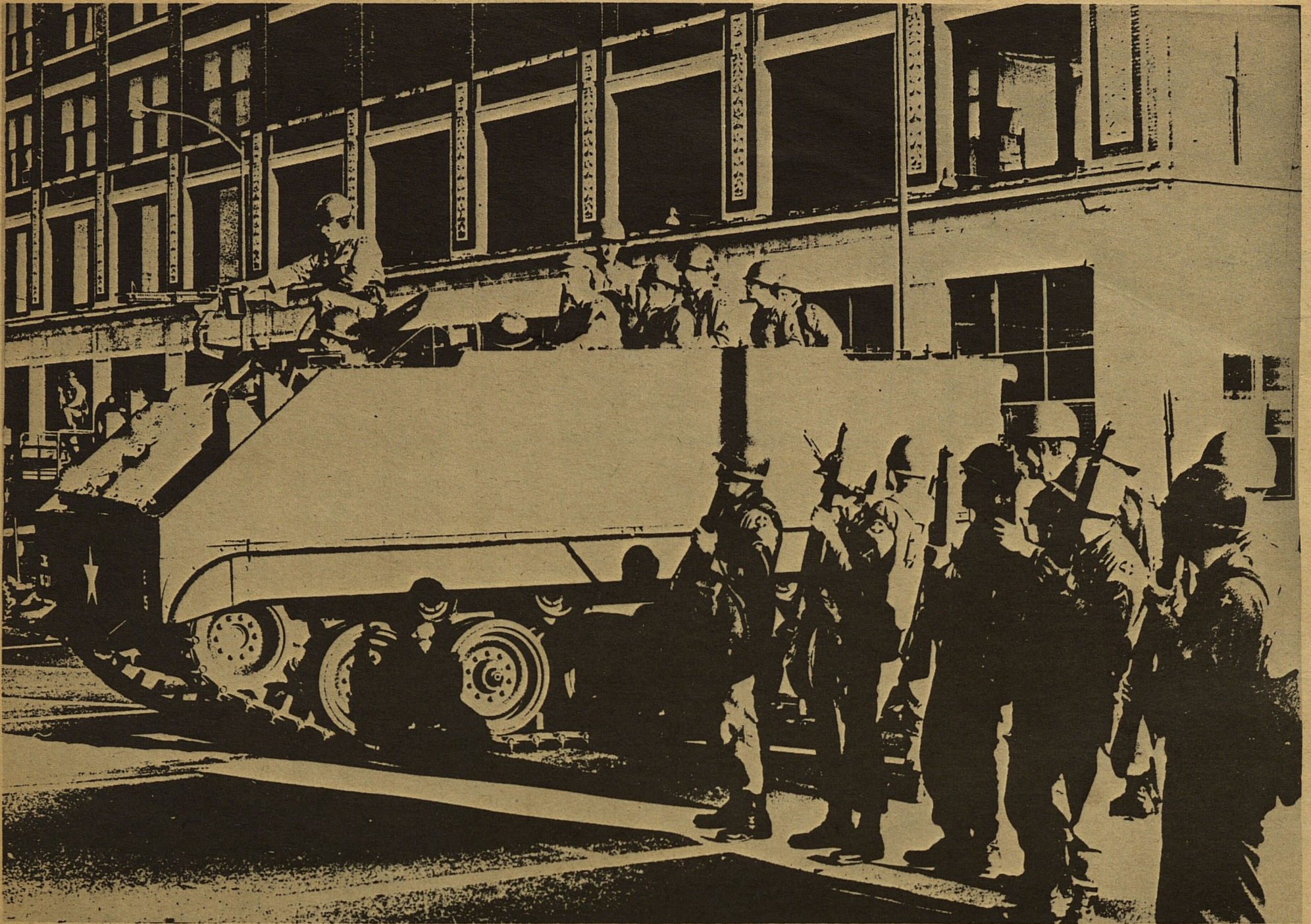
At first the people were afraid because they knew all this shit would come down on their heads if they got together. But then people started getting LESS SCARED and more ANGRY. It seemed there was no way to make things better. The more "reasonable" you were, the less you got anyplace at all. The officials handed down a lot of bullshit—and did nothing. Often the City didn't even pretend to listen.

What people learned was that demonstrating got them next to nowhere too. People aren't fools. When they try to do something and get slapped down over and over again, most people have the good sense NOT to get up and try it the same way again. They figure out how to deliver their own punch.

THE COMMUNITY HAD TO BE HEARD

Finally in July of '67 the last straw fell. The ghetto erupted to the sound of a black cab driver being beaten by white cops. Everybody got everything—a whole lot of things they needed and didn't have. The cops got theirs too—"looting" like everybody else. People replaced their broken-down chairs with new ones. They stocked up on food for months. Kids brought home clothes not only for themselves but for all the other kids in their family. People took things and gave them to other people. People risked their lives for such things as rubber-thonged sandals and hair rollers. And a lot of people died. Most





of them were not doing anything that was in any way "illegal"; most of them were minding their own business, like Mrs. Spellman, the mother of 11 children, who was shot to death in her own living room. People were murdered sadistically, like 19-year-old Jimmy Rutledge, who was shot point blank at least 39 times—whose body would have been unidentifiable had not some of his friends witnessed the killing. What was Jimmy Rutledge's crime? Being in a boarded-up tavern and coming out with his hands up.

It's important to realize WHO HAD THE GUNS in Newark. The City Police, the State Troopers, and the National Guard (Jersey Blues) had the guns. That's how come 26 black people were killed and only two whites (who died from related causes). They acted as though they believed that every black person was armed and mobilized to kill them. So they got crazy—ran around terrified and trigger-happy in the streets—and spent from Friday to Monday shooting at EACH OTHER, instead of at snipers. Supposedly the Guard was there just to quiet things down, but in fact their presence made people more furious than ever. They totally occupied the town; they helped the local police who had always acted like brutes to the people of the neighborhood; they helped the State Troopers who—during the period of curfew when the residents had to be in their homes—went through town busting out windows and destroying the merchandise in the few stores owned by blacks. In other words, the Guard was called into Newark to defend the interests of the people who had always controlled the city and exploited and colonized the black community.

Even now, almost two years after the rebellion, blacks are still angry at the way the white government of Newark opposes all efforts of the black community to defend itself from the landlords, merchants, and police. The "poverty program" in Newark has not helped the people at all. For every dollar that was supposed to go to black people, three more went to local businesses. There has been such misuse of funds in a city known for corruption, with the poverty program controlled by the Democratic Party machine. Investigations of the program reveal that officials appointed to the program by the Mayor have taken big slices out of poverty money. Then these

same politicians have turned around and complained to white people living in Newark that black people were getting too much.

Unemployment is still high in the black neighborhood, and it's not because people don't want jobs. Just this past week, Newark businessmen said that they did not have summer jobs for even half of the people who want them.

Housing is getting harder and harder to find. Newark-Rutgers University, Newark College of Engineering, and Essex County College have evicted thousands of black people from their homes in order to expand. To suit the needs of suburban commuters, the city is building two six-lane highways right through the black neighborhood. Already 7,000 have been evicted. Where are they to go?

Consequently, people have been forced to pay higher and higher rent because housing is harder and harder to find. If they can't afford the rent, and few can, black people have no choice but to apply for public housing in the "projects".

It is clear that powerful whites in Newark have begun an economic war on the black community to force it out of Newark.

Two weeks ago in Newark the black community was threatened and attacked once more. Dexter Johnson, a 17-year-old black man, was shot and killed by a policeman, Charles Knox. Johnson was testing out a friend's car he was planning to buy. While he was driving, the car grazed the police car Knox and another cop were riding in. Knox chased after him and cornered him in an alley, where he shot Dexter as several of his friends stood by.

Now Knox was a black cop, but that didn't make any difference. There's nothing new in the "Man's" using black agents to control and pacify the black community. People knew which side Knox was on when politicians and merchants came to his defense.

When the people in the neighborhood heard what happened, they came out of their tenements into the street. Soon there were more than a thousand people on Clinton Avenue. Some people turned their anger on a few shops, like those near Fort Dix, which were known to overcharge and cheat the people out of the food, clothing, and commodities they needed.

As soon as this began, the city government reacted and sent in the

entire police force, armed with shotguns. Police every once in a while fired at random into the air. The mayor also sent in his "poverty war" officials and hustlers to calm people down, but they were booed and ignored. Finally, as a light rain began to fall, the people left the streets and returned to their apartments.

The next day Mayor Adonizio imposed a 10 o'clock curfew on the black section of town in response to cries from landlords and merchants for more police protection from the people. At the same time, some companies here at Fort Dix were put on restriction in case the police, state troopers, and National Guard were not enough. So Tuesday night 150 cops, again with loaded shotguns, marched down Central and Springfield Avenues, threatening to arrest anybody in sight. The people avoided the cops, everything was cool, and the Mayor, landlords, and merchants hailed the return of "law and order".

If the Army is called into Newark, it will not be there to free the black neighborhood, but to protect the shops and property of landlords and merchants. The Army will not fight poverty, hunger, sickness, or the merchants; it will perpetuate them at a high cost of human life. Black people have learned something about the need for self-defense from the incidents of the last few years. More and more black people are fighting back, not just in Newark, but in every American city.

CONCLUSIONS

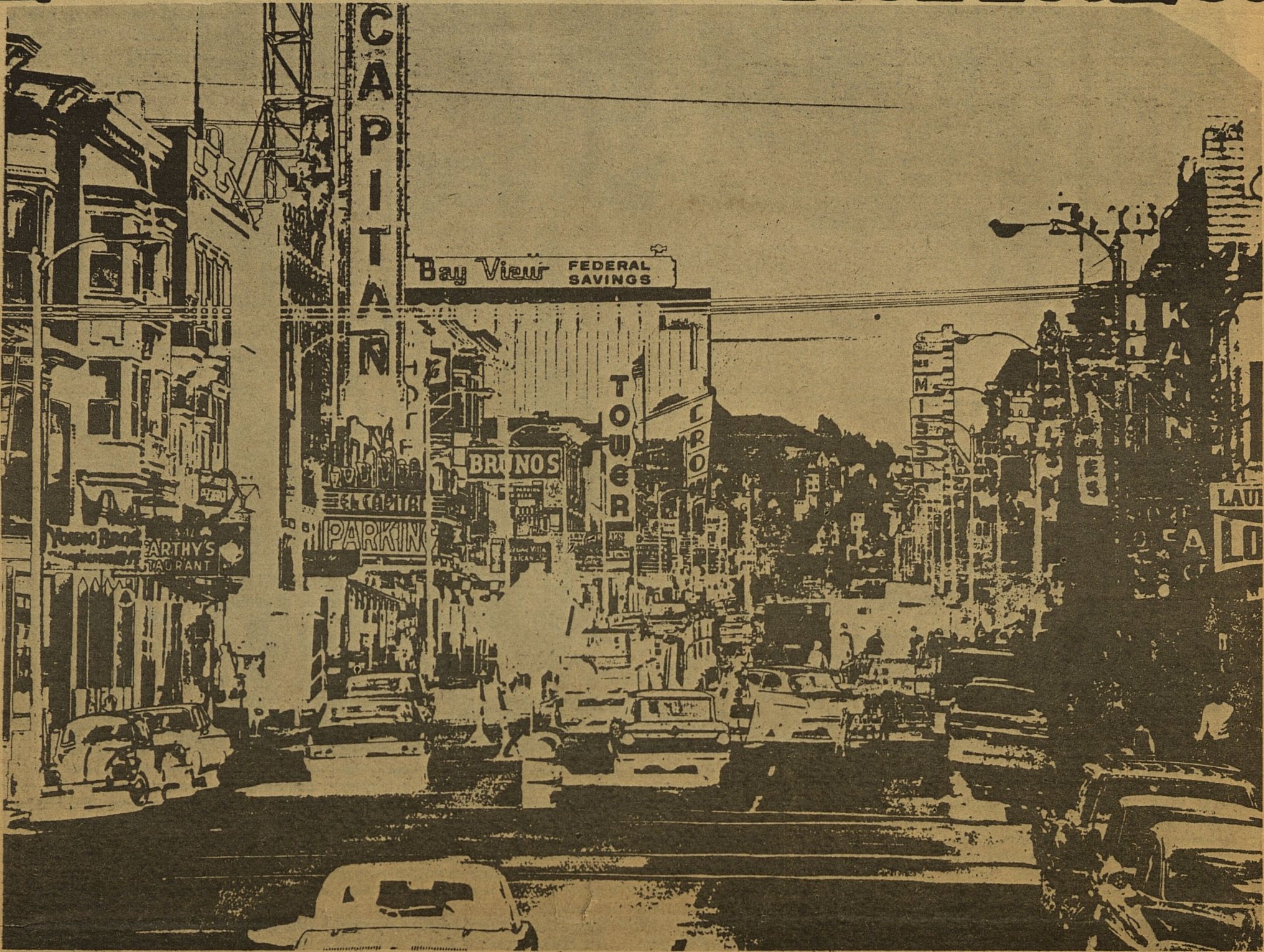
Most institutions in the society are a reflection of society as a WHOLE. As people strike out against the oppressive institutions in their lives, they see certain similarities in the ways that the institutions try to prevent people from getting what is rightfully theirs. The Vietnamese fighting to liberate his country is basically fighting the SAME fight as the black community which is trying to liberate itself. Like workers, students, and blacks, GIs are beginning to engage in struggles for liberation. The real heroes of the people are not the John Wayne-type "Green Beanies" or lifers, but men like those at Fort Hood who refused to be used against the people in Chicago. Why should American GIs or NGs go armed into an American city to put down people who are fighting for

decent lives—people who are defending themselves in the only way they have left? Why should American GIs fight to keep corrupt politicians in office or to protect businesses which, after all, are interested in profit and not people's lives?

We must break down the false barriers which are constructed to keep the people separated from each other. The same way we must smash the Army's attempts to separate company from company here at Dix; we must join with those whose interests are in giving power to people rather than those who would use us for cannon fodder in order to hold on to privileged positions. People should control their communities, workers their factories, nationalities their countries; and we must not let ourselves be used to keep that control in the hands of a few. The NGs who refused to bayonet, gas, or shoot their brothers and sisters in Berkeley last week saw how they were being used, and they spontaneously said "NO!" It came home to those NGs as it's coming home to GIs. It's a common struggle to defend ourselves. We must be prepared and organized to deal with the armed power of the state, especially when the state actually uses us indiscriminately to pursue its aims. This is true be it Nam, Berkeley, or Newark.

If we are to be successful, we must not only begin to say NO when ordered to commit crimes against the people, but we must think about how to refuse together. It's easy to pick off one guy acting alone, but there's almost nothing can be done against a whole company or battalion—and when all GIs act together as one, GIs can join with the people and stop letting themselves be used as lawns against their fellow human beings. We must talk with the used as pawns against their fellow human beings. We must talk with the guys in our own platoons and companies. SPREAD THE WORD AND ORGANIZE! We MUST support those who begin to move first, just as we need their support when we move. Support must come from all over the base, whenever our brothers begin to defend those beliefs which we know are right. Riot duty is WRONG, Vietnam is WRONG! We MUST refuse that which is wrong and against the people. We are beginning to learn; now we must begin to ACT!

Los Siete de la Raza



by Marjorie Heins, photos and text reprinted from DOCK OF THE BAY

In the morning there was a "Free Huey" rally outside the Federal Building. A few thousand demonstrators, mostly young, marched and chanted and flourished little red books in the air. Many were teenagers from Mission or Polytechnic High, cutting class for the morning. Inside, Charles Garry, attorney for the Black Panthers, was requesting that Huey be released on bail, pending the appeal of his manslaughter conviction in the death of an Oakland cop. The request was later denied.

As the rally began to break up, the J streetcar grew crowded with kids returning to their homes in the Mission, or going to make the lunch-hour scene at Dolores Park, a broad, grassy hill across from Mission High. Signs around the park proclaim it off limits to the public during school days. But most of these signs had been covered over with graffiti: "Viva La Raza" or Huelga symbols of solidarity with the grape strike.

A little farther into the Mission, sirens were screaming, a helicopter circled overhead, and police cars and fire trucks were speeding to Alvarado Street, where a cop named Joe Brodnik had just died after a run-in with some teenagers. Brodnik's partner, Paul McGoran, was badly injured. To prevent the teenagers from escaping, about 200 police, with dogs, surrounded and searched the area. They bombarded the Rios home in front of which the killing had occurred with ammunition and tear gas. Inside, the 14-year-old Rios girl was grazed by a bullet. The furniture was completely destroyed. Somehow, despite this siege, the boys escaped.

In the six days that followed, police conducted what the boys' defense committee says may be the biggest manhunt in the history of Northern California. The Mission District, always heavily patrolled, virtually became occupied territory. Friends of the suspects were harassed on the street and questioned at gunpoint. Hundreds of students from Mission High and Everett Junior High were interrogated. Oscar Rios, the brother of one of the suspects, was threatened with jail by a cop because the cop said he knew Oscar had helped the others escape.

The police began to ransack homes without warrants. Mrs. Rios lost her laundry job at Mary's Help Hospital because they didn't want their name involved in the scandal. Months after Brodnik's death, stories of police brutality still trickle into the office of Los Siete de la Raza, the Seven of the Race, where a campaign to free not only the suspects, but the whole Mission, has begun.

It was said after Brodnik's death that he was one of the better cops in the Mission. But the kids tend more to remember the two-foot rubber hose he carried with

him in order to get his point across. They remember the particular brutality of Brodnik and McGoran in beating up strikers at S.F. State. After Brodnik's death, 150 cops were added to the city's already-formidable occupying force. Now, you can't drive through the mission without seeing a cop or two bullying or frisking a Latin kid.

Jose (Popo) Rios, Mario Martinez, Rudolfo (Tony) Martinez, Jose (Bibi) Melendez, Gary (Pinky) Lescallet, and Nelson Rodriguez, the six charged with the murder of Joe Brodnik, were well-known in the Mission. The Martinez brothers were involved in the College Readiness Program at the two-year College of San Mateo. The Program, with over 700 members at one time, gives students financial aid, counseling, and tutoring in an effort to repair the damage public schools have done. The kids in the program are very close, and help each other with hassles ranging from legal defense to basic survival.

Because of this tightness and dedication, the kids in College Readiness have been able to overcome the usual culture shock of Third Worlders in a white dominated college. 80 to 90% of them have gone on to higher institutions; the average for other students is 4%.

There was only one problem. College Readiness was making revolutionaries as fast as it was making scholars. The unique recruitment method had a lot to do with this. All the students in the program eventually recruit for it, since recruiting is done in the streets. They were beginning to read Mao, Che, John Gerassi. They were talking about the role of the church in the power structure. They were understanding, most of all, the need for Latins to acquire skills and education, even if that means, at first, going to the Man's schools. After last year's rash of Third World strikes, the state recognized how very good a job College Readiness was doing. The Program has since been emasculated.

Mario recruited about 30 kids for the College Readiness Program. Among them were Nelson Rodriguez and Gio Lopez, the seventh and only free member of Los Siete. Mario and Tony also helped start COBRA, the Confederation of the Brown Race for Action. COBRA got the college to hire five more counselors for the Program and to begin an ethnic studies division.

Jose Rios and Gary Lescallet had committed themselves to joining the College Readiness Program in the fall. Both were high school dropouts, familiar faces on the street. Jose, one of 10 brothers and sisters, was always looking for jobs to help support the family. Needless to say, he had little success. Gary, and Jose Melendez, were luckier. As members of the Mission

Rebels, they could earn money simply by hanging around the Rebels' headquarters. This taught them rather quickly the nature of the government payoff.

Los Siete were respected in the Mission, but not because they were law-abiding. Like most poor kids, they responded to their oppression with attitudes of toughness and machismo. Gary is known as Pinky because he was always getting into fights and breaking his pinky. Nelson, who was kicked out of kindergarten and by third grade was carrying a gun to school, hoped to return to his homeland, El Salvador, and start a guerrilla movement there. All of the boys had a working familiarity with drugs. But this didn't make them apolitical.

The San Francisco Chronicle's coverage of Los Siete actually began the week before Joe Brodnik's death. On April 25 there appeared a front-page article by Birney Jarvis, with the subdued headline "A Gang's Terror in the Mission". Jarvis's story began: "A loose-knit gang of idlers and hoodlums are slowly closing a fist of fear around the business life of a once bustling Mission District neighborhood."

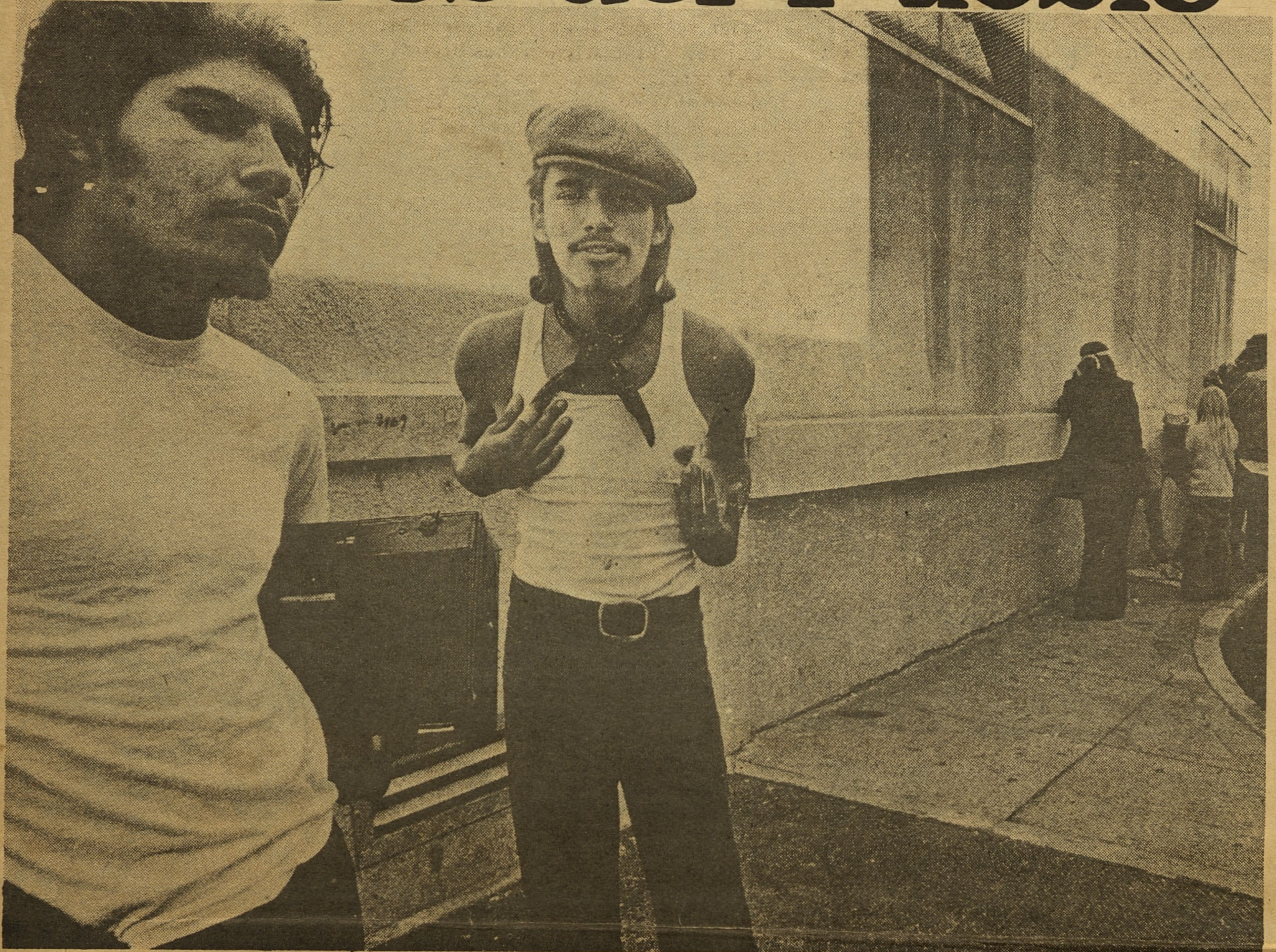
"So pervasive has the fear become, it is a virtual act of heroism for merchants to complain to police. Most store owners in the area flatly refuse to talk to outsiders about the situation."

This rubbish set the style of melodrama, sensationalism, snide generalization, vague and unsubstantiated facts, and just plain insults that characterized Chronicle coverage of the Mission for the next two weeks. Jarvis wrote later in the same article: "Businessmen...complain of almost daily harassment and intimidation." He never said which businessmen, or what percentage of businessmen.

Two mitigating articles followed. In the first, Jarvis quoted some poverty workers who took exception to the tone of his original article because it made all Latin kids sound like hoodlums. He referred to the poverty workers as "Idealistic young men and women who are trying to help Mexican-American youth in San Francisco". Clearly, his implication was that they were not only idealistic but foolish to try to help such worthless characters.

In the second article, a group of local merchants themselves denied the charges and apologized to Nelson Rodriguez as one of the kids who had been slandered. But, as the defense committee says in its newspaper, "Basta Ya!" ("Enough!"): "It makes no difference that the lie was exposed. The rulers used the story to turn the rest of the city against us, and Mayor Alioto announced the formation of a new 150-man squad of

Heroes del Pueblo



police to deal with these 'punks'. The police now had a blank check for terror in our community."

Then on May 2 appeared the first of the Chronicle's articles on Los Siete de la Raza, that is, the six boys presently in jail and charged with Brodrik's murder, and the one wanted for murder but still at large. Immediately, their guilt was assumed. The banner head began: "Gang escapes siege..." and the story read: "One of San Francisco's most highly decorated police officers met sudden death at the hands of at least three young hoodlums...."

Birney Jarvis had his say again in the May 2 Chronicle. He wrote up a bedside interview with McGoran, and his words, as usual, were loaded: "McGoran, speaking painfully through swaths of bandages, said from his hospital bed yesterday that the gang that killed his partner turned the smoking gun on him and emptied it at point-blank range.... Incredibly, the heavy slugs from the .41 magnum revolver missed the beaten, bloodied officer as he tried to crawl to safety." When the revolver was found, it reportedly had four slugs left in it. Apparently the police forgot that it was "emptied" at McGoran.

This was only one of many contradictions in the scanty serving up of facts. At first, McGoran "positively identified" Nelson Rodriguez (along with Jose Rios) as being at the scene. But when the boys were caught, it was Jose, Mario, and Gary who were arraigned first. It became increasingly clear that Nelson, "positively identified" by McGoran a few days earlier, wasn't even there.

On May 3, that 150-man "crime-busting detail" was the featured item, having just completed its first night in action.. "Most of their job," the Chronicle said, "centers around stopping suspicious characters and making sure they are not involved in illegal activity." In other words, stop a kid and see what you can bust him for.

Underneath the article on the new cop patrol was the headline "Huge Search for Killers of Policeman". Again, guilt was assumed. Described in the early edition as "Latin hippie types", the suspects were in the final edition simply "Latin types".

Jose Rios, Mario and Tony Martinez, Nelson Rodriguez, Jose Melendez, and Gary Lescallet are in jail, charged with murder and attempted murder. The Chronicle's two weeks of smear were successful, for the majority of San Franciscans consider at least one of them guilty, and don't much care which one. Yet real evidence is obviously lacking. The police have put the six in a cell together in hopes of overhearing

incriminating conversations. The boys have chased numerous finks out of their cell and have ripped hidden microphones from the ceiling. They understand the police are trying to scare them. Thus Nelson Rodriguez is charged with murder, although Attorney Jack Berman said the police told him they know Nelson wasn't there. Clearly, the cops hope Nelson will fink out. And they also hope the "real" killer will confess to get his innocent friends off the hook.

"YOU JUST COULDN'T WIN AT THIS GAME"

The Mission District, home of San Francisco's Latin population, is a broad flat stretch of land in the center of the city. Most of the streets are quiet, with two-story wood or stucco pastel-colored houses. Girls sit on stoops, their hair in rollers or teased into elaborate high designs. Boys hang around smoking dope or checking out their car engines. In America, Chicanos have an average income below that of blacks.

San Francisco has a particularly ugly, if not unique, method of keeping its minorities in place. "Very early in their school careers—usually by the third grade—children are placed on either the college track or the other track, on the basis of seemingly 'objective' reading and IQ tests. But in fact these tests are far from objective....They measure intelligence by comparing a child's test scores to those of an average group of white, privileged city children of the same age...."

"San Francisco's Mission High School (is) the lowest income school in the city....In June 1966 only 2% of the graduating class went to either the University of California or San Francisco State College. In all, 5% of Mission's seniors went to some four-year college, as against 50% for Lowell, one of the highest income schools in the city." (from "Strike at Frisco State", by the Research Organizing Committee, 330 Grove Steet, San Francisco)

How does this kind of dead-end affect the kids growing up in the Mission? In an article about the Martinez family, "Basta Ya!" answers the question: "Mario and Tony...went through what most of us have gone through: they were 'stylin' hard', being 'bad', dressing 'bad'. It was much more important to wear out-of-sight clothes than to do well in school. School was just a prison. The students there were divided against each other. White kids didn't like brown and black kids. About the only thing Mario and Tony learned in school was racism against black people.

"The brothers had a car and went 'lowriding' in the Mission. Or they'd stand out in front of the Doggie Diner

on Mission and 18th, feeling mellow. But Latin brothers standing on the street are only a target for the cops, and so they had to pretend they were waiting for a bus. The cop car would come around the block again and tell them to get moving or else...."

"Being kicked off your own streets, washing dishes at the Hilton, sweeping floors at the Olympic Club, as the brothers did—with things like that, even sharp clothes and cool cars couldn't make you feel like a man. Even hating black people didn't give you dignity. You just couldn't win at this game."

The College Readiness Program, and the street organizing that accounted for a lot of its success, was a fairly recent response to the situation of Mission teenagers....This kind of organizing has never been so visible as, for instance, Panther organizing in black ghettos. Convinced through long experience that the last place they want to be is in the Man's jail, organizers in the Mission are wary of big, militant demonstrations.

How effective their organizing in defense of Los Siete will be is not certain. Chicanos in general are probably less militant now than blacks were at the time of Huey's trial. Yet judging from the busy Los Siete office on 21st Street, the community is getting it together. The walls of the office are covered with posters of Zapata, Huey, Malcolm, and Che. A piggy bank, appropriately, collects money for the defense.

Charles Garry is only the most eminent of a team of lawyers working for the Seven. A recent \$25,000 contribution from the Huey Newton Defense Fund will help provide Garry with the research and legal assistance he needs.

The younger brothers in the Mission are beginning to regard Los Siete as revolutionary heroes. Like Huey, their roots are solidly in the community. Like Huey, they are charged with killing a cop, the ghettos clearest symbol of oppression. And like Huey, they were fighting the system with that mixture of cunning and pure physical bravery that pisses the hell out of the righteous authoritarian average cop. If a kid won't grovel when a cop narasses him, immediately that kid becomes a punk. If he fights back, he becomes a killer.

At our national convention, SDS unanimously passed a resolution supporting Los Siete de la Raza. We say FREE LOS SIETE. We say that police that occupy the black and brown communities should get out of where they don't belong. We support all revolutionary men and women, brothers and sisters, who exercise their right of self-defense and carry out the defense of their people—as Los Siete have done and as Huey Newton has done.



The Motor City 9

Last week nine women—now the Motor City Nine—walked into a classroom at Macomb Community College and barricaded the doors. Inside they interrupted the students writing final exams to talk about the most important things going on in the world today—things that teachers at Macomb College never mention or only lie about. They rapped about the war in Vietnam and about how the Vietnamese women carry on armed struggle together with Vietnamese men against U.S. imperialism.

They rapped about the struggle for liberation and the Black Panther Party, and about how Macomb College keeps black people out by charging them higher tuition, saying it's because they don't live in the same community.

They spoke about how white people are acting against the people of the world, helping the rich get richer, and how white people must join the revolution now waged by black and brown people across the world to liberate the riches of the world for all the people.

When they began to talk about how women are kept down in this country, two men got up to leave the room. It is reported that the Motor City Nine responded to such

an exhibition of male chauvinism and general pig behavior by attacking the men with karate and prevented them from leaving the room. They then continued to discuss how women are used as slave labor in the household, exploited on the labor market, and turned into sexual objects.

One of the men called the pigs and the women were arrested. They were released on bonds totaling \$6,500 for charges of disorderly person and assault and battery.

The Motor City Nine are part of the women's liberation movement. They understand that the road to women's liberation is not through personal discussions about the oppression of women; nor is it through an appeal to the public conscience through demonstrations or guerrilla theater about the issue of female liberation. It will only come when women act, not only around the issues of women's liberation, but when they act on other issues such as the war and racism. Women's liberation will come when women exercise real power as is done in Vietnam and in the Macomb college classroom.

THE WAR GOES ON

Nixon made a big splash last May by announcing that 25,000 American soldiers would be withdrawn from Vietnam, and a lot of Americans believed that the withdrawal was the beginning of the end of the war. But a quick look at the United States' other military plans exposes the "withdrawal" for what it really is: pure unadulterated bullshit.

First of all, 25,000 men is just a tiny drop in the old red white and blue bucket—it's less than 5% of American land forces in Vietnam. Nixon tries to get around this by saying that the 25,000 are the first part of a "gradual" pullout. But, as one State Department official admitted, the war could last for three more years if the U.S. pulls out two groups of 25,000 men a year. What's worse, over 100,000 American soldiers will be sent to Vietnam in the time it will take to withdraw the first 25,000.

The U.S. is also stepping up the bombing of Vietnam—using bigger, more destructive bombs and more of them—which shows that the war is not being slowed down. And Nixon's "withdrawal" plans look even stupider and phonier next to the fact that there were 3,500 more American soldiers in Vietnam in July than there were when Nixon came into office with his secret magic plans for ending the war.

A little while after Nixon announced this phony withdrawal plan, Saigon dictator Thieu corrected him by calling

the plan a "replacement" operation—he said Vietnamese troops would take the place of American ones. Then Nixon began saying the same thing—that he was "Vietnamizing" the war. But that's just as much jive as the withdrawal bullshit, since the South Vietnamese are on the side of the National Liberation Front and against the U.S. Saigon's troops keep refusing to back up American troops being attacked, and Saigon kids have protested and demonstrated against their draft and military training (just like American kids.) They just don't want to fight against their brothers in support of the American invasion. Their unity and the strength of their desire to struggle for their freedom makes them able to beat the heaviest, most advanced military power in the world.

Even if the U.S. really did pull out of Vietnam—even if Nixon's withdrawal were real instead of a load of jive to quiet anti-war feelings here in the U.S.—the end of the American invasion of Vietnam couldn't mean shit. The whole reason for the war is to make the big corporations here richer and richer by getting American control over Vietnamese resources and markets. To get this control, the U.S. has to keep the Vietnamese themselves in a state of poverty and slavery so that they don't get any part of the control or the profits. And if U.S. imperialism

loses its toehold in Vietnam, it'll move on some other country in Southeastern Asia—like Thailand, where there are already 15,000 American troops putting down the people's struggle for freedom—to make up for it. A State Department official once said that the unpopular anti-communist dictators in Southeast Asia help the U.S. by "providing important sources of raw materials as well as markets important to our own economy." That shows that all the stuff they try to tell us in the schools and newspapers about fighting so that Vietnam can be a "free", "democratic" country is a lie, and that it's money, not "freedom", that's behind the war. So as long as there are American businessmen looking to make a few more million bucks, there'll be a war like the Vietnam one—whether it's in Asia, Africa, or Latin America. But what the whole world has learned from the war in Vietnam is that when the people get together and fight back together they can win—they can beat the strongest military power in the world. The people of Latin America have learned this, and that's why when Rockefeller went on a tour of Latin America for the U.S., he had to be protected from the people's anger by the strong-arm bodyguard pigs of the dictators. From now on, when U.S. imperialism reaches out to new sources of profit, it's going to be defeated more and more.

LOOK AT IT: AMERICA 1969

Look At It: America, 1969: The war goes on, despite the jive double-talk about troop withdrawals and peace talks. Black people continue to be murdered by agents of the fat cats who run this country, if not in one way, then in another: by the pigs or the courts, by the boss or the welfare department. Working people face higher taxes, inflation, speed-ups, and the sure knowledge—if it hasn't happened already—that their sons may be shipped off to Vietnam and shipped home in a box. And young people all over the country go to prisons that are called schools, are trained for jobs that don't exist or serve no one's real interest but the boss's, and, to top it all off, get told that Vietnam is the place to defend their "freedom".

None of this is very new. The cities have been falling apart, the schools have been bullshit, the jobs have been rotten and unfulfilling for a long time.

What's new is that today not quite so many people are confused, and a lot more people are angry: angry about the fact that the promises we have heard since first grade are all jive; angry that, when you get down to it, this system is nothing but the total economic and military put-down of the oppressed peoples of the world.

And more: it's a system that steals the goods, the resources, and the labor of poor and working people all over the world in order to fill the pockets and bank accounts of a tiny capitalist class. (Call it imperialism.) It's a system that divides white workers from blacks by offering whites crumbs off the table, and telling them that if they don't stay cool the blacks will move in on their jobs, their homes, and their schools. (Call it white supremacy.) It's a system that divides men from women, forcing women to be subservient to men from childhood, to be slave labor in the home and cheap labor in the factory. (Call it male supremacy.) And it's a system that has colonized whole nations within this country—the nation of black people, the nation of brown people—to enslave, oppress, and ultimately murder the people on whose backs this country was built. (Call it fascism.)

But the lies are catching up to America—and the slick rich people and their agents in the government bureaucracies, the courts, the schools, and the pig stations just can't cut it anymore.

Black and brown people know it.

Young people know it.

More and more white working people know it.

And you know it.

LAST YEAR, THERE WERE ONLY ABOUT 10,000 OF US IN CHICAGO

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We are also expressing total support for the black liberation struggle, part of the same struggle that the Vietnamese are fighting, against the same enemy.

We are demanding independence for Puerto Rico, and an end to the colonial oppression that the Puerto Rican nation faces at the hands of U.S. imperialism.

We are demanding an end to the surtax, a tax taken from the working people of this country and used to kill working people in Vietnam and other places for fun and profit.

We are expressing solidarity with the Conspiracy 8 who led the struggle last summer in Chicago. Our action is planned to roughly coincide with the beginning of their trial.

And we are expressing support for GIs in Vietnam and throughout the world who are being made to fight the battles of the rich, like poor and working people have always been made to do. We support those GIs at Fort Hood, Fort Jackson, and many other army bases who have refused to be cannon fodder in a war against the people of Vietnam.

IT'S ALMOST HARD TO REMEMBER WHEN THE WAR BEGAN

But, after years of peace marches, petitions, and the gradual realization that this war was no "mistake" at all, one critical fact remains: the war is not just happening in Vietnam.

It is happening in the jungles of Guatemala, Bolivia, Thailand, and all oppressed nations throughout the world.

And it is happening here. In black communities throughout the country. On college campuses. And in the high schools, in the shops, and on the streets.

It is a war in which there are only two sides; a war not for domination, but for an end to domination; not for destruction, but for liberation and the unchaining of human freedom.

And it is a war in which we cannot "resist"; it is a war in which we must fight.

Bring The War Home!

National actions against the war have played a tremendous part in building the revolutionary movement in this country and in aiding the struggles of oppressed peoples throughout the world. They have helped concentrate our numbers and strength and thus allowed us a level of militancy impossible in local areas. They have enabled us to smash through that liberal web of words, polite protest, and impotence that passed for dissent in this country in the fifties and well into the sixties. They have focused the

GIs revolted, white working-class gangs turned political, and hippies (sensing the end of the love trip) acting as shock troops in street actions flourished. And, they projected a seriousness and strength of the movement which made many not on college campuses see that there was more to this thing than just a few white college missionaries in their neighborhood. The irony, of course, is that local projects have come and gone, but now youth across the country are organizing themselves in response to what's happening, and a part of what's happening is that a fighting movement has come to dominate the news in a dramatic way.

The Pentagon and Oakland also began to lay the basis for a new way of looking at organizing. We had often talked of the "decisions that affect our lives", and somehow had all too often become bogged down in bread and butter issues. Now our actions began to change some people's minds in the direction that the real issues that affected people were not the most narrow and seemingly immediate ones, but were in fact the large, social, political, moral ones—issues of militarism, racism, hunger, imperialism. In the days of a growing war demanding more and more young men; of a gold crisis threatening to bring down the American Empire; of assassinations of liberal leaders; and of increasing police control of our communities, the problems of stop lights in the community and questions of in loco parentis on campus did not grip people in the manner organizers had assumed they would. Ideologically we began to grasp the idea that the system as a whole was the enemy; tactically we began to try to attack the system as a whole system. We gradually abandoned the notion that if we fought and fought for reforms we might succeed in reforming the system away or that consciousness would somehow arise out of enough local fights so eventually the local rent-strike group would spring into action as a guerrilla force. Nevertheless, the old view of organizing held on. SDS failed to endorse the Pentagon until the very last moment when the government failed to give the Mobilization Committee permits, and then it endorsed the action in a hedged manner. Nine months later, at almost the last minute, SDS endorsed the Chicago action in a limited fashion and after much debate.

Last, but not least, militant actions affected the liberals. 1967-68 was THEIR year to end THEIR war. After the Pentagon, Allard Lowenstein scurried around the country a little faster looking for a legitimate liberal to de-fuse the growing movement. The Pentagon convinced Eugene McCarthy that he must enter the race for the Democratic Party nomination for president in order to move the protest from the streets back to electoral politics. On the one hand 1967-68 witnessed the "clean for Gene" kids all over New Hampshire and Wisconsin; Senator Fulbright's hearings on TV attacking Johnson's war and vainly trying to stem the war tide; and finally, on April Fool's eve, LBJ dropping out and halting the regular bombing of Vietnam. On the other hand, after the Pentagon, came the Hilton-Foreign Policy Association demo in New York, the

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The press made it look like a massacre. All you could see on TV were shots of the horrors and blood of pig brutality. That was the line that the bald-headed businessmen were trying to run down—"If you mess with us, we'll let you have it." But those who were there tell a different story. We were together and our power was felt. It's true that some of us got hurt, but last summer was a victory for the people in a thousand ways.

Our actions showed the Vietnamese that there were masses of young people in this country facing the same enemy that they faced.

We showed that white people would no longer sit by passively while black communities were being invaded by occupation troops every day.

We showed that the "democratic process" of choosing candidates for a presidential election was nothing more than a hoax, pulled off by the businessmen who really run this country.

And we showed the whole world that in the face of the oppressive and exploitative rulers—and the military might to back them up—thousands of people are willing to fight back.

SDS IS CALLING THE ACTION THIS YEAR

But it will be a different action. An action not only against a single war or a "foreign policy", but against the whole imperialist system that made that war a necessity. An action not only for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. occupation troops, but in support of the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people and the National Liberation Front for freedom and independence. An action not only to bring "peace to Vietnam", but beginning to establish another front against imperialism right here in America—to "bring the war home".

We are demanding that all occupational troops get out of Vietnam and every other place they don't belong immediately. This includes the black and brown communities, the workers' picket lines, the high schools, and the streets of Berkeley. No longer will we tolerate "law and order" backed up by soldiers in Vietnam, and pigs in the communities and the schools; a "law and order" that serves only the interests of those in power and tries to smash the people down whenever they rise up.

We are demanding the release of all political prisoners who have been victimized by the ever-growing attacks on the black liberation struggle and the people in general. Especially the leaders of the black liberation struggle like Huey P. Newton, Ahmed Evans, Fred Hampton, and Martin Sostre.

We are expressing total support for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the newly-formed Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Throughout the history of the war, the NLF has provided the political and military leadership to the people of South Vietnam, and has constantly fought against all enemies of Vietnamese independence. The Provisional Revolutionary Government, newly formed by the NLF and other groups, has pledged "to mobilize the South Vietnamese armed forces and people in order to push forward the struggle against U.S. aggression". Calling for the abolition of the Ky-Thieu clique, the consolidation of the liberated zones, and a thorough intensification of the war in general, the PRG also expressed total international solidarity with "the just struggle of the Afro-American people for their fundamental national rights", and pledged "to actively support the national independence movements of Asia, Africa, and Latin America".

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Here in the United States those demonstrations set the terms for the struggle and gave the movement a push in gutsiness and in the targets it chose to attack. Remember the Pentagon and the nearly simultaneous West Coast Oakland Induction Center demonstrations. The slogans, targets, and militancy were almost totally new. We moved from individual acts of moral protest—remember the spring before the draft card burning had been considered the very limit of the movement—to massive attacks on the centers of military power in this country. The Pentagon and the vast Oakland Induction Center were real; in Oakland the slogan changed from "Hell No, We Won't Go" to "HELL NO, NOBODY GOES". We had begun to realize that to stop the war we had to stop the United States government. In Oakland the movement controlled the streets for a few exhilarating days.

Before the Pentagon and Oakland, large national actions had a bad name among some organizers engaged in community work. They said that the most oppressed people never joined the marches; that they distracted from "real" organizing, and that they could not help in their work in "Uptown, Chicago, or Newark". They put forward an alleged dichotomy between local work and national demonstrations.

Arguments couldn't show why this was wrong, but history did. The Pentagon "organized" thousands of demonstrators and many thousands of TV, radio, and newspaper viewers who saw in the demonstration the growth of a movement they wanted to join. The demonstration enabled us to overcome our limited means for propaganda, our restricted access to new audiences. It reached out to millions where our organizing in the past could only reach thousands. We used the media and the potential of technology for our ends. We projected our hatred for the war and an image of strength and power. We had, in fact, overcome localism, provincialism, and tendency for "sewer socialism"—the term for those in the era of Socialist organizing before the First World War who wanted to concentrate on local issues, prove that socialists could deliver street lights faster than the bosses could, and to build socialism in one city. The demonstrations had a double effect: They spread the word that it was legitimate to fight and helped create a culture of resistance in which

Party nomination for president in order to avoid the protest from the streets leading to electoral politics. On the one hand 1967-68 witnessed the "clean for Gene" kids all over New Hampshire and Wisconsin; Senator Fulbright's hearings on TV attacking Johnson's war and vainly trying to stem the war tide; and finally, on April Fool's eve, LBJ dropping out and halting the regular bombing of Vietnam. On the other hand, after the Pentagon, came the Hilton-Foreign Policy Association demo in New York, the Dow demonstrations on campuses throughout the country, and finally Columbia. Columbia transferred to a single campus the ideas of the Pentagon: Bring the War Home. Hit where it hurts. We had moved from individual protests to attacks on the centers of power, attacks on the home ground of the war machine. Columbia drew in those whom we hadn't seen since the Pentagon. The action and the realness of the attempt to close down the universities convinced many to join us.

The year which began in Washington ended in and around the Hilton Hotel in Chicago. McCarthy entered the city the hero of thousands of youth; he left a forgotten dream. McCarthy entered the race to take us out of the streets and back into electoral politics; McCarthy pushed his own kids into the streets, and to dramatically illustrate to the country the bankruptcy of the "legitimate" way of effecting government decisions, Daley had McCarthy campaign workers beaten in their hotel room.

The Pentagon to Chicago: a year of ascending militancy and power for the movement in the United States. Those two events mark the conception and birth of a white mother country anti-imperialist movement. A movement conceived in battle and willing to die in battle. In the next year the example and the experience of those events spread across the country. Revolts in colleges, neighborhoods, and high schools spread throughout the land. Radio reports gave battle reports like baseball scores: hundreds of thousands of black and brown high-school students in the streets; San Francisco State College draws on community support; riots in Berkeley, Madison, and Kent State... on it went.

The actions on October 8-11 in Chicago will be part of a whole fall offensive against the war and imperialism. The offensive will include:

An action in San Francisco where the richest men in the world will meet at the International Industrialists' Conference September 12-14 to talk about how they can get even richer. We will make it clear to them that the people of the world will no longer stand for their robbery.

The National Action, October 8-11, when people will converge on Chicago to demand the end of the war and political repression, to voice support for the NLF and the black liberation struggle.

The November 8th Movement, November 8th is one year after Nixon was elected, a year that has seen thousands of people come to the movement. We will move in cities and towns throughout this country, leaving the mark of our growing strength at pig stations, draft boards, schools, courts, and on the streets.

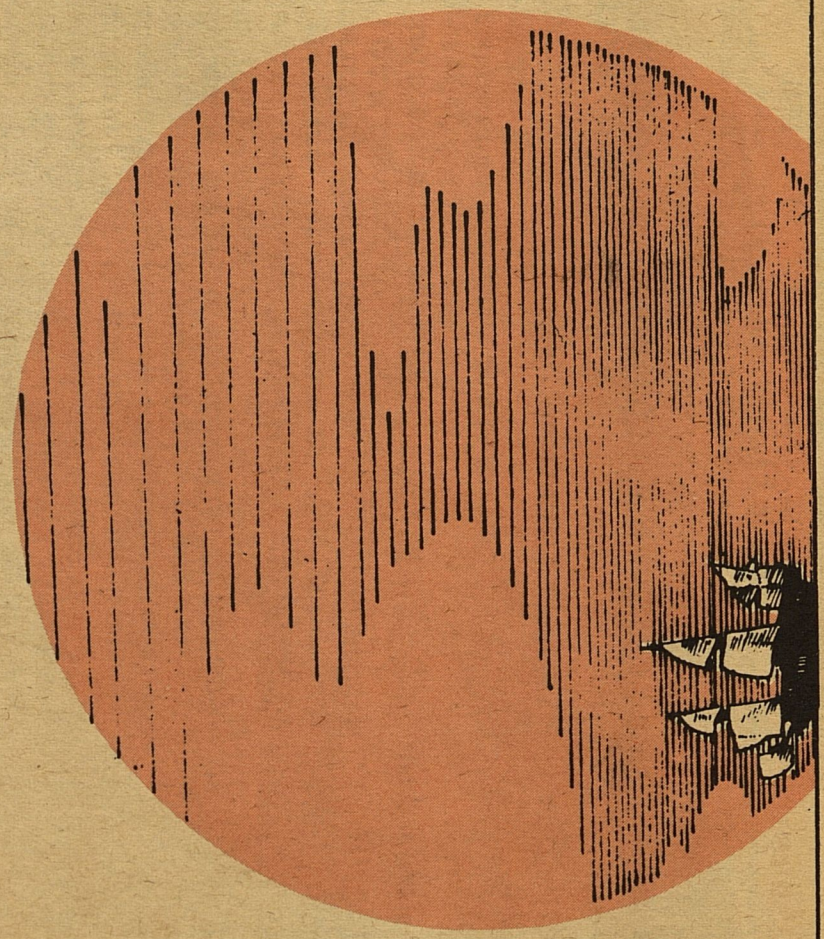
On November 15, there will be a mass action called by the New Mobilization Committee; hundreds of thousands of people will move on Washington, demanding the end of the war, racism, and poverty in the United States.

The Venceremos Brigade—a series of two-month trips to Cuba for 300 movement people to participate in the Cuban people's 10,000-ton harvest.

The fall offensive is only the beginning. Then will come the winter, spring, and summer offensive, followed by another next fall—for however long it takes to win.

On October 11, tens of thousands of people will come to Chicago to bring the war home. Join us.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!





KARL HEINZ MESCHBACH "9" "WALT-DIE"



"The summary of this nightmare which torments America from one end to the other is that in this continent of almost 200 million human beings, two-thirds of whom are Indians, Mestizos, blacks, those who are discriminated against ... in this continent of semi-colonies, there die of hunger, of curable diseases, or of premature old age some four persons per minute, some 5500 per day, some 2 million per year, some 10 million every five years. These deaths could easily be averted, but nevertheless they continue. Two-thirds of Latin America's population lives briefly, and lives under a constant threat of death. In 15 years this holocaust has brought about twice as many deaths as the First World War ... and it still rages. Meanwhile there flows from Latin America to the United States a constant torrent of money—some \$4,000 per minute, \$5 million per day, \$2 billion per year, \$10 billion every five years. For every thousand dollars which leaves us one body remains—\$1,000 per death! That is the price of what is called imperialism—\$1,000 PER DEATH! FOUR DEATHS EVERY MINUTE!

Fidel Castro
II Declaration of Havana

CHICAGO-OCTOBER 11

VIOLENCE & PIGS

Most people in this country hate pigs. If you're black, if you're young, if you're poor, you know what it means to be hassled, beaten, brutalized, or ripped off by fat punks in blue uniforms who carry big sticks and guns, claiming to be there to "protect" you. And when the punks in blue come down on you there isn't much you can do. So often enough you learn to hate their guts.

But pigs aren't just "bad guys". Some of them are all right when they're out of uniform. Like the ones who help kids across the street, or find somebody's stolen bike, or rip off hub caps for their friends. These guys aren't bad guys. But when they put on the blue, they are pigs.

They're pigs not because of what they think or how they act at home or whether they beat their wives, but because of what they do in the real world. What a lot of people do in the world is piggish. Like a lot of teachers and principals and mayors and parents who try to keep things going smoothly and help keep people down. If they're the up-front men for the rich people that own this country, if they fuck over everyone just to keep the machine running smoothly, if they try to keep the people down, then they're pigs.

There are some people—mainly rich, mainly white, mainly soft—who say we shouldn't call other human beings pigs. We say to those people: "You shouldn't make other human beings be pigs, then we won't have to call them pigs. Don't pay off some people to beat on the rest of us, and we'll watch our manners." It's simple: No pigs, no nasty words.

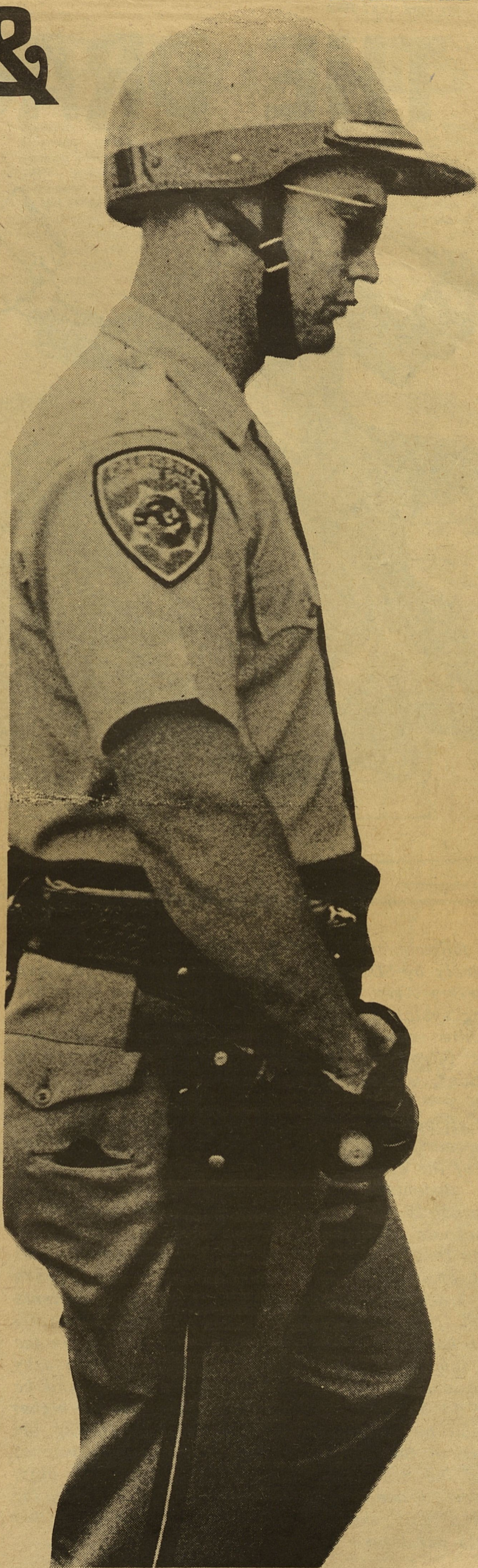
The same people who are all uptight about dirty language and us not liking the pigs talk a lot about "law 'n' order" and talk about how blacks and young people are getting too violent. We're getting too violent! Dig that. What we've thought about doing in our wildest dreams to get back at the schools and the army and the bullshit jobs and the pigs, is tiny next to what this country does before breakfast to the Vietnamese, the blacks, and the rest of the world. And their kind of violence isn't always up front—like pigs and marines. It's more often a slow death for winos, old folks, babies, and working people.

This country went up on violence. The conquerors slaughtered the Indians and the Mexicans and the blacks, and stole their labor and their land in order to get the riches and power that they have. They enslaved and cheated people. They didn't bat an eye as they built their empire on the corpses of the poor. But now that some people are being fed up with being pushed around, now that some people want to take back what's theirs, now that some people are fighting back, the rulers squeal "law 'n' order" and "no violence". Fuck that.

If they really want "no violence" then they've got to get off people's backs. You can't stand on another cat's neck and still insist that he be non-violent. We know that when there's a slave and a master, the thing is for the slave to get free. You can't tell the slave to be peaceful, to go slow, to do it nicely. You've got to dig that the only way the slave will ever be free is by fighting back.

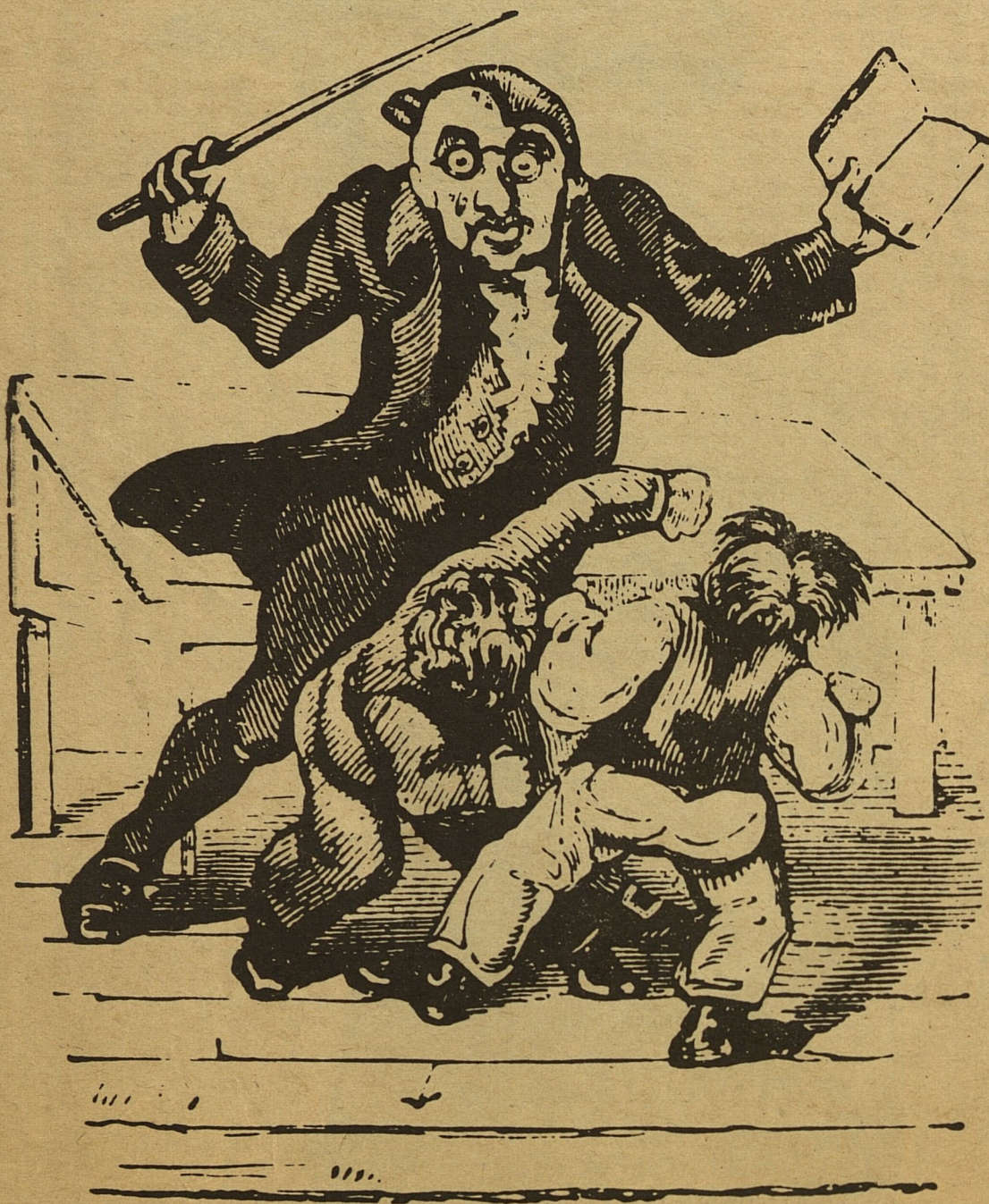
Right now most of the people of the world are slaves to U.S. corporations. When they move toward self-determination and liberation they're met with U.S. occupation troops—either the marines or the pigs. This is what Santo Domingo was all about, and this is what Watts was all about. With the other people of the world, we have to fight for freedom in order to end slavery and violence. We have to pick up the gun in order to end the need for the gun.

People should defend themselves against rape,



murder, exploitation, and oppression. Like all this talk about gun control. It's just a further step in taking away the right to self-defense, so that the law-makers and money-makers can rape, murder, exploit, and oppress us with less resistance. People who want gun control are violent; they want official, hidden, state violence. And their tactic is to destroy resistance so that their violence can continue. Ending state violence is an act of love. People's violence is progressive.

THE DRAG TRACK



The following article is a reprint of a leaflet used extensively by SDS high school students and organizers in the Bay Area, Northern California. It is about the tracking system which exists almost universally within the public school systems of America. In California it was introduced as the "Master Plan for High Education", written and devised by Clark Kerr in 1959 and 1960.

The strike which took place at San Francisco State College earlier this year was, to a large extent, the result of the effect of the tracking system on black and brown students. San Francisco is a city where approximately 60% of the students attending public high schools are black or brown. At San Francisco State, in 1960, black students made up 12% of the total student enrollment. Today, after 10 successful years of the tracking system, the number of black students was 3%. Because of this systematic discrimination against black, brown, and Oriental people within the public schools of San Francisco, it became necessary for the students to demand that the State school be opened to all students who had been denied higher education by the racist tracking system. During the struggle at State, hundreds of students were injured fighting the S.F. Tactical Squad and other S.F. pigs, and over 700 were arrested. This is only the beginning of what it will take to destroy the racist system that controls our lives.

High school is a stone drag. Everyone knows that. Some people play school like it was a game. A lot of people go stoned—it doesn't hurt so much that way. A lot of people don't even bother going, especially with spring coming on. School is where the pigs sniff around looking for trouble—and more and more they find it. In class teachers spend hour after hour playing with minds, and they expect us to pay attention.

Sure, everyone knows that schools are fucked up.

But most people don't know that it's planned that way. There's a reason for all this shit, and the reason is money. The schools are run to turn people into puppets—puppets trained to do the shitwork of the fat-assed millionaires who run this country. If you're polite and follow orders, you'll be given the crumbs from the table. Then you're supposed to say Thank You and ask the Man for new orders. That's the game: If poor people stay poor and working people keep working, the rulers of this country get richer. And that's what the school's for.

Today schools meet all kinds of needs. The men who run this country need engineers, technicians, and bureaucrats, teachers and social workers to supervise and maintain the interests of the fat-assed millionaires. They also need secretaries, clerks, mechanics, and factory workers to produce profits for them. Finally, they need soldiers to fight their wars, menial workers to do the shitwork, and unemployed people to be cheap labor from time to time.

To understand our schools today, we have to understand how they're used to meet the needs of the rulers of America. "Tracking" is the way the schools meet these needs. Since 1960 there have been two "tracks" in the schools in California. One track is for students who are considered "college material", and they are placed in the "academic" track. The other is for students who are "not academically inclined"; they are placed in the "vocational" track. Not many students at Mission High are in the "academic" track. But those that are are put in a classroom with other students who are headed for college. What he is taught will prepare him for college.

Other students are placed on the "vocational" track. They are taught different things by teachers who know that he is not going to college. When you're in the "vocational" track your life is planned, and college is not included. If you're in the "vocational" track, you are being trained for a job or the army. Most of the students at Mission or Poly High are in the "vocational" track. Most of the students at Washington and Lincoln are in the "academic" track. All of the students at Lowell are in the "academic" track.

Why is there a tracking system? In America today, the number of good jobs is limited, and there are many jobs that are poorly paid. If everyone got a good education, it would be hard to find people to fill the poorer jobs. Also, the extra education would be wasted—there would be no way for the rulers to make money out of it. Also the people who have good jobs now want the same things for their children. But in a fair competition for the good jobs, many kids of average ability would be edged out by working class kids who are brighter.

The tracking system solves this "problem". The tracking system eliminates most black, brown, and working class white students from the competition for good jobs by preventing them from getting the education they need to compete. Tracking starts way before high school. It starts in grade school, when we are given reading tests and IQ tests that are rigged so that the richer you are, the higher you score. That means if your face is black or brown, you go into the "vocational" track. If you come from a "good" middle class home you are put in the "academic" track. And the longer you're in the lower tracks the worse your education gets. Because working people's kids, black and white, spend their elementary years in terrible schools, they're told they don't know enough to get into Lowell, so they spend another miserable six years in miserable schools like Benjamin Franklin, Everett, Mission, and

(continued on Page 20)

THE ROCK IMPERIALISTS

by Mark Kramer

New York (LNS)—The list of stars who will show up at the Woodstock Rock Festival this August is mighty impressive—as fine as any ever.

There's everyone: Joan Baez, the Who, Joe Cocker, Janis Joplin, the Jefferson Airplane, Ravi Shankar, Blood Sweat and Tears, Creedence Clearwater Revival, Richie Havens, Canned Heat, Arlo Guthrie, Tim Hardin, Johnny Winter, the Band, Iron Butterfly, The Grateful Dead, and the Incredible String Band, for example.

The arrangements to help you spend three days in the wilds sound as impressive as the list of stars—free campgrounds; ample water and outhouses; free rice kitchens for the poor and hungry; catering by Nathan's of Coney Island; craft booths which might just be bivouac head shoppes, and which might be craft booths.

So the rock imperialists deliver the goods. When you want a banana, United Fruit sells a good banana. And when you want a rock festival, Woodstock Music and Art Fair, Inc. sells a good rock festival—at \$7 a day.

The Guatemalans who grew the bananas get to eat an occasional bruised model. And the street people, the denizens of the Lower East Side, of the Haight—let them eat free rice and maybe they'll hear the sounds wafting out past the gates.

But they made the culture which the rich fops imitate. Walk down St. Mark's Place in New York's East Village or Chicago's Kinetic Playground and dig the crowd on either side of the velvet rope which separates those with the bread (\$10 a couple) to get into the Electric Circus from those who beg spare change to cop a meal.

For some, the dress constitutes a case of "going native" for a night on the Bowery. For others, it's simply high fashion. The impulse for kids to dress "well" is plugged in nasty trend-setting magazines like Seventeen and supported by the huge cloth and garment companies, the cosmetics companies, and the hygiene-freak companies. The sales job for fashion is easier than others—for the styles come complete with a built-in image. Marlboro has to spend millions to rope together its cancer-sticks and he-manhood. But the Fashion-Makers have it easy this year, because the clothes styles which they plug were once part of a genuine revolutionary and romantic lifestyle.

So America's teenagers are exploited by big companies that hold "lifestyle" out as bait. "BUY THIS AND YOU WILL BE..." You will be what? Hip? You'll own another piece of snappy clothing, you'll be able to crowd the poor girl down the block still further, you'll earn your ticket to daydream about running toward him through tall fields of hay, arms stretched toward the sun—the kind of daydream they push in ads for

cunt deodorant.

And the kind of daydream they push on...album covers. "But (you say) album covers are great. I trip, and look at album covers, and...etc." But it ain't that way. Rock may have come from the street people, along with styles that grew out of buying surplus clothing, and daydreams that grew out of mystic studies and sunshine state habits. And the communication between the performing artists and you may still bear the same free-you-up message.

But in between you and the performer there's billions of dollars that you're paying and (for the most part) he's not

Records, Masterworks, Blue Horizon, Odyssey, Harmony, Date, Okeh, and several other record companies. They have invested heavily in defense contracts as well, working especially in the areas of laser beams, radar, spy photography, underwater detection—the sort of technological work which keeps up the arms race and makes fat profits. It's the same story with most of the other major record companies. Like true imperialists, they'll go wherever the market is, talk whatever language (be it Vietnamese or hip-ese) needs talking, sell whatever people will pay for, as long as they make a profit.

community leaders to discuss ways of developing...safe and harmonious pop music festivals."

Mike Lang and Artie Kornfall and two other partners put up half-a-million bucks. They're expecting big returns from ticket sales, a cut of concession sales, and also from selling TV and movie rights. Artie used to head Columbia Records. He told me: "I'd dig my daughter to be able to eat too."

What about the street people? Mike says: "We're not turning our backs on these people—we've got to feed them." And let them in?

"..."



getting. Who is getting it? The huge companies that own the record empires. Here's the puzzle: The same companies that own the recording contracts and record studios which make "liberated" music also own government contracts and subsidiary companies which make electronic bombing equipment, spying equipment which is used in Vietnam and in other colonies. The companies don't care how they make money, as long as they make the money. If they can make it from anti-war youth culture by coming on hip, they'll do it. And if they can make it from killing Vietnamese and killing off thousands of years of Vietnamese culture with expensive weapons systems for the government, they'll do that too.

For example, CBS owns Columbia

Does this mean you shouldn't buy records? No, of course not. If you wanted to live in this country without supporting the death machine, you couldn't eat or turn on an electric light. What it means is that you should understand a few facts of life. When you sit down with a sandwich (made of food processed by big business), and when you take a bite of the sandwich and start listening to music of YOUR culture, peddled for the profit of THEIR culture, then dig it! That's the corner they've got you backed into. Supporting the very things you hate the most in order to get the few things you want. There's a revolutionary movement growing in this country to fight just that form of oppression.

What has this got to do with Woodstock? You might go there and have a fine time, but just remember that someone is making a million on your fun, and it isn't the performers, many of whom come for little or nothing.

We interviewed the promoters setting up the Woodstock Festival, at a press conference arranged by the publicity company they hired. The conference itself was a slick operation. It passed itself off as a consultation between "leaders of the rock community" and the underground press on how to have peaceful good times for everyone.

They didn't need to consult with anyone. Way back in April they had hired a federal law enforcement official, Wes Pomeroy, whom they described to me as "a very progressive kind of cat". A very progressive kind of cat who had worked with Johnson on the Safe Streets Act, and with Republican bigwigs in planning security for their '64 convention at the Cow Palace. That's who the investors ("leaders of the rock community") consulted with when they wanted security for their investment, nit the underground press people. Even though the press conference handout reads: "We have called a special meeting of the underground press and rock

Don't you feel you're exploiting hip culture for your own gain? Artie said: "Much of us have the same goal. We want to be able to cut out—not take shit—and go live in the country." Except that for most it is a dream, not a goal, as long as Artie collects from every freak who wants to hear his music. And except that now that so many people want to cut out, they might find it easier to get together and put a stop to the conditions they want to escape.

Maybe Artie and Mike are fooling themselves, and maybe not. But they have extracted from the movement those things which can make them some money—talent, excitement, revolutionary energy, identity with hip looks and talk. But they have missed the heart of the movement. The revolutionary energy of rock and of the movement is a response to oppression—it grew out of the blues, out of the poor white country music, out of the emancipated poverty of the street people and their drug scene, out of the anger about national leaders representing corporate interests, while killing people, anger about how students get lied to and treated in public schools.

The movement is made by and sung by people who oppose exploitation, whether by war elsewhere, or by high prices, racism, and low wages at home. The movement is not represented in any way by rich investors getting richer by the profits of rock festivals—even if the investors do look hip and talk hip and know hip people.

By the way, if you do go to the Woodstock festival (actually the grounds are located in Wallkill, New York). Wes Pomeroy has a staff of 400 security people working for him, in and out of uniform. When he was asked about kids smoking dope there, he said: "We'll do nothing to protect them. There will be narcs there, same as everywhere—they're going to have to pay \$7, too."

The Revolt

Northridge, California (LNS)—The three-day L.A. pop "festival" turned into a war on June 22 between cops and pissed-off people.

Angered by a \$7 daily admission fee, a poor sound system, overcrowding, inadequate facilities, constant busts, and harassment by cops and paid-off blkers, the people exploded into action.

Thousands attempted to storm the gates, some threw rocks and bottles at the police; the police responded with violent beatings and arrests. By the end of the weekend, 116 persons had been treated for injuries, including 16 cops. There were 56 busts, on charges ranging from attempted murder to dope violations.

The poor sound system and the steady drone of a police helicopter made listening impossible beyond the front rows. The \$7 price tag kept out the very people who generate the culture that rock is all about. As the L.A. Free Press put it: "Festivals are supposed to be occasions of joy, religious rites." The only religion here, however, was "moneytheism". Mark Robinson, promoter of the "festival" and the high priest of this black mass, raked in three quarters of a million dollars.

Shade trees, adequate toilets, and campgrounds were extensively advertised: when the thing finally came off, there were some saplings in evidence; it took half an hour of waiting to take a leak; the campground was asphalt; and those staying the final night got run off or arrested. It took seven hours of waiting to hear Jimi Hendrix, who played, starting at midnight, to a sour crowd.

The hustle of the rock business is just like the hustle in any other business—supply the minimum that people will buy and charge the most money for it. Greedy promoters got together in L.A. and the result was typical—the people got screwed. But times are changing, and this crowd was sick of being milked for their money and provided with abuse in exchange. They struck back (though in a disorganized manner) and were answered with police clubbings and arrests.

AN INTERVIEW

On college campuses and in high schools you find that most athletes or "jocks" oppose the Left. Dave Meggyesy and Rick Sortun are two exceptions. Both play professional football for the St. Louis Cardinals. Dave plays linebacker and Rick plays guard. When we found out that the Cardinals were in training near Chicago we decided to talk to them.

Dave Meggyesy is 27 years old, married and the father of three children. He is in his seventh season with the Cardinals. During the off season Dave lives in St. Louis where he is a student in the Department of Sociology at Washington University. Although not a member of SDS he is active in the movement in St. Louis.

Rick Sortun is 26 years old, married and has two children. He is in his sixth year with the Cardinals. During the off season he lives in Seattle, where he is a student at the University of Washington. Rick joined the Washington chapter of SDS two years ago. He was involved recently in a chapter split, and at the present time is in a non-SDS group called provisionally the Radical Organizing Committee (ROC).

WHY DON'T WE START BY ASKING WHERE YOU WENT TO SCHOOL, WHEN, AND ALL THOSE SORT OF DETAILS?

Rick Sortun: I went to school at the University of Washington to play football. I was from a small rural town south of Seattle. I went to the big city to make it good. To me the big city was Seattle. At that time the University of Washington was the football power of the West and was attractive from that standpoint.

WERE YOU ON SCHOLARSHIP?

Rick: Yes, the basic "ride" which paid for room and board in exchange for work hours. We didn't have to work very hard, but the time spent on football, work, and all the other football-related activities was tremendous. It figured out that we got about 25¢ per hour wage for our work. At that time though I was pretty gung-ho and didn't think about being exploited.

HOW DID YOU GET INVOLVED IN RADICAL POLITICS?

Rick: It was really part of a process. When I was in school the first time I thought to achieve the big money I wanted, business would be good. You know—I had in mind the naive notion of using my football reputation to hustle a buck. Well business school and market economics really turned me off, but most of my antagonism was on a gut level and I had a moral revulsion for the capitalist ethic. After school and when I was playing pro ball I worked in a bank. Talk about being in a conservative enclave—here I was right in the heart of finance capital.

At that time, about 1966, the whole student and

anti-war movement was heightening, and through discussions with Dave I was motivated to read about the war. My reading was really a shock—I just couldn't believe that our country was so corrupt and that it would perpetrate such lies on all of us. But of course through further study I have learned that the institutions of capitalism are indeed corrupt. I began to tie together my earlier moral feelings with socialist analysis.

I considered myself a socialist then and felt the need to reorient myself toward society, or a society that the movement could build. I had money and time, and so I went back to school. You could not help but notice that things had changed in three years. I heard people talk at open forums, read articles in the campus papers about SDS and what was going on. I went to an anti-war fund-raising dinner one night and met some SDS people who invited me to a meeting. I went somewhat timidly, but was really impressed with the honesty, openness, and straightforwardness of the chapter at Washington. I became really interested. In the last couple of years I became increasingly involved in the organizational functions of the chapter at Washington.

Dave Meggyesy: I was raised on a small farm, similar to Rick, and went to a small high school outside of Cleveland. My senior year in high school I received an athletic scholarship to Syracuse University. At that time in my life I was real gung-ho, believed in America the great, the capitalist ethic, and believe it or not going to Syracuse to get an education. I began to see that it wasn't in the University's interest for me to get an education first and play football second. Different guys were channeled into courses where passing grades were automatic. There was a whole differential pay scale for team members—now this is amateur football. The most important thing for the university was to make money—a post-season bowl game guarantees \$225,000. During my last two years I almost dropped out of school, partially because of the bullshit involved in playing football. But I hung on, hoping to get into the pros. After finishing at Syracuse my political analysis was zero, but I had many gut feelings about the contradictions in this capitalist system. When I began graduate school at Washington University at St. Louis I met a Marxist anthropologist who began to turn my head around, and then I got involved in the anti-war movement. I'm now closely involved with SDS activities in St. Louis.

BOTH OF YOU SPEAK OF COMING FROM WORKING CLASS BACKGROUNDS, IS THAT A KIND OF GENERAL THING? DO MOST ATHLETES COME OUT OF THE WORKING CLASS?

Dave: I think they do. We were kicking around the other day about the kind of selection process in high school and college, and you wonder what the motivation is. And a lot of the motivation is that the only way you are going to get ahead is to go to college, and you go to

college by trying for a scholarship. You do all that and you see the big money is in the pros and you are set up to be a stock broker. I know of only two guys in pro football who come from the middle or upper class.

WHY DO YOU SUPPOSE THAT MOST ATHLETES OPPOSE THE LEFT?

Rick: You get people who on the basis of their physical attributes are willing to pay a price to succeed playing football. The selective process works along these lines. The guys who had options took them. It was always the guys who didn't have a choice who were left in the rut. This allowed the guys who had other opportunities a much better chance to get ahead.

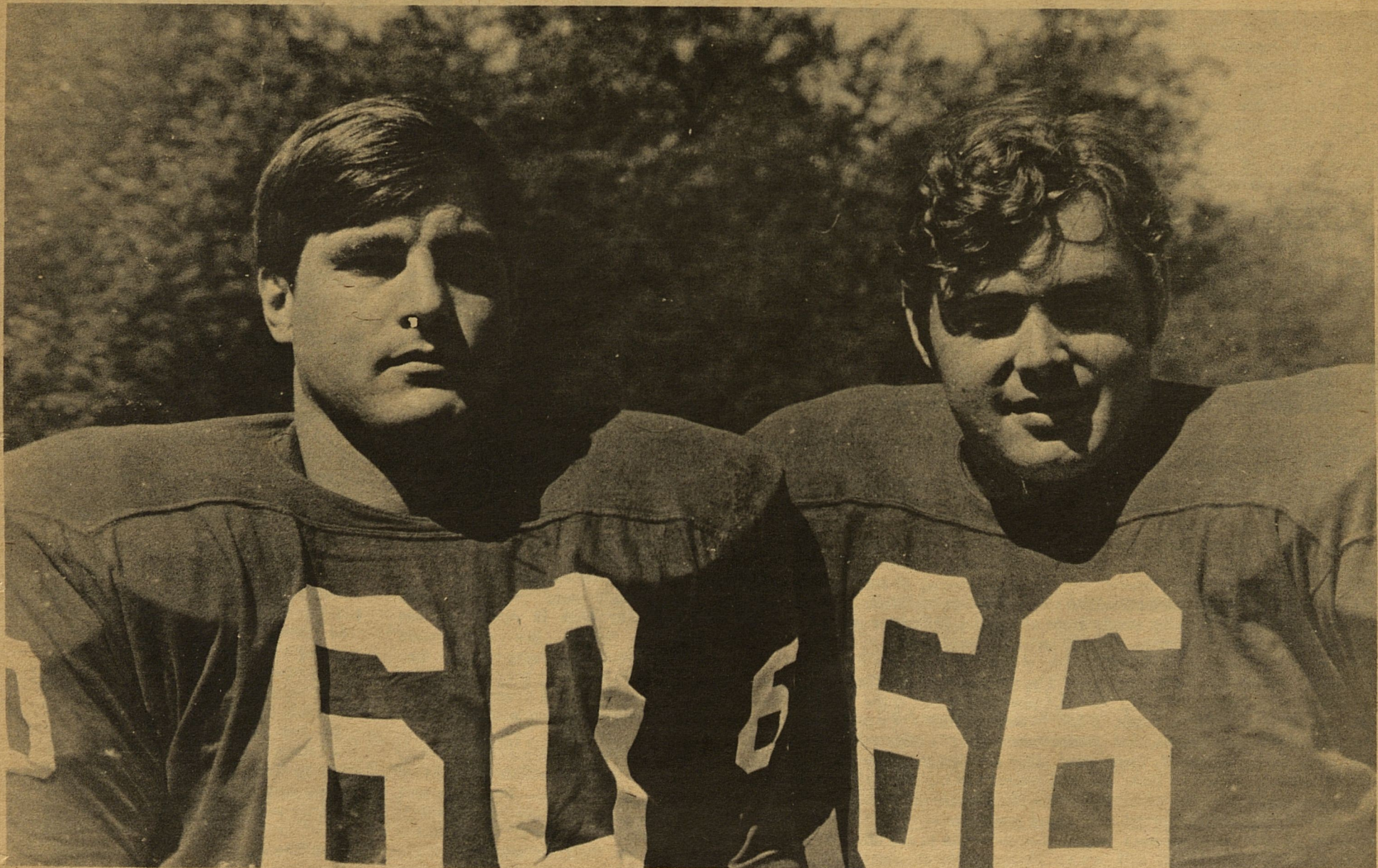
Dave: Let me say something too. I think that somewhere along the line the guy has to get infused with this whole ethic of football, which is a militaristic, competitive ethic. While I was at Syracuse, Jim Ringo, who was an all-pro center for the Green Bay Packers, would come back for the spring game each year. I remember my freshman year, he came over to me and said: "Meggyesy, football's just like war: the commies over there and the good guys over here." Maybe somewhere along these lines the guy gets reinforced that it is the right thing to do, to see this kind of relationship. The structure of the game is very reactionary. We live in a goddamn military camp, completely authoritarian. The shit comes down from above.

Football game to this country as rugby, a game analogous to soccer, analogous to hockey. Then all of a sudden you had all these structural changes in the game, where the game went from a game of fluid motion to a game of very precise stop and start action. Not only that but the field got marked off; you got a fifty yard line and interestingly enough forty, thirty, twenty. So you have introduced a notion of territory, defense and offense. And then you have a notion of tactics. Pro football hit its peak after the Fifties, you can tie this in with the whole Cold War thing, guys talking about "throwing the bomb". Now what the hell does that mean? Or "running the blitz".

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE BLACK ATHLETES AT THE OLYMPICS WHO PUT UP THEIR FISTS? IS THAT BEING TALKED ABOUT?

Dave: I'm in complete support of that gesture for reasons I can't get into here. It certainly represents some positive and necessary consciousness among black athletes. They are the most exploited group.

A lot of stuff isn't talked about. The kind of situation where it's not talked about overtly. A lot of white guys, especially Southern white guys, don't like talking about it, and black guys feel they have to be kind of soft about it too. Black athletes have 100 times as much to lose as I have, and the coaches and whites know it too. Most of them have not finished two years of college and they



Dave Meggyesy and Rick Sortun

WITH TWO CARDINALS

have nowhere to go. It's a question of hustling or becoming revolutionary. Life in pro ball is really good for them and they are not going to fuck it up. Simple as that. Further there is a professional ethic, an unwritten rule that controversy should not exist. You see, many players believe in the authoritarian system and will do anything the people above them demand. Many coaches are so paternalistic they tell the players to get haircuts, shave off mustaches, and how to behave. For example, in Atlanta and Washington, the black guys had to cut their naturals and the white guys shave their sideburns.

HOW DO BLACK ATHLETES RELATE TO BLACK PROFESSIONALS, LIKE BILL RUSSELL, WHO IS CONSIDERED A BLACK RADICAL?

Rick: I wouldn't consider Bill Russell a radical. He is outspoken, but aside from asserting his blackness I can't find anything other than an aspiring black capitalist, which despite the aspect of black sovereignty I can't go along with. He is trying to make it as a black man; make a lot of money. That aspect of the "hustle" is the most important thing we need to do when we rap with black athletes, or any athlete for that matter.

Dave: Three years ago the Negro Industrial Economic Union was started by Jim Brown, and all the black guys were really talking about it. We were saying that black capitalism is no better than white capitalism, and trying to talk about it. And we began talking about the means and ownership of production and "Man, you guys are never going to form a U.S. Steel." You have to start talking like that. "The best black capitalists can do is to have a fried chicken place, or at best marginal industries."

HOW ARE RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE ATHLETES ON THE TEAM?

Rick: Maybe we should mention our little soul-search session last year. Sports Illustrated did a series on the black athlete last year. The Cardinals were featured in one of those articles. The team got advance copies of the article and had a meeting to discuss "our" problem and how to "handle" the bad publicity we would get. All the players and coaches were together at training camp and we were asked to let our hair down and bare our souls. What a lot of people tried to do was to put down the whole thing as crass commercialism on the part of Sports Illustrated. What happened was that a lot of black ballplayers and several others besides got upset at this whitewash attempt. Several players got up and said: "No, it isn't bullshit; it's all true." This caused a lot of reactions, and more came out with respect to how you treat individuals. Among football players you look at another person and judge him in terms of his courage and ability on the playing field. A white guy got up and said that the way a black player on the team would get respect was to prove himself on the field, and then you treat him as a man. A black guy then got up and said: "No, goddamnit, you respect me as a man first."

The whole meeting really settled nothing, the lines were further defined and racism was subjugated to all our team's goal—that is, to win football games.

What is incredible is that the coaches could believe that the players could be honest in front of them, when the coaches have a great deal of power over your football career. So in the end, the ethic of winning at all costs seemed to prevail, and the blacks went their way, the racists their way.

Dave: Given the kind of control the staff has over your life, you couldn't really say too much. When things got a little hot between some of the racists and the black guys, the Man stepped in and cooled things off.

BESIDES THE BLACK SUPERSTARS, DO YOU THINK THERE IS A QUOTA SYSTEM OPERATING?

Dave: I think most definitely there is. On every team there are only a certain number of black players. If you look at the number of black players from 1950 to 1968 you find fairly equal numbers on all teams each succeeding year. The most interesting thing is when you begin to look at the different positions in football. When you look at positions that require brains and judgment and on the other hand positions that require brute strength or a certain kind of ability such as speed, you'll find that positions that require judgment are filled with white players, and positions that require a certain kind of talent are especially loaded with black players. If you do this in a general proportion you'll find that they are just above and below the line. For example, there are a lot of black defensive ends and no black quarterbacks. You have no black centers; you have very

few black guards; but you have a lot of black defensive tackles, many many black corner backs, but few black free safeties. This is subtle racism. They think this black cat didn't have the brains to play this position, so he has to play another position.

DO YOU GET ANY FLACK FROM HIGHER UP FOR YOUR POLITICS?

Dave: Three years ago was the last big peace march on Washington, and I was involved in hiring buses for the St. Louis people. All the checks were signed my name. A third-level source at the end said: "Do you want to play football next year?" So the word comes down: "Cool it." On a plane trip to New York one of the guys said: "You know the FBI has you under surveillance." Then the troubles on the team blew up at the end of that year, and this was just one more thing they didn't want to hassle with.

Rick: We get the idea sometimes that the owners treat Dave and myself as a kind of novelty. He likes to come and talk to us about heavy-type things rather than about "How did you feel today in practice?" He talks to us about other things. He kind of likes that; the team nuts. It's a function of how much pressure we can bring to bear.

CAN YOU GIVE US SOME IDEA OF WHERE THE BALL PLAYERS ARE AT POLITICALLY?

Rick: We've gotten pretty open with our politics now. When we got to camp this year Dave and I saw boxes of Thompson seedless California grapes on the fruit table. We quietly tried to agitate against having them on our training table. We were told that the issue was not relevant to our lives as football players and furthermore our union representatives were not sympathetic. One was sympathetic to the workers' cause, but could see no relationship between the players on strike last year and the farm workers' strike that is going on now. The other representative shuns any kind of reference to trade unionism.

You asked earlier about getting flack for our politics. Most people that have been around for several years know I'm associated with SDS, but realistically they probably won't take me seriously as long as I'm playing football for money. And also I live in Seattle in the off season and am isolated from the main office. So unless they pry into what I'm doing, I'm more free to get involved.

Dave: I was just thinking part of this is my own fears, the fears of what the Man can do, so you're only going to do so much. It's fear too of how the other ballplayers are going to...you know, the response from them. It's a learning experience, and what we're finding out is that guys will listen to you. When you start talking about the degree that they're being exploited. In other words, football players make tremendous amounts of money. That's true. But that only lasts on the average of four and a half years. And even when you look at all the profits that the owners are making, you start really talking about that, like in locker-room conversations about relative exploitation.

These guys, they don't see that. They say: Well, shit, man, I'm making it; I'm really making it. I'm pulling in 25 Gs. But we say, for how many years, and what are the profits the owners are making, or what capital do you own.

HOW CAN YOU STAND IT?

Rick: It's a job. Even though highly paid, you are a worker with respect to your relationship to the means of production. I can't deny that there is not a lot of rationalizing done to put up with it. One rationalization is that it legitimizes me. If it were not for my playing football I wouldn't be being interviewed right now.

Dave: I justify football by saying it's non-exploitative, of other people, but in thinking it through you find you're exploiting other people symbolically and vicariously—your activity supports the system. People who come to see the game have all this pent-up hostility against in many cases their bosses. On Sunday they can do a vicarious trip with their favorite team or player. They really become the heroes and winners in the game—just for two hours on Sunday. Then they are going to be passive for six more days. And we are the paid beef.

HOW LONG DO YOU PLAN TO STAY IN FOOTBALL?

Dave: I've got only about two years left.

Rick: That's a touchy question that I don't think I could answer here even if I knew. I'd like to get a starting position before I retire, even though I'm living a sort of hypocrisy while still submitting to enslavement. I just can't say.

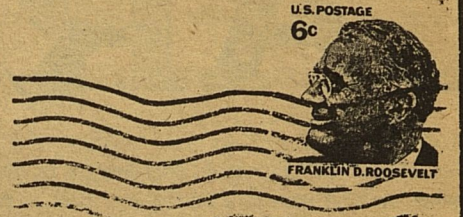
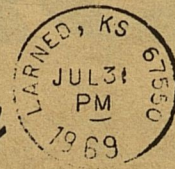


GETTIN THINGS

REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS # 10

*These are transitional years and the dues will be heavy.
Change is quick but the revolution will take a while.
America has not even begun as yet.
This continent is seed.*

revolutionary letters



diane di prima

REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS #3

store water; make a point of filling your bathtub at the first news of trouble: they turned off the water in the 4th ward for a whole day during the Newark riots; or better yet make a habit of keeping the tub clean and full when not in use change this once a day, it should be good enough for washing, flushing toilets with when necessary and cooking, in a pinch, but it's a good idea to keep some bottled water handy too get a couple of five gallon jugs and keep them full for cooking

store food—dry stuff like rice and beans stores best goes farthest. SALT VERY IMPORTANT: it's health and energy healing too. keep a couple pounds sea salt around, and, because we're spoiled, some tins tuna, etc. to keep up morale—keep up the sense of "balanced diet" "protein intake" remember the stores may be closed for quite some time, the trucks may not enter our section of the city for weeks, you can cool it

- indefinitely with* 20 lb brown rice
- 20 lb whole wheat flour
- 10 lb cornmeal
- 10 lb good beans—kidney or soy
- 5 lb sea salt
- 2 qts good oil

*dried fruit and nuts
add nutrients and sense of luxury
to this diet, a squash or coconut
in a cool place in your pad will keep six months*

remember we are all used to eating less than the "average American" and take it easy before we ever notice we're hungry the rest of the folk will be starving used as they are to meat and fresh milk daily and help will arrive, until the day no help arrives and then you're on your own.

hoard matches, we aren't good at rubbing sticks together anymore a tinder box is useful, if you can work it don't count on gas stove, gas heater electric light keep hibachi and charcoal, CHARCOAL STARTER a help kerosene lamp and candles, learn to keep warm with breathing remember the blessed American habit of bundling

REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS #5

*at some point
you may be called upon
to keep going for several days without sleep:
keep some ups around. to be clearheaded, avoid "comedown" as much as possible, take vitamin B along with amphetamines, try powdered guarana root, available at herb drugstores, it is an up used by Peruvian mountainfolk, tastes like mocha (bitter) can be put in tea will clear your head, increase oxygen supply keep you going past amphetamine wooziness*

*at some point
you may have to crash, under tension, keep some downs on hand, you may have to cool out sickness, or freak-out, or sorrow, keep some downs on hand, I don't mean tranquilizers, ye olde fashioned SLEEPING PILL (sleep heals heads, heals souls) chloryll hydrate (Mickey Finn) one of the best, but nembutal, etc. OK in a pinch, remember no liquor with barbiturates*

*at some point
you will need painkillers, darvon is glorified shit, stash some codeine & remember it's about five times more effective if taken with aspirin*

ups, downs & painkillers are the essence: antibiotics for extreme infections, any good wide-spectrum one will do. avoid penicillin too many allergies, speaking of which cortisone is good for really bad attacks (someone who freaks out asthma-style, or with hives)

USE ALL THESE AS LITTLE as possible, side effects multifarious and they cloud the brain tend to weaken the body and obscure judgement

ginseng tea, ginger compresses, sea salt, prayer and love are better healers, easier come by, save the others for life and death trips, you will know when you see one



TRACK

(continued from page 14)

Poly. Some don't even spend six years there. They are gotten rid of altogether through the use of flunkouts and suspensions.

The fact is that the men who run this country NEED a whole mass of badly educated people. Otherwise where would they get soldiers for Vietnam, workers for the oil refineries, or drivers for the Muni? This does not mean, of course, that GIs, oil workers, or bus drivers are stupid or even that in a decent society these people would HAVE to be badly educated. Blacks and Chicanos don't get lousy jobs because they have a bad education. They get a bad education because bosses need them for lousy jobs.

We also have to understand how tracking is used to promote racism. It pits white students against blacks in getting into higher tracks and later into college and the better jobs. It teaches white students to think that because there is someone in a lower position than they are, THEY don't have to fight against the school. Racism and white supremacy are used by administrators to prevent whites from joining with blacks to fight their common enemy—the principals, the Board of Education, and Alioto, who are responsible for maintaining the oppressive schools. This has happened at Mission High, where whites, Latinos, and blacks have often fought among themselves instead of joining together to fight against the oppressive conditions.

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