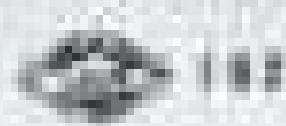


# MOVEMENT

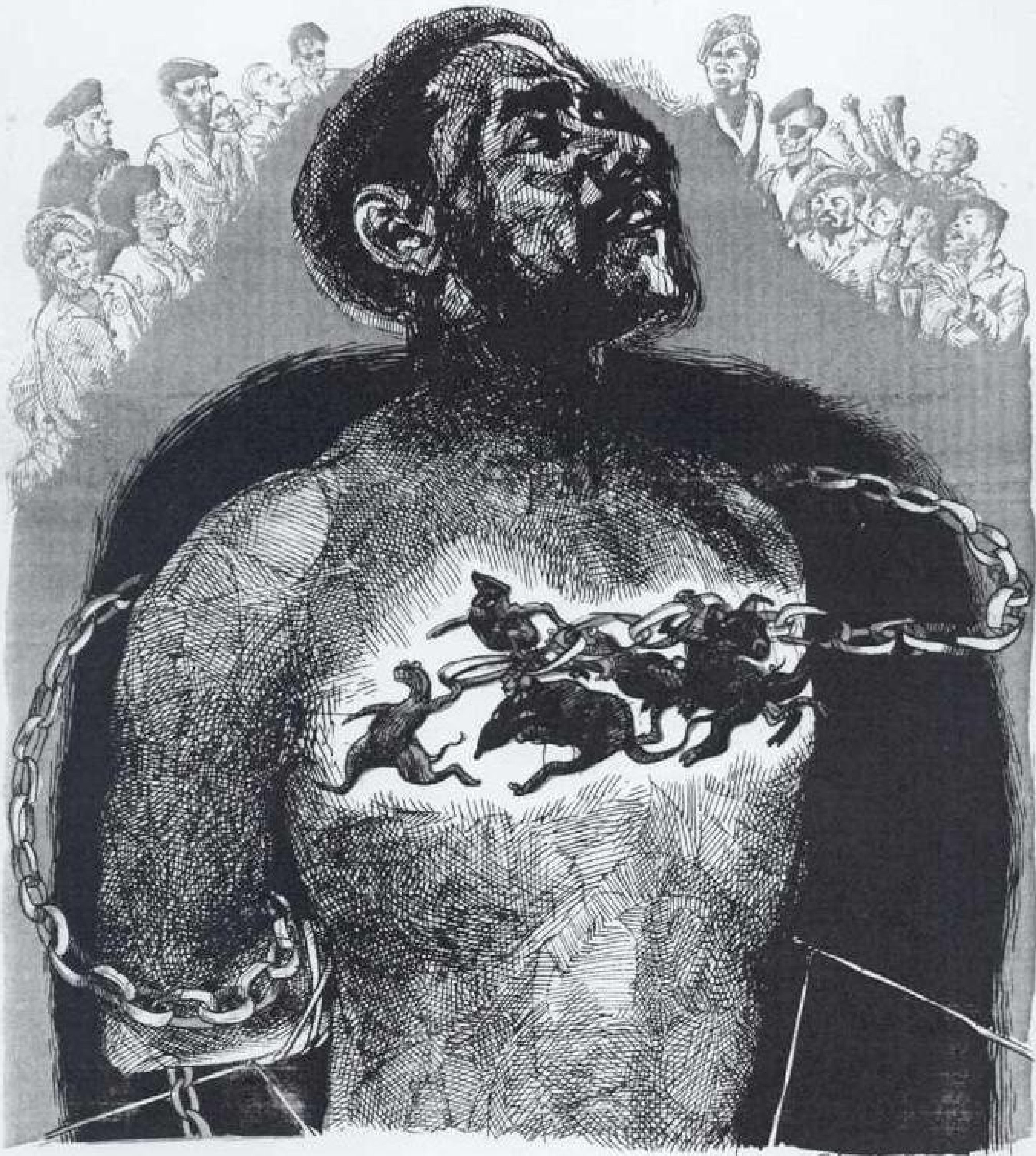
DECEMBER 1969



25¢ VOL. 6 NO. 11

## IN THIS ISSUE

- HAYDEN ON CHICAGO
- THREE-MONTH STRIKE
- BOBBY SEALE FROM JAIL
- LAOS: ANOTHER VIETNAM



THE MOVEMENT PRESS

330 Grove Street  
San Francisco, California 94102

# BRING IT HOME

BY BOBBY SEALE

EDITORS' NOTE: Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party and a prisoner of war, is back in the San Francisco jail, serving his contemptible four-year sentence and awaiting extradition hearings. He sent the following message to the Moratorium.

This is Bobby Seale in the San Francisco County Jail. I just arrived back here today November 10th, Monday. And there's a word to be said to the progressive forces in America about imperialism abroad and domestic imperialism (fascism) here at home.

It's correct that many millions of people, 25-30 percent of the nation or more, are fed up with this unjust, aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. It's understood that the Vietnamese people are fighting for their right to self determination, their right to determine their own destiny in their own land/country, in their communities. It's good that progressive forces (organizations and people) can come forth and mass and demonstrate and address their grievances against the government for waging such a war against people—unjustly, not only in Vietnam, but anywhere else in the world. But it's got to be understood that if there is imperialism abroad, if there is a war going on in the part of the fascist ruling class circles that are infected inside the U.S. government, if there is a war going on that they perpetrate and put together there, it must be understood that they're not waging that war for those peoples' right to self determination,

that they're waging that war for some inequality and unjustice against those people. And it's evident that it is being waged for this reason on their part because of the fact that there is no equality and there's no justice at home for people right here in America, like black people in particular who've suffered under racism and brutality and murder for 400 years right here in America. It's evident and it's clear that if there is genocide in a country as in Germany during World War II, then anything that ruling class fascist government does outside is also unjust and is also aggression and is also used to deny and murder and kill people.

What we have to understand is that right here at home in America we have to oppose imperialism, also. That you can't just fight imperialism, the acts of imperialism abroad, without understanding and recognizing community imperialism abroad, without understanding community imperialism here of black people, brown people, red people and even to the point of protesting students and radicals and progressive peoples here in America.

Domestic imperialism at home is in fact fascism. But what is essence is it? I think black people if we go over the concrete experiences that we've had in America and what's going on now against us we can understand exactly what it is — to be corralled in wretched ghettos in America and look up one day and see numerous policemen occupying our community, and brutalizing us, killing brother Linton, murdering young Bobby Hutton. The fact that much brutality goes on to the extent that all the fascist press and all the demagogic politicians say it and the only thing that the courts put out is that it's supposedly "justifiable homicide" on the part of policemen who occupy our community.

The police state that exists here in America right now is in fact fascism right before our eyes. There are numerous examples of the police state activities. Only last week, I hear and understand, that a young black brother was allegedly or supposedly cashing a so-called fictitious check in a bank here in San Francisco and was walking out of the bank amongst a crowd of people and this police guard runs out of the bank and he's only walking and the brother is shot dead in the mid-section of his back. He's dead and killed. Black brothers and black people who have experienced and know these fascist tactics and know of too many cases and too many situations where young brothers and black people have been gunned down and murdered by these cops, and it's becoming more and more out of hand. It's becoming out of hand because in every major city, in every major metropolis where black people live, police forces have been doubled, tripled, and quadrupled.

Also, the racist courts of America are justifying the police brutality and murder of black people and any people. The democratic convention as EVERYBODY knows, as everybody saw on the TV and read in the papers was nothing more than pigs, cops running rampant, brutalizing, murdering and bashing citizens. And many black people looked on and said, "Look at those white people getting beaten", because we knew we had been beaten and brutalized for many years and still are.

They dragged me into this case. They put me as one of the defendants there, and they literally, overtly, financially, legally, and racially denied me my basic constitutional rights. Charles P. Garry, the most beautiful lawyer in the world, a revolutionary lawyer, was here at home going through an operation. It's a beautiful brother. He's 30 years old and had to have an operation for his health and couldn't come to the court. Dr. Goodlett explained it to the court a month before the court even convened that Charles would be risking his life, and I made motion after motion, request after request, and argued those requests and those motions on my behalf in my attempts to defend myself there and was literally denied. Literally denied my constitutional rights to be able to defend myself, after it was clear that my lawyer wouldn't be able to be there to assist me. For a man to stand up and demand his constitutional rights and to turn the court looks at him and denies him that is to say he's not intelligent enough to see what's going on. But in fact we black people, we people, all people, American people, know that to deny people their constitutional rights, their right to defend themselves, their right to council, or any constitutional right is nothing more than to justify the brutal tactics, murderous fascist tactics of the police running rampant in the communities of America, and in particular the black communities of America.



To the Peace Forces, the progressive forces in America, the protesters, those who know the war in Vietnam is unjust, those who are going to the streets and demonstrating, those who think they're really, really doing something — what they're doing is trying to end the war in Vietnam, is not meaningful at all, yet it's not meaningful at all and will not become meaningful at all if you really want to stop the war in Vietnam, until you take some action here in America against the fascist brutal forces against black people here in America. The very fact that the North Vietnamese government has announced that they are willing to release prisoners of war, for the release and dropping of all charges and trumped-up charges against the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, and myself, this should be demanded also. This is directly relating to the very fact that we have to end police brutality and murder of black people right here at home. Because the Black Panther Party itself has moved in this direction from its very inception to get rid of those fascist forces that corral us.

This is the kind of action that has to be taken on the part of the Peace Forces in America and the progressive forces in America. And until they begin to do that they will not begin at all to stop imperialism; they will not begin at all to stop domestic imperialism right here at home. YOU MUST MOVE AGAINST DOMESTIC IMPERIALISM, CROWNING RAMPANT FASCISM — RIGHT HERE IN AMERICA BEFORE YOU CAN END THE WAR IN VIETNAM OR ANY FORM OF AGGRESSIVE WAR LIKE THAT AGAINST OTHER PEOPLE AROUND. The very fact that black, brown, red and other peoples in America and poor people, even poor white people, are corralled in wretched ghettos, especially those people of color and black people whose communities are occupied in the fashion they are and murdered. So, we can't continue to allow ourselves to be duped with the notion that we're doing something good until we learn to smash imperialism right here at home. Because to smash imperialism right here at home is to smash imperialism abroad. Smashing imperialism means taking action, demanding that those prisoners of war be allowed to come home. When you say "Bring the G.P.s home", bring the G.P.s home. And we can bring the prisoners of war home by demanding that the U.S. government release political prisoners here in America. Beginning with Huey and me, right now in America we will set a precedence of opposing fascism, abroad and at home. If that is what the Vietnamese people want, to release the political prisoners and people here in America, then I say that the progressive forces have to take some action in that direction and they will be relating directly to smashing imperialism at home and recognizing that this has to be done.

People move. Black brothers and sisters, American people, it's time that we move against fascism at home because to smash fascism at home is to smash fascism forever a-harm.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



# NEWSREEL

--by S.F. Newsreel

The development of SF Newsreel has been parallel to that of the movement in general over the past year. We confined ourselves to the campuses, the hip and the black communities, with occasional showings for the "masses at large." We were heavy in social practice but it was unguided, often misdirected, and divorced from theory. We called it pragmatism, eclecticism, etc., but in reality it was just plain old bourgeois ideology.

We were forced to develop a strategy for our work; our propaganda had to answer Mao's questions "of what and for whom?" We actively began studying Marxist-Leninism, learning its method and theory, and testing it in daily work. Our strategy is in line with Lin Piao's formulation of People's War: building a militant united front against U.S. imperialism. We see the absolute necessity for working class leadership of the united front and thus our principal task is to help build a working class movement that will address itself to the questions of imperialism, racism, women's liberation and socialism in America.

What this meant for Newsreel is making films that are aimed at working people - it meant showing films and speaking in union halls, peoples homes, strike lines. We've been making this a reality in the past few months; some of our experiences are unique to filmmaking and the special relationships created but most are valuable to any organizer. Our initial successes have been very encouraging. We offer our experiences as models for other organizers to learn from, criticize, and apply.

## FILMS STRIKE HOME

The "Oil Strike" film was our first which dealt directly with labor struggles. The film has given us the opportunity to openly approach unions, radical caucuses and striking workers and set up film showings. People readily identify with the oil workers; the film prepares them for the police and scabs and raises issues of imperialism, racism, women, media, courts, etc. The film shows people that their struggle is not in isolation and puts it in the overall political context. In using the film we have had to deal with several problems: the role of the students is not thoroughly explained, the strikers seemed to have lost, mostly older workers are shown, pig brutality is not documented. But the film allows us to talk directly to political forces and paves the way for further film showings on Vietnam and other colonial struggles, corporate power, students, blacks, etc. Selection of a program is very important; we try to use films that the issues together, on Vietnam or we have a set talk with the own slides from Vietnam. In every case we attempt to set up widely showings either at the union hall, peoples houses, churches, whatever works best. The mass meeting under the largest audience, but smaller groups offer better discussions and the potential for a radical caucus. Our most successful showings have been with striking workers.

We're begin making short silent film clips of strikes in progress around the bay area. These newsreels also include footage from strikes during the life of workers seizing plants, battling pigs and national guard, demonstrations, etc. Striking workers speak with the films, trying to get support, and bring about the need for solidarity and a working class movement to fight the bosses, bring justice to America and end imperialist wars. The strikes of the 70's lead to discussion of how people fought and died for our basic rights and how today men and women are still fighting and the need for a permanent solution to the problem - socialism.

We had a benefit for a group of strikers using a feature film "Salt of the Earth". The community was leafleted - newsreels of the strike were shown along with some footage taken by the strikers themselves. The showing was a huge success with about 150 people. We're organizing another benefit with rock and country bands and films - the showings are political forums and provide much needed practical support. By developing community and union support, people can relate to united struggle because it means power. Newsreel people and workers are learning from each other, our raps broaden the scope of the struggle and the together other issues.

One of the most important developments is the role of women in the strikes. Many men are reluctant to have their wives involved in the strike. On the other hand some wives don't understand what the strike is about and try to get their husbands back to work. Newsreel women set up showings with the wives and attempted to get them involved in political activity. Some women have taken a very active role, speaking

with films, making their own movies, picketing, getting food for the families, and writing leaflets. Showing "Salt of the Earth" has been very helpful in raising questions of male supremacy and chauvinism - in one case, women were allowed in the union meeting for the first time during the strike. Showing newsreels at Saturday night parties in striking workers' homes has become very popular - but we don't show too many films or we kill the party. We also bring plenty of beer and wine.

Some workers in Richmond got a union hall and leafleted factories and shopping centers - they advertised free films - e.g. state and oil strike, the back of the leaflet was an explanation of the two strikes and their relationship to each other. About 50 people showed up - don't expect great results at first. Since then, regular screenings and discussions have been set up every other week, often using feature films.

A similar series has been set up with a radical caucus in a union in S.F. Our long-range goal is worker's theatres in every community, not only showing films, but also speakers, musicians, theatre and dance. We are in the beginning stages of organizing a workers' theatre group.

Newsreel works closely with organizers and collectives in the bay area. Originally our films were considered tools for organizers, this is even more so now. In situations where there are no organizers we push on ourselves, but it is essential for the movement that collectives of working class organizers form - one shot film showings are of limited value. The films are simply a tactic and to be effective they must be a part of ongoing political work.

In the long run we see groups of workers forming their own radical organizations - this has happened in two cases already. These groups will be involved in political education, leafleting, strike support, and a newspaper. A strike bulletin which runs down the current strike in progress is now being circulated at picket lines, factories, and in the communities. Solidarity committees are also being established, made up of workers, students, wives, etc., with more emphasis on community organizing, and strike support. Newsreels are being shown in hospitals and clinics to health professionals and workers, and to community groups up in arms over health care, in an attempt to unite their struggle against their common enemy.

## SCHOOLS

To move against the repression and manipulation of the educational system we must EDUCATE young people to the necessity of building a powerful revolutionary movement. To do this we must confront the power of the corporations over both the content and direction of education, and show how the tracking system serves the needs of the corporations. We DE-EDUCATE by comparing their version of reality to the real needs and experiences of the people.

Inside the schools we must educate teachers to the oppressive roles they play in propagating the doctrine and control of the corporations, and we must challenge them to use their position for the de-education and re-education process. Student organizers and radical teachers can use revolutionary propaganda (films, literature and speakers) and constantly put forth the demand that the people must control their own education. In the Bay Area, San Francisco Newsreel, the High School Student's Union, and the Radical Teachers Union are organizing along these lines.

We have learned that the only way to get our films and raps into the schools is via radical teachers and students. Even then, these teachers and students are often stymied by the principals and administrations who usually require a private pre-screening before allowing the films on campus. Our best successes have come when a teacher and a student work together to get the films on campus. When this works, we find that our films provides a desperately needed break in the routine of irrelevancy that characterizes school.

Discussions are difficult, both because of the liberalism of some teachers who use their own authority to counter-set our efforts, and because of the very real anti-life nature of the classroom environment and the structure.

It is possible to make new contacts through showings in the schools, to raise consciousness, and to interrupt the so-called "educational process", but all of this is dependent on organizing students and teachers who can and will get the films into the schools. We are continuing to show films inside the schools

whenever possible, and the Moratorium and the upsurge in popular opinion against the War has helped a lot to this work.

However, we recognize that working within the schools is limited by the very system we are confronting. Therefore, we see our primary function as working outside the schools in neighborhood and regional groups/gangs that come together to struggle against the growing repression of our culture and our lives. Specifically, film showings and raps in homes and hang-outs serve to bring kids together to overcome isolation from each other and from the struggle.

In both high schools and colleges we have been concentrating our efforts at the lower track schools in our attempt to help build a working class movement. Most of our work at colleges has been with the community and state colleges in the Bay Area - there the contradictions between the ruling class and the students are more acute. The presence of power at these schools is more thinly veiled - there is no illusion or bourgeois academic freedom. The junior colleges are run just like high school: students aren't allowed to leaflet, cut classes, set up free universities. They are expected to come to school at 7:00, leave at 3:00, learn their trade and join the work force.

School is only a transitional part of a person's life, they don't identify themselves as "students" and quickly grasp the need for a political movement that relates to their lives as a whole. The emphasis of our films and raps has been to explain how they are tracked into their class ("Oil Strike", "High School Rising"), and how they are exploited ("Oil Strike", "Wilmington"), how others are exploited ("Black Panther", "Vietnam"), and the need to unite the struggles against the common oppressor. The silent strike footage is used to enlist student aid and support of striking workers. Third world student organizations have used all our films continuously and effectively, in classes, meeting, etc.

Our success with white students is limited, few organizations exist except for PLUR, showings are usually limited to the one free period a day. There are few dorms, almost all students commute. All of this points out the necessity for Jr. College work to be related to the community as a whole - the community that it is supposed to serve. A program around day care centers for children whose mothers wish to attend school is much more relevant to their lives than ROTC or anti-recruiting programs. Similarly, a campaign against police science departments at the school, linking that with the use of these same police as strike breakers, can clarify the day to day oppression clearly.

## COMMUNITY WORK

The Latino work team has been involved for the past three months in the making of a film about Los Siete de la Hora. After having used Newsreel in a variety of situations in the Mission community, where most of S.F.'s 90,000 Spanish speaking people live, we discovered the films failed to relate to the more specific problems of brown people. When the May 1st Los Siete incident occurred and the organization was formed we immediately saw the need for a film that would counter the attack on the community launched by the bourgeois press. We felt the Latino community needed a film which related to their immediate oppression as Third World people and would lead to an understanding that May 1st was not an isolated incident but a political act of repression.

We went to Los Siete and discussed the proposed film and together we worked out a general outline. In the course of trying to build a scenario we began working with the organization on the newspaper - Dasta Ya!, in the Breakfast program and on the medical committee. We used films in that work whenever possible and came to a more thorough understanding of the 7 brothers and the community. We discovered that the oppression of the parents and their children was different, they had been pitted against one another and blinded, by the man, to each other's oppression. And then there was the tracking system, unemployment, hard drugs, and racial pig cops to deal with.

Our strategy in making the film was to present the Los Siete organization as an alternative to reformist programs. In order to do this we had to go to the people and let the film generate from them. From the masses to the masses. The "Los Siete" and "High School Rising" films are now serving as invaluable aids to the community organizing work of Los Siete de la Hora.

In Chinatown and the black community we have been working closely with the Red Guards and the Black Panther Party. We perform basically a service in the on-going work of the organizations: supplying films and helping set up showings in the community, breakfast programs, liberation schools, political education classes, etc. We also rely on the organizations to provide speakers for showings with striking workers, high schools, colleges, and other communities, and distribute their newspapers and leaflets in all our work.

## THE MILITARY

The GI movement is growing - uprisings in stockades, the proliferation of GI papers, and various forms of insurrection. What role can Newroz play in organizing GI's? The problems of organizing within the military establishment are unique.

GI's are mostly from working class and oppressed backgrounds. They have legitimate grievances against the imperialist system which forces them to fight. Unlike civilians, GI's live under constant fascist authority that has almost absolute control over their lives. Consequently, when GI's engage in any kind of out-front political activity, the risks they run are incredibly higher than civilians face.

On top of these problems many GI's have come to resent naive civilian attempts to organize them. As a result, many civilian organizers have taken a position of extreme caution in raising political questions. This attitude is aimed opportunism at its worst.

Newroz is trying to deal with these problems, but we still have a lot to learn. We show films which are frankly radical and which are designed to raise political questions. We don't try to "organize" GI's or push any GI organization. We agitate. We educate, hoping that GI's will see their personal problems in political perspective so that they will be able to better organize themselves.

We've been having regular weekly showings for GI's. We try to consider the special problems of GI's in selecting films, especially for first showings. Films on Vietnam must be carefully chosen; only GI's already on the side of the NLF dig NLF-made films. But liberal films don't work either. We've found that "Oil Strike" and the ROTC film are good uppers.

These films and others start where GI's are at and open the way for important issues to be discussed. Organizers must be prepared to lead discussions after showings and they must know their shit. GI's ask very concrete questions and demand straight answers.

We've also been making cassette tapes in which GI's discuss their experiences and the them into the imperialist system. Many GI's have recorders in their barracks and the tapes get passed around a lot.

But our work in the military remains the weakest. In another area, we have plans to make some films on Vietnam especially for GI's and expand our tape project, but it is too early to evaluate the effects of these projects.

Film is a unique medium of propaganda. It allows the coming together of a group of people to share a common experience in learning. But you cannot rely on the films to do your work - they are an aid to, not a substitute for, solid political work. They are only as good as the person running the projector. "A revolution cannot be made by a single man. A large force is needed, the entire people must participate. That is why it is necessary to have cadres for propaganda, agitation, education.

They must be kind-hearted, open-minded and sincere. They must help one another as comrades, work together with the masses without whom they could not succeed in anything. Each gesture, each attitude must conquer people's hearts. The revolution requires in the first place the participation of politically conscious people. A man joins the revolution only when he understands that oppression is the cause of his suffering. Therefore, we must be on the people. If we did, the fear of retribution could be sufficient. However, fear is treason, which would be disastrous. Before the people, a revolutionary cadre has no right to assume a haughty and arrogant attitude, as if he were a feudal warlord. He must be modest." HO-CHI MINH

## U.E. For Immediate Release

PATerson, N.J. - One hundred workers who make bullet proof vests, body bags, which are used to transport the dead from the fields, and other items used in Viet Nam called for an immediate end to the war even though price could mean layoffs for them. At a lunch-time plant gate rally keyed to the nationwide Moratorium, spokesperson for U.E. Industries employees at 37 State Street, Paterson, denounced as a "fraud" not only "this obscene war" but also the implicit assumption that "wars mean good jobs on a long-term basis".

Members of Local 404, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, a union that has consistently condemned the war since its inception, came out strongly for an immediate end to "this disastrous adventure" in spite of the fact that they could be laid off over peace to "break out".

Jose A. Lugo, UE Local 404 President, Ed Blush, UE International Representative and Carl Weisinger of Rutgers University highlighted the feeling of those present by railing "as a fraud the monstrous notion that taking over somebody else's country will solve our job problems here".

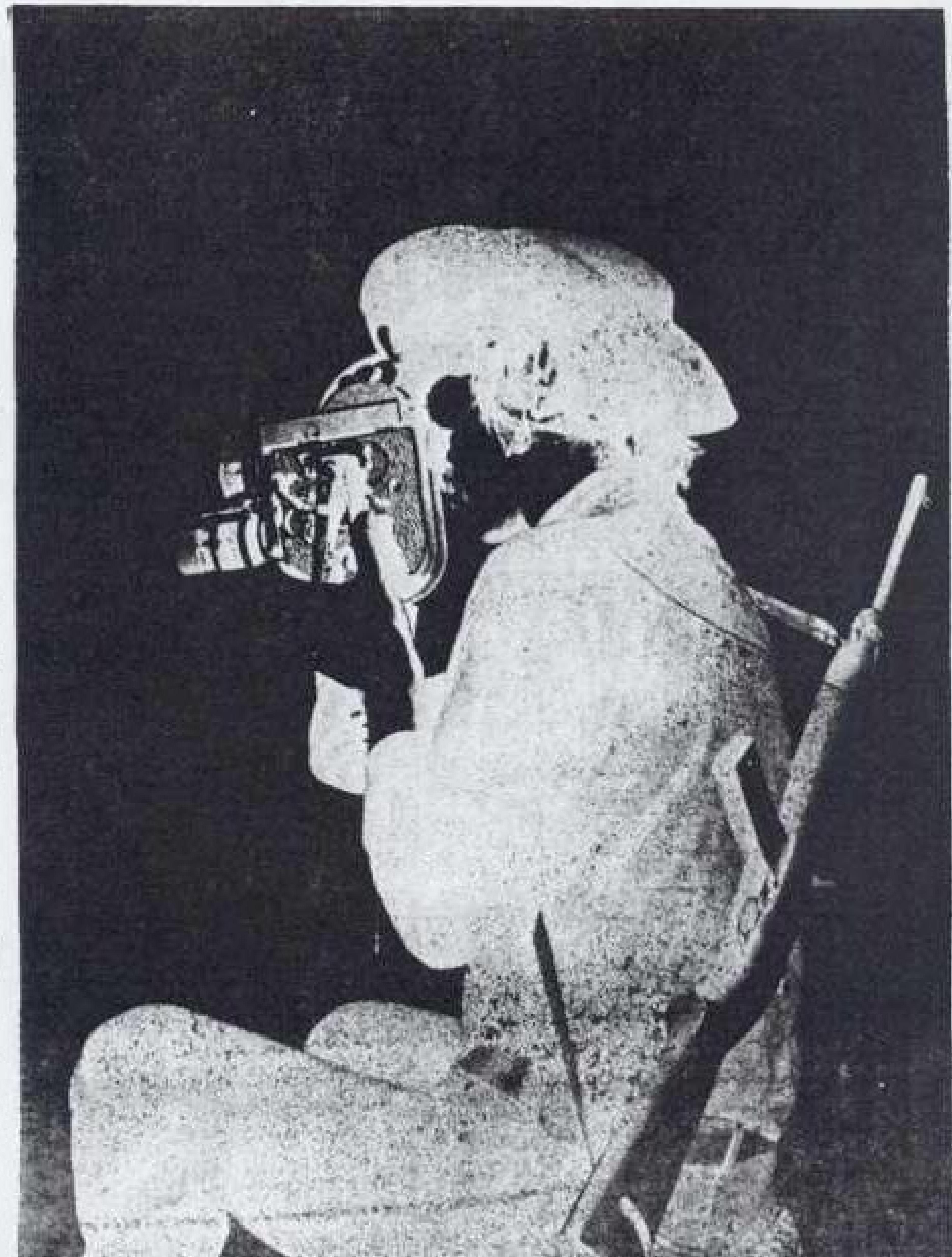
## WARREN WELLS

Former Black Panther Warren Wells has been sentenced to 1-15 years by Alameda County Superior Court Judge Robert Bostick for his part in the April 6, 1968, "shootout" between Panthers and police. During the shootout, Bobby Hutton was killed, and as a result of charges stemming from the incident, Eldridge Cleaver left the country.

Wells had three trials, the first two ending in hung juries voting 11-1 and 10-2 for acquittal. In the third trial he was convicted on two counts of assault on police officer with a deadly weapon. The jury ignored the charges from attempted murder.

Wells was on parole from an earlier robbery conviction, and when he was convicted in Oakland a San Francisco judge ordered him back to jail on a life-to-life sentence for the robbery rap. Wells, 22, has spent 10 years of his life in jail.

Attorney Charles Garry, who handled the case, has accused D.A. Frank Vukota of encouraging perjury. Garry plans to appeal the case.



## Thieves and Crooks

I am one of the wives of the Steel Workers Union who are on strike against the P.D.M. Company in Santa Clara. We actually are in a round-about way fighting against the Vietnam war because about 1/4 of our pay goes for taxes already that the government pays out for wars. But they say that isn't enough we've got to have a big bundle right now, so we'll just have to tax the workers more. So the workers won't raise too much of a stink about it, we can just say for 6 months we are going to dip 10% surtax on you to pay for this war.

There's no reason that we should ask these people if they want to vote on whether or not they want to pay it. We are the bosses and they are just dumb workers. So we tell them it's a new law and the workers and little people will have to jump. The big corporations and people with the money say just like Jackson who holds 51% of P.D.M. is telling us your union is getting too strong and I intend to keep this money for myself. So you are not going to get a decent pay raise.

They have lied and tried to bluff us into going back to work by showing letters from Pittsburgh that the workers there had signed their contract and we should take this 9¢ over a 3 year period of 3¢ an hour per year. I have said for years if I was a man I would not go into the armed forces and fight against my fellow man. Because those people there have to be working people just like myself. It is wrong to take up arms against anyone except the corporations and businesses with the power of money behind them. I say disperse the pig force and the rest of those getting rich off of the people who work themselves and all they gain for their efforts is some police officer who accidentally breaks into the wrong apartment and accidentally kills an innocent family man. Such as just happened a few days ago.

I believe our government should get out of Vietnam and mind their own business and let those people do so too.

Thank you for all the support you have given us at P.D.M. and any time you feel you can come down and help I as the wife of one union member ask for all and any of your help. Thank you.

I personally think 99% or better still all politicians are thieves and crooks. And I know and feel we the people will win.

## JOHN HOWARD

John Howard was a man. He lived in Uptown, Chicago, Illinois, the United States of America. He was a poor man, on welfare, who had come north years back from Georgia, seeking work. Once at a meeting of the old JOIN Community Union we had just seen a movie about war. This was in 1966. John got up and said: "War is a terrible thing. I fought in two of 'em; when I got off that boat in San Francisco in 1955 I swore to myself I'd never fight in another, they'd have to take me in a casket."

During the making of the film, American Revolution 2, John was working with the Poor People's Coalition in Uptown. In the film, at the end of a Coalition meeting attended by Panthers, John says: "I'll stick with the Panthers if they'll stick with me, and I know they will."

Well, John recently went back down home, as he and a lot of people in Chicago do from time to time. He was at a meeting and some honkies fascist got up and said: "That's the guy who works with niggers in Chicago." The next night John was found dead, his throat slit. Some of us knew John pretty well. John was a fighter, and he was the first person to take a stand when JOIN (Jobs or Income Now) got started back in 1964. He paved the way for a lot of other people. He leaves a big family - Eva and all the kids. People out there should send some bread. Send what you can to the John Howard Memorial, Box 3740 Moose Mart, Chicago, Illinois, 60654.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Tom Hayden gave the following speech to a crowd at Boalt Hall (U.C. Law School) in the beginning of November. Here he outlines the Conspiracy's analysis of their situation and the strategy for stopping the trial.

First of all I'd like to give you the political background of the law and I'd then like to explain to you what we think is the government's intent in this case and what's going on. I'd like to say something then about the nature of our defense and the kind of things you can do.

We're being tried under a law which is a product of the outside agitator theory which we once felt was a joke when it was applied by southern governors. That notion that people can be stirred up by someone crossing state lines to create trouble as in the freedom rides always seemed preposterous. Now the southern way of life has been interpreted into the American way of life and we have a federal law which makes the outside agitator a federal criminal subject to \$5,000 and 5 years for crossing state lines to incite a riot and each of us are cited twice.

The law says that whoever travels from one state to another, or writes a letter, or sends a telegram, or makes a telephone call, or speaks on radio or television with the intention and it does not have to be an avowed intention of urging someone to participate in a riot, a riot being defined as an assembly of three or more people who act violently or injure the property or person of somebody or who threaten to break the law. That would make illegal every thing that has been done in protest movements throughout American history, because the law is so sweeping and so devastating in the kind of things that it makes criminal.

#### LEGALIZED POLICE STATE

Now this has made a lot of people feel that this will be thrown out by the United States Supreme Court that this law is not in the American tradition, that, therefore this trial in Chicago is not to be taken seriously but seen instead as a kind of carnival. Many of us felt the same way when we first met the judge and we named him "Magoo" because of the way he looked but now we see the case in a much more serious light, and think we can offer some explanation for why the case is serious.

This law was first introduced by a Florida congressman, Kramer, with the support of Strom Thurmond, and it became law after the 150 rebellions which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King. If you remember there was a widespread public demand for legislation in tribute to Dr. King. I gather that this legislation is to enforce non-violence through the message of a police state.

The intent of this bill is to give the police state apparatus of the federal government, the federal government itself, the opportunity to move into local situations. Each of the fifty states has its own anti-riot laws which are somewhat tighter in their writing than this one, but the federal government has had difficulty finding a way to move in to crises on the local or state levels where they take on national proportions.

Step two in understanding the seriousness of it is government in the past year, in the Justice department in particular. That is the beginnings of the process of going beyond the formal constitutional system that we have to a more fascist legal system. The government has not found it possible to deal with the anti-war movement, with the black movement, with the youth movement, within the present confines of the law. I don't mean to endorse in the least constitutional traditions and the constitutional framework because what there is that's good about that has hardly been enforced. But what we're seeing is the government's running against its own policies and institutions and against its own traditional framework.

#### NIXON'S GANG

Let me give you what I mean concretely. You will remember that Richard Nixon among other things ran on a program of changing the Supreme Court of the United States and the Justice Department. He accused them of being permissive liberals. When he got in office one of the first moves that Nixon began to make was to rig the Supreme Court for the first time since the new deal in a definite political direction with the appointment of Burger and now the appointment of Haynsworth.

Secondly he put into office at the top levels of the Justice department a gang of reactionary politicians who are interested in the politics of law and order. These include John Mitchell, the Attorney General, who basically has been a business attorney and a political manipulator on Wall St. and a Republican Party agent, professional hack for all his career. He is made number one man in the Justice Dept. In with him comes Richard Kleindienst who was defeated in a political contest in Arizona who has a long-standing hatred of everything unorthodox in American life who says publicly to the Atlantic Monthly that what the country is facing on the campuses, in the communities, in the ghettos, is a group of ideological criminals who should be rounded up and placed in detention camps which is in a strict sense a Nazi doctrine.

We have in charge of the criminal division which is on top of our case a person by the name of Will Wilson, who runs for Senate and Governor in the state of Texas and was defeated and who is on record as saying something to the effect that anybody who disturbs anybody else's comfort is a rioter. In charge of the Civil Rights Division is Jerry Leonard from the state of Wisconsin who publicly

testified that he belonged to several racially segregated social clubs, and who, as the chairman of the Wisconsin state building commission transferred \$200,000 in legal fees to John Mitchell while Mitchell was a New York bond attorney. He's the man who's declared that the government is moving too fast in school desegregation in Mississippi.

There's a number of other people in there - I don't want to detail them - one is Bill Requist who was one of Goldwater's speechwriters in 1964, another is a man named Bucklehouse who was defeated for Senator and Governor in Indiana. What is being done is the transformation of our legal system from the top down into a reactionary - I think it would be fair to say a fascist - legal system.

#### ADJUSTING TO FASCISM

The evidence introduced against us in Chicago is a series of speeches we gave from early 1968 up to the convention declaring that we were coming to the convention. I gave a speech that was about two hours long in July of 1968 on the situation in Viet Nam. Almost the entire speech was about Johnson's new maneuvers, dropping out of office, stopping the bombing, the kind of things he was doing at that time. At the end I made a reference to Chicago saying that we can learn from the fact that the United States is attacking Vietnam in a war of genocide and from the fact that the Vietnamese people are shedding their blood - that we may very well have to shed our blood in this country because of what this government does to people who demand self-determination. And I said we may have to shed our blood in Chicago. FBI agent testified that this was the most inflammatory speech that he ever heard in his life. This is an FBI agent who was just standing with his son on a little league baseball field seven years ago and he was approached by a man from the FBI and asked if he would mind going to some meetings and taking notes and turning in people on the left. He did it and this is the most inflammatory speech he'd heard in seven years.

You're probably wondering what conspiracy is. It's nothing. People who from circumstantial evidence are shown to have been moving in the same direction towards a common purpose are conspirators. It helps if they've known each other's names or met once or twice, but it's not necessary under the law.

I don't know how many FBI men were assigned to this case but they travelled all across the country while the grand jury met for six months. The judge, Judge Campbell, who was in charge of the grand jury said that the Walker report was an insult to the grand jury. He attacked Walker publicly, so publicly that he decided it would be better for him to withdraw from the case - he was going to try us - so after the grand jury indicted us the case was passed on to Judge Julius J. Hoffman.

Judge Hoffman is one of the younger men on the federal bench, he's 75, a conservative Republican, belongs to all the right social clubs in the city of Chicago, through his wealthy wife he purchased his judgeship fourteen years ago. He has, through his wife, stock-ownership in a variety of corporations including Brunswick corporation, that's getting Haynsworth in trouble, several corporations that produce equipment for Vietnam. He's known in the Chicago bar as the most vicious man on the federal bench. He has a habit of giving maximum sentences and denying appeal bond. So this is the man we're dealing with.

I'm beginning to understand how people adjust to fascism, I really am. I'm beginning to understand how you can simply kind of acquiesce and feel a curtain of exhaustion fall over your mind as you listen helplessly to people describe you as you listen to people lie about what you've done.

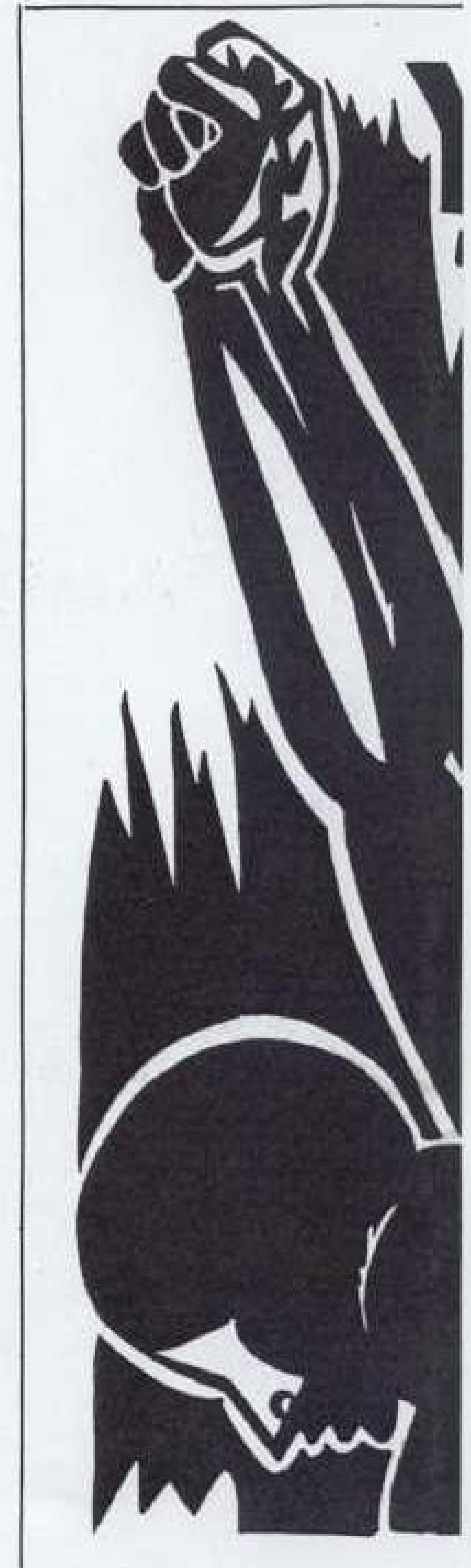
Here we are up against a law that makes just about everything in the country illegal, up against a secret police apparatus that has collected the evidence, testified before the grand jury, now presents itself one by one as witnesses against us. And here we are with Judge Hoffman and here we are without Charles Garry.

By the way, that's another example of the fascism. It's a very normal request to ask for a delay if a lawyer has to have an operation and will be ready in six weeks. It's very normal for a judge to grant that. Many members of the conservative Chicago bar were very puzzled when Hoffman refused to let Garry have that six weeks. So Bobby Seale doesn't have the attorney who's closest to him.

We hear people around the country say several things. One is that Judge Magoo is a joke and the second thing is that this trial is so preposterous that obviously you'll get off. This is sort of the New York Times view, it can't happen in our country. Well I can't say what will happen, but I can lay out the government's intention. Their intention is to get us behind bars as quickly as possible and I think, in a way that stuns you as much as possible, as you feel that your every word, your every gesture, your appearance, is being watched.

#### BOBBY SEALE

You should also remember the situation of Bobby Seale, which adds to the seriousness of it. Bobby Seale has been railroaded without so much as a serious outcry of protest from the liberal community. Taken from San Francisco, grabbed off the streets, taken out of this jurisdiction, moved to Chicago, brought into this conspiracy trial without his attorney, Charles Garry, on a charge which is really preposterous since everybody knows that Bobby Seale was only temporarily in Chicago last summer, and had nothing to do with the demonstrations that took place there. Bobby Seale is being railroaded on a train that moves through Chicago to Connecticut where he faces the electric chair on a much more unbearable charge, that he as Panther chairman would conspire to kill an agent



and leave the body so that the police evidently could pick it up and arrest everybody in the Black Panther Party that they could.

Now if you think that we're having an easy time relatively, developing support around our trial, I think that that may be only because of the fact that many of the people in the case are white, are radicals, have a history of legitimate activity in reform movements, and a couple of them are Yippies. And how could you possibly put Abby Hoffman behind bars for ten years, people think - "We've got to support this case. We've got to have a party for Abby". You've got to remember that the same people have a much more difficult time supporting Bobby Seale and that while we're enjoying ourselves and developing support around a relatively easy cause, the Panthers are being destroyed.

#### PRISONER EXCHANGE

That's why we're participating in an international project in which the US government would have repatriated to this country a number of prisoners from Vietnam. If the US government would release Bobby Seale and Huey Newton back to the Black colony inside the US. We don't take this lightly. We don't make it as a propaganda gesture. There have been actual discussions in different parts of the world about it. We have some positive indication that it would be possible if the US government was willing to make such a gesture. We're really only doubtful about the US government in this case.

# YOU CAN'T JAIL THE REVOLU- TION STOP the TRIAL FREE the CONSPIR- ACY



We take it very seriously as an educational point to make because we regard the Panthers, particularly Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, and other people in the black community, as actual prisoners of war - they're not just political prisoners. They are involved in a situation where the US government is waging a war against their organization - a war against the black community, in which troops have been sent into 100 or 200,250 black communities around the US in the last five years, in which several hundred black people have been killed and several thousand have been wounded - in a situation that is hardly one of peace. It may not be full-scale civil war, but we have defined it as a situation that is much closer to war than it is to peace. We feel that certainly people like Hap Brown, Harry P. Newton, and Bobby Seale are used militarily as well as politically as pawns by the United States, by the Pentagon, by the FBI. They're prisoners of war.

We regard the US government as conducting an imperialist policy with respect to the entire third world, particularly with respect to Vietnam, and in the war in Vietnam, the war of resistance waged by the people of Vietnam against the US, they have taken prisoners. Prisoners of the US Army and Air Force. And since there's close solidarity between the Panthers and the Vietnamese, there's growing solidarity between revolutionaries in this country and people throughout the third world; it seems to us a matter of common sense for people to co-operate on an international basis against the US government where it's grabbing people off the streets or locking

them.

## CONSPIRACY VS. FASCISM

The people all across the world are ultimately going to be our jury. We don't say that in a rhetorical way - we say that in a political way. That if enough international pressure can be generated, around this trial and the trials of all the conspirators in this country, and the trials of all the political prisoners, that it can have an impact. I think the only thing keeping Huey Newton out of the electric chair was political pressure.

The only thing that will keep us on the streets is political pressure and it has to be on a worldwide basis and it has to be applied during the trial - so the government is put into a very difficult situation - it, by persecuting us, the government alienates the youth of this country, and alienates people around the world, and discredits its legal system in the eyes of the world - just as last year it discredited its political party system by doing what it did on the streets of Chicago.

That means that the government will not be succeeding, even if it puts us away, in making young people obey this fascist regime of law and order. In fact, by putting us away, in this situation, the government will be breeding more lawlessness, as the government thinks of it - instead of frightening and intimidating people. On the other hand, if the government should decide politically to cut us loose, on some appeal or give us appeal bond as some

kind of way to save the liberal community's belief in justice, then we will be back on the streets, raising more hell.

This political dilemma can be imposed on the US government, on the Nixon administration, if enough pressure is generated around this case. And obviously we do it for ourselves, in some sense. But we think that in this particular case, the rhetoric about everybody having a stake in it is literally true. This is the one political trial that it's possible to conduct on a national and on an international basis because of the defendants' being who they are, people involved in movements for many years, because of the tremendous national impact of the Chicago demonstrations, because of the tremendous national and international publicity already generated around this case, we think that it lays it on the line for the Nixon administration.

We think that it can be elevated into a case in which the people are lined up on one side or the other - for the conspiracy, for what the young people did in Chicago for what the young people are doing all across this country, or for John Mitchell, Richard Nixon, the rest of the Justice Department and fascism.

## COURTROOM STRATEGY

What we're gonna do inside the court is pretty much what you can expect. We're gonna try to raise the political issues. The government is going to try to prevent us from airing them at all. If it's not political, therefore you can't bring up the war in Vietnam, you can't bring up racism, you can't bring up the Democratic and Republican parties, you can't bring up political and economic institutions in this country. All you can bring up is whether your intent was to incite a riot, and whether you stand guilty or not on what the government has accused us of.

We will try our best to get around that, but we do not believe, just as we don't believe a fair trial is possible, we don't believe that it's possible to politicize the inside of a courtroom in any fundamental sense. I think a lot of people have seen too many TV shows about Judd for the defense or read books about Clarence Darrow and they kind of believe that that courtroom is a great place to give a speech. Let me tell you, if that was true, they'd suspend court proceedings altogether and institute something else. It's almost impossible to raise political issues in a court.

We intend to say that we had the right of revolutionary dissent. We intend to say that we must prove that our intent was to do something about imperialism in Vietnam, to do something about racism, to do something about the situation that young people face in this country and to do something about the totally rigged political apparatus that we have and that's why we came to Chicago. We intend to try to show how we organized the Yippies, how the organization of the Mobilization Committee was set up.

We intend to try to show how the government of the US deliberately intervened to prevent us from having permits because they were afraid of having hundreds of thousands of people coming to Chicago because they knew that if a quarter of a million people protested peacefully, that alone would fuck up the Democratic Party. It was therefore necessary to stall to the last moment so that we couldn't get permits, on the one hand, and on the other hand, to make all kinds of ominous statements about shoot to kill, about new shipments of mace coming in, and about National Guard coming in, and about barbed wire, and all the rest of it so that people with jobs or families would be afraid to come to Chicago - and so that our numbers would be materially reduced to a point where they thought they could politically isolate us and prove to a worried country, that when it comes to preserving law and order, the Democratic Party is better than Richard Nixon and George Wallace.

## NO PIG RIOT

We want to try to show what happened was not a police riot. The police did NOT riot. The police acted in an orderly fashion. The police acted professionally. Just like the soldiers do in Vietnam or any country where they're sent to kill people or maim people or control people. There were a few incidents where the police went berserk. I'm sure they did not mean to beat into the ground the man from the University of California Criminology School who's the leading expert on crowd control in the US. On the whole, the police conducted themselves professionally. They followed orders, and we want the man who gave them the orders in the courtroom. We're sending subpoenas to Lyndon Johnson and Richard Daley. Lyndon Johnson will send his attorney to quash the subpoena and say that he's got nothing to do with this and so will Mayor Daley.

The only thing that we can hope for is creating a political effect by showing the jury and showing the press and showing the people how we're systematically stopped from putting our case on. That's our defense. We make no pretense of saying that we can put a case on in this courtroom. We can't do it. We can only attempt to do it and show how the government at every point insists on stopping it.

## STOP THE TRIAL

So what we're intending to do in conclusion is take this case to you. We regard you as the people who are very fundamental to what happens. On the day that our lawyers were locked up, the students at Rutgers law school marched into a faculty meeting and demanded that the school be closed and the school was closed.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

# STOP THE TRIAL!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

And we're trying to organize law students in other parts of the country to do the same thing. I think that this is a very revolutionary idea when it comes from law students and lawyers especially, to STOP THE TRIAL. There can be no such thing as a fair trial. No such thing as an appeal on this. The only way that these people are going to have justice is to STOP THE TRIAL. It's a practical proposition. The government, any time it wants, can stop this trial. The government can accuse us of having done something and move for a mistrial. We can move for a mistrial and the government can cooperate in that request. The government can tell Judge Hoffman to get conveniently ill. Any number of ways, the government can arrange to have this trial stopped.

A lawyers committee nationwide has been formed to stop the trial. They're working inside the courts and outside the courts. I had never seen lawyers in the streets before. I understand there was a big demonstration here in SF, there was a very large one in Chicago. Slowly, the cream of the crop, the law students who are supposed to run corporate capitalism for the next generation or two, are being alienated from John Mitchell and Richard Nixon, are being alienated from the Justice Department, and are getting a kind of proper dose of lawlessness in their veins.

We're not the only constituency, it's not the only kind of group that we're trying to work with. We're trying to work with the Vietnamese, we're trying to work with the Western Europeans, we're trying to work with the student groups, we're trying to work with everybody and anybody in this country. We spoke plenty of times at the Moratorium. We probably spoke to 150,000 people. And we're going to Washington on November 10th. Dave Dellinger is the chairman of the program and is going to speak about the necessity to withdraw troops from Vietnam. We expect 100-200,000 people to be in Washington.

We expect a significant number of those people to march on the Department of Justice to demand freedom for Huey and Bobby, to demand that the trial in Chicago stop and to demand general freedom for political prisoners everywhere and amnesty for Eldridge Cleaver.

This is the kind of thing that is absolutely necessary to put on the agenda. You can't expect to fight against the war in Vietnam without taking political casualties and nobody is going to continue struggling against these issues if they feel they're going to be railroaded to the penitentiary because of it. Maybe by tying our case to all these other cases, we can amplify the publicity about them, but it's very important to understand that hundreds of thousands of people in this country are being railroaded and only a few of them you've heard of.

We have the government that Richard Nixon has been putting together for a long time, from when he was on HUAC, from when he was chasing Communists in the 1940's and the 1950's. He's brought them all to Washington and they have a single-minded intention, no matter what the political cost, to put as many people away as possible. That's why Spiro Agnew, just like Judge Hoffman, is not a nut and is not a joke. He is very serious. He knows what he's doing. He's trying to mobilize fascist popular support for doing what he wants to do.

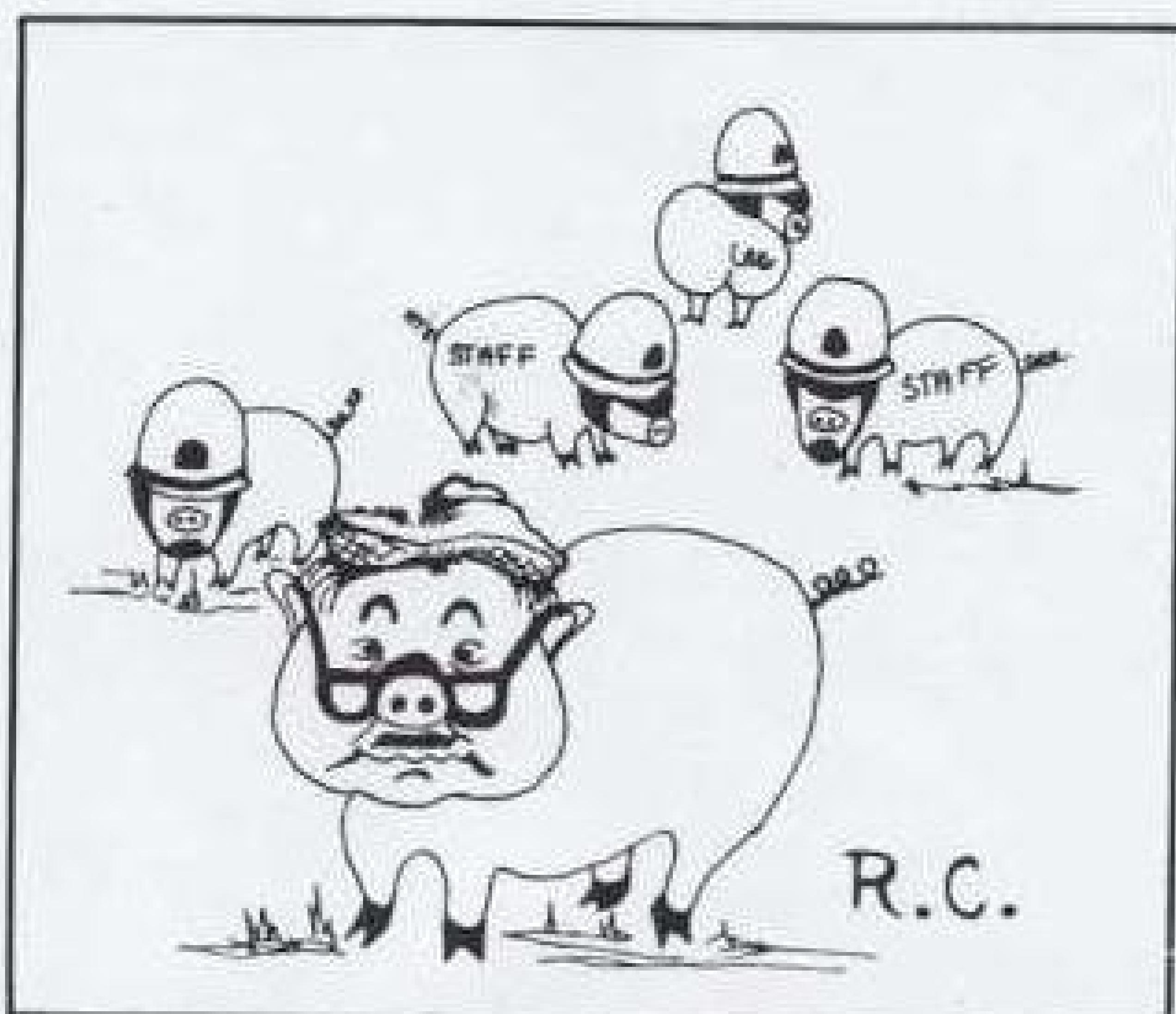
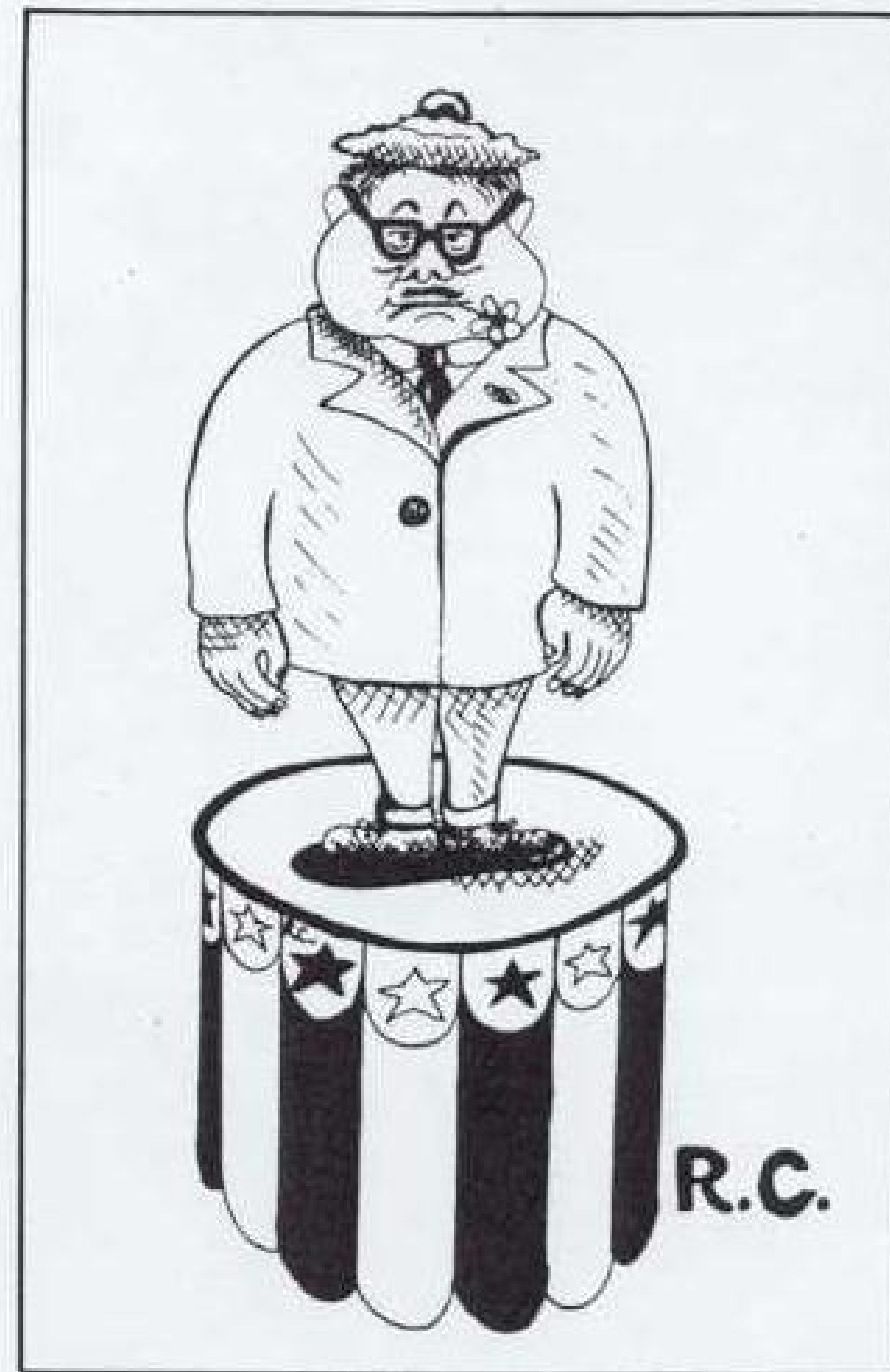
And therefore he has to play on the idea that we are effete snobs and you know that there's some truth to that and that we are snobs -- we can't fit into capitalism, we can't open stores and become businessmen -- we are snobs in this system. Spiro Agnew is the wave of the future, I don't think he's the wave of the future of the people of the US. He is the direction in which the government of the US is going. I have great confidence that he cannot take the people with him, he can't even take his 14 year old daughter with him. It is sort of the last ditch campaign on the part of the forces of law and order to protect the remnants of their dying civilization.

## LET US OUT

We have to understand what they regard as criminal is anything that outside the narrow definition of the Christian - American tradition. The only way we can stop them is by abandoning the notion of crime altogether and realizing that almost everything that people are arrested for has to do with politics, has to do with class injustice, has to do with who has contacts, who has lawyers, who has money to bail themselves out and proceed in that framework, knowing that we really do have support of people in this country in growing numbers and we certainly have the support of people in the world.

What we're doing is making the US into the outlaw power and the criminal power in the eyes of all of these people.

For that to happen, I would be very glad to spend time in the penitentiary. I know that everybody who's in penitentiaries now have only one hope - there's only one thing that can justify the time they spend in the penitentiary and that's that people on the outside make the government the outlaws, isolate that government and finally destroy it while we're in the penitentiary and then come and let us out. ♦



# tam o'shanter fascism

by "the judge"

Fascism comes down in many ways. It may hit you over the head like the tanks in Berkeley or the chains on Bobby Seale. Or it may creep up, little by little, thru the traditional liberal democratic institutions, until it pervades the attitudes of the bureaucrats who run these institutions, and passively gains acceptance among the population controlled by them.

Since the end of the strike last March, and the withdrawal of the 600 stormtrooper SF State has been transformed into a fascist enclave in a suburban desert, a concentration camp decorated with a tam-o'-shanter instead of barbed wires.

The fascism being put into practice at State may prove to be a model for the fascification of educational institutions throughout the country. It depends for its effectiveness on several factors: a pretense of maintaining the traditional institutional apparatus while actually concentrating power into the hands of one man; use of traditional academic myths to justify political repression; an occasional carrot doled out to insurgent groups to maintain the illusion of freedom; isolation of the most revolutionary sector of the movement; the Great Lie dished out to the media for mass ingestion; and, among the populace, instillation of an overwhelming fear of reprisal that breeds apathy, and a desire to shut one's eyes and forget that it's all happening.

All the old academic forms still exist - the academic senate, student government, students activities office, faculty and administrative committees with their traditional prerogatives and spheres of influence. But Hayakawa controls the entire apparatus, by the simple expedient of appointing people loyal to his position to all the key administrative positions, and by establishing an information and spy system that makes it impossible for us to push any old-guard liberals still left in the regime to accomplish anything constructive, without his finding out about it ahead of time. The plainclothes pigs all look like hip students, and many of the classes of the "radical" faculty contain at least one student informer.

Hayakawa and his administrators use the myth of "academic freedom" to weed out any faculty whose political positions challenge the notion that the function of a college education is to train observers, but not partisans; to study social problems, but not work to solve them. The toll so far includes Nathan Hare and Juan Martinez, and may soon encompass every faculty member who gave grades to striking students.

They used the myth of "academic competence" to prevent any students, particularly strike leaders, from reaching in the School of Third World Studies, because their diplomas come from the streets, not the classrooms.

Under the guise of "due process", all the arrested students are still grinding through the wheels of the Internal Security Division (student disciplinary proceedings), and the Financial Aids office is "reviewing" their applications for loans and work-study jobs to determine whether they are still "eligible" for financial aid from the college. Due process has already gotten several striking clerical and cafeteria workers fired from their jobs.

## STICKS AND CARROTS

Last Spring, Hayakawa and the State Attorney General clamped down on the student government that had supported the Third World Liberation Front by confiscating all remaining student funds and placing them in "trust" with the Bank of America. When a "Power to the People" slate won the student elections, Hayakawa declared the election invalid, and put his puppet slate "Satyagraha" (non-violence) into office. Now the funds are slowly dribbling back into the hands of the new government, and Satyagraha has been violently granted Student Mob and Legal Defense office space on the campus. Student groups can now pass out leaflets and hang up posters without getting busted (6 people were busted for poster-hanging last Spring), but the intelligence pigs get copies or pictures of everything that appears subversive. The Daily Gater, the college newspaper, is still outlawed from the campus because it is consistently critical of the Hayakawa regime, but thousands of copies circulate quietly among the students every week.

San Francisco millionaire Ben Swig recently gave Hayakawa \$25,000 for "bread and circuses" rock band programs on campus, while E.O.P. students are dropping out of school because there isn't enough financial aid to keep them going.

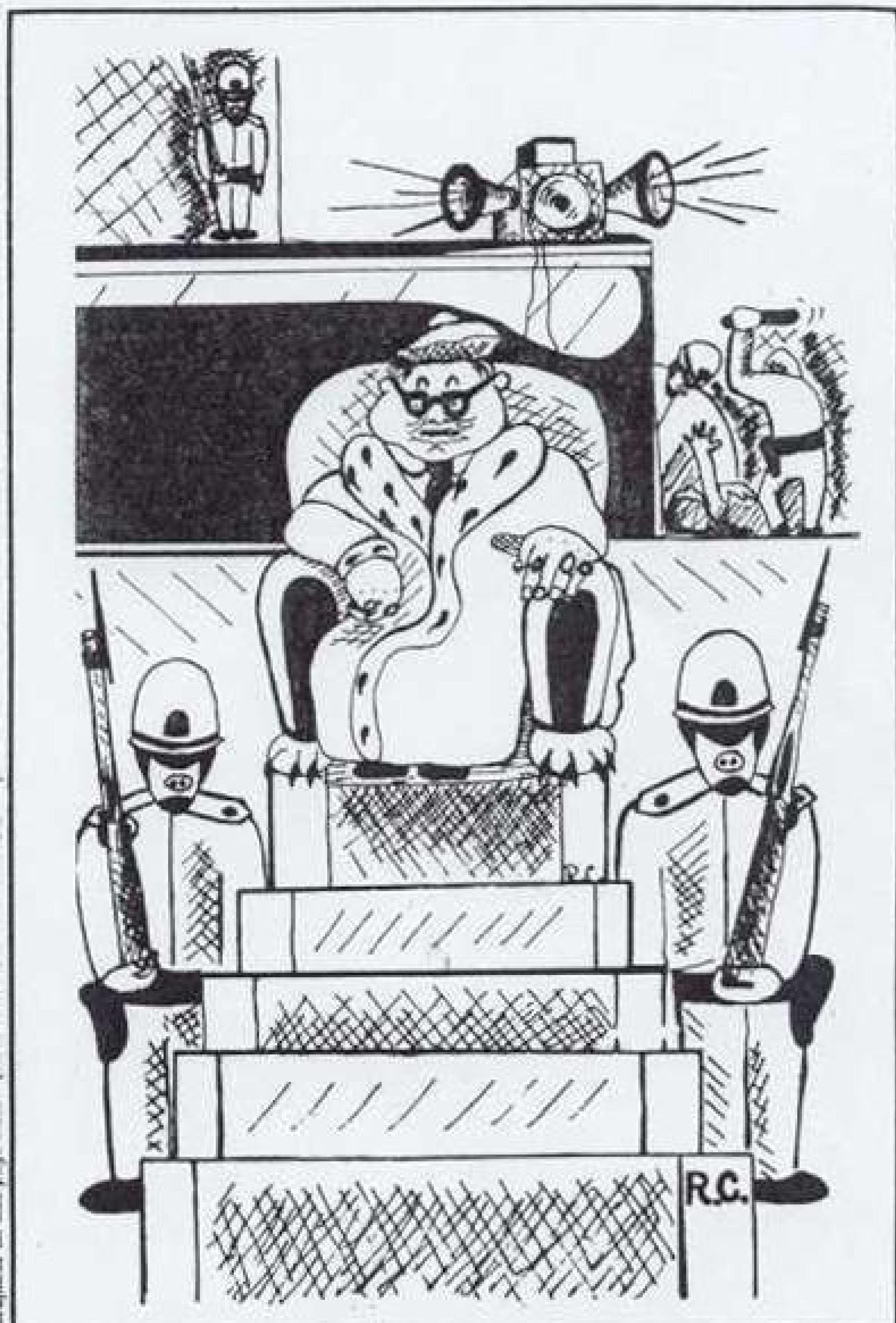
The School of Third World Studies, and the third world organizations which developed and fought for administration of its programs, still represent the major threat to a total fascist take-over of the campus. Key to the growing strength of the TWLT is the Equal Opportunities Program, through which third world students are recruited into the college. As long as T.W. organizations are in any way involved in the recruitment process, the campus is still open to potentially revolutionary students. Sacramento legislator Harmer decided to put a stop to this by passing a Bill that puts sole jurisdiction for recruitment in the hands of high school principals and the heads of local Veterans Administration. In this way, all incoming third world students can be screened to make sure that they are susceptible to an education geared to achieving their "proper place" in capitalist society, rather than seeing their education as a means to develop the skills to overturn that society.

Since the BSU survived the strike as the strongest organization on the campus, and the Black Studies Department has over 1000 students, third world and white, enrolled in its classes, Hayakawa has rightly seen it as his most powerful enemy on the campus. So Hayakawa has set out to smash the Black Studies Department. His technique is the same as Hitler's Big Lie - say it loud enough and long enough and the masses will believe it.

With the diligent assistance of our local technician of the big lie, Harvey York, Hayakawa's public relations man, Hayakawa is getting his face back on TV and the bourgeois press to convince the concerned public that the Black Studies program is being run by a handful of revolutionaries who are intimidating the black faculty - poor dupes - and all the students, into believing that a Black Studies program has the responsibility to tell the truth about the exploitation of black people by U.S. Imperialism, and about the forces of liberation that are fighting this oppression.

Hayakawa's objective is to put Black Studies courses back under control of the faculty in all the tradition departments; to make sure that a Black Culture course is taught by a faculty member who subscribes to cultural nationalism - counterrevolutionary and safe; that a Black Economics course is firmly guided by a teacher who can extoll the virtues of black capitalism.

The Black Students Union does not intend to let this happen. ▲



Graphics on this page from "Quotations From Chairman S. I. Hayakawa"