

White Panther Party at this point in time is to make a living work-able system. This demonstrates the difference between free labor and the distinction that workers always overlook.

They are abundant resources that are crippled by the system, made a fool of, by a system of labor and who flaunt luxuries with stupidity and the result their children will not be able to afford education, not because of a lack of the likelihood that people with a high school or graduate school is not a waste of money with irrelevant, but the students ability to be sensitive.

They have dropped out. And they are not and by our own labor, the result resembles the result of life on this planet. They are the supposedly laborer. Still we are constantly being exploited on a capitalist farms on a planet that is not right to survive in the world. This term is exact, it is the rich to use violence, it fails to perpetuate the orders of the rich. They control the institutions of the world. A process of peaceful cooperation and a reduction of the scope of the world.

Read this paper and not just the help that we can explore. We will agree entirely on the evolution that is necessary as we learn to help each other, where we disagree. We are different from the absolute uniformity of the action.

We are to the peoples programs.

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A REVIEW
OF
PEOPLE'S ENTERPRISES

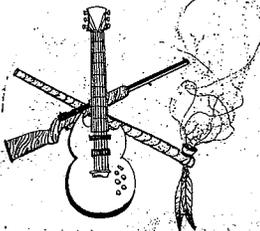
TOUCH

ISSUE V
WHITE PANTHER PARTY
INTERCOMMUNAL
NEWS SERVICE

PEOPLE'S ASCENSION



IN THE HAIGHT



TOUCH



THERE AINT NO WAY WERE GONNA WORK FOR A BUNCH OF LIFE SUCKING CAPITALIST VAMPIRES TO GET WHAT WE NEED TO LIVE.

WISH IT WAS 3 O'CLOCK SO I COULD ESCAPE

RIGHT NOW WERE MAKING A LIVING BY SURVIVAL THRU SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE, SETTING UP JOBS THAT PROVIDE THINGS PEOPLE NEED. WITHOUT GETTING RICH OFF OF THEM.

HERE'S THE LAST OF THIS ORDER.

O.K. HEY I JUST FOUND A BETTER WAY TO CHECK THE ORDERS!

THE LARGE CORPORATIONS+RICH PEOPLE MAKE HUGE PROFITS BY SELLING STUFF TO PEOPLE...

\$37.48, PLEASE

AN AFTER PAYING RENT I HAVE ABOUT \$18 FOR FOODS THIS MONTH...

WHEN PEOPLE STOP SUPPORTING CAPITALISTS & START SUPPORTING PEOPLES ENTERPRISES INSTEAD, THE CAPITALISTS LOSE PROFITS.

TAKE CARE

SEE YA NEXT WEEK

AND BESIDES LOSING MONEY THEY'RE LOSING POWER BECAUSE PEOPLE DEPEND ON PEOPLES ENTERPRISES, EACH OTHER, NOT ON THEIR CAPITALIST BUSINESSES.

FOR THESE REASONS THEY DONT LIKE US AT ALL.

THESE DAMN PANTHERS KEEP GETTING IN OUR WAY.

THE POLICE STOP US ON THE STREET, BEAT US, AND TAKE US TO JAIL FOR STUPID REASONS. THEY EVEN STEAL MONEY FROM US!

IF THEY RIP US OFF, BEAT US, ETC WE'LL TAKE THEM TO THEIR COURTS FOR JUSTICE.

IF WE GET FUCKED OVER BY THEM THEY'LL HAVE EXPOSED THEIRSELVES & WE'LL MAKE SURE LOTS OF PEOPLE HEAR ABOUT IT.

WE WOULD RATHER WORK WITH THE POLICE TO HELP STOP MURDERS, RAPES, ETC. NOT ALL POLICE ARE FASCISTS. (SEE THE 4 POINT PROGRAM FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE, PAGE 19.)

IF WE NEED TO WE CAN ORGANISE NEIGHBORHOOD PEOPLES MILITIA TO TAKE CARE OF CRIMES.

"SURVIVAL THROUGH SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE"
 - by Bobby Jones : Continued throughout the Paper.....

"I am an extremist. I call for extreme measures to destroy extreme problems. To me, life without control of the deterring factors is not worth the effort of drawing a breath. International capitalism cannot be destroyed without the extremes of struggle... We have a momentous historical role to act out if we will. The whole world for all time in the future will love us and remember us as the righteous people, who made it possible for the world to live on. If we fail, through fear and lack of aggressive imagination, then the slaves of the future will curse us, as we sometimes curse those of yesterday."
 - GEORGE JACKSON

Haight Community Struggles with City

August, 1972: The People's Ballroom was conceived by the White Panther Party as a means to provide survival for musicians and the many people it takes to put on concerts (see *Touch* issue no. 4 for a full explanation).

October, 1973: Community people living in the Haight-Ashbury area of San Francisco decided to begin putting on live music in their community, reintroducing the strength of their culture which was robbed from them seven years before in the confusion that ended the Summer of Love. Refusal by the city for permits for live music at a block party led to the idea of live music in the panhandle.

October 25, 1973: A sound test was held in order to quash the main objection of the Park and Recreations Department that live rock and roll would disturb the neighborhood hospitals. The test was successful, and more rock was planned.

November 4, 1973: The Haight rejoiced to the first legal neighborhood rock concert in a long time. Money was raised through donation from the crowd, that paid the two bands, Window and Me, a subsistence wage for their work of making good live music.

January 27, 1974: The Panhandle rocked again, this time to the sound of Ascension, Me, and Peterbilt, with each band again receiving a subsistence wage. The posters for this concert pointed out the similarity between this and the concept of a People's Ballroom.

April 6, 1974: Abdul, Ascension, and Window played in the 'People's Ballroom in the Park.' The excitement of the people in the Panhandle that day, and the potential of the program as laid out in *Touch*, issue no. 4, pointed clearly to the next step.

May 5, 1974: The People's Ballroom, now the

official name of a committee of community residents organizing the concerts, held the first of a series of concerts in the Panhandle. The intent of the People's Ballroom had always been to create a steady means of employment for the talent that exists in every community, and in the Haight that was beginning to be realized. The May 5th concert also kicked off a running battle with the Park and Rec., Department, as they began to fabricate new and more outlandish reasons about why the people of the Haight couldn't utilize this important part of their community.

May 12, 1974: The People's Ballroom demonstrated the flexibility of its program by providing Bluegrass music and a community picnic. Plans were also made for Irish music, a children's day, and a jazz concert.

May 19, 1974: The People's Ballroom suffered its first setback when the concert that Sunday was stopped in violation of agreements with both Park and Rec. and the local police at Park station. To stop it, the city found itself in the position of having to send Jeremiah Taylor, Supervising Captain of the entire S.F. police force, down to the Panhandle with threats of confiscating pieces of the equipment.

May 26, 1974: The sabotaged concert was held with better results than ever. More people came and enjoyed themselves, and Window and Ascension, two fine community groups, once again received survival wages. The police wisely stayed clear this time, because the community had learned much from the last weeks' confrontation. It would have taken more than the individual cop would be willing to participate in to force that group of people to give up their constitutional right of assembly; their right to join together economically and culturally in a community high.



Bureaucrats for Control of the Panhandle



Explanation of Front Page Photographs

1.	2.
3.	4.

1. Ascension demajshes sexism, fights repression of rock and roll, and thrills the community.
2. Aries Larry explains the feelings of the Haight to Terra Linda resident Joseph Caverly, who claims that he is the "general manager" of San Francisco's parks.
3. Supervising captain of captains, Jeremiah Taylor (left) arrives on the scene to (1) break neighborhood agreement with local police (2) threaten to break equipment if concert's aren't stopped (3) promote hatred for police officers (4) use issue to destroy solidarity between local police and neighbors, so that his plan to shut down local stations and get more LEAA funds can be furthered.
4. Window, the band that broke the six year ban on rock and roll in the Panhandle, by a sound test proving that "disturbing the hospitals" pretext was a lie - reminds Alito that rock and roll is here to stay.

Window Speaks Out on the People's Ballroom

Mr. Joseph Caverly, General Manager, Recreation & Park Dept. McLaren Lodge Fell and Stanyan Sts. S.F., California 94117

Dear Mr. Caverly,

We, the members of the rock band 'Window', feel compelled at this time to speak out in support of the People's Ballroom weekly concerts in the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park, and to express our reactions to the consistent repression of our cultural development by the Recreation and Park Department.

We have been living in and working with the Haight-Ashbury community for two years. In that time, the most significant community-organized cultural events have been the People's Ballroom Concerts in the Panhandle. The Recreation and Park Department has no valid right to deprive members of this community from partaking in and/or creating a form of expression that represents their culture. The concerts have provided us with a fair wage, invaluable exposure to and support from the community, as well as an alternative to working for club owners and rock entrepreneurs who exploit both musicians and their audiences. These concerts also provide jobs and cultural entertainment for poor people in the community, an alternative to rock bars and high-priced concerts that take money from an im-

poorished culture which desperately needs that money for survival.

Since October of last year we have been working with the White Panther Party and members of the Good Earth Community in an effort to obtain use of the Panhandle for community concerts. In dealing with park officials we have been met with unsupportable objections and permit denials without concrete justification. Although the November 'sound test' was opposed by Park Superintendent Misuraca, it proved that amplified electric music does not disturb the hospitals in the area; previously, this had been his main objection to concerts in the park. Not one of the letters of complaint from the neighborhood, allegedly received by park officials, could be produced upon request. Certain Park and

City officials personally object to rock music, which seems to be the main reason for obstruction of concerts in the park. These officials, supposedly elected to act in the people's interest, have no humane, judicial right to prevent public use of public property; especially when these officials are motivated by personal convictions of a discriminatory nature.

The concerts themselves have been well organized and peaceful; the only violent incident proved to be a police agent attempting to provoke a fight. The only advertising for the concerts has been by word-of-mouth, and neighborhood leafletting, which insures an audience of manageable size. The people in the neighborhood need weekly concerts. They promote interracial and other community relationships, and

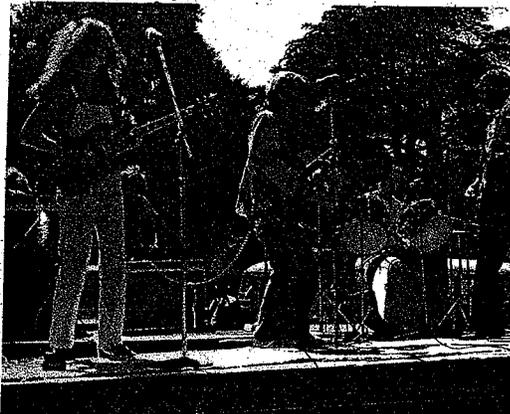
provide jobs for the unemployed.

So far there are no concrete, truthful reasons to deny a weekly series of concerts in the park for this summer. We stand with the community in support of the People's Ballroom on a weekly basis, and in opposition to further hostil-

ity, until a community cultural center for the Haight - Ashbury is secured.

WINDOW

cc: The White Panther Party, Dave McQueen, c-o KSAN Radio, Joseph Misuraca, Park Supt.



COMBAT

*It's time to decide...
Depend on Capitalists
For Production and Income
or Build and Support
People's Enterprises*

I probably should have written sooner, but I've been having a lot of trouble articulating a problem that I think is fundamental. In the last couple of years movement debates have featured prolonged analyses of the opposition between political means and military means of seizing power. Somehow the knowledge that power is primarily economic has been overlooked, even though Marxist thought supposedly premises this knowledge.

So what seems to be happening is that, in the heat of struggle, we are making the same disastrous errors that we all know how to refute in theory.

For instance, when the movement needs money, inevitably we resort to some version of capitalism - either benefits, or donations from the wealthy, or selling our labor and/or talents to capitalist employers, or dealing dope, etc.

"Free" Model Enterprises Can't Be Viable

And then, having demonstrated to the community that we, too, believe in practice that capitalism is the best system for acquiring money, we go to put forward model enterprises which, since they are "free" can't possibly be economically viable. This "freemism" is traceable to an anarchist tendency to act as though pure communism could be attained immediately. Is it any wonder that the majority of people who are really our class allies regard us as crazy?

Yet at least in Berkeley the explanation is still current that "The workers are too contented, and so we can't raise their consciousness." And having adopted this elitist position, which makes one for all time invulnerable to criticism from the masses, organizers continue to promulgate ever more improbable visions, continuously increasing in sophistication, until each group holds such complex theories of social organization that it is no longer possible for even the organizers to cooperate with each other.

And this is the situation out here. There are elements of the community whose class consciousness is not developed to the point where they are ready to consciously act in their own interests, but there are no elements so disorganized as the radical organizers who dominate the movement.

Therefore there is not yet a reliable political party capable of winning the trust of the masses of proletarian, lumpenproletarian, professional, petit bourgeois, etc., elements in whose hands power could rest. This is the



reason that such lame coalitions as the banks, large landowners, labor bureaucrats, big developers, and major industrialists who are organized are still able to win the support of these masses. There just isn't any alternative.

What we, the White Panther Party, propose is that we rethink our political positions from the standpoint of survival (concretely, where our money comes from and where it is going to come from), and begin to apply communist principles to our survival now, instead of relegating them to the warehouse for use after the revolution.

We Need Some Way To Survive

The first thing that we notice, from this standpoint, is that the solution is not in long-range political or military strategies, but in day-to-day economic activity, the reproduction of everyday life.

Then we consider that in fact the proletariat creates all wealth, but is deprived of it because the capitalist expropriates the product as a condition for the use of capital. But suppose the proletariat had capital?

In classical revolutionary theory, this possibility is not considered - there was no surplus capital available to our forerunners in Russia or China or Cuba. But it would be absurd to deny that there are millions of dollars at the disposal of progressive elements in many communities of the U.S. today. The problem is that even though we collectively have considerably more income than we require for our survival (as a result, to be sure, of our being beneficiaries of third-world exploitation) we have not learned to collectivize this wealth so that it can be used as capital for people's enterprises, and we still fritter it away on inane luxuries, or blatant rip-offs.

It is at this point that highly conscious revolu-

FREEISM

By Tom Stevens

tionaries are needed to raise the consciousness of potential comrades in the community. No one needs us to educate them as to the fine points of imperialist atroc-



ties - everyone knows about that. Workers don't work for capitalists because they dig the politics of GM, or Standard Oil, but because they don't see any choice.

If we could present an alternative system for taking care of business, then we could start getting support for long-range plans to take over all the business of the community.

But our alternatives have to be economically viable. They have to be models of the social institutions we would create if we had state power. And they have to meet the needs of the people.

As long as we're stuck in the rut of "freemism" (which, is really only a form of anti-proletarian consumerism) everyone can see that we depend on capitalistic forms of income to pay our expenses. This is no way to persuade anyone that they should have confidence in our ability to manage an economy; no way to make a revolution.

The Free Clinic in Berkeley is notorious for its dependence on liberal and government support. For years it depended on volunteer labor which of course is irregular and less efficient. Recently a federal emergency employment program has been used to get subsistence salaries for workers. The competence of the clinic has soared as a result. But some workers admit, to me anyway, that if it weren't for these salaries they'd be doing something else. If they leave, or if the federal program is cut back, competence will plummet. Is this a model social institution?

The solution is so obvious: each visit ought to cost one or two dollars. To assume that street people are so poor they couldn't afford this is to accept a sil-

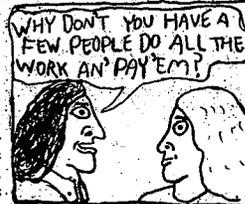


The White Panther Food Conspiracy

ly myth about absolute poverty. The very few people who can't afford it are exactly the people that a communist party should be either finding jobs for, or at least if the people are truly disabled, making sure they get their welfare rights.

Money Itself Isn't Evil

What is holding us back here is not liberalism, or fascism, but the preposterous anarchist stupidity that insists that any exchange of money is a sin against revolutionary scruples. A re-establishment of the same old capitalist system, some say.



The misunderstanding is that too many people think that capitalism is characterized by use of a money-commodity, and thus think the revolution entails getting rid of money. These people assume that, being white and well-educated, they know more than the backward "gooks" and "niggers" in Asia and Africa. And of course they despise the people of the Soviet Union, all of whom still operate with money.

But capitalism means cheating the workers of their product, and we have to replace it with socialism, under which the workers own their product. Refusing to pay workers is just some new cockeyed form of exploitation, similar to the exploitation of crashers who arrogate to themselves the right to consume without producing. From what class have these "revolutionaries" learned their social theory?

All this is an argument for establishing people's enterprises, rather than free enterprises. Nothing is more crucial than that our food conspiracies, ballrooms, concerts, clinics, newspapers, farms, gardens, shoe factories, golf bag factories, rolling paper companies, etc. start paying the workers. Then when people need survival income they can start coming to the people's party, instead of going to the pigs.

While we avoid the ultra-leftist error of freemism, we

have to avoid the right opportunist error of hip capitalism. This means that our enterprises have to be structured so that only workers get paid, and workers only get paid a salary that enables them to survive, not to live in luxury. The collective life styles we are developing make it possible to live joyously on not too much money - one to two hundred dollars a month ought to be sufficient. If we demand too much more than this, we're creating a situation where there won't be enough jobs to go around, and instead of a mass solution, we'll wind up competing with each other.

The more money that an enterprise produces over expenses, the lower the prices we can give to the community, and the more jobs we can create. This is a major distinction between our enterprises and their enterprises. Instead of a few owners getting richer as business expands, more employees get survival jobs



as business expands. This is a distinction that makes the contradiction obvious, and this is the way to win mass support.

There are variants of this new form of enterprise which are progressive, but which tend to become reactionary. One sort is the business where the hip owners are super loving of the people during the early stages of their business, when profits have not yet started to roll in. If anyone asks how they feel about capitalism they'll blabber about how they hate it and just want enough to live on. But when business picks up, so do prices and they just make more and more bread.

Another variant also has a reactionary aspect. This is the form of capitalism that benefits the movement. For sure, without this form, hardly anything would exist in the movement, but this shouldn't make it immune to criticism. I'm talking about benefits where one group or another picks up a few thousand dollars which,

CONTINUED ON PG. 30



Cabinet Makers Carpentry Welding Baking Demolition & Hauling Movers

**People's
Electricians**

543-0335

24 hours daily

The Good Earth Electrical Company is a 24 hour a day, 7 days a week operation. We're not bragging when we say that; nor when we tell people that they'll probably save 50% over what they'd have to pay for equally competent work. Cheaper, dependable, quality work - sound like a hype? Not if you know the White Panther Food Conspiracy that's been doing just that for over three years now.

The Electrical Company is set up along the same principled lines as the Food Conspiracy. The workers in it are working for survival, not to get rich; even Larry, who certainly has the skills to be working for \$10, \$12 or more an hour, has decided in his own life that all of the dreams that our color TVs give us aren't worth the lives that we lose trying to own those dreams.

Our survival isn't expensive. Between \$100 and \$200 a month provides us with a very comfortable living. Beyond achieving that, we



gain immense satisfaction from serving the people, such as helping a woman in the Haight-Ashbury get her electricity flowing again and her lights on at 1 o'clock in the morning. We also spend much of our time turning other people on to our ideas, and then finding jobs for them.

Every day of a business has to have some part set aside for researching and acquiring new jobs, since, for a survival enterprise,

time lags between jobs are just what send workers off to less righteous forms of survival, like welfare.

But with the experience we have and the competent work that we do, there is a constant stream of jobs that we try and channel through the other people's enterprises that we are developing: carpenters, plumbers, mechanics, movers, you name it and we'll figure out a way to do it. The best and least expensive way, because in these times of inflation and

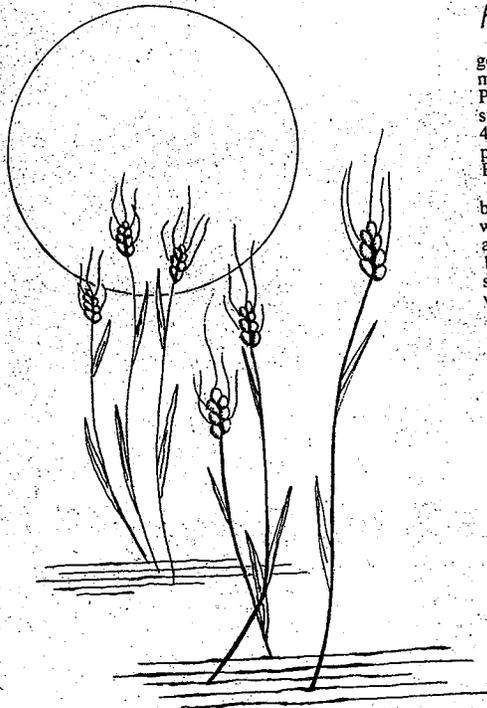
open government rip-off, that's what the community wants and needs. And as the jobs for the electrical company itself increase in size and quantity, we'll be able to take on more people, skilled or unskilled, to meet the electrical needs of the community.

The Electrical Company doesn't give its labor away, and we don't have any self doubts about charging for it. We've all spent too many hours in factories for nick-

els and dimes compared to the guy who was raking in all the profits, and when it comes time for the consumer to put the blame for high prices somewhere, who does he talk to? Who does he have to blame? His next door neighbor, and that's me and you. The guy who's getting rich is off in Pacific Heights somewhere counting his money. So we know better than to let the subject of just how much we're making slide or appear secret. We'll tell you right up front, because you have a right to know.

But we're still only solving part of the problem. We still can't do anything about the price of copper wire which is shooting out of sight. We're still helpless in terms of what the big time manufacturer wants to charge us for the parts and materials we'll be installing in your home. But again we are looking to the Food Conspiracy as an example. They're baking their own bread, getting close to making their own cheese, and grinding their own flour. Why not manufacture our own electrical materials? The Power of the People is limitless! The Food Conspiracy is doing it because people are ordering food (\$1500 a week at the time of this writing and growing fast) and we'll do it because people will ask us, not the pigs, to solve their problems.

THE FOOD CONSPIRACY



How it Works

Hi, do you want a way to get your food for less money? Well, the White Panther Party Food Conspiracy can save you 20% to 40% on what you'd have to pay at most stores in the Bay Area.

The way we do it is to buy wholesale according to what people have ordered and resell it to you with a 15% markup to cover expenses and subsistence labor wages.

We do our list once a week with a full range of fresh fruits and vegetables, eggs, nine different kinds of cheese from parmesan to cream, and dry goods which includes not only beans and flour but coffee, oil, mayonnaise, olives, peanut butter and home-made bread, to name but a few.

The weekly ordering of dry goods enables you to buy sane amounts of things. You don't have to worry about the three month supply of corn meal getting bugs in it. Order what you need now, and when you run low, order some more.

What you do is get ahold of a list from one of our distribution centers, fill it out and bring it back to the distribution center with your payment by Saturday afternoon. Paying when you order gives us the money we need to do the buying.

We pick the orders up

Saturday night and start processing them. We figure the grand totals of what has been ordered and do all the work necessary to get your complete order back to your distribution center by Tuesday afternoon.

When all the orders are completed, we put them on a truck and bring them back to your distribution centers. Then, from 5 p.m. to 10 p.m., Tuesdays, you can come pick up your order. Or, for a dollar more, we'll deliver to your door.

An enormous amount of work is involved here. Not everyone has the time to do this work. This work is done most efficiently by a steady crew of paid workers. Getting paid enables the workers to devote their time to the work as a primary consideration, instead of being diverted by desperate survival scams or slave labor.

This work is mainly buying and then dividing the gross into the amounts you've ordered and then putting it into a box for you.

The people who do this work are the ones paid by the 15% mark-up. While it's true that subsistence wages is not very much money (\$100-\$150 per month), being able to work non-alienated labor is something that very few people in this country are able to do.

We do not work just for ourselves. We work for the people who buy food, and for people who need this kind of work. We work to change the pattern of working for somebody else's profit.

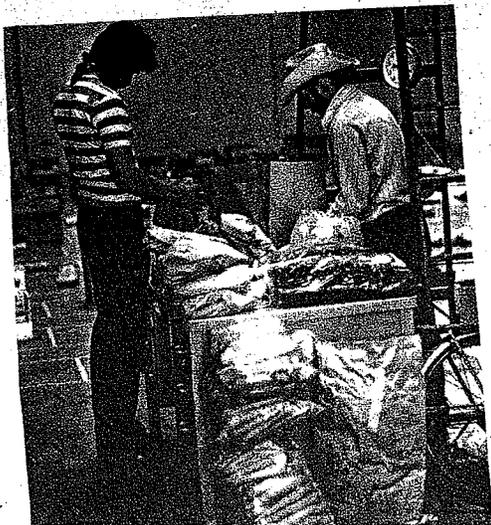
Nor are we in business for ourselves. The purpose of the wages is so that we can survive to keep serving the people. This is the meaning of revolutionary labor. We are not interested in making money at the expense of our customers.

As more and more of you start supporting People's Enterprises, we will not renege on our promise to the workers. Instead of some people making more money, we keep employing more workers. In other words, we are maximizing jobs instead of profits.

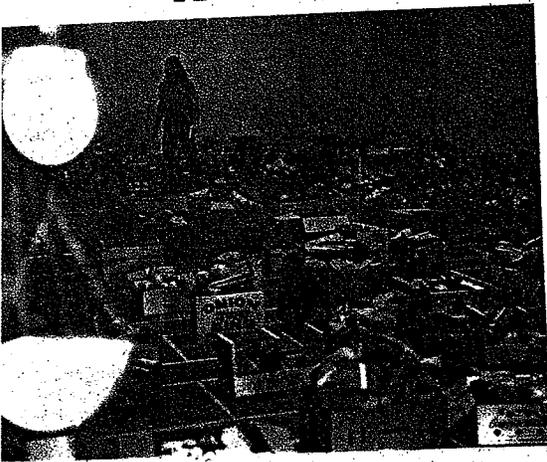
This makes it possible for people's enterprises to ultimately employ our entire population with dignity and self-respect.

We operate the Food Conspiracy on five principles:

1. Eliminate wasteful methods of production.
2. Replace the profit motive with the motive of serving the people.
3. Eliminate unnecessary overhead.
4. Establish worker's control of the enterprise.
5. Hold quality above salability.



A PEOPLE'S ENTERPRISE



Back off, Safeway

Hello again. I was just thinking about the Food Conspiracy.

I always remember going on trips to the produce markets, or warehouses to pick up food.

We'd be driving down different Bay Area freeways (which is bad enough) in our old funky truck trying to get our work done so you people get your food in time, and be passed by one of Safeway's huge air conditioned semis and then we'd just look at each other and say "someday we're gonna be using trucks like that."

Other times we'd be driving down Route 17 past their Richmond warehouse. That place is ridiculous. It looks like some sort of army post. Guard post at the gates, barbed wire encircling the place, and what really gets me is about how Safeway worries about their Richmond workers' loyalty, because they have them all park their cars outside the fence! What it must be like to work for the pigs.

It must be hell for the security during these times of inflation with the price of gas and almost everything else up. The warehouse workers and truck drivers start running out of money from their paychecks, their families get hungry. Poor Safeway has to feed the workers.

You should listen to this other Food Conspiracy story I got, OK? This is when the White Panther Party decided to implement the program in Corte Madera.

The City Government freaked out (though some may suspect they were pressured by people with the likes of Safeway), and immediately shut the thing down.

A lot of people that worked on starting the Food Conspiracy and people who ordered food along with people who just heard about what happened, stopped for a second and thought, just why was the city govt of this conservative town of C.M. mad?

Then they backtracked a little. Conservative, that's the clue. They're so freaked

out by even the thought of change that this was a bummer. And they went down the now age old line of thought.

Non-profit people's enterprises where people pay workers only a subsistence salary of \$120 per month for half time, (not \$40,000 a year like a lot of government jobs do) to buy their food for them.

Not food that they saw on TV and the radio that they think they might might for some strange reason like. But food that they request that is definitely healthy and as fresh and as cheap as possible.

And if these dirty Commies get their way, now, Safeway will have to change, and as soon as they (us) get what they want, they'll go to the next thing, and eventually he would lose his salary. Which to him means no more color T.V., trips to Europe, no more massage parlor.

Now while all this was going on in the "Now" Conservative city govt. heads, the people of C.M. and other parts of Marin were organizing and reorganizing against the unjust ruling.

It was finally decided to reopen the Food Conspiracy since so many people supported it and test the Ruling. And this was finally brought to a head at a City Council meeting that members of the community, conspirators, neighbors, and the members of the WPP attended to publicly question the decision.

The City Council said that we needed permits to do what we were doing, and that we were storing food and that was against part of the criteria for the permit and a man from the audience (who turned out to be a landlord) was complaining that the FC was creating a parking problem.

So the City Council voted down giving us any permit. So we thought about it and decided that the no storage request of the

CONTINUED ON PG. 22.



Should There Be A Public Inquiry?

Judge and Prosecutor Use Altered Court Records In Conspiracy To Jail Ruchell Magee

BY JOHNNY LARRY SPAIN

When people conspire and enact within the realm of that conspiracy and present one fabrication, they are compelled to make repetitive their enactments of presenting another fabrication to answer a question that challenges the original lie. It goes without saying that the more questions put forth—the more opposing and severe are the nature of the questions: the more lies must be told in order to conceal the very first fabrication of the conspiracy.

Can you imagine the conspiracy that has developed from one lie that was told 10 years ago and that has been severely questioned every day of every one of those years? It is extremely difficult for one man to expose a conspiracy that has as its conspirators high ranking, judicial heads, political figures and, last but not least, the entire Right-wing media. Yet one man has fought off every kind of suppressive tactic conceivable—from prison officials destroying legal documents to being transferred from joint to joint; from higher courts disallowing the filing of legal documents to being placed under the infamous and illegal "gag rule," and—even the conspirators' outright attempts to murder him. Now, finally, he had the opportunity to be heard by the people. That is not a very unreasonable request—to be heard by the people. In fact, according to the "law" (First Amendment of the United States Constitution), it is a right to "freedom of speech." Why would so many people of high rank conspire to prevent one man from talking? Ruchell Magee's testimony showed exactly why. It is wondered at now: did the people understand?

There were two days of testimony by Ruchell (March 12th and 13th) in the Superior Court of San Francisco; testifying in his own behalf. It surprised no one here in the Adjustment Center (where Ruchell is confined) because we are knowledgeable enough to understand that we, prisoners, are his only true peers—Ruchell was forced to testify due to the necessity of straightening out 10 years of distortions and fabrications which have been arbitrarily thrown at and on him by the media and a long list of other conspirators.

Slowly but surely, the numerous conspirators are trying to slide out of the forefront of exposure and thus have themselves viewed as non-participants. Many of these conspirators

could be mentioned and sufficient evidence given to prove their respective parts in the 10 year conspiracy against Ruchell Magee. But it is not necessary at this time. There are two who are not capable of slithering out of the trap that was set for Ruchell 10 years ago—but which has now turned on all of the conspirators—because of Ruchell's brilliant expose of the entire conspiracy. Those two, who are now left holding the responsibility of carrying out the conspiracy, are Judge Morton Colvin and Assistant Attorney General Albert Harris.

Ruchell's contention all along has been that he was and is illegally imprisoned. This is the most common assertion made by prisoners but few are ever given the opportunity to prove it and most lack the legal ability to do so.

ass't. DA's evidence proven false

Ruchell's testimony first of all totally destroyed a long proffered concept that his I.Q. is 65. How? Very simple for a man whose I.Q. far surpasses 65. One of the prosecution's "expert witnesses" was attempting to prove that the State's exhibit—a bullet supposedly taken out of Ruchell—was authentic. If the jury had bought this "expert" testimony, Gary Thomas's story of being the "hero" who took a .38 caliber inside the van on August 7, 1970 and who shot Ruchell would have been substantiated. Gary Thomas is now a Judge in Marin County—so the jury was supposed to believe a Judge simply because he is a Judge. A man with an I.Q. of 65 surely couldn't refute the testimony of a man (Thomas) whose intellectual capacities are traditionally accepted as superior—unless, of course, the man who is supposed to have a 65 I.Q. doesn't have that low an I.Q. and, what is more, unless Gary Thomas is lying....

The defense attorney, Robert Carrow, cross examined this so-called "expert" for nearly two hours trying to shake his testimony. The "expert" proved to be quite capable as a witness under the questioning of Carrow. Ruchell, in less than five minutes, proved that the "expert" was no more than an expert distorter. This "expert" maintained that it is a "ballistic fact" that a shotgun spreads its projectiles at a long range leaving distinguishing markings. This is true, but what is the significance of this when other types of dis-

tinguishing markings are made in closed areas such as a van? In other words, this expert's entire testimony was filled with irrelevant statements that only served to confuse the jury, paving the way for Albert Harris' elaborate attempt at showing facts well blended with fallacy. Ruchell, after listening to the "expert" testimony, tore down this testimony by making significant points that were without distortion and were undeniably "ballistic facts." Albert Harris had already entered as an exhibit the slug that was said to have been removed from Ruchell; the "expert" varified that this was a .38 caliber slug.

Gary Thomas' testimony was substantiated by the ballistic expert's testimony. Ruchell merely showed that the testimony of the expert was irrelevant which proved that the 65 I.Q. story was very shaky.

The astonishing revelation, the one that by law incriminates Albert Harris for introducing this .38 caliber slug and Judge Morton Colvin allowing it in as "evidence," came when Ruchell called to the stand the San Quentin guard who stood watch over Ruchell in the hospital and observed exactly what was removed from him during the operation. Though Albert Harris had introduced a slug approximately one quarter of an inch long that the "expert" identified as a .38 slug, verifying Gary Thomas' "hero" story; the guard testified that he saw a piece of metal at least one and one half inches long removed from Ruchell Magee. No .38 caliber in this world has a slug one and one half inches long!

The theory behind Gary Thomas' "hero" story is plain: to put in the minds of the jury and the people that he saw Ruchell shoot Judge Haley, therefore removing the blame of the murder from San Quentin guards and Marin County Sheriffs. Gary Thomas conjured up this "hero" story because it wouldn't seem logical that a man would witness what he claims to have seen and do nothing. The testimony of the guard points out three important things: 1) Gary Thomas lied about his "hero" role (and he is now a Judge for this proven lie), 2) Albert Harris introduced false "evidence" (which is cause for a mistrial and is against the "law"), and 3) Judge Morton Colvin is connected to the conspiracy up to his neck. The case against Ruchell Magee is being conducted illegally and the mere introduction

of false "evidence" is clear enough for any jury and the people to see. The real criminals are governing and conducting the so-called trial!

But these facts are only one part of the whole.

There is still the issue of Ruchell's claim of illegal imprisonment. A brief sketch of the last 10 years of fighting to obtain the justice supposedly afforded every person—but denied Ruchell—will show how lies, supported by illegal acts committed by people who are in positions designed to "uphold the law," must be given support by more lies. The 1963 conviction of Ruchell and his co-defendant, Leroy Stewart, was the beginning of the conspiracy. Court-appointed agent J.S. Brill entered a plea of guilty over the objections of Ruchell. This plea is illegal in that no lawyer, district attorney or judge can enter a plea for a defendant—according to the law. This was the typical railroading job in Los Angeles. The judge at that time, Herbert Walker, did not expect to be challenged. Judge Walker had no idea that one of his victims would fight back so hard for so long.

Letter to Touch News from Ruchell Magee

December 4th, 1973

Marin Intercommunal News

I would like to know if you receive this. I'm an old customer of yours.

I am held at the Santa Clara County Jail under Sheriff James Geary, at San Jose, California.



As you may know, for years I have been fighting to reach the public and for my freedom from unlawful confinement. San Quentin Prison official pigs, at will, held me for ten years isolated. Stopping & altered mails of mine while the federal and state judges (fools) kept my legal documents hidden and denied as the barbarians and clowning fools subjected me to injuries.

On November 29th, 1973, I was brought to this jail and taken directly before Judge Imgram in the Santa Clara County Superior Court where one lawyer Robert Carrow was quickly dismissed on a motion I had filed in June 1973. I was told by Imgram that if I didn't hire counsel, he was gonna appoint one to represent me. This was in close court.

What it is, the indictment is illegal and in violation of over 10-laws on its face. With a Court appointed pig. CONTINUED ON PG:

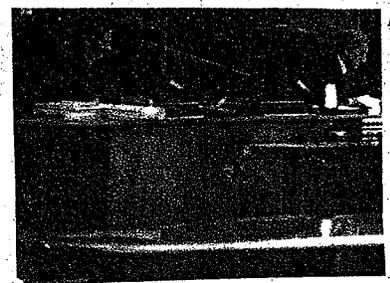
Convicted then denied trial records for ten years

Upon a conviction Ruchell attempted to obtain a copy of the transcripts which he is, as all convicted indigents are, entitled to. Ruchell was denied a free copy of all his trial records despite a decision handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court in another case. Later, in 1966, a price was set for them at \$250.00. The State court knew that Ruchell could not secure a copy of the transcripts at that price. From 1966 to 1970 this price remained the barrier in Ruchell's obtaining the transcripts. Ruchell came up with the money but by 1971 a court reporter named Vesta Minnick had raised the price to \$750,000. Then seeing that Ruchell was getting some support, the price was raised to \$1,000 later in the year. (It was not strange by this time that when this "hero" story became it

CONTINUED ON PG.



Marin County Liberal Supervisors Weasel out of Plan for a People's Ballroom



Ballroom, Woodside, Marin County, empty \$300,000

Ballroom

The People's Ballroom campaign in Marin was a clear showdown between advocates of the creation of people's enterprises and supporters of the theory that business is best left in the hands of profiteers.

LIARS by anyone's standards

On October 17, 1972, the Marin Performing Arts Guild, backed by the White Panther Party, proposed to the Board of Supervisors that they allocate \$25,000 in matching funds in order to provide the initial capital for the creation of a people's ballroom.

The ballroom was to be based on the principles of the Food Conspiracy. All proceeds from low-priced tickets were to go to paying musicians and other workers, and expenses. Workers would have worked half-time jobs for about \$150 a month. There would have been ten regularly playing house bands in addition to other acts. It was certain that at least eighty people could be guaranteed survival jobs through the project.

The ballroom would have been opened at least six nights a week, and as the ticket sales grew, more jobs would be provided, thus maximizing employment rather than profit. It was this aspect of the plan that terrorized the opposition.

From the earliest contacts with them, Marin's pro-capitalist conservatives condemned the people's enterprise concept. Supervisor Arrigoni declared the plan "impossible". He pointed to the existence of other rock clubs in the county, which he alleged were suitable, and to the scarcity of tax funds, which he alleged was incontrovertible.

Soon thereafter, when he realized the depth of support our plan was receiving, he abandoned his cultural abhorrence of rock and roll and became a main proponent of what can only be called a "pig's ballroom".

This plan, authored under County Administrator John Barrows, was modeled after the Marin Veterans Auditorium, an enormously expensive indication of the cultural level of the Marin power structure. Under this plan, the ballroom would be designed by high priced architects, acting with the advice of a survey of Marin's youth; it would be built by profiteering contractors who would only use a portion of the tax money they received for their workers and expenses, spending the rest on their own luxuries.

Once built it would be managed by a commission and a director under the absolute control of, predictably, John Barrows, although the Youth Commission and others would be free to advise. It would be available to all promoters, but it would be especially arranged for the convenience of major profiteers, such as Bill Graham, who would have no restrictions on the price of tickets or the cut they could take for themselves.

Its workers would not necessarily be drawn from the ranks of Marin's desperate counterculture youth, and they would be excluded from control over the management of the ballroom, being alienated labor working mainly for the money.

The design of the building would be plastic rich, and the atmosphere would require a massive dose of quaaludes to be enjoyed. The price of this "flatfloor auditorium" as its proponents call it, is slated at two million dollars, thereby demonstrating the availability of tax funds for swindles.

In general, people forced and compelled to go to the place to hear music would, rather than helping to maintain a people's place that could be appreciated, be constantly looking for an opportunity to destroy as much as possible to get at least minimal revenge for the gross rip-off, and it will only be the presence of high-priced and well-armed security guards that will prevent riots and vandalism - if even they can.

Dope, in the grand manner of the pigs, will be treated the same whether it is marijuana or heroin. So hard drugs will be a better risk than grass, and will increasingly dominate the environment. The pigs ballroom is as different from the people's ballroom as

fascism is from communism.

On October 17, the conservatives had the Board of Supervisors under their control. Arrigoni, Reagan appointee Robert Roumiguierre, and Bud Barr formed a majority over the liberals - Arnold Baptiste and Michael Wornum. So although there was no chance of the People's Ballroom plan being immediately approved, it was a first introduction to Marin politics of the concept of tax funds as initial capital for economically viable people's enterprises.

COWARDS . . . by anyone's standards

Arnold Baptiste had already privately expressed enthusiastic support for the plan. During the meeting, he urged us to form a "contractual relationship" with the County Youth Commission, thus incorporating them officially into the plan. Since Youth Commission Chairwoman, Janice Fuhrman, was already a

member of the Board of Directors of the Ballroom, and since they had fought the county administration in the past to get funds for the music switchboard, this suggestion seemed to be more or less of a friendly amendment.

Michael Wornum had said repeatedly that he supported the plan in principle, but that he thought it should not be proposed until the budget hearings next June. The Performing Arts Guild was urging the supervisors to allocate two thousand immediately to launch the program and then provide full funding in June.

This was a very crucial point, since people's programs are often presented in an amateurish way because no one can afford to work on them thoroughly without being provided at least a survival wage for their labor. Government suggestions, on the other hand, tend to have thousands of dollars of surveys, projections, research, and charts supporting them. This makes inferior ideas appear more solid, and is one of the major ways that bureaucracies stifle popular initiative.

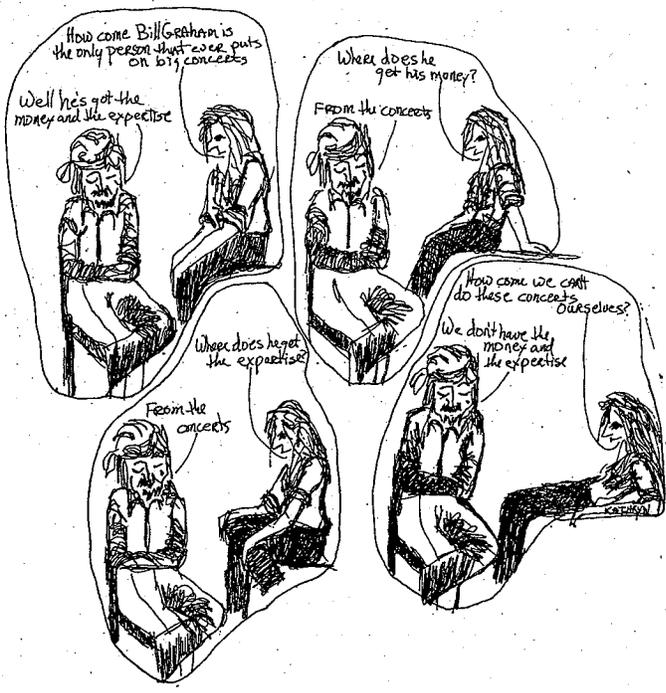
In any case, Baptiste and Wornum went on record in support of the plan. All it needed was for either Barbara Boxer or Gary Gia-

comini to win a seat in November (both had already signed the petition in support of the Ballroom) and there would have been a majority. A few days after the meeting, Michael Peevey - Giacomini's opponent also came out in support of the ballroom, so this clinched the matter.

But with a certain type of people, no deal is certain until you have the money in your hand. Between October and June, two movements occurred. On the one hand, support for the ballroom grew to the point that it was probably backed by a broader coalition than any issue that had gone before the supervisors all year.

by the standards of the White Panther Party

THIEVES



THE RIGHT OF SELF-REP-

To: The Honorable Judge Thomas Hanlon

From: Tom Stevens, White Panther Party

Subject: The evaporation of Constitutional rights

I have appeared in your court twice so far on a charge of operating an amplifier without a permit. This charge arose out of one of a series of concerts staged in the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park. The concerts have been controversial, and the confusion over permits has been part of that controversy.

At both appearances, I told you that I intended to represent myself. Each time you refused to agree to this.

At the first appearance, you announced that I could represent myself in a trial before a judge, but not in a jury trial.

At the second appearance, I explained that I would represent myself in a trial before a judge, but that I intended to appeal that denial of my right to a jury trial. You then withdrew your 'offer' to allow me any sort of trial at all without a lawyer, and threatened me with imprisonment for contempt of court if I did not obtain a lawyer by Monday, June 10.

At no time on either of those occasions did you make any attempt to ascertain whether I am qualified to represent myself. At the first appearance you asked whether I had been to law school, and, upon finding that I hadn't, concluded that I could not represent myself.

Your refusal to allow this time honored right to self-representation in court is evidently based on the fairly recent People versus Sharp decision where the Court of Appeals discovered that actually no such right to self-representation ever existed.

This decision is part of a nationwide tendency among jurists to develop new, improved theories of constitutional rights which are inexorably transforming criminal trials from an excellent means for arriving at a true assessment of the guilt or innocence of the accused, into a formal procedure designed to legitimize punishment.

No sooner was the Sharp decision arrived at, than an amendment to the state constitution was passed (partly as a result of misleading wording on the ballot) that, under the guise of guaranteeing the right of a person charged with a felony to counsel, made it a matter of state law that no person charged with a felony could represent himself.

Previous criteria for the right to self-representation was that the accused be mentally competent, and that the accused have an intelligent understanding of the act of self-representation. Thus, when a series of judges wished to prevent Ruchell Magee from representing himself, they were forced to try to show that he was mentally incompetent. This led them to put forward such evidence as IQ tests of extremely dubious value, in the hope that it would be believed that Ruchell was mentally retarded. When this failed, the honorable jurists were forced to fall back on pure, simple, brazen denial of the traditional right of self-representation. This vicious display of arrogance under the cover of law is still being carried out.

The state amendment obviates such difficulties by making the exercise of the traditional right of self-representation illegal. However, the state amendment only applies to felonies.

Apparently, you are extending the denial of the right of self-representation to its utmost extreme. Your reasoning has been that unless one is a lawyer, then one is not able to represent oneself. The frivolous manner in which you put forward and withdraw conditional exercise of the right, such as before a judge, but not before a jury, or only if it is agreed not to appeal the decision, indicates how lightly you take the issue.

Furthermore, your refusal to even trouble to examine my ability to represent myself, or my previous experience, or my reasons for refusing to allow my case to be handled by an attorney, shows that you interpret the discretionary power to decide whether an accused person should be allowed to represent himself, as the arbitrary power to decide on the question of self-representation regardless of the circumstances.

You maintain that you are acting to protect my rights. Clearly, this is a lie. You would, I am sure,

After receiving this letter, Judge Hanlon agreed to respect the right of self representation in this case. Unfortunately, this does not mean that other defendants won't be denied the same right. Defending yourself in court is not as mystifying as lawyers sometimes pretend, and it guarantees a truthful and inexpensive defense. Public defenders are notoriously bumptious, unsympathetic and treacherous so they are not a reliable alternative to expensive lawyers. And there are far too many people arrested for the small number of competent radical lawyers who might take cases for free.

If you face trial, think about defending yourself. If you decide to, and need help; or, if your right of self-representation is denied, call the White Panther Party at the above number.

accept a guilty plea from me without my consulting with counsel. As I pointed out to you, the expense of an attorney would be greater than the probable sentence in case of conviction, so the mere act of hiring an attorney would entail a punishment greater than what I would receive if I were guilty. It would certainly be higher than the fine that the DA's office suggested in court were I to plead guilty. Under the pretext of protecting my rights, you have interfered with my right to a jury trial and my right to appeal an unfavorable decision, as well as the right to confront witnesses against me, which I am not willing to cede to someone else, law degree or no.

Probably, you are resentful of my demand for a jury trial, which you see as taking up court time for a matter which you might consider inconsequential. Since you are unfamiliar with the merits of the case, you may think that the charge of not having a permit is a simple matter and that a jury trial would serve no purpose. And you may think that if I were represented by an attorney he would so persuade me. These are the most plausible and honorable motives I can imagine for your behavior. But they are based on mistakes.

If a layman with my intentions, my aptitudes, my experience, and my familiarity with the laws of evidence cannot defend himself in a misdemeanor trial in a situation where personal communication to the jury is to my advantage, then it would seem that the possibility of self-representation is about to disappear entirely. Under what circumstances would you allow self-representation?

The right of self-representation

The courts are under far too much pressure currently to be effective. The legal system is increasingly inappropriate for the economic system. On one hand, the courts are powerless to prevent the massive waves of crime that hit our communities, and on the other hand they are faced with an ever increasing stream of arrestees who are technically guilty, but who are ethically in the right. Either capitalism or the constitution has to yield, and there are powerful movements pressing in both directions.

The right to self-representation, and the right to counsel are accordingly clouded in the general confusion that governs this transition period. Jurists can hardly be blamed for regarding what is expedient for the courts as more urgent a consideration than what is essential to the protection of the accused. New schemes, devices, and theories are the order of the day. And nothing seems too abhorrent to the harried judges than a layman unschooled in the delicacies of legal theory presumptuously imposing himself on the already hopelessly overburdened court system. Consequently, self-representation is coming to be regarded as a game in which the accused has nothing to lose and the people nothing to gain. The right of self-representation is therefore in danger of being sacrificed.

The haste with which this right is being revoked is evident from the logical absurdities on which People versus Sharp rests. This is not an appeal of that decision, but an attempt to prenet that error from being compounded by its extension to an even broader class of defendants.

The current legal theory holds that a defendant has the right to plead guilty, thus waiving all his rights without benefit of counsel, but that he is not capable of intelligently determining how he wants to use those rights unless he is instructed by an attorney. Thus Ruchell Magee, who for years was denied the right of self-representation on the theory that he was legally incompetent to represent himself, suddenly was given full power over his case the moment he, in a sarcastic comment, entered a plea of guilty. Suddenly, the trial judge acknowledged Ruchell's legal wisdom.

Secondly, People vs Sharp apparently gives a mystical definition to the word 'counsel', since it clearly does not mean 'a person who gives advice' as it does in the dictionary and ordinary usage. If it meant this, then it would mean that the right to counsel necessarily implied the right to self-representation, since the right to receive advice implies the right to reject it.

In People vs Sharp 'counsel' evidently means someone who controls, and dictates - not someone who advises. The refusal of the right of self-repre-

RESENTATION IN QUESTION

resentation either means that the court is insisting that an attorney sit in court even when his advice is unasked for, for no better reason than to punitively raise the trial costs (and surely no judge would admit to this), or else it means that the accused cannot himself conduct his case under his own control.

In this case, while the court may in a quibbling manner maintain that after all it never precisely says in the constitution that there is a right to self-representation, there still remains the impact of the denial of self-representation on other rights that are specifically mentioned.

For instance, I have a right to confront witnesses against me. Did the revolutionaries who wrote the constitution mean by this that I have a right to let someone else confront witnesses, or did they mean that I have a right to confront them personally? Even the crypto-fascist double-thinking Nixonite careerists that operate with impunity within the court system would have trouble claiming they meant the former.

When the constitution states that I have a right to be present at my trial, does it mean that I have a right to let someone else be present, or does it mean that I have a right to be present personally? It should not be necessary to explain to men who claim to have spent years of their lives studying law that these constitutional rights are personal rights, not rights that an officer of the court can exercise for us against our will.

But this foolishness is defended by the reasoning that if judges allowed the right of self-representation, then convictions might be overturned on the grounds that the right to counsel was denied.

Eliminating a deep-seated traditional right in order to alleviate a minor judicial difficulty such as this, is surely nothing more than lunatic fringe extremism, honorable as these jurists may be.

There was excellent criteria for determining when a defendant could defend himself, and when it would be unjust to allow him to, until these criteria were disregarded when the Court of Appeals discovered that the right they protected did not exist.

Traditional criteria can be tested quite easily. If the trial judge takes reasonable precautions in insuring that a defendant is not under a major misunderstanding concerning the conduct of a trial, or that he is not mentally impaired to the degree that he cannot reason as clearly as a qualified juror, then the act of self-representation cannot be seen as the denial of the right to counsel.

To claim that the denial of a right that I wish to exercise is justified by the insistence on protecting a right which I do not wish to exercise is a contention that throws serious doubt on the competence of the jurist to convene a trial.

Beyond the indisputability of my right to self-representation, there remains the question of the advantage of self-representation. Recently, some jurists have erroneously claimed that the right of self-representation gains nothing for the accused, or else that it 'adds a joker to the hand already containing four aces.'

Self-representation gives the defendant the advantage of direct communication to the jury. This means that the jury will regard the defendant as a human being acting in a rational and lawful manner, rather than as a mute criminal hoping that an expert will get him off the charge. The psychological impact on the jury of seeing the defendant sit passively throughout his own trial must certainly work to the disadvantage of the defendant. When the trial revolves around issues other than the rationality of the actions for which the defendant is charged, then this disadvantage might be unavoidable. There are many defenses that rely more on the technical expertise of an attorney, than on forthright communication to the jury. There are many others, however, that depend on the jury reaching an understanding of the purpose and value of the actions of the defendants, so that it can determine whether or not they were criminal.

Criminal trials are not merely procedures for picking out which citizens can be lawfully punished. They are one of the primary ways by which the community decides what it considers criminal. There are many edicts that have been adopted by various bodies of politicians that do not become law simply because no jury would ever convict on

The Waves

to the whales
dancing
i would say:
to the sky
i would say
and say further
to the field
of wheat
somewhere in
nebraska
i would say
to the cat
stalking a bird
would say to those
in prison:
look, here is a
red flag
it is a magnet
based on love:
look, here are
street lights
shining all night
in love's simplicity:
look, the moon
is shining
over all:
the cities soon
will be closed
except to the
grasshopper
and june bug
look, whales
dancing
look, sirens
blasting
love simple as
rice
look, the oceans
rise
in the street:
the waves have
come
For us

Dennis
Fritzingier

them. Everyone engaged in law enforcement must take into account the standards of criminality that random juries are likely to presume.

Sometimes cases in which the standards of criminality are involved are called 'political'. This is an accurate term, since what is occurring is that a citizen is using his solidarity with his peers so as to resist laws which are considered unjust.

Fascism requires that this process be prevented. Some judges try to persuade juries that the technical violation of the law is the foundation of guilt, as though crime were a matter of making a wrong move in a complicated game of simple Simon, and not a way of harming a community.

When political cases arrive, there is an enormous advantage if the defendant can present his own case directly to the jury.

There is a second enormous advantage of self-representation. The pace of normative discourse in a courtroom is quick. During direct and cross-examination there is not time to hold lengthy conferences about which question to ask next. Familiarity with the case is essential. Clearly, the defendant will always have a greater familiarity with the events that led to his charge than will an attorney. It is true that a defendant might unconsciously distort these facts, but there is no reason to believe that this is more likely with a defendant than with an attorney - unless one believes that attorneys are not only better trained legally than laymen, but that they necessarily think more objectively, and certainly this is a premise too dubious to justify withholding the right to self-representation.

So not only is self-representation a constitutionally guaranteed right, its exercise is very often essential. From the vicious and racist treatment of Ruchell Magee, in a capital case, to the bovine refusal that I have met with, in a minor misdemeanor case, this right is in jeopardy. While it may be in the interests of officials to suppress rights that impede the procedures they wish to perpetuate, it is in the interests of all citizens to prevent this suppression. This is what I am trying to do.

No court has a right, without exceptional cause, to appoint one of its officers to dispose of the constitutional rights of a citizen, and no judge has a right to convene a hearing with this intention in mind.

Your threat to imprison me if I do not agree to surrender my right of self-representation is therefore nothing more than illegal coercion; and illegal coercion cannot be stopped by submitting, and then complaining. It must be resisted.

The spectre of fascism

I am a member of the White Panther Party. For a long time we've noticed a movement to destroy the ability of Americans to resist tyranny. Repression is not taking the form of public announcements of suspension of the constitution, but instead government officials are developing ways to get-around the Bill of Rights.

In some countries, when the contradiction between the survival of the people and the profit of the rich has become so great that the rich can no longer find legal means to prevent a restructuring of the economic system, an overtly fascist movement has arisen to prevent this restructuring by illegal, or pseudo-legal force.

The hatred of the American people for authoritarianism is so great that no serious politicians would ever dare to advocate fascism. Consequently, the suppression of the economic restructuring necessary to our survival is accomplished surreptitiously, piecemeal, and by pretext.

The evaporation of the right to self-representation is a clear example. To begin with it is presented as a reform that is in the interests of the defendant. It isn't, we are told, that anyone wants to keep Ruchell Magee from communicating to the jury, and from cross-examining witnesses, and from presenting evidence - all that the courts want is to insure that Ruchell's rights are protected, and this can best be done by a court-appointed attorney.

Then, according to Witkin, 'Despite long-standing assumptions that a defendant had a constitutional right to represent himself in a criminal trial (unless he was incompetent to do so), the Califor-

THE EVAPORATION OF

Getting your stolen handgun back from the police... an exercise in frustration

Jack Hillcock

When a bowling ball gets stolen out of your car because you forgot to lock the trunk or a burglar breaks in and steals your monogrammed cricket bat, chances are very good that if the missing sports equipment is recovered, and you can prove reasonably that it is in fact yours, you'll get it back. It's not so easy with a stolen gun in a large city.

This little gripe is about a handgun, the tool of the devil as many big city administrations would have us believe, especially Chicago, which one gun writer recently referred to as "Daleyville on the Lake." When this test of will and endurance came about, I was not even a resident of Chicago but one of the outlying suburbs.

The handgun in question was a blued Smith & Wesson Model 36, the two inch barrel Chief's Special in .38 Special. It was the first handgun I ever owned and was paid for on time payments back when I was in college and couldn't afford it. There was sentimental attachment.

The thief was a boy, a boy I knew; never caught nor convicted for the crime. Let's call him Joe. Back in my high school teaching days when I was just getting started, Joe was a student of mine and about five years younger than me and was a veteran of several jail terms, had made a living as a professional housebreaker and was on dope. He frequently had carried a gun in his robberies, a .25.

Joe was an engaging kid sometimes and I was determined to try to help him out. I brought him home for dinner and I took him shooting on a local range a few times. He liked to shoot and I thought that perhaps I was reaching him. He knew where I kept my guns, a dresser drawer at the time.

A year or so later, while I was working nights, my wife returned home from work and found the apartment ransacked. He moved a tape recorder and never took it. He passed up my wife's jewelry. But the .38 was gone, along with its Buheimer holster and ammo carrier, a starter pistol and a hunting knife, none of which were recovered with the exception of the revolver. Though police only found glove prints, it was as if Joe had signed his name. He had told me once how easy it would be to break into my place and that I should get new locks. I should have listened to him. He got in with a credit card.

After police reports with my local robbery detectives and insurance forms were filled out (we had a home owner's policy which covered the gun) first order of business was to get a house gun, especially with the jitteriness accompanying the robbery. I bought a .380 Walther PPK/S, as no Smith & Wesson short barreled .38's readily available even in those days. After a few weeks, just as the insurance company was going to reimburse the loss, the gun was recovered by the Chicago Police.

Happy ending? Don't you believe it. The insurance company could not pay me even though the police told me that I might never get the gun back if a judge decided to have the gun destroyed. (Confiscated guns are destroyed by the Chicago Police, melted down in the Gary, Indiana steel mills, be they clunkers or rare collectors items.) I would have to take my chances. The pistol had been recovered in Joe's stealing

cape. He was only in his early twenties and already had a criminal record which would have done one of George Raft's movie characters proud.

He was put on bail. I went to court and he jumped bail and I didn't get the gun back. A new trial date was set and he was captured again. He jumped bail again. He forfeited \$25,000 in bonds. He is currently wanted by the FBI for interstate auto theft and interstate flight to avoid prosecution. He's still out there somewhere.

Meanwhile, what about my S&W? A variety of things were told me by several "knowledgeable" persons in control of my property. (Most of the actual police involved were sympathetic, co-operative and more frustrated by red tape than I was.)

"A Smith & Wesson is a cheap gun. What's a hundred bucks, buy a new one."

"You shouldn't keep guns in your home."

"Most judges don't want a gun to get back on the street so they'll probably confiscate it and have it destroyed."

When told that I said "Isn't that stealing?" I didn't get a straight answer to that one.

One of my few good qualities is persistence. I tried persuading the Chicago police department for over a year and a half, trying everything between bluster and reason. The detectives handling the case of the bail jumper tried to get my gun back. One of the detectives even had partial O.K. from his watch commander. Then the commander changed. The new one didn't want another gun on the street.

This got me all the more angry and all the more determined to get the little snubby back or die of old age trying. If I had had the money, I could have tried the courts. Meanwhile I told the police that when the felon was caught I'd bring the gun in for evidence and had no intention of selling it. They didn't believe my intentions apparently. Anyway, the brass in the police department and the politicians in control of my property evidently had the opinion that handguns were bad and that I shouldn't get mine back and the rights of a person to his private property can be suspended when it comes to a gun. They probably thought I'd do something bad like use it to defend my family or some other un-American sort of thing.

I contacted the main office of the State's Attorney's office and got an assistant assistant who didn't think I'd get the gun back. I talked to his superior.

I almost fell over dead. The man was going to help me. My happiness was short lived. Over a period of several months he promised to call me and that the gun would be ready for me in a week, etc. Once we even settled on a day and I got downtown to the Central Police Headquarters... the guy wasn't in.

We had an election and a new state's attorney took office. My old guy was still leading me on about getting the Smith & Wesson back. One day, I called and found that he had mysteriously quite suddenly disappeared. I talked to the man who had replaced him. I told him everything that had happened over the two and a half year period. I even included the threatening/obscene phone calls we had gotten after the robbery, the assault attempt on my wife in the lobby

week later my wife and I went downtown with a copy of the property recovery report and the receipt for the gun. We had previously gone to the station where the gun had been originally recovered and waited for an hour or more for the assistant watch commander to sign a release which the State's Attorney's man had convinced him was O.K.

While we waited, the desk sergeant said to the lieutenant behind the desk, "Gee, I think this is the first time I ever saw anybody get his gun back."

The lieutenant looked visibly embarrassed and quickly said "Well, of course. Why shouldn't he get it back. He was the victim. He didn't commit a crime." I wondered where that philosophy had been for two and one half years.

We waited in the property section office while the baffled officer behind the desk verified that it was really O.K. to give someone his gun back in Chicago. While we waited we heard one of the most stupid men I have met, I heartily respect most cops and count a number of them as good friends. Especially in a large city, these guys have a hell of a job, it being debatable who gives them the most hassle, the brass who never go out on the street or the criminals. This policeman was a man apart. Everytime a uniformed or plain clothes officer would come in with a gun he'd taken off a robber, rapist or some other felon, this guy would say out loud as if he were proclaiming a victory, "Well, there's another one for the steel mills in Gary. They should send them all there and melt them down. Get 'em all off the street."

The guy went through this routine about a half dozen or more times. My wife and I just stood there, quietly debating how much trouble one could get into for telling a policeman in police headquarters to shut up. Finally I signed the release papers. The loud mouth stood there, trying to say something pleasant. His gun looked as though it hadn't been out of the holster in a dozen years. I flicked open my gun's cylinder and looked at it. It wasn't as rusted as I had thought it would be. I had brought a locking attache case and the original box for the revolver and a small screwdriver.

I immediately took out the screwdriver and removed the cylinder crane screw on the right side of the frame just in front of the trigger. (The gun was of course empty and the ammunition was not returned.) I flicked out the cylinder again in my most professional manner, and slid the crane forward and off the frame and slid off the cylinder. I lightened the screw, having replaced the crane, sans cylinder and put the cylinderless revolver and the cylinder in the box. The cop who wanted to melt all guns asked a predictably inane question, "Afraid your wife's going to shoot you?" My wife looked daggers at him as he chuckled. I looked at the gun in the box and was proud of my restraint as I answered, "No. My wife knows how to handle a handgun very well. She's a good shot." As I locked my briefcase, I said biting, "I just don't want to get busted on my way out of here for carrying a concealed weapon." I thanked the guy who'd handed me the gun and we walked out and down the hall and thanked the Assistant State's Attorney



have bought him a drink.

When we got home I went down to my basement work-area and checked out the Smith. The rust problem under the grips and on the backstrap was only minimal. The gun was still nice and tight. The hammer spur had been half broken off and the left side of the trigger guard showed a slight chipping. The cylinder had a few nicks. The gun had obviously been dropped on concrete. The police department had been kind enough to increase the value of my gun by adding some of their own custom engraving. Underneath the barrel, a spot normally concealed by the ejector rod and on the underside of the frame's topstrap, they had artistically rendered the following enigmatic inscription: FI-849. How thoughtful of them not to choose to decorate the sideplate. I removed the sideplate, being a passable amateur gunsmith. (Removing a sideplate is a bit tricky and if parts come out and you don't have a schematic, you've got a mighty interesting blued jigsaw puzzle.) I removed a few parts and generously lubricated the disassembled handgun.

Satisfied I put everything back together again and it worked. (Although getting the sideplate back on is no easy matter.) Next step was the hammer spur. My father-in-law and I got to work on that. He's 75 and knows precious little about guns but a vast amount about tools. We used a small electric hand-drill with a grinder attachment and went to work on the hammer spur. I now have a nearly 'de-horped' revolver, but the hammer spur is smooth. The gun can still be easily thumb-cocked and the hammer can be lowered on a loaded chamber with normal care.

Next step was out to a local pistol range that had as its only virtue its proximity. I may as well apologize for my marksmanship now, and a two-inch barreled revolver (when you haven't shot that sized revolver for over two years) isn't that great for casual accuracy, but performance was just as good as ever and would have been a lot better with a better marksman behind the gun.

So, although the other stolen items were never recovered, the story has a reasonably happy ending.

What is there to learn from this? First, don't be a dummy like I was and leave your firearms in a place where they're unlocked and easy to find. Secondly, have concrete proof of ownership. And thirdly, don't let disgust or hopelessness make you give up when you don't get the gun back. Such a miserable mess may never happen to you, but be prepared. And remember, you have the same right to your gun as you do to your wife's engagement ring or a color TV set. When it is stolen—if your city or town wants to cut down on gun ownership—they'll make it difficult. But if you can just be persistent, they can't deny you your rights. If they do, you have legal redress and the law—not their interpretation of it—is on your side. So remember, if it happens to you, what's more appropriate to say than, 'stick to your guns.'

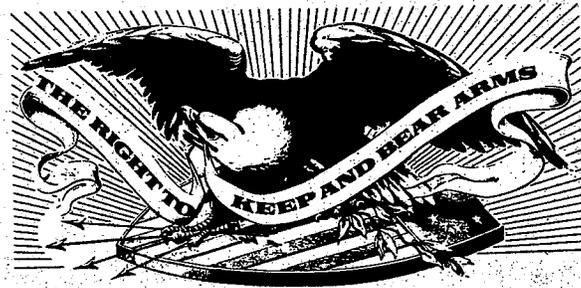
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Guns and Ammo

TOUCH CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

The Saturday Night Special:

It May Be The First Handgun
Given Up - But It Won't Be The Last

Harlon Carter



Some men, looking squarely into the face of possible defeat, quiver a little on the inside. Their guts roll or sink. Their hands sweat or shake. Routs threatening, they stampede.

Other men have a way of grimly holding on, of giving nothing and silently promising, by the living God, that to give in is impossible and to give out is weakness.

Don't tell me this is not intelligent or modern or practical. It may not be, but the sweet fruits of many victories have been finally enjoyed by grim, gaunt and bloody men, long after mincing dilettantes have gone their way enamoured of some other less costly and painful prospect.

And, so it is with gun control and those who fight that fight. Some men today are looking for a way out. They want to get back to their sports. They hope for some government-granted device by which they might have the benefits of uniform legislation throughout the country—thinking that would be a benefit. They deem their position the intelligent one; the reasonable one. They see this struggle since 1963 to be something which can be worked out; something which can be ended.

In this they are right. It can be ended, but only when the manufacture, sale, distribution, ownership, possession and use of firearms in this country is ended.

Oh, yes, of course, there will be exceptions. Never in any country, even with the greatest restraints on individual arms, have they been denied the politically and economically privileged classes.

Right now, the Saturday Night Special marks the pathway of possible retreat for the discouraged, or the weak, or those who may profit by eliminating the SNS from the market place thinking their sales volume will be taken up by more expensive models. The persuasions, however temporary and hollow, have an appeal. Let's get the fight over, they say. Men are tired in the arena. And besides the SNS has no "sporting value." The facts are that most of the definitions of the SNS so far suggested have included many models excellent for sport and, far more important, excellent for defense of self, of family and home.

Some say they fear the alternative. They spend time thinking about and quailing before the prospect of more stringent measures to be faced, they say, unless we yield on this one.

I have news: select, if you will, whatever line you wish to fight it out on, but there will never be a time when strident voices among our opponents will not be after our last six-shooter—then our rifle—then our shotgun. Don't ever doubt it.

But, there is hope retreat is already impossible. Our friends whose blood is curdling, or whose pocketbooks are yawning, will likely not be able to yield this defense line marked by the SNS.

Just as our opponents would not permit Senator Dodd's S.1591 to pass, so will they prevent, if possible, a purely SNS bill to pass. Dodd's S.1591, sometimes called the "Bazooka Bill," would have banned bazookas, cannons, and the like from private ownership. Sportsman's groups uniformly supported it,

but the Bazooka Bill was blocked. It offered just too much in dramatized and exaggerated anti-gun publicity. Some nut used a bazooka to fire at a United Nations building in New York and though he missed by a country mile, and the projectile fell harmlessly in the river, the occasion was magnificent mileage for the news media for weeks.

The SNS now offers our opponents the same news media advantages. With the SNS lawfully existing they can cry out, as they are wont to do, with volumes of tears and vast indignation against "this evil and crime-related" thing. When they have used the SNS to inspire enough hysteria and misinformation their plan is to make all handguns illegal.

They really don't mean it as they cry out now for SNS prohibition. What they seek is that in the confusion of definitions, they may manage to include the biggest, longest-barreled and most expensive handguns made in America, as Senator Birch Bayh's so-called SNS Bill (S.2507) would have done a couple of years ago.

They say the SNS is cheap and unsafe. Inasmuch as all guns are unsafe at the muzzle and inasmuch as criminals cannot be denied guns because real gun law enforcement—enforcement such as we don't have against robbery or murder—would require gutting the 4th and 5th Amendments of the Constitution, I favor the availability of the SNS for criminals. It's safer at the muzzle than the high quality expensive models.

How many police officers do you know whose life has been saved because a gun snapped in their face? I know of several. Inasmuch as criminals cannot effectively be denied guns, what are we really trying to do? Upgrade the quality of handguns in the hands of our criminals?

Up to the present time our opponents—dedicated gents with cold eyes and bleeding hearts—intend to prevent a SNS bill passing unless it contains language broad enough to permit administrative interpretations injurious to our case or broad enough to distort in the future what the bill purports to be today.

From our side, neither can we afford to permit a SNS bill to pass. Even if it is so carefully drawn as to prevent its cynical use for some broader purpose later on, how can we say with convincing candor that one kind of gun is crime-causative but another is not? How are we going to defend at some future date the honest and simple proposition that crime is caused by evil men and is not caused by some device employed as a tool in its perpetration?

If we are going to frivel away our own integrity by some vague concession, that one particular gun is more crime-causative than another, how shall we later point a virtuous finger of scorn and ridicule at politicians who do the same thing and thereby seek to duck our real social problems and deal with collateral issues somewhere around the perimeter—like gun control? How shall we demand integrity from our representatives when we have sullied our own?

When our opponents have repeatedly said they seek to eliminate the private possession of firearms in this country and

have repeatedly bent magazine articles, books, newspapers and television to that end, how can anyone think that by passage of any gun law, short of confiscation, you can get them "off our backs."

How can any writer, dealing with handguns, dwell piously upon the sporting value of such arms to the complete neglect of their greater value in preventing crime? How many times, every day in this country, does a firearm prevent a crime, most often just by its presence and not its use?

Can anyone name a gun law that ever prevented a murder or reduced the incidence of crime? Name just one!

Does anyone seriously think a SNS law would reduce crime? If it would not reduce crime, on what basis can an honest man support it?

Does anyone seriously think a gun law will reduce the number of guns in the hands of criminals?

Does anyone seriously doubt that so long as we have hack-saws and long-barreled revolvers we shall also have short-barreled ones?

Gun laws consume the time and money of police agencies in policing the conduct of law-abiding citizens. Thus it is, that to this extent gun laws encourage crime. As private ownership of arms becomes burdensome or is prohibited to decent people, the only citizens generally armed will be the criminal, reckless or violent who do not hesitate to violate any law.

Those who advocate gun laws do a great disservice to the cause of law enforcement. They cause many people, good tax payers, to think complacently that something is being done about crime when really nothing is being done about it. They distract the attention of the people from the real causes of crime—economic, educational, racial, religious and others—and they divert the energy and the money of the people from real solutions. Gun laws encourage crime.

Check the records and find where in those sections of the country guns are most in number, crime is least.

Clearly, criminals will be armed, therefore, don't you really think decent citizens should be as well armed as they? And for those who think we should mention accidents and murders occurring in the home or in meetings of opportunity between drunken friends and errant spouses, let me say this: these crimes are not what make Americans fear to walk the streets of our big cities at night. Does anyone seriously think it possible to pass laws which will cope with the foolish, the reckless, the insane, the drunken, the hopped up or jealous?

There is a whole book full not to be said about the kind of people who murder their friends and spouses, but one thing sure, their conduct never was and never will be guided or restrained by a law.

As for a SNS law it simply will not have any effect on crime. It will only add more to the immense and still burgeoning bureaucracy in Washington directing the conduct of decent citizens and thriving on the totalitarian philosophy that it is better to restrain all men

than to punish or put away evil men.

As for those who tire of the fight and want to get back to their sports, Old Harry Truman had the answer: "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen." And please don't stay around singing a siren's song of compromise and defeat. You might make warriors stumble.

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Guns and Ammo
With Sincere
Thanks
AND OUR
FULLEST
SUPPORT.



What Really Happened to the

No Funds for Petitioners

PRE-
ANALYSIS

Published In
November of 1973

This is to clarify the current condition of the Bay Area Regional Coalition for the California Marijuana Initiative, before the confusion of a few score "organizers" ruin a project that millions of people urgently need to succeed.

For obscure ideological reasons, and to atone for sins committed in the 1972 campaign, numerous CMI organizers committed themselves to a strategy of "decentralization" a few months ago. Since this term, for some people, is synonymous with anarchy (Jerry Rubin) and for others, synonymous with exploitation (Lester Maddox), members of the White Panther Party were a little nervous about the glib way the word was being tossed around. But there wasn't much time to debate political theory, so we just kept working on the projects that served the marijuana movement.

About the time that various state conferences were taking place, the White Panther Party was expanding its operations from Marin into Berkeley, San Francisco and Palo Alto, and building a tight coalition with the Good Earth family. This coalition was arranged, some would say ironically, by Gordon Brownell. Its purpose is the development of people's enterprises such as the Good Earth Electrical Repair Enterprise, the White Panther Food Conspiracy, Amorphia, Grass Roots, etc.

What this coalition intends is to make it possible for increasing numbers of people to make a living, building institutions that are designed to serve the entire community, not just a few profiteers. Obviously, survival of the workers is a first priority, and for us the stakes become considerably higher since our survival depends on our effectiveness.

In order that we don't degenerate into just another small group trying to "keep it together" for itself, it is very important that we keep recruiting new people into our enterprises. Every day we meet people on the streets that are bursting with energy, but who can-



not find any kind of paying work they wouldn't be ashamed of doing. What the White Panther Party does is offer people an immediate job, a place to live, enough food, emergency medical care and clothes so that they can survive through service to the people. But as the enterprises grow through the labor of these people, an enormous responsibility devolves upon the White Panther Party to insure that these workers are never cheated. Consequently, our "politics" is primarily a process of learning what sort of business arrangements can be trusted, and what sort lead to exploitation.

The results of the Good Earth-Amorphia-White Panther Party coalition have been astounding. All the enterprises involved are healthier economically now than back in May. The Grass Roots Gazette, which lost money on the first three issues, was distributed so quickly that a second printing was necessary of the fourth issue. White Panther Party vendors distributed over 10,000 copies by personal contact with people on the streets, coupling honest human interaction with "media" communication. We started with seven reliable vendors—there are now forty. Good Earth mechanics keep the vehicles running. Amorphia produced rolling papers, Panthers processed them, and together we have distributed them. The Food Conspiracy at least doubled its average weekly order. Products moved so fast our only problem was running out. Good Earth trucking enterprise was on hand to transport new supplies. As the initiative campaign approached, we all geared for a collective effort. Ron Landberg, after talking to everyone involved, synthesized a plan for the Bay Area organizing that can from now on be used as a model for all sorts of people's campaigns. And a block party to kick off the campaign became the most highly publicized block party in world history.

Sadly, but understandably, only the people who actually worked within this process, developed any appreciation of it. When the Bay Area Regional Coalition was formed, few of the people who came to the meetings cared about enterprises that were outside the pale of "their own thing." The result was that August and September meetings were spacey, crowded and pretty much useless. When the White Panther Party warned that this was madness, we were told that everything was being done on a county level, and that there was plenty of time and that there couldn't be any centralization because in 1972 blah, blah, blah. For us, decentralization was amounting to nothing more than irresponsibility.

The result was disaster. The initiative campaign was to begin October 1. At that time, there was no bank account, no funds, no coordination. At one of the space sessions it was decided that each county would arrange publicity. None of the counties organized anything. Except for the block party, and a press conference at Amorphia, this crucial stage was completely sluffed. Even the printing of petitions couldn't be done by this "decentralized" coalition. This vital function had to be handled by someone making a loan.

In any case, the situation with the vendors was becoming serious. The recruiting effort was working beautifully. People were being discovered who were willing to work hard, under quasi-legal conditions, in a highly disciplined manner, for survival wages. Anyone who has ever vendped a controversial newspaper on the streets knows that it is no easy job. But, people are willing to work hard to stop repression of marijuana smokers. So there soon became too many workers for the houses that we had. Most of us moved out of where we were living to make room for vendors. The Good Earth opened itself to six of us, but that was all that could fit. Others moved into various illegal conditions around the Bay Area continuing to work while risking arrest just for going home. The new house in Marin was quickly filled.

The problem was that, although the houses can be viable once set up, none of the vendors have the front money to rent a house. So we could only get houses when the White Panther Party could put up the money, and the White Panther Party rarely had any. Since many of the vendors were engaged fulltime in the marijuana movement, it seemed natural that this movement pay the front money on at least one house. But when we sug-

gested this to CMI organizers, they told us that CMI didn't have any money, and when we suggested that money be raised they said that there was no bank account, and when we suggested that a bank account be formed they said there was no structure for forming it, etc., etc.

...NO MONEY FOR
WORKERS SURVIVAL,
IT'S ALL GOING TO
THE CHRONICLE.



So a situation was set up whereby the CMI coalition was intentionally kept weak, and only people with money could function. These people functioned independently of any coordination, and "do your own thing" came to mean that people with money could do whatever they pleased and people without it, the street people, couldn't do anything. The anger of the vendors increased when it became apparent that money was being raised on the strength of their labor, but that they had no right to decide how it was spent. Consequently, all the long distance phone calls, trips to "conferences" were done by the people who were not vendors. As a result, the initiative was becoming a white, bourgeois issue, structured for the convenience of shallow liberals, hip and straight, it hardly mattered.

At a county level, decentralization meant rule by clique. In Berkeley, Paul Crawford—the person singly responsible for setting up the entire Bay Area distribution system for Grass Roots and Amorphia products—was told that he was ineligible to be on the County Bank Account because Tod Mikuriya and Rob Kerns didn't know him. Who the hell are they?



Tod Mikuriya is a liberal psychiatrist who says that "politics is my hobby" and who doesn't think that the 1974 Initiative has a chance:

anyway. He likes to talk about his "balls" and wishes there was more "chicks" involved in the campaign. Rob Kerns was active in the 1972 campaign—a campaign which spent \$200,000, while the volunteers that got signatures [the only success of the campaign] had to stop working so they could look for jobs.



Towards the end of September, an emergency meeting was called by Rene Casanave, at the urging of the White Panther Party, the Good Earth and others to structure the Regional Committee. At this meeting it was decided to form a central committee of nine county representatives and the representatives of the three working committees—the Finance, Media and Political Organizing Committees, with other representatives to be possibly added later. Since the counties had not yet elected their representatives, the three working committee heads were to comprise the central committee for the time being. It was decided to recommend Gordon Brownell-Political Organizing, Sandra Kutik-Finance, and Michael Aldrich-Media as the Central Committee at the next full meeting of the coalition [September 27]. At that meeting, Gordon withdrew and was replaced by Harry Lehman.

It was also settled that sexism would be stopped on the spot at meetings, that media coverage of people's events would not be eschewed even if there was a possibility of violence by the police [liberals had objected that since the police were threatening to bust the block party, it might link marijuana with violence in the public mind and lose straight votes], that third world participation should be encouraged, that Ron Landberg's plan should be studied carefully, and that the fund shortage could be handled with a loan, and that the Panther suggestion that another house for vendors and petition circulators be discussed further. These ideas were more or less adopted officially. Three workshop meetings were scheduled.

The first was the Media committee chaired by Michael Aldrich. This meeting proceeded along peaceful liberal lines, highlighted by a one hour discussion of

CONTINUED ON PG 21

'74 California Marijuana Initiative?

Amorphia - a lesson in U.S. Political Economy

POST-ANALYSIS

Written in March of 1974

The warning of the White Panther Party was ignored. Instead of helping to normalize the coalition, those who did in fact regard the marijuana movement as a joke, or a toy, or a fund hustle, or a media hype, or a hobby, or a debating society, or anything less than a life and death issue set up their own "central committee". This was a remarkably clear example of the petit bourgeois tendency to split or withdraw from coalitions when they are prevented from dominating them.

Of course, the central committee of the hobbyists was fraudulent. It was formed behind the backs of the street vendors at a meeting where no vendors were present. At its first public meeting it was exposed as false, and a compromise committee was formed. This committee never managed to organize even a meeting until the loan on the regional headquarters came due, at which point it convened to declare its intention to ignore its debt, on the theory that it didn't recognize the central committee that had incurred the debt.

Amorphia Controlled the CMI

The relationship between corporations and political organizations that prevails in US politics in general was evident in the microcosm of the marijuana movement. The Amorphia Corporation, which was by now openly admitting its affinity to all sorts of right-wing profiteers, in fact controlled the CMI. By the lame subterfuge of claiming that they were donating space in their office to the CMI which they were allegedly independent of, they installed their staff at the heart of the CMI administration.

Since this "non-profit corporation" had been raising money for the legalization of marijuana for years, they were in a financial position to accomplish all this. They didn't need

the CMI to pay their workers, since they simply refrained from giving the legalization money to the CMI and gave it to their staff instead. This freed Michael Aldritch, Gordon Brownell, etc., to gain a stranglehold over the CMI movement, even without any formal approval from the CMI, which was purposely kept in a loose, decentralized condition.

This dictatorial government by corporation was covered up by the usual spouting about democracy. The fact that Amorphia was entrenching itself in its control of the CMI did not prevent Michael Aldritch from claiming that the demand of the street vendors for funds was "undemocratic". This was his excuse for refusing to even discuss the matter for the duration of the campaign.

The hobbyists who filtered into the movement saw only the superficial aspects of the situation and assumed that this upholder of democracy was to be trusted, and that the "violent" White Panthers were not. With the normal obliviousness of the bourgeoisie to the reality of labor, these hobbyists refused to notice that it was the Panther collectives that were working to get the signa-

The Vendors Refused to Bend

When the vendors refused to go along with the "management", we were called violent. We were violent because we refused to let a person that we didn't select chair a meeting in Berkeley, and instead insisted on a discussion of the fraudulent central committee, which we had just found out about. We were violent because we insisted on a discussion of how the thousand dollar debt was going to be paid after the compromise central committee refused to honor the obligation. We were violent when we quietly carried a "central committee member" out the door when he threatened to kick someone in the balls.

We were violent when we insisted that Amorphia show us their books so that we could ascertain whether in fact they had the money to pay off the debt they had helped to incur. And finally we were violent when we physically criticized Michael Aldritch for calling the police on us



Michael Aldritch

"Get Out of my Office!"

in order to keep us from seeing these books. "I'll give you five minutes to get out of my office," he had told us, forgetting that it was pretending that it was a CMI office of which we were part. Then true to his class principles, he called the police when we refused, thus striking the classic pose of the peace-loving bourgeois letting the police do the dirty work.

When the police came, they didn't arrest us, despite Aldritch's claims against us, and, after we left the office Mark Heutlinger and Gordon Brownell, obviously ashamed of the action they had silently allowed Aldritch to com-

mit, asked us to continue the discussion out of the office. We held a meeting with them, and agreed to accept their offer of 1,500 dollars in products, which we had already sold, to cover the debt.

In all, we collected less than 1,300 dollars in large donations. Everything else came from the support we got on the streets. For this eighteen hundred, we obtained 45,000 signatures.

The hobbyists took two thousand dollars and gave it to the Chronicle alone for an ad printing the petition. This ad returned 4,000 signatures. Another 4-5 thousand raised on a concert was lost when the Amorphia organizer reported that the money had been stolen by one of the promoters. This doesn't count the one to two thousand that Amorphia gave its staff each month, nor the amount spent on long distance phone calls, etc.

The initiative only gathered across the state 389,000 signatures. It needed about 500,000. If the people on the streets had been given even half of the money raised and wasted by the petit bourgeois fools who so bitterly fought the Panthers in the Bay Area, we could have gotten the signatures to put the initiative over the top. If we had been given 20,000 dollars - we could have accomplished the job for the entire state, and set up hundreds of survival jobs doing it. This would

have built a powerful force of fulltime committed fighters against persecution of marijuana smokers, and would have been the sort of force that would be needed to win the campaign and insure that the initiative was not negated by some new sort of trick that the defeated fascists might try to pull. It is this sort of force that the dominating hobbyists made economically impossible.

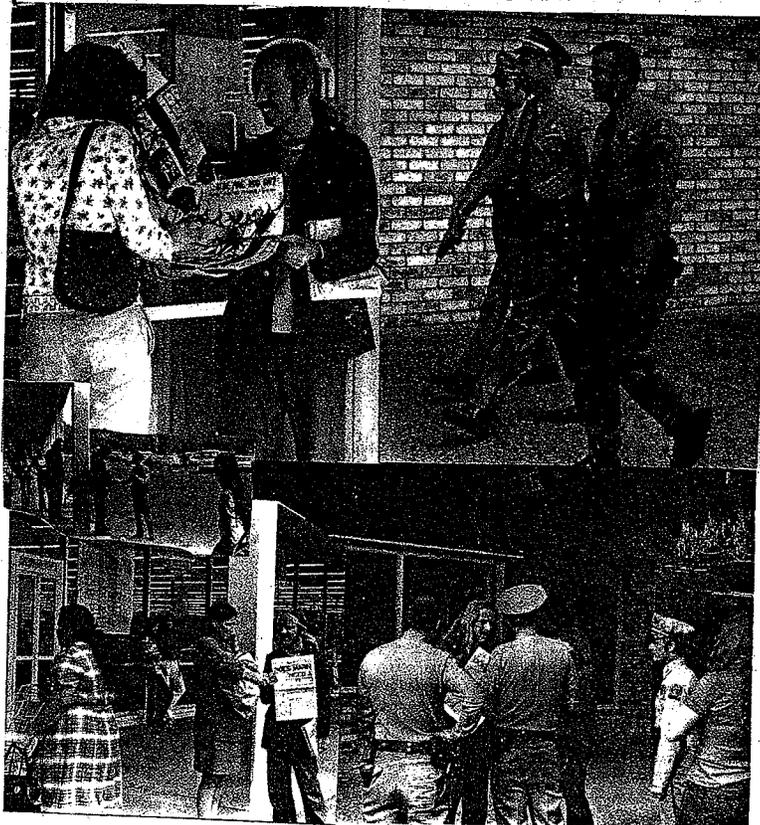
The Lumpen is the rising Class

The 1974 CMI campaign failed, but it taught all of us a valuable historical lesson. The rising force in this society is the lumpenproletariat, not the slightly enlightened petit bourgeoisie. Coalitions are necessary, but they will fail unless those with a vague commitment agree to support those with a deep commitment, instead of insisting on the reverse. The lumpen have much more at stake than the more economically secure elements of these coalitions for social change, and consequently our commitment will usually be deeper.

Political campaigns take money and time. If those with only a little time and some extra money can exchange money for time

CONTINUED ON PG. 28

WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ON?



THERE IS ONLY



'On Withdrawal' as printed in a recent issue of the Black Panther, is an article excerpted from George Jackson's book 'Blood In My Eye'. His analysis of fascism, the forces opposing it, and how it can be stopped are important to know and understand by anyone who must endure the daily fascist tactics of harassment and humiliation.

George Jackson was one of this revolution's greatest philosophers, and the current leftist tendency to relegate him to a shelf of abstract martyrdom, plays into the hands of the fascists, clouding his writings and confusing the people.

The White Panther Party believes in the need for a functional definition of fascism as a means for people to identify the ways in which this power structure is implementing its illegal repression on a day to day level in our lives. 'Blood In My Eye' is the beginning step in the understanding.

On Withdrawal

by

GEORGE JACKSON

After revolution has failed, all questions must center on how a new revolutionary consciousness can be mobilized around the new set of class antagonisms that have been created by the authoritarian reign of terror. At which level of social, political and economic life should we begin our new attack?

First, we, the Black partisans and their vanguard party, the old and new left alike, must concede that the worker's revolution and its vanguard parties have failed to deliver the promised changes in property relations or any of the institutions that support them. This must be conceded without bitterness, name-calling, or the intense rancor that is presently building.

There have been two depressions, two great wars, a dozen serious recessions, a dozen brush wars, crisis after economic crisis. The mass psycho-social national cohesiveness has trembled on the brink of disruption and disintegration repeatedly over the last fifty years, threatening to fly apart from its own concentric inner dynamics.

But at each crisis it was allowed to reform itself; with each reform, revolution became more remote. This is because the old left has failed to understand the true nature of fascism.

We will never have a complete definition of fascism, because it is in constant motion showing a new face to fit any particular set of problems that arise to threaten the predominance of the traditionalist, capitalist ruling class. But if one were forced for the sake of clarity to define it in a word simple enough for all to understand, that word would be 'reform'. We can make our definition more precise by adding the word 'economic'. 'Economic reform' comes very close to a working definition of fascist motive forces.

Such a definition may serve to clarify things even though it leaves a great deal

unexplained. Each economic reform that perpetuates ruling class hegemony has to be disguised as a positive gain for the upthrusting masses. Disguise enters as a third stage of the emergence and development of the fascist state. The modern industrial fascist state has found it essential to disguise the opulence of its ruling class leisure existence by providing the lower classes with a mass consumer's flea market of its own.

To allow a sizable portion of the 'new state' to participate in this flea market, the ruling class has established currency controls and minimum wage laws that mask the true nature of modern fascism. Reform (the closed economy) is only a new way for capitalism to protect and develop fascism!

After the German SS agents or Italian Black Shirts kick in the doors and herd Jews and Communist partisans to death camps, after Peg-Leg White's Black Legion terror and the Guardians of the Republic and their offspring legitimize the F.B.I., in other words, after the fascists have succeeded in crushing the vanguard elements and the threat they pose is removed, the ruling class goes on about the business of making profits as usual.

The significance of the 'new fascist arrangement' lies in the fact that this business-as-usual is accompanied by concessions to the degenerate segment of the working class, with the aim of creating a buffer zone between the ruling class and the still potentially revolutionary segments of the lower classes.

Corporative ideals have reached their logical conclusion in the U.S. The new corporate state has fought its way through crisis after crisis, established its ruling elites in every important institution, formed its partnership with labor through its elites, erected the most massive network of protective agencies replete with spies, technical and animal, to be found in any police state in the world. The violence of the ruling class of this country in the long process of its trend toward authoritarianism and its last and highest state, fascism, cannot be rivaled in its excesses by any other nation on earth today or in history.

With each advancement in the authoritarian process and strengthening of the ruling class's control over the system, there was a corresponding weakening of the people's and workers' movement.

AMERIKA THE FASCIST

And intellectuals still argue whether Amerika is a fascist country. This concern is typical of the American left's flight from reality, from any truly extreme position. This is actually a manifestation of the authoritarian process seeping into its own psyche. At this stage, how can anyone question the existence of a fascist arrangement? Just consider the awesome centralization of power, and the proven fact that the largest part of the Gross National Product is in the hands of a minute portion of the population.

Of course, the revolution has failed. Fascism has temporarily succeeded under the guise of reform. The only way we can destroy it is to refuse to compromise with the enemy state and its ruling class. Compromises were made in the thirties, the forties, the fifties. The old vanguard parties made gross strategic and tactical errors. At the existential moment, the last revelation about oneself, not many members of the old vanguard choose to risk their whole futures, their lives, in order to alter the conditions that Huey P. Newton describes as 'Destructive of life.'

Reformism was allowed. The more degenerate elements of the working class were the first to succumb. The vanguard parties supported the capitalistic 'war' adventure in

World War II. Then they helped promote the mass consumers' market that followed the close of the war, the flea market that muted the workers' more genuine demands. Today we are faced with a clearly different set of class antagonisms, the complexities of a particularly refined fascist economic arrangement, where the controlling elites have coopted large portions of the lowly working class.

When we ask ourselves: Where will we attack the enemy state? We are answered: At the productive point.

The next logical question is, With whom and what will we attack the fortified entrance of the productive and distributive system in a nation of shortsighted, contented, conservative workers? Obviously, the fascist movement is counterrevolution at its very center. Fascist reformism is a calculated response to the classic, scientific-socialist approach to revolution through positive mobilization of the working classes. From its inception the fascist arrangement has attempted to create the illusion of a mass society in which the traditional capitalist ruling class



would continue to play its leading role. A mass society that is not a mass society; a mass society of authoritarians whose short-term material interests are perfectly suited to the development of the perfect totalitarian state and centralized economy.

The most precise definitions of fascism involve the concept of 'scientific capitalism,' or 'controlled capitalism,' a sophisticated, totalitarian, 'learned' response to the challenge of egalitarian, scientific socialism. After its successful establishment in Spain, Portugal, Greece, South Africa and the United States of America, we are faced with the obvious question of 'how to raise a new consciousness.'

We are faced with the task of raising a positive mobilization of revolutionary consciousness in a mass that has 'gone through' a contrapositive, authoritarian process.

The new vanguard elements seem to agree that withdrawal from the enemy state and its social, political and economic life is the first step toward its destruction. The new vanguard elements seem to agree that the new

ONE PEOPLE'S FIELD MARSHALL

revolutionary consciousness will develop in the struggles of withdrawal. However, after this point, agreement grows vague and is all but lost in a sea of contradiction. The contention turns on one primary question - the scope and range of violence within the revolutionary movement.

After the lengthy and clearly unnecessary ideological battle that laid to rest a direct approach to revolution by the White or Black worker, we are now faced with an equally unnecessary ideological battle over which of the various communal (revolutionary cultural) approaches has the stronger revolutionary validity.

The problem is compounded by the almost apolitical withdrawal of the growing Weatherman faction, and their estranged allies on campus, to organic food gardens and a life of sex, music and drugs. Their Nietzschean-Hegelian withdrawal mimics the European historical experience of the last five generations. In our equation, this must be considered the minor side of the syllogism. Though revolution is in fashion, the realistic, cohesive synergism seems as yet impossibly remote.

On the other side of the equation, we have Huey Newton's concept of Black communes set well within the huge population centers of the enemy state. This concept accepts any level of violence that will be necessary to enforce the demands of the people and workers. These communes will be tied to one another by a national and international vanguard party and joined with the world's other revolutionary societies. They are the obvious answer to all the theoretical and practical questions and problems about an American revolution - a revolution that will be carried out principally by Blacks.

The question I've asked myself over the years runs this way: Who has done most of the dying? Most of the work? Most of the time in prison (on Max Row)? Who is the hindmost in every aspect of social, political and economic life? Who has the least short-term interest - or no interest at all - in the survival of the present state? In this condition, how could we believe in the possibility of a new generation of enlightened fascists who would dismantle the basis of their hierarchy?

Just how many Americans are willing to accept the physical destruction of some parts of their fatherland so that the rest of the land and the world might survive in good health? How can the Black industrial worker be induced to carry out a valid worker's revolutionary policy? What and who will guide him?

THE COMMUNE

The commune. The central citywide revolutionary culture. But who will build the commune that will guide the people into a significant challenge to property rights? Carving out a commune in the central city will involve claiming certain rights as our own - out front. Rights that have not been respected to now. Property rights. It will involve building a political, social and economic infrastructure, capable of filling the vacuum that has been left by the establishment ruling class and pushing the occupying forces of the enemy culture from our midst.

The implementation of this new social, political and economic program will feed and comfort all the people on at least a subsistence level, and force the 'owners' of the enemy bourgeois culture either to tie their whole fortunes to the communes and the people,

or to leave the land, the tools and the market behind. If he will not leave voluntarily, we will expel him - we will use the shotgun and the antitank rocket launcher!!

Who will build on an ideal that begins with force? The vanguard party is now nationwide. But vanguard parties cannot build revolutions alone. Nor can a vanguard party expect full party line agreement before it moves in the direction of the people. Revolution is illegal. It's against the law. It's prohibited. It will not be allowed. It is clear that the revolutionary is a lawless man. The outlaw and the lumpen will make the revolution. The people, the workers, will adopt it. This seems to be the new order of things, after the fact of the modern industrial fascist state.

In Blacks, the authoritarian traits are mainly the effects of terrorism and lack of intellectual stimulation. The communal experience will redeem them. At present, the Black worker is simply choosing the less dangerous and complicated strategy of survival. All classes and all people are subject to the authoritarian syndrome. It is an atavistic throwback to the herd instincts. But it requires only the proper trauma, the proper socio-sociological set of circumstantial pressures to bring forth a revolutionary consciousness.

Racism enters on the psycho-social level, in the form of a morbid, traditional fear of both Blacks and revolutions. The resentment of Blacks, and conscious or unconscious tendencies to mete out pain to Blacks, throughout the history of America's slave systems, all came into focus when Blacks began the move from South to North and from countryside to city to compete with Whites in industrial sectors, and, in general, engage in status competition. Resentment, fear, insecurity, and the usual isolation that is patterned into every modern, capitalist industrial society (the more complex the products, the greater the division of labor, the higher the pyramid, the broader its base and the smaller the individual brick tends to feel) are multiplied by ten when racism, race antagonism, is also a factor.

There is certainly no lack of evidence to prove the existence of an old and built-in character assassination of programmed racism (what class controls the nation's educational facilities, prints the newspapers and magazines that carry the little cartoons, and omits or misrepresents us to death?) has always served to distract and defuse feelings of status deprivation suffered by the huge sectors just above the Black one. Then also to account for the seemingly dual nature recognizable in the authoritarian personality (conformity, but also a strange latent destructiveness), racism has always been employed as a pressure release for the psychopathic destructiveness evinced by a people

historically processed to fear, to feel the need for a decision maker, to hate freedom.

The revolutionary is outlawed. The Black revolutionary is a doomed man. All of the forces of counterrevolution stack up over his head. He's standing in the tank-trap he has dug. He lives in the cross hairs. No one can understand the feeling but himself. From the beginning of his revolutionary consciousness he must use every device to stay alive. Violence is a forced issue. It's incumbent on him. The very first political programs have had to be defended with duels to the death. The children's breakfast programs haven't been spared. The next round of commune building could cause the third great war of the century.

We must build with the fingers of one hand wrapped around a gun (an anti-personnel weapon). We cannot leave the central city. This must be understood by the other revolutionary people if we are to move together to conclusive action.

The war will be fought in the nerve centers of the nation, the cities where Angela was finally captured as she was at work for the revolution, where Huey was found hiding and working by the government's propaganda apparatus.

We cannot withdraw from the cities. In order to complete the revolutionary syllogism, the fascists must be forced to withdraw. And under cover of the guns which force their withdrawal, we will build the new Black communes.

A BLADE IN THE THROAT OF FASCISM

GEORGE JACKSON LIVES



Touch

WHAT KIND OF COMMUNISTS ARE WE ANYWAY?

Part of Statement
Printed
October 1972

LABOR

In order for anyone to survive on this planet, enough labor has to be performed to produce what we need to maintain our existence. So it seems reasonable that we agree to share this labor.

But when most people in this country decide to go to work, we can't just pick up the tools and begin. Neither can we go to our friends and offer to help them. To work in this country we've got to go to some stranger that we don't necessarily respect and admit to him that we need money so badly that we're willing to work for him whether we like him or not.

In many cases, we have to sit in one employment office after another, waiting for the great privilege of being hired. And there isn't much chance of being chosen unless we behave and dress in unnatural and uncomfortable ways, calculated to please our prospective employer.

Sometimes even these drastic measures aren't enough, and we're left unemployed, while our friends are forced to work forty-hour weeks that drain most of their life energy.

And if we are employed, then we have to forget all the rhetoric about democracy and self-determination, because everyone knows that the guy who wields the payroll gives the orders, and you can't argue with the boss.

According to the reality we are supposed to face, we must submit to the dictates of a series of bosses for from twenty to forty years in exchange for being allowed to exist.

We are communists because we are no longer willing to accept this fate.

TRADE UNIONS

Communism to us is a way out of the trap of being forced to work for a boss just because we're not rich enough to be bosses ourselves.

The White Panther Party is distinct from many communist parties because our strategy is to withdraw our energy from capitalist enterprises and set up our own. This doesn't mean that we've despaired of labor unions ever transforming their factories into people's enterprises. Everything we can do to help employed workers gain control over their labor we're glad to do. But we notice that the numerically rising class is not employed workers, but unemployed outcasts - the lumpenproletariat, to use the old slur (which we are now learning to be proud of).

The labor unions are not reactionary, as some academic leftists charge them with being. They are losing their bargaining power as a result of the tremendous scarcity of jobs, thus they have to settle for less. Advocating the sort of general strikes that are so easy to call for from the security of the universities or the welfare rolls just demonstrates the lack of concern for the individuals who are supposed to gamble their lives and their families on such recklessness.

So when we say that we don't regard the employed workers as the most revolutionary force it is not an insult, it is just recognition of the fact that workers act out of common sense, not out of academic dreams of revolution, and it doesn't make sense for workers to jeopardize their jobs with interminable strikes. If the UJ strikers, for instance, are going to ultimately win their struggle it is apparent that they are going to have to attack from another direction.

The strategy of our party is to organize the labor, centralize the capital, and calculate the risks necessary to create alternatives to the UJ and to every other chattering capitalist people-trap now plundering the economy.

Undoubtedly this is difficult; but also undoubtedly it is possible. And just about undoubtedly, nothing else is going to work.

We are communists because the enterprises we are creating operate on the principles of the Food Conspiracy:

- 1) eliminate wasteful methods of production
- 2) replace the profit motive with the motive of serving the people
- 3) eliminate unnecessary overhead
- 4) establish workers' control of the enterprise
- 5) hold quality above salability

MISGIVINGS

It's dismaying that such a simple, obvious strategy is looked upon with such misgivings by so many people. There are three general reasons for these misgivings:

1) We have all been inundated with propaganda designed to make the majority of us accept our inferiority to the wealthy, our inability to control our own labor, and the inherent right of the owners of an enterprise to dictate to the workers.

2) False hopes always flourish among the oppressed. It is easier to believe in some painless solution just around the corner than to set to work on real, but arduous, solutions. This leads to the bubble-headed dreams that McGovernism, or the War on Poverty, or the Post-scarcity Economy will solve our problems for us. Why bother with all the hassle of creating a viable, productive enterprise that employs workers and lowers prices when all we have to do is press the right buttons on the voting machines and we'll hit some utopian jackpot. McGovern workers for the most part don't even join the Food Conspiracy.

3) Our own initial mistakes in organizing these enterprises gives many people the impression that we'll never be able to manage an economy. Ironically, the main problem with people's enterprises is that we have to learn to restrain our generosity before we give everything away and ruin the project. There is a prejudice that operates against us - a double standard. Some people insist that if we are going to presume to create alternatives to capitalist rip-offs that they have to be perfect from the outset. People have been swindled for years by the supermarkets, but if the Food Conspiracy tomatoes are too soft, some people quit, often without so much as an explanation to the workers (who need criticism in order to correct their mistakes) as to why they are quitting.



People work for forty hours for a boss - under disastrous emotional, stress (not to mention frequently dangerous physical conditions), but if there is a minor emotional hassle in a collective, people quit. People read page after page of slanted journalism and false advertising in magazines, the Chronicle/Examiner, or the UJ, but when we are honest about our political position in our paper, people call it propaganda. And most disastrously, people will do anything to get on some payroll, or some welfare roll, or some parent's check mailing list, but when we ask for help in our enterprises, we are often told "I want to be independent."

We are communists because we do not have such misgivings about the ability of our people to create our own enterprises.

FASCISM

As capitalism loses the wherewithal to control us with economic and political manipulation, it will resort to military coercion. Such coercion is equivalent to fascism. When we say that the Executive Branch of the Federal Government must become increasingly fascist, we do not mean that Nixon is about to start speaking German. We mean simply that we can not trust the government to respect constitutional limitations on its power.

We can, however, expect the Nixon government to limit its coercion to what it deems politically feasible. Force will be used when

there are no unfavorable repercussions. Prudence demands that we organize local communities to insure that whenever a government agent, whether FBI, CIA, IRS, or OEO, employs force to break the law with impunity, there will be a prompt political consequence.

As long as each individual worries only about himself and his immediate friends, such political consequences are impossible, and the government will be victorious over individual after individual. Individualism and selfishness guarantee fascism.

Not that we need always meet violence with violence, but at the least we should expose every illegal act of the government. Functional and free media are essential. We are communists because we believe that although imperialism must resort to fascism as it collapses, that the attempt to impose fascism on the United States will not be successful.

LIBERALISM

Capitalism is not the wisest means of organizing our economy. But in order to criticize it, we must be able to propose an alternative. Otherwise, our criticisms degenerate into mere complaints that capitalism is not perfect.

This is why hardly anyone takes McGovern seriously. He is afraid to advocate that the workers take over their enterprises, or that alternatives be set up. He thinks this would label him a radical, and the political hacks running his campaign say that this would lose him the election.

He has to limit himself to piecemeal proposals that would just make him a nuisance to the capitalists that control production. What would he do in the face of massive resistance by the capitalists to his schemes. His choices would be to either nationalize or capitate. Like an ostrich, he won't even look at these possibilities.

Even his piecemeal proposals must be abandoned one by one as their unfeasibility becomes obvious. Welfare reform - he didn't really mean it. The end of militarism - he only advocates withdrawal from one area. Marijuana legalization - maybe next year. The liberation of women - fine, as long as they remember their place.

His support of anti-labor legislation and the Omnibus Crime Bill is not surprising. Actually, this man who elbowed his way in front of Shirley Chisholm just when there seemed a chance of ending the domination of politics by white, middle-class, male moderates has neither the courage nor the integrity of even Richard Nixon.

This is not to say that we shouldn't vote for him - fater all, what is a vote-worth? But just to remind political scientists whose

expertise consists of reciting cliches that blacks, women, and radicals can't win elections that we might as well have backed an honest loser, as a treacherous one.

We are communists because we reject the delusions of "left" liberals.

WELFARE

The fascist machinery of this country has been implementing schemes to extort slave labor from poor people for some time now. People collecting welfare are being forced to accept degrading, and meaningless labor under pain of losing their right to survive. Reagan advocates work camps. So does Rockefeller. And as people are driven up against the wall of enslavement, we are growing more desperate.

Of course crime is increasing. So far we have only seen the beginning. If people are not given a decent chance to survive, then only cowards will refrain from finding some illegal means of staying free. Housebreaking, armed robbery, hijacking...whatever it takes.

In the face of this crisis, the liberal proposals of a guaranteed annual income are pathetic. If businesses allowed this income to be independent of employment, then it's true that few people would choose to work for any boss. If it is tied to employment, then it may be only an equivalent of the Nixon plan for slave labor. And in any case, unless the increased employment leads to a real release of productive forces, it is apparent that a sudden increase in spending power without a corresponding increase of goods available would create a staggering inflation. And if this disaster is prevented by absolute and permanent price controls, then this will be nothing but the corporate state planned by Mussolini. Is there anything liberal about this?

Our alternative to this wishful nonsense is to provide small groups of people with sufficient capital so that they can create enterprises which are productive, non-exploitative, worker-controlled, and economically viable. Our experience is that this would not only solve the economic quandaries which neither Nixon nor his rivals stand much chance of doing, but it will restore the sense of joyous labor that is an absolute precondition for a healthy society.

We are communists because we are tired of waiting for the government to start doing this job.

REFORM

One of the main reasons for the advantage that liberals have always held over communists is that liberals seemed to work for short term benefits, while communists were ready to sacrifice these for the long-run goal of revolution. Naturally, this led a large number of people to reject the theoretical advantages of a future revolution for the immediate, tangible benefits proposed by less radical politicians.

Actually, it was the movement towards revolution that forced those in power to make concessions, and not merely the liberal requests that they be made, but still communists have been viewed with skepticism because they can't deliver immediate benefits.

The advantage of organizing people's enterprises is that it demonstrates in the present the preference of communism to capitalism, and makes it obvious who is really helping people.



Touch

COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

WPP 4 Point Program



WITNESS ALL POLICE INCIDENTS

When citizens are stopped by police, there is a tendency for passers-by to shrug their shoulders and be glad it's not them being stopped. This attitude leaves citizens at the mercy of police, and sometimes this leads to abuses. If you encounter a police incident, you have a right and a responsibility to see to it that the citizen involved has community support, if needed. All it takes is for you to approach slowly, and ask the citizen if a witness is needed. The police have no right to prevent you from doing this. You are not obstructing justice. If they try to intimidate or discourage you, which unfortunately they often will, tell them clearly what you are doing, and if they persist, take their badge numbers.

If the citizen says he doesn't need a witness, leave. If you're not serving a purpose, don't hang around just for the entertainment.

If he says he does, ask his name, his phone or address, and who he wants contacted if he's arrested. Find out why he is being detained. Your presence is likely to discourage illegal acts by police, but if such acts occur, be sure to remember the exact details. Don't give legal advice, least of all to the police. It's up to the citizen involved to decide how to handle the situation. You are only there to verify subsequent complaints. Try to speak as little as possible. Don't hassle, antagonize, or abuse the police officers. It isn't a game.

After the incident, if there is any apparent abuse, call the complaint number. Get names of other witnesses, and addresses. Arrange to get witness' statements as soon as possible.

2 FORM COMMUNITY DEFENCE GROUPS

When a citizen is arrested, it is difficult for her or him to organize legal support, bail contacts, community support, etc. from a cell. Even after being bailed out, following through on complaints is an exhausting job for one per-

son, and this is the reason that most people let things drop, instead of pursuing attempts for redress of grievances.



The solution to this problem is to organize support beforehand so that it is available when it is needed. Every citizen should be able to call a friend from jail and be sure that this friend will be able to take care of the business necessary to activate justice. A defense group would include one or two lawyers, someone familiar with the local media, a doctor or a community health worker, a bailbondsmen, or someone familiar with the system for obtaining bail on short notice; and a few good typists, speakers, diplomats, etc.

When these groups are functioning, it will be much more unlikely that police will risk breaking the law to hurt someone they don't happen to like. Obviously, there are minorities who need these groups more than others - Blacks, youth, ex-cons, Communists, etc. But this defense against police crime is crucial to the entire community, consequently less oppressed people will also help these groups. In fact, this is one of the areas where cooperation between different elements of the community can best be manifested.

3 ARM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SECOND AMENDMENT OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

The revolutionaries who framed the Constitution were not so naive as to think that the freedom of a people could be safeguarded by

words on paper alone. Consequently, they took steps to insure that the state could never disarm the people and leave them helpless in the face of armed tyranny. What freedom there has been in America since that time has depended on the ability of Americans to defend their rights.

Today, the threat of state and right-wing terror remains great. Former Attorney General Mitchell warned 'This country has a history of vigilante action.' As the pressure for social change increases, the temptation to violent, illegal means of repression also increases.

Police in Marin County are relatively disciplined and law-abiding at this time. But what guarantee is there that one group or another of psychopaths won't get it into their heads to give Nixon, et al, a little extra-legal help? We advocate protecting ourselves against this sort of thing.

Possessing and training with firearms is no more dangerous than doing the same with automobiles. The important thing is not to take guns away from people but to educate people to know when and how to use them if and when a real need arises. It is much safer to have a weapon and never have to use it than to need one and not have it.

tion. We haven't forgotten Fred Hampton and Kent State.

But our opposition to illegal police tactics doesn't mean that we believe in obstructing police when they are carrying out legitimate services. On the contrary, we think that the members of a community should actively cooperate in the enforcement of just laws. To think that the police alone can stop wanton murderers, rapists, and heroin pushers is as foolish as thinking that the police are not necessary at all.

As police departments become more responsive to the needs of the community, rather than special interest groups or profiteers, their alienation from the community - especially from the youth and minorities - will also decrease, and combined community efforts will be more successful at stopping crime. We don't think it follows from the fact that someone is employed as a police officer that she or he is a mindless robot ready to follow any orders whatsoever. So we don't treat police as though they are mindless.

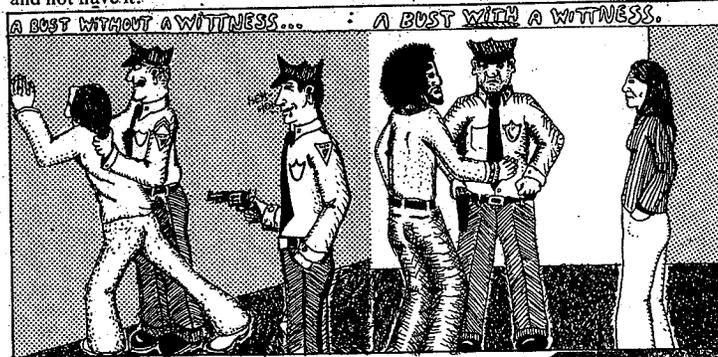


Standing Order from the Chief of the Berkeley Police to all the men on his force

Subject: Arrest Procedure

All officers are reminded that when an arrest is being made passers-by, onlookers, or potential witnesses have an inherent right to observe the arrest process and to communicate with the arrestee to the extent that such communication in no way interferes with the arrest process. Under ordinary arrest situations these witnesses should be able to hear any conversation between the officer and the prisoner.

Officers are expected to use good judgment in arrest situations and restrict the practice of demanding that onlookers leave the area only in those instances where the 'onlookers' definitely pose a threat to the safety of the officer, prisoner, or the witness.



4 SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE

The four-point program is designed to guard the community against police terror. It is formulated in response to the increasing tendency of dominant politicians to rely on physical force to political opposi-



White Panther Party Defends Welfare Recipient's Rights in Marin

The White Panther Party, despite our deep belief that we should survive by our own enterprises, realizes that a lot of poor people are having a hard time surviving in Marin, and should be entitled to welfare, especially considering the county budget, which runs into tens of millions of dollars annually.

Why should the poor people of the county not seek welfare, when no jobs are being created? Why should they be forced to move out of the county, only to leave room for more expensive housing to be built? It is obvious that the county government is going to make it as hard as possible for the poor and lower middle class to survive there.

In order to stop the county from cheating desperate people, we instituted a Welfare Rights Program. Previously people who sought welfare were treated like expendable peons, and while some were granted the minimal pittance, others were brushed off with lies that the county just didn't have the money. After a certain period of time they were told to either take the menial, below minimum wage jobs the county offered, or starve. Information was demanded, such as who you lived with, who the father of your unborn child was, and other irrelevant questions, most of which are illegal to begin with.

Our workers arrive at the county welfare offices at 8:00 AM every morning, Monday thru Friday, and spend the day talking to each person who comes in, offering their services if the person has a question about a certain regulation, or what to put on their application form. Because people are so often intimidated by the county's workers, we also offer to attend the interview with them, and demand that the person be helped according to the welfare code. This strategy has been amazingly successful. Quite often a person will come in who is destitute and will ask for temporary aid until they are able to lo-

cate some work. Even if they are granted aid they are refused immediate cash, and are told they will just have to wait for their check, even if it's for several days. When these people complain to us, we confront their worker and remind them about the petty cash fund that is supposed to be used to provide cash on the spot. In one case we had to go all the way to the administrative chief to obtain petty cash for a homeless man on crutches (who was later sent by his worker to spend the night at a crash pad in SF that doesn't exist).

After a person has been on general assistance for a month, he or she has to appeal their case before the county Board of Supervisors, and to prove to them why they should continue to receive aid. While the social worker, or legal representative (and the recipient) plead the case, these pompous baboons take it very lightly, preferring to sit back in their regal chairs, reading the scab Independent Journal newspaper, savoring a big cigar, and insisting that the person before them is simply too lazy to get a job. Even people with obvious medical problems, if they're granted a two-week extension, have to spend that time running around collecting letters from doctors, and spending hundreds of hours sitting in the welfare office waiting to see their workers about their case, in order to re-appeal it before the board.

Many people were harassed when they protested giving information concerning who they live with. They were told that nothing could be done for them because that information was required under the regulations. In one case, the eligibility worker tried to close the interview on that basis. Her supervisor was summoned, and she conceded that there was no law stating that an applicant had to give out that information. Much of our job is simply investigating what the law really states, and how the de-

partment contrives it under the name of the law. Many times if a person misses an appointment, their aid is cut off. If there is a valid excuse, it's up to the worker how much to harass the recipient. One man missed an appointment to get medical testing, which he had to do in order to be effectively treated. He had telephoned to let his worker know he would not be there. She insisted that he would be cut off, until one of our workers went to see the head of the department, who agreed that it would not be necessary to appeal the denial, and consequently he was reinstated.

Often when a person is awaiting another form of assistance, such as Unemployment Benefits, Social Security or Aid to the Totally Disabled, they apply for General Assistance, to survive on until they start getting their other payments. One man was expecting to get unemployment checks in two months, and applied for general assistance until then. His worker told him that he would have to sell his musical instruments and report for role call every morning at 8:00 AM in order to be eligible for GA. We convinced her that these stipulations were ridiculous because, 1) he was blind, therefore unemployable, and 2) he was a musician and needed his instruments to get any work that he could do.

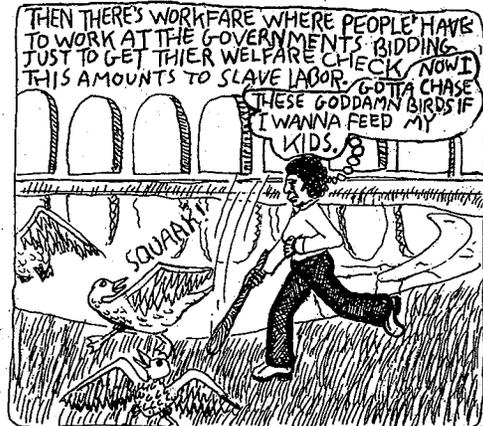
One of the most prevalent situations involves single mothers with children who can't work and can't afford child care. The welfare department likes to take special steps to discourage them. They're often harassed with unannounced home visits by social workers, threatened with impi-

sonment in a mental institution and loss of their children on the grounds that they're incompetent mothers. One woman, a victim of terminal cancer, tried for two weeks to get an Aid to Families With Dependent Children grant, but was consistently denied it because she didn't have birth certificates for her children. Her worker finally waived the need for birth certificates, but not before the poor woman was reduced to calling Suicide Prevention for help (the telephone number is clearly posted in both county welfare offices).

Although they claim to help as many people as possible, it's obvious that the county of Marin is just as determined to harass and intimidate poor people as they are determined to deny us tax money that is rightfully ours.

With the institution of the White Panther Party Welfare Rights program, the fascist Marin county administrators started to squirm since they realized that they weren't going to be able to control the people in the way they've been accustomed to. The bombing of the HEW offices in SF by the Women's Brigade of the Weather Underground is another example of desperate people dealing with a fascist institution that theoretically is 'helping' the poor.

Until the county rulers start making it possible for people in Marin to set up their own enterprises with tax money, we will continue to demand welfare rights for every ill, elderly or unemployed person in the county through this program.



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

Petitioners

what sort of mailbox the "director of Endorsements" should have, until myself, Ron Landberg and Tricia Egan asked for media support for Gary Nelson, a collective member who was arrested for witnessing a police incident while he was at a concert vending Grass Roots. Since we were representing the entire group of vendors, we assumed that we would get the cooperation we needed. Instead, a group of people who had no particular interest in the problems of street people insisted on outvoting us and tabling the motion for help.

The next night we brought a large group of vendors so that we couldn't

be outvoted. Our original procedure of sending only a couple of representatives to coalition meetings was based on trust that the coalition had our interests, as well as others, in mind. We decided that this trust was misplaced.

At the political organizing Committee, the Landberg plan was accepted with a recommendation to the financing Committee, motion made by Harry Lehman, that \$800 funding be provided.

Bureaucratic Obstruction

At the finance Committee, we set up a bank account, finally, and placed it subordinate to the Central Committee. At this point Michael Aldrich, who was fuming at not getting his way, introduced one of the

more sickening bureaucratic obstructions that I've had the opportunity to witness. He took advantage of a verbal slip that Rene Casanova made when he was explaining the idea of a central committee and claimed that the three working Committee representatives really weren't the Central Committee but that the entire group that met monthly was the Central Committee. [It's probably true that Rene accidentally said this, but it went against the understanding of Rene himself, the other committee representatives, all of the Panthers, the vendors, the Good Earth people and just about everyone else].

Michael Aldrich claimed that there was no Central Committee and implicitly rendered the Coalition incapable of action until the next month's meeting. This wouldn't have hurt him

since he operated through Amorphia which has the money to pay for his phone calls and printing expenses and so on. But it would have ruined us since many of our vendors were living in illegal conditions and had an emergency need for the house. Furthermore, the block organizing plan was already delayed and wasting more time was sheer stupidity.

A suggestion was made to appoint an interim Central Committee. Michael Aldrich was asked as Media representative first to be on it. He refused and was asked to appoint someone else. He still refused. The debate became bitter, and he threw a pathetic tantrum and began jumping up and down on a table and generally acted like a spoiled

continued on pg.



White Panther Party

Statement on the

Symbionese Liberation Army

The following statement was published a week after Patricia Hearst was kidnapped by the Symbionese Liberation Army.

The FBI had just begun their insidious house-to-house intrusions, asking people to give up their civil rights with the lame plea, "Don't you want to help Patty?" The Community was buzzing with talk of three million dollars worth of free food, and the glamour of young Robin Hoods. Many organizations and just about every individual who ever got their name in print came out with some form of statement on the situation, usually a frightened, blanket attack on the whole thing. An objective critical analysis was needed and that was the aim of this statement. Since then we've seen the Black Panther Party begin a detailed expose of the SLA in their newspaper, *The Black Panther*, proving that Donald De Freeze was in collaboration with Los Angeles Police Department, for some time prior to the beginnings of the SLA. We've also witnessed the cruel demise of six individuals, burned alive by the technologically efficient Los Angeles SWAT force. The sobering realization that the furnaces of the Nazis can be recreated here with just a little bit of justification (or better, fabrication), impels us to reprint our statement in this issue of *Touch*.

PLOT TO DISCREDIT THE REVOLUTION

Sometimes someone comes into one of our communes and does something so irrational and so dangerous that we can only wonder whether the person is a fool or a pig. Usually, the explanation given for this sort of action is that the person had good intentions but overlooked some of the consequences of the act. About all we can do in these cases is to stop trusting the person. Speculation about his true motives gets nowhere.

Evidently, our communities are now faced with a similar problem as a result of the actions of the Symbionese Liberation Army. There is no way of knowing who actually got the idea to kill Marcus Foster. All we can do is point out that an assassination with a political purpose that is not clear to nor supported by even the oppressed part of the population corresponds to the reactionary falsification of what a communist revolutionary strategy would be.

The seizing of Patty Hearst has so far not been so disastrous a disgrace, and the damages have not been so serious. Many young women have been treated much more brutally, and held for longer, on demands that are even more difficult to meet (such as high bails on people from poor families) for no more a crime than, say, smoking marijuana.

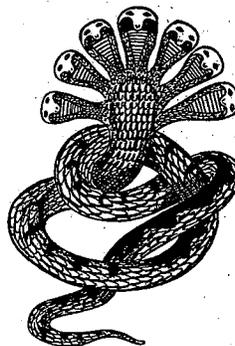
She is probably getting better treatment from the SLA than our people get from the police in similar circumstances. And certainly it would be hard for California's judicial system to claim that it acts with more justice than the SLA "court system" in the light of the treatment given to George Jackson, Ruchell Magee and the San Quentin Six, for instance. So the SLA is far from being the main problem that our communities have to deal with.

But on the other hand, the presumption of the SLA that they can do without the organized guidance of the people and act on their own subjective perception of the needs of the community, places them much closer to fascism than to the White Panther Party or any reliable vehicle for organizing against fascism.

This presumption, assuming that their purpose is not actually to discredit the "new left" to justify attacks against us, leads them to look for militaristic shortcuts to revolution, and to ignore the actual struggles that people are engaged in. The program the group has put forward is much too sloganistic to secure trust, and the specific demand for extra food for people registered with the state is pleasant, but doesn't indicate a very deep analysis of the nature of capitalism.

Poor people don't need welfare payments - we need means of production, distribution, transportation, communication and information processing so that we can transform the business of our communities from capitalist swindles that exploit workers, cheat consumers, perpetuate unemployment, and require fascist repression in order to keep the rackets functioning - into people's enterprises that the workers control in order to insure that all income goes to pay wages and expenses, thereby eliminating profiteering, lowering prices, maximizing jobs and making possible a community based on love, knowledge and meaningful work in which everyone can survive in freedom.

In the meantime we can kill or seize every black academic and rich young woman in the country and it is not going to help build revolution the least bit. There is the possibility that the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army are genuinely trying to serve the people. It is crucial that we are careful not to let our criticism drift into condemnation. Even though there is already one person dead as a result of a tragic tactical blunder, it would be wrong to regard even mistakes of this magnitude outside the scope of criticism and self-criticism. Any mistake in revolution can cost lives. The important thing is always how we respond following the mistake.



The seven headed cobra - a symbol of revolution or treachery? It's use in the 1960s by the anti-white US organization of Ron Karenga during their campaigns against the Black Panther Party and its use now by the police agent Donald De Freeze lends credence to the latter.

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We're communists because we believe in serving the people in the present while we simultaneously build institutions that will serve the people in the future.

COMMITMENT

As a matter of fact, a better means for distinguishing communists from liberals is not in terms of attitudes towards short-run benefits but in terms of how much effort is put into working for any benefits at all. Statistically, it is certainly the case that communists and liberals have similar immediate goals, but that while liberals limit their efforts to what can be done conveniently and expediently, communists are willing to spend

longer hours and take far greater risks to bring these goals about. In a way, a liberal is a part-time communist. We are communists because we serve the people full-time.

THE FUTURE

The United States is entering an era in which the future of humanity will be determined consciously and, if we're lucky, rationally. It is possible for the beauty of life on this planet to be realized in a deeper way than at any previous time in history. There is no good reason why the human race can't within this century move beyond war, misery, and poverty.

It is not likely, though, that the people of the world will reach this plateau through the efforts of a single dictator. Realizing this goal depends on all of us learning to make fair deals with each other, not to cheat each other, how to mutual-



ly satisfy our needs. This calls for more sensitivity and understanding than we are accustomed to expect of individuals - or ourselves.

The problem is now to develop this understanding and sensitivity. Capitalism very definitely stifles it.

Three characteristics are necessary for revolutionaries to succeed against this capitalist stultification. Courage, intelligence and generosity. Without all three it is doubtful that one will escape the capitalist trap.

The era we are entering is the era of cybernetics. The fate of humanity is becoming increasingly less accidental. Capitalism cannot control the people of this country, not only because it is morally degenerate, but because it is fundamentally contradictory. The Nixon innovations, such as wage-price controls, are essentially the replacement of capitalism by national socialism, or fascism. The argument becomes not communism versus capitalism, but communism versus fascism. We believe that it will be sufficient for the American people to realize what is happening for there to be a thorough, revolutionary reorganization of the mechanisms of political and economic control.

We are communists because we do not want the people of the United States to enter the era of cybernetics crippled with an irrational economic system.

A Worker's Story
CONTINUED FROM
PAGE 7

neath department was reasonable and so we changed it so the only time the food was kept at the house was when we were waiting for people to pick it up at the house. Which is the same day we buy the food.

As for the parking complaint, that's ridiculous because the people coming to the house don't all come at 9:00 or 12:00 but when they can stop by to pick it up which is quick and doesn't create stores that people are bound and determined to park and wander around for hours, but just pick up their weekly order.

We sent these arguments to the Zoning Administrator and applied for the permit since we met all the criteria for it. He refused and said that if we pushed it further he would ask the Town Attorney to step in. Which in reality meant they were gonna send some gang of "supposed" peace officers to shut us down. Which in gangster talk comes down to send a couple of the boys over there to pay them a visit and show those guys who's boss around here.

Then we sent a letter back to the Zoning Administrator saying that we think that we've met all the criteria and that we should get the permit, and that even if we didn't we were sure something could be worked out.

He replied back saying that since it was obvious that we hadn't stopped operating because of what he said before, that he deemed necessary to ask the Town Attorney to take action within 10 days.

The Showdown was now he was calling our bluff, giving us a test. But the FC is a Revolutionary form of people's enterprise. Why back down, now we'll show them the Power of the People. We stayed open and filed for a new Council hearing.

So the City government postponed the whole thing until the hearing, which gave us plenty of time to spread the news and to build the Conspiracy.

**CONSPIRE
TO SURVIVE**

By the time the hearing came up it was almost one year to the day of the last one. By this time instead of us forgetting about it (like they hoped we would) we had organized incredible amounts of support for the FC though TV, newspapers in Marin and we also covered it here in the first issue of *Touch*. We printed 5,000 copies which sold out.

At the hearing they all expressed the opinion they didn't think they should give us the permit, but we had met all the points of the criteria, so they handed it over. And they called a meeting for the next night to change the regulation so

that this embarrassing thing couldn't happen again.

A People's Victory in Corte Madera four years ago.

The food conspiracy really had it's beginning there on Willow Ave.



But shortly after all that controversy, we were faced with our first eviction as a collective working together. Yes, here we were, people 30 in number who decided in their liberal manner that now that the fun was over, that they should all split up, pick sides and get what they could out of each other, and in the middle of all this, leaving the Food Conspiracy and all its work for a few of the real workers to do.

So the next phase was Sherman Waring, hard worker but seldom noticed. He struggled all that winter trying to find trucks and people to help him carry on this vital service.

Working very closely with Sherman was Terry Lane who was fighting with the Marin Youth Authority for his freedom, because of their mandatory regulation of high school attendance. With the school systems rapidly aging and its relevance to Terry's life almost non-existent.

Terry and Sherman started working together on the food conspiracy program for his credit at Mewah Mountain with the other students helping. This alternative school was the answer to Terry's problem and kept him out of Marin's Youth Prison Camps.

But since the FC lost the Willow Ave. house because of the live-in landlord's choice to leave, we were faced with a new landlord in Mill Valley who wanted to overcharge us with his rent insanity crisis and expected us to enjoy the shitty apt. with all its termites, open rat infested sewer ditch and many other novelties of this expensive and beautiful Marin.

Needless to say, the landlord wasn't our best friend (he didn't even join the FC) let alone like us being there.

And it was on this scene that I broke in. There I was, casually walking down through the streets of Mill Valley. Dave Kraft and I had been living in Detroit, "The Murder Capital of the World."

Both strung out on smack when Synanon flashed over all the news media saying things like this: Leave Detroit, come back with us to Calif., forget your life of crime, get your head together—but it's hard, demanding, and hair-cuts are all up to you. The next thing I knew, I was on a plane leaving my debts

behind. (one thing junkies always have).



But of course, Synanon wasn't like any of the hippy dreams we wanted out of Cal., so here we were walking away from the Street Ministry that morning in April '72, our heads shaved and all (part of Synanon's reorientation program). We've had enough trouble already after being stopped 12 to 15 times between LA and SF for being AWOL. It seemed almost everyone in Cal thought we were escaped crazies or some other kind of Nut.

But when we got to Safeway, there were two people vending *Touch*. We didn't know what their trip was but we didn't have a trip, so we asked.



The first vendor, a young but freaked out freak, started pointing to the guitar, hash pipe, rifle symbol. He said that's the White Panther Party's, and we said far out we're from Michigan where the party was started.

Just as this was going on Jan Kaplan walked up and freaked out that we were from Michigan. The next thing we were at the MV apt front lawn with about three or four other freaks in a circle lighting our spirits.

Just then the door of the WPP apt slammed shut and locked. They at the time thought we were some kind of Hare Krishna freaks or some other kind of Religious debaters which they didn't have time to deal with.

But when Jan got them to open the door and let us in, we told them our story and explained that we were really freaks trapped in these shaved head bodies and that we were dead on the streets, no sleeping bags, a lot of weird flash clothes and old heroin habits we'd like to have stay that way, old.

So they asked us if we could sell newspapers. I said that in our situation we could sell anything, so we started selling *Touch*.

Soon we had sold enough papers so that the 3 Panthers left, Dave and I, and Jan, Country, and various others in and out of the collective moved to a house in Sausalito for that summer. One of Terry Lane's teachers from Mewah Mountain rented us her house for June, July and August at \$400.00 a month. It was expensive but if we all sold papers we could make it.



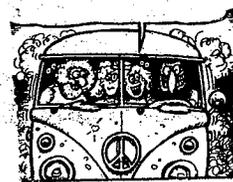
Jan along with her friend Karen Lee Taylor started opening the Food Conspiracy. Still with the same problem Sherman had, trucks breaking down all the time and no backup money or trucks. Jan's the woman who did the half hour show on KQED about the FC. That was another hectic summer for the FC.

We were evicted from this house that September and the teacher turned on us poor people and tried to confiscate our \$400.00 deposit. We Freaked Out; took her to court and held a people's trial, too at Mewah Mountain, which netted us just between \$100 and \$160.

Just before we had to leave the Sausalito house in Sept., we met up with our Corte Madera landlord. He was worried before when we were evicted that the Party wasn't economically viable and in being so, just a farce. But living in Sausalito from selling papers convinced him that we weren't just people scamming liberals for money.

So we worked out a deal to move back into the Corte Madera house. We were soon up to 18 people again. We had trucks that we were able to use so the Conspiracy was back home. We put together the new *Touch* number 4, and started the campaign for an economically viable, non-exploitive, People's Ballroom.

But on the first of February the house was once again pulled out from under our feet. So we decided to expand from Marin to SF and Berkeley. So we all lived on the streets or crashed at friend's houses throughout the Bay Area.



This was the spring and summer of '73 with us all over the place and inflation skyrocketing. The Food Conspiracy really started to take off. We soon worked our way into what is now the Recruiting house for new people coming to work with us, in Berkeley.

And this is where the reorganizing of the Conspiracy happened. After shuffling and reshuffling along with the Food prices jumping up and down, Terry Phillips and Kathryn Roll changed the weekly Fruits and Vegies and cheese order and eventually worked it out to do dry goods, cheeses, eggs, and individual fruits and vegetables all weekly and this is what we have today.

**The Food Conspiracy
A People's Enterprise**

Here and now in Feb '74, the FC has 7 workers surviving on a subsistence level and the latest opening in way of new jobs is the door to door organizer who talks to people about joining and follows up on interested people and gets paid for their labor by a joining fee.

The WPP just received the lease on a warehouse in SF from the Haight Free Clinic. This warehouse is a great achievement because being used to the streets makes it easy to face eviction after eviction like we have, even though over the years two of our distribution centers have taken us in. It's nice to have a place for the conspiracy with a lease. But I'm sure this, just as everything else, is also not permanent.



The middle of the last summer '73, the FC was on Haste St., in Berkeley, along with about 40 other people living there, too, who were working on the '74 Marijuana Initiative. Needless to say, the house was slightly overcrowded.

So we called to various other groups, collectives, communes or whatever, for what available space they had to put some people. The Good Earth Commune in the Haight took six of us. They had got together with Sherman when he was running the FC out of the Fillmore after the February 1st deadline at the Corte Madera house in the winter of '73.

The Good Earth has survived everything that happened to the once peace, love, flowers, heads and hippies days. Which has

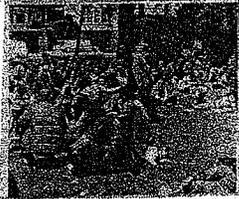
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mostly been a lot of Police Repression & spying, nark squad raids, floods of speed and smack and hip capitalism.

This union of Panthers and Good Earth formed the coalition to revive the Haight. This community without any political Party, but a lot of varied community groups was going somewhere but mostly getting nowhere.

At the same time as all this

the struggles with Amorphia was going on, we together did a neighborhood block party at the beginning of the Campaign on October 1 (then moved on to a People's Rock & Roll Concert in the Panhandle, the first legal concert in almost seven years and at the same time a neighborhood block party, with a bake sale, garage sale, etc.).



When the organizing of the Oct. Initiative drive block party started, we went around to the people who lived there and asked them what they thought about it. Of course they responded, yea, yea, yea, close the streets, we're all ready to get together.

But the Police also were organizing the store owners with their own petition saying that it would fuck up their businesses. And the right wing Chronicle and Examiner were giving it super coverage. Which we didn't need for a small neighborhood gathering.

But eventually we held a press conference and called off the party in the press and got together with the people and stereo music over the radio being broadcast from KPOO in SF by our own street freak marijuana worker DJ Dave Deuce! There was a chess master there playing 7 people at once. The People's chess player, Alan Benson. But after all the negotiation it was worked out that we didn't get the streets, but we did get a great sidewalk tokedown.



We wanted to have live Rock & Roll there but didn't get it. So we went for the Panhandle for the concert.

And once again the bureaucrats couldn't take it and freaked out. I said that the noise of amplified music would disturb the neighborhood and the three local hospitals, UC, St. Mary's and Harkness.

So we called them on this card in their game. And it didn't bother nobody, actually some people came & boogied.

The day of the concert was Nov. 4. It started at one o'clock. Window and Me were the bands. When the music started people came crawling out of most everywhere, in the Haight. It was a joyous, and sunshiny beautiful gig.



The concert altogether cost the bands and coordinators \$140.00. So we announced this to the crowd of at peak 400 people and the marij. workers collected donations for the gig and we not only paid for the working of the generator but also got to pay the bands. Yes, the \$140 cost was raised, the bands played and got paid a subsistence wage for their survival and the park was left cleaner than when we got there.

This is what we all have been waiting for--economically viable, non-exploitive, people's concerts, and not just another Cocaine Superstar Rip-off. Someone saw that "pig" money raiser who is always either telling some one about the high quality of his shows or having one of his ass-kissing dubs do it.

And of course he knows that this kind of shit could easily close him down. I mean really, why pay \$7.00 to see Graham's rent a pigs push you and your friends back in line at Winterland when you could get paid by that's the kind of shit you dig at your concerts. But personally I dig down home Rock & Roll.

Who needs Winterland, the Cow Palace, or Polish English or American Super Studs? All you really need is to plug into some good high energy Rock & Roll, Rock & Roll, Rock & Roll, Rock & Roll, Fuck Kezar, Fuck \$7.00, Fuck Bill Graham!



But anyway, you probably are wondering why I'm here. So back to the FC.

During all this, we also were trying to work out a deal with a hip businessman named Asa down in Palo Alto.

He had a Natural Foods Restaurant and wanted to open up a Food Co-op and needed workers. We thought it would be great to have a people's wholesaler where organic farmers could sell their foods and the Food Conspiracies could buy organic grains & honeys & stuff.

So we headed on down there with a couple of the same 40 people to help. We set up a house with his backing and started working at Pan's restaurant.

The food co-op tried to put a lease down on an old Safeway that had closed, (how righteous--Revolutionary Justice) and had been turned into a muffler shop which in turn closed. We got to walk through and dream about the possibilities.

The Good Earth workers could put in asphalt, and the electricians could do the rewiring, and a lot of people could work. But the lease fell through, and things didn't work out, and Asa just wasn't ready for what we were trying to do.

For those of you who don't know the basics of the Food Conspiracy, we'll go into that next.



Worker control of non-profit, non-exploitive, community service enterprise or Communism vs Fascism.



Why do people constantly hassle poor Safeway. They have a very nice store, a very nice parking lot, plenty of plastic food for you junk food consumer's habits, that's why. Who needs it?

When you get right down to it, all you need is food. Do you remember (this is for the younger generation and their parents who might remember scenes familiar to this) sitting at the dinner table and getting up leaving your peas and carrots on your plate and your mother saying, now you sit back down there and eat all those peas and carrots and so forth. The people in China are starving and you are wasting your food.

To tell you just how crazy this all is, if people in China let's say, were eating just brown rice they'd be better off than you, because your frozen peas and Q's, TV dinners and low calory pop doesn't have any vitamins at all. Man does not live by Plastic alone, unless he's an American.



Why are the United Farm Workers being ripped off so bad by people like Safeway when you are paying Safeway almost 1/3 of your income.

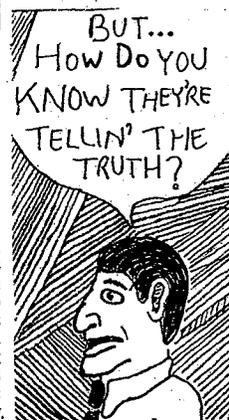
Because Safeway doesn't just buy their farm foods, they own large tracts of land or are in cohorts with Large Monopoly farm owners who pay Mexican & Chicano farm workers next to nothing.

Then the land owners jump the price, pass it on to the truckers who then throw it into Freezer Semi trucks, which immediately kills the food, takes it to Safeway, waters it down with hoses so it looks fresh, and sells it to you at ten times the cost. And the only way they are getting away with shit like this is because you think it's the only "Safeway"! Profits is the game they're playing.



Now the Food Conspiracy runs like so. You pick up a form either from one of our distribution centers or from a vendor or from a friend.

Then you pick out what you can afford in Fruits & Vegies, dry foods, and detergents, shampoos or whatever.



You fill out the order form, add up the total and put it with the payment in an envelope and send it to the distribution center or

the warehouse by Saturday afternoon.

The Food Conspiracy workers then compile a gigantic Bay Area Goodies list and jump in their truck and go to the different wholesalers and pick up the dry goods and wet goods. Then at 4 a.m., one or two of the hairy things, "righteous Food Conspiracy workers" rides to the SF produce market and picks out your fruits & vegies. Not by what was the Food advertisement they heard last, but with reason. What's fresh and available that people ordered, and with this being a Bay Area Conspiracy, you usually get what you want, except for Cracker Jacks.

But anyways, they drive the food back on in to the warehouse, then they just divide it up. Then you pick it up at your Distribution Center or have it delivered Tuesday of each and every week.



Thus ending the alienation of the customer facing the ever threatening parking lots, store bought sweets, and overall the Cash register with its familiar \$56.86 and thank you for shopping at Safeway. Also ending worker alienation because in the FC every worker gets paid only a subsistence wage, and the more orders, the more jobs.



Now I'd just briefly like to talk, talk, talk, about the Anarchist Food Conspiracies. Some of you have probably tried these beautiful "coming together of the Community" energy rip-offs. Basically, they just don't believe in paying their workers, but in Volunteer labor. Meaning if you have idle time come and join in once a month, other wise, fuck off.

This was okay at first, but if we are really serious about offering people an alternative to Safeway, it's not very practical.

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People's Ballroom

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And on the other hand, the supporters of the pig's ballroom - behind everyone's back, never mentioning the matter in public - carefully drew the "liberals" into their scheme, finally persuading them to break their publically expressed pledge in order to gladden the hearts of the "professionals" who run Marin County from the back rooms of the civic center, like so many hogs feeding from the public trough.

The First Treacherous Sign

The first hint of betrayal occurred on October 17. Michael Wornum, the ambitious and prosperous careerist whose noblesse oblige affectations lead him to take positions that his intellect does not fully grasp, kept insisting on his support in principle, he mysteriously refrained from rebutting the shaky objections of Peter Arrigoni (who at that time was still claiming that there wasn't money enough for a ballroom and that one wasn't needed). Instead he kept reiterating that the "timing" of the proposal was bad, as though this overshadowed in his mind everything else being discussed.

At first it seemed that this was just another case of a well-educated reformist impatiently lecturing poor people on the proper way we should go about obtaining government cooperation. It is axiomatic among liberals that our awkwardness in dancing the minuet of governmental affairs is the primary reason for poverty in the United States. Accordingly, we are urged to embark on all manner of campaigns to write Congressmen, fill out application forms, sit in waiting rooms, attend public hearings, vote regularly, and at all times remain polite.

When these campaigns fail, it is always because someone sat in the wrong office or uttered the wrong phrase. To suggest that there is more to the politics of poverty than this is quickly dismissed as radicalism - which, as we all have so often been told, will only hurt our cause.

There was, it later turned out, an opportunistic, as well as a dogmatic, motive for Mr. Wornum's maneuver. He was supporting Peter Arrigoni for supervisor, and he didn't want any such issue as a rock and roll ballroom to cost his colleague the "youth vote" so near to elections. This tender solicitude of a liberal for a Conservative was later to be rewarded when Mr. Arrigoni declined to oppose Mr. Wornum for the Assembly seat of Mr. Bagley, but this gets ahead of the story.

The Pacific Sun Delivered the 2nd Blow

A second blow against the ballroom was an attack by the Pacific Sun, the liberal weekly whose routine flippancies evidently delight enough wealthy Marinites to keep publisher Steve McNamara in a position to raise funds to keep his paper coming out.

Instead of explaining the goals of the program, the Sun made a few cracks along the lines of "a group of men calling themselves the Marin Performing Arts Guild." Why the women should be ignored, and why it was implied that the group might not actually be the Marin Performing Arts Guild was not stated in the article. However, the fact that people had dared to videotape the proceedings (an excellent means for bringing public meetings to the attention of people who can't be present, by the way) was stressed.

A thorough article explaining the issue was later rejected for publication by the Sun on the grounds that there was no room in the "special election issue" (which did include, however, a full page devoted to Richard Nixon's astrological chart).

The explanation of this liberalism also came later. When Michael Wornum announced his candidacy for assemblyman, Alice Yarish, the reporter who covered the October meeting was named as his campaign manager, evidently to endear the candidate to what she, flippant as always, insists on calling "women's lib". Apparently, the affinity between these "libs" was already deep in October. The refusal of the Sun to publish the story on the ballroom not only left a segment of the Marin community unaware of what was being proposed, but it left the way clear for the Independent Journal to attack Barbara Boxer for her support of the ballroom in their pre-election day editorial.

This attack contained at least three distortions, but since no other paper had carried the story, these distortions prevailed, and Mrs. Boxer, who had won the primary, lost the November runoff to Mr. Arrigoni, the liberal backed Republican. To complete the irony, Steve McNamara, following the election, offered the loser a job writing for the Sun, and Mrs. Boxer, still believing that complicity with liberals is the road to political power, failed to regard this as an insult, and accepted.

Meanwhile, Ballroom Support became universal.

Between October and April, the next time the ballroom issue was raised, support for the ballroom became practically universal. There were very few people who could not see the advantages of the proposal. For one small part of a county budget totalling about \$50,000,000, the Marin Performing Arts Guild could create jobs, lower ticket prices, establish a community center, prove that hippie youth are a productive and not a parasitical part of the community, and demonstrate a use of tax funds that could become a model for future "anti-poverty" programs.

The urgency of an alternative to the Republican Party's theory of welfare was obvious. Already the vicious fascist plan for workfare slavery was marshalling its forces and setting up its first experiments. The free enterprise myth was completely shattered by wage and price controls, loans to lockheed, and subsidies to private employers to hire welfare recipients.

If the capitalist politicians were willing to use tax funds to make people work for profiteers, then why couldn't these same funds be used so that we could set up our own economically viable non-exploitative enterprises? Only those theorists that think there is something un-American about working for each other instead of for wealthy businessmen could object.

But as support for the ballroom plan grew, so did the schemes of the conservatives, and so, as night follows into day, did the hypocrisy of the liberals.

Michael Wornum was refusing to meet with us. When TOUCH criticized the relationship between Arrigoni and himself he claimed that the White Panther Party had "declared war." Arnold Baptiste was also staying out of communication with the Marin Performing Arts Guild.

The Reactionary Counterplan

A meeting with County Administrator John Barrows gave to the MPAG the first hint of the reactionary counterplan. Barrows claimed, "I don't believe in social programs". But he was willing to concede that a ballroom was a necessity.

This already represented a major change in the line of the Civic Center elite. During the course of the meeting it became apparent that even this, the highest level of county government, would be willing to support the ballroom plan as long as the concept of maximizing employment for counterculture "dropouts" was dropped.

Since this was the essence of the strategy of "survival through service to the people" this was not something that WPP members would be willing to negotiate away. So from then onward, it became clear

that there were now two irreconcilable plans for ballrooms in Marin County.

Meanwhile, meetings between the Marin Youth Commission and the MPAG were actualizing. Arnold Baptiste's suggestion that a "contractual relationship" be established. The Youth Commission, and its coordinator Doug Bosco, assured the MPAG that they were not trying to run the ballroom, only to facilitate its creation. On the other hand, it was felt by everyone that this project could help to concretize the relationship of the Youth Commission to Marin's youth, a relationship which was pretty vague at the time.

Agreement was reached on a plan by which the ballroom would be administered by a Board of three Youth Commission members and two MPAG workers up until completion of construction, and that this Board would then expand to include four MPAG workers and three YC members. This agreement eliminated the threat of bureaucratic control.

The Marin Youth Commission - A Panacea for the People

The Youth Commission was spawned in response to riots that had scared the supervisors a few years back. With their usual political dexterity, the Board of Supervisors paid an adult Youth Coordinator to try to persuade high school students to attend meetings of the Commission to which the students had been appointed as members. Most times, a quorum wasn't present.

Occasionally an issue such as the controversy over funds to the WPP operated Music Switchboard stirred the Commission into action, but the Barrows machine quickly overruled it in these cases and reaffirmed its meaninglessness. Now there seemed to be some chance that effort made in the direction of the YC might be worthwhile.

Finally, meetings were arranged with Wornum and Baptiste. Wornum again agreed to support the project in principle, but continued to object to the immediate two thousand. Baptiste reaffirmed his support for the project, particularly now that the Youth Commission had been brought into it more fully.

Gary Giacomini appeared to be solidly behind the project still. In fact, he offered to try to persuade the recalcitrant Arrigoni and Roumiguere to support it. But even without their support the three vote majority was still clear. A fourth vote, however, would have been necessary to release the two thousand immediately.

Right before the April meeting, the people's ballroom plan received an enor-

mous boost in the form of labor support. It is often and falsely thought that the labor unions are a bastion of reaction. Actually, labor unions are in general being forced into a very difficult position as a result of having a very deep responsibility to their workers coupled with an increasingly desperate position versus the employers.

They can neither count on cooperative attitudes from the capitalists, nor on the ill-conceived schemes of revolution presented to them by radicals. Their leadership, vested as its own interests may be, are engaged in searching for a way out of the trap which fascism is gradually springing.

Musicians Union and Marin Labor Council endorsed the People's Ballroom

The Musicians Union, and following that, the Marin Labor Council, endorsed the proposal for a people's ballroom. The endorsement was made in recognition that all musicians employed might not be union, but that the house bands would join and that other musicians would be urged to join. This step towards the creation of jobs was welcomed.

But as the MPAG prepared for the April meeting a very ominous event occurred. At a meeting with Youth Commissioners and MPAG members, Gary Giacomini disclosed that he was not planning to support the project in principle since he was afraid that the Nixon budget cuts would mean that no funds would be available in June. This horrified the plan's supporters, and an urgent phone call reminding him of his commitments made when he was running for office won the promise he would in fact support the request for an immediate two thousand, but that his support for the project in principle would be conditional on the availability of funds.

Since the WPP members regarded it as a foregone conclusion that there would be considerable funds available to Marin in June, this was seen as sufficient. But the MPAG went into the April meeting with a very suspicious attitude. After all, the project was now hanging on the slender thread of the integrity of three liberal Marin supervisors, who were on record in support of the ballroom, but who were mysteriously uncooperative now that they realized that their individual promises taken together comprised a majority vote - enough to guarantee actual funding.

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People's Ballroom CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE Tax Funds for People's Enterprises Prevents the Rich from Getting Richer

In April the confrontation between the two theories of how tax funds should be used became public. By then, the backroom professionals in the Civic Center had realized the implications of the MPAG plan. If tax funds were used to provide impoverished citizens with the means of production, then this would eliminate poverty, and it would reduce government welfare expenditures and it would certainly ease tensions in the community, but and this but outweighed in their eyes all the advantages it would prevent wealthy investors from making a profit.

Still, the art of capitalist government in the era of powerful trade unions, a literate population, and a tremendous preponderance of people without significant capital is an arduously acquired skill. It consists of phrasing all proposals in a style of doubletalk that assures the wealthy that profiteering will remain sacrosanct, but avoids mentioning this main goal so as to delude the unwealthy into seeing the proposal as in their interests.

Thus, when Supervisor Robert Roumiguierre, the Reagan appointee who replaced the deceased Supervisor McGinnis, stunned the audience by announcing the Barrows plan for a two million dollar "flatfloor auditorium" in lieu of the people's ballroom, he never said a word about the advantages that this plan would hold for profiteers. Rather than point out that this would keep the industry under their autocratic control, he stressed that this amount of money would be required to set up an adequate ballroom.

Supervisor Arrigoni, whose reelection was partly due to his opposition to the people's ballroom (or more precisely, to the deceptive way that the issue was handled by Marin's media), followed Roumiguierre with an exposition of his newly developed solicitude for the rock and roll culture.

He was now doubting that a ballroom could be created for as little money as the MPAG was asking, although his doubts did not rest on any specific objections to the detailed budget he had been presented with. Naturally, he offered no explanation for his sudden realization that a county funded ballroom was needed after all, nor did he thank the White Panther Party for pointing this out to him.

Having put himself forward as an expert witness

on why the White Panther Party was wrong about the need for a ballroom six months earlier, he was now posing as an expert on why the White Panther Party was wrong about what sort of ballroom was needed.

The ritual of the Public Hearing

In order to understand the course the debate took from here it is important to understand the "public hearing" as a medium for debate. Although nearly every issue is decided in backrooms, it is politically necessary for politicians to make a pretense of listening to their constituents before spending their money. In most localities, this process has degenerated into ritual.

Roumiguierre and Arrigoni was negligible. They remained confident that there were stronger forces than logic on their side.

And there were.

At some point, in some backroom the liberal majority had been counseled to refuse to make their endorsement in principle. It now developed that such an endorsement, in the eyes of this trio, would violate some newly found rule of protocol. Implicit in their turnabout was the fact that Michael Wornum's often repeated advice about "endorsement in principle" was, by the supervisor's own ideas, regarded as misguided. Wornum made no apology.

Instead, these liberals limited their support to vot-

es would be necessary.

Repudiation by the Youth Commission

But it is always possible for a liberal to find a level of despicability impossible to anticipate by those who are not artists in the field. After having spent months persuading the MPAG that the Youth Commission should be included in the ballroom plan, these dignified urbane and eminently respectable public officials now began pressuring the high school students on the Youth Commission to repudiate what they had first been urged to support.

Comments were made leading these already con-

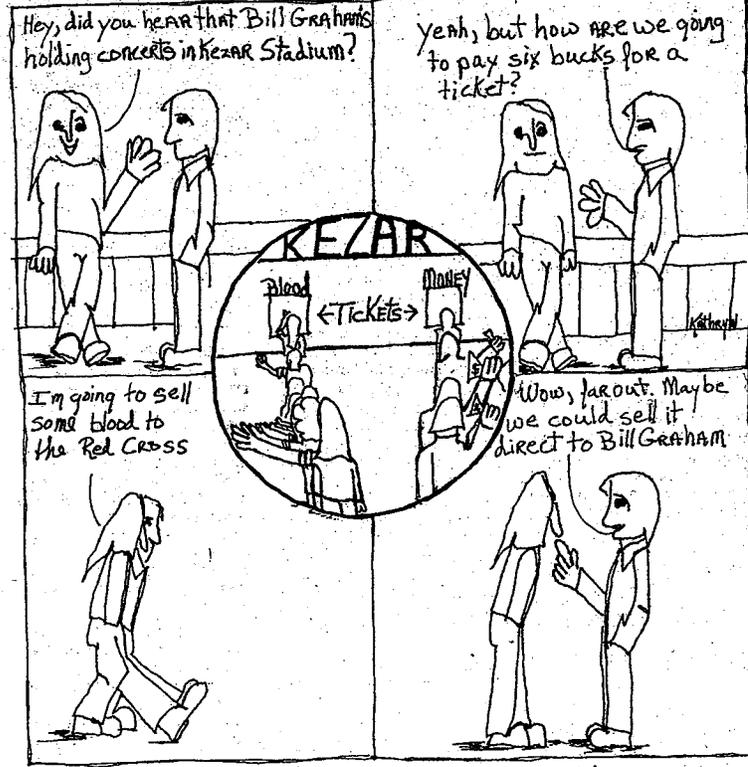
that he found himself in the midst of.

These measures were combined with media pressure implying that the ballroom would be much more likely to become a reality if the Youth Commission would repudiate its support of the White Panther proposal. The IJ carefully quoted Robert Roumiguierre's charge that the Youth Commission was "being led down the primrose path" by "the wrong group". Barbara Boxer wrote a long story for the Sun, which had suddenly decided to suspend its censorship on news about the ballroom, praising the Youth Commission and calling the White Panther Party a "political liability".

Youth Commission Putsch

Shortly before the June budget hearings the Youth Commission voted to withdraw their support for the Panther plan, and to ask the Board of Supervisors to build a ballroom under Youth Commission control, which they had been led to believe was a likelihood.

The vacillation of the Youth Commission shouldn't, of course, have presented too much of a problem. Certainly, no one seriously expected a group whose members themselves knew that they were created merely as a gesture towards youth by the supervisors to effectively maneuver their way through the pressures engendered by a controversial proposal as the People's ballroom. The inclusion of the Youth Commission into formal management was made with the carefully stipulated proviso that only the members who actually worked on the ballroom, the three directors, would have any decision making power, and that this power couldn't be overruled by the Youth Commission. This precluded an unformed group of new appointees and blase members from interfering with the work of their more active colleagues.



In Marin, for instance, the forty plus people who wanted to address the ballroom issue were kept waiting for over two hours. This show of contempt for the citizenry is sufficient reason for a general boycott of these farcical hearings, and - as is well known - most people absolutely refuse to bother with these political affairs.

So by the simple mechanism of not accurately scheduling public hearings, and manipulating agendas to the disadvantage of certain groups, the people are effectively excluded from even this minimal participation in their own governance.

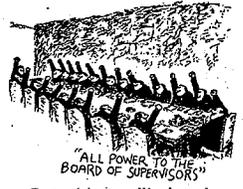
In this case, though, people from extremely varied walks of life took the time and trouble to present their case for a people's ballroom, in opposition to the pigs ballroom plan that had suddenly arisen. The effect on the awareness of

ing for the immediate two thousand we had asked for. But this was an obviously phoney move, since it was clearly prearranged that neither Arrigoni nor Roumiguierre would provide the fourth vote. So the overall result was that our liberal supporters were willing to vote for a proposal that needed four votes, and thus failed, but at the same time they refused to vote on the proposal that needed only three votes, and would have succeeded.

So the meeting closed bitterly, with nothing being settled. There was still, though, a clear and again publically expressed commitment in support of the project. Supporters of the ballroom were extremely sceptical by this time, and were disappointed at not being able to start work. But at least it seemed that the people's ballroom, rather than the pigs ballroom was slated to receive funding in June when only three

fused young people to believe that if they dropped their support for the original plan, then a ballroom might be built under their control. Since the new appointees to the commission had been carefully screened so as not to include anyone active in any sort of people's program, this new idea began to be believed by the Youth Commission, preposterous as everyone else knew it to be.

Janice Fuhrman, the first Youth Commission supporter of the ballroom, was offered a job in Arnold Baptiste's office, and this unfortunately reduced her suspicion of that politician's integrity. Doug Bosco, the adult coordinator of the Youth Commission, was offered a promotion to the job of Director of the Department of Human Relations, and if this didn't influence his feelings on the ballroom, at least it made it unlikely that he would protest against the treachery



But this vacillation became crucial when the liberal supervisors stooped so low as to use it as a pretext for reneging on their public commitments to the ballroom supporters. Thus, in June, the supervisors voted unanimously to refuse support for the People's ballroom. Since chairman Arnold Baptiste did everything he could to prevent debate, it was hard to pin the supervisors down on

People's Ballroom

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their justification for this reversal.

Robert Roumiguierre served his liberal colleagues well by blithering all sorts of irrelevancies, thus sparing the liberals who had reversed themselves from saying anything at all. Finally, Gary Giacomini was confronted point blank with the question of why he broke his election promise.

"My support is for the Youth Commission," he said.

LIARS

When Mr. Giacomini came to the White Panther Party headquarters and signed the Petition for a people's ballroom, the Youth Commission hadn't even been brought into the plan. The petition didn't mention the Youth Commission. None of the supervisors had made their promises of support conditional on the Youth Commission. Even Baptiste had only later on suggested their inclusion. So Gary Giacomini was lying.

Furthermore, even if the lies were assumed to be true, what kind of politicians would use a commission of high school students in order to build a program and then, when they got word of a more lucrative program for the civic center bureaucracy, trick these high school students into withdrawing their support.

COWARDS

While voting against the original people's ballroom plan, the supervisors also refused to build the Youth Commission controlled ballroom that the liberals had falsely hinted was possible. But by the time the Youth Commission had received this lesson in the integrity of liberal politicians, they had already been exploited as a means of taking the pressure off the cowardly supervisors.

Later on, the supervisors did vote to allocate over two million dollars to the construction of the pigs ballroom, or "flatfloor auditorium" as they call it, - a ballroom which the Youth Commission was given the right to use sometimes - this being John Barrows idea of the proper role of the "Youth Commission".

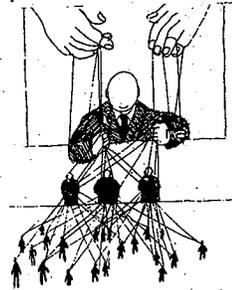
It is a matter of objective fact that Arnold Baptiste, Michael Wornum and Gary Giacomini are liars. Knowledge of the facts would also compel the deduction that they behaved cowardly in the entire matter. Never once did they contact the ballroom supporters to even try to explain the reasons for their actions.

THIEVES

By the White Panther Party standards, they are engaged in theft. When politicians use tax money to line the pockets of various "contractors" with the government so that they can extend the range of possible wealthy supporters for future political campaigns - and there can be no other reason for these supervisors support of such an expensive, unwieldy, and irrational proposal as the pigs ballroom - then this amounts to theft. And since they are taking money which poor people desperately need in order to establish a regular means of living by our own labor, this theft is a very serious matter, and its arrest calls for very extreme measures - measures that would be inappropriate in dealing with a government that was not essentially corrupt.

Communists have charged liberals with hypocrisy, dishonesty and cowardice time and time again throughout history. This charge is made with the awareness of the role of liberals in buttressing capitalism and imperialism, all the while bleating about their sympathy with the oppressed, in nation after nation.

During the people's ballroom struggle in Marin, though, the White Panther Party has brought to light in a clearer manner than usual, the exact lies of these three particular liberals. It can also be seen from this struggle how the maneuvers of the liberals serve the interests of the more forthright oppressors of the people.



If the people of Marin had been given a clear choice between the people's ballroom and the pig's ballroom, there would have been a clear expression of preference for the people's

Touch

ballroom. The role of the liberals was to decoy the ballroom supporters for a long enough time to enable the pigs ballroom plan to develop, and then to try to coopt this support. Fortunately, the people's ballroom supporters, for the most part, were too enlightened to allow themselves to be swindled into this cooption - so the supervisors are now stuck in the position of spending their money on a ballroom supported by no one except those who profit directly from it, and this is a very small minority.

Liberalism serves this role of obscuring contradictions so that oppressors can foist off all sorts of reactionary schemes to make profit as serving the interests of the people. This is possible because these liberals can always be counted on to back, in the final analysis, whatever finance capitalism decides is necessary

cate socialism is pretty obviously more worried about offending the wealthy than about finding solutions to the problem of the people. Their key dodges will always be single issue politics, or piecemeal reform, or a platform so vague that no one knows what it would mean concretely, or the advocacy of things that it is not within their power to carry out.

The principle of judging politicians by how they live their lives is crucial. The White Panther Party knew from the beginning that Gary Giacomini couldn't be trusted. He lived and worked in an environment

of wealth and waste. He saw no reason to save money by joining the Food Conspiracy, and he was the lawyer who fought the labor unions for the IJ. Since we knew not to trust him, we could minimize the damage that his eventual treachery did to us. This enabled us to survive despite his swindle. It is only by seeing these liberal swindles coming that any of us are going to survive.

It isn't accidental that these liberals were exposed so clearly on this particular issue.

The People's Ballroom proposal implied that the wisest use of tax funds entails providing capital to poor people so that we can employ ourselves serving the community in economically viable businesses. Obviously, if our workers-controlled, non-exploitative businesses are allowed to flourish, then it will be at the expense of profiteers who might wish to exploit the same industries. Socialism and capitalism are antagonistic - if there were businesses that provided fair wages and lower prices, then how could profiteers manage to compete?

So the deepest question that the people's ballroom raised was whether commitment of politicians to the welfare of the community was deeper than their commitment to the profit of the wealthy. And the answer, both ideologically and practically, for every liberal, will always turn out to be the latter.

by

Tom Stevens

whether this should be the Vietnamese war, the Economic Opportunity Council, a methadone forced addiction program, or a pig's ballroom.

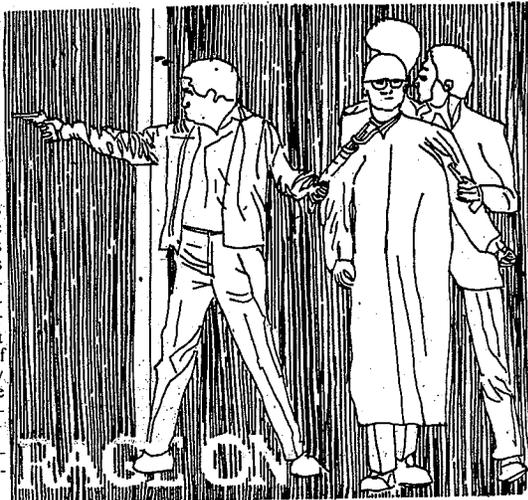
Liberalism is the theory that wealth should be used to exploit desperate workers, but that the state should be charitable towards the victims of such a system. Such a system keeps the people actually powerless to determine our own condition.

Liberalism thrives on people who judge politicians by this or that phrase that they throw out, or this or that campaign plank - instead of judging them by how they spend their lives on the planet. It ought to be clear that no one who is living in as much luxury as possible, and who is obviously interested in advancing their career under capitalism is going to fight very hard for the interests of poor people. Or for any people who don't have the wealth to help them advance their careers.

At this point, any politician who is afraid to advo-



Meanwhile, the Board of Supervisors still owe the people of Marin County a people's ballroom, and someday they might be surprised to find out that the people have the means to collect this debt.



A Workers' Story

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Volunteers sometimes don't show up for the work, are generally confused about what to do & apathetic, so that the poor organizers end up doing all the real work and not being paid for their labor. And usually the organizers are the people who need the conspiracy the most and the others could think of better social gatherings and community events they'd rather be at. Co-op's right up their alley.

By the way, Co-op doesn't help much either. Just another liberal reform group, that's really rather conservative. Because the only thing that is different is that the Shareholders are less greedy and give you better deals, which in turn gives them more business.

These days your tax money sometimes are invested in police programs or rehabilitation schemes, or in methadone, and at the best used to try and buy out the Free Clinic in exchange for statistics and just plain information on patients.

But what is really needed these days is Tax Money for People's Enterprises. Right off, the FC could use a truck. I mean really, who wants their taxes (that we are forced to pay at the barrel of a gun, or fear of imprisonment) or for more prisons, more bombs and other weapons designed to kill people.

We need People, not Pigs. Boycott Safeway, Conspire to Survive. Join the Food Conspiracy.

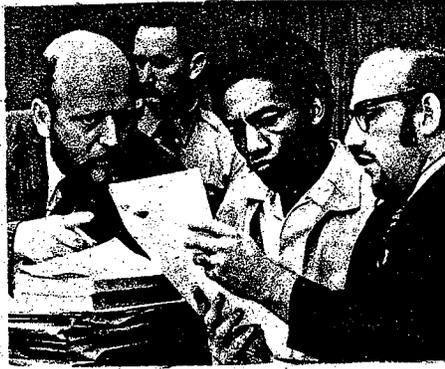
Conspiracy To Jail Ruchell Magee

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Ruchell's people attempted to buy the transcripts, which, again, were supposed to be given to him free some eight years earlier. Vesta Minnick could not be located! This type of outright denial being too obvious, the records were entirely suppressed.

How does this tie in with the present? There is a law that requires all court records to be kept on file for 10 years before being destroyed. May 23, 1973 was to mark the end of that 10 year period as far as Judge Colvin and Albert Harris were concerned because it was on May 24, 1963 that Ruchell had made an oral motion and argument to dismiss the court-appointed attorneys who were working right along with the first conspirators. Judge Herbert Walker ordered closed court that day (all the people were excluded from the courtroom), denied the motion and proceeded to railroad Ruchell to prison.

Ruchell Magee, a man who Albert Harris and the mass media project as a moron, took the witness stand with a stunning surprise for everyone. Ruchell requested to see the Reporter's Records of 1963. Judge Colvin, feeling confident that all was perfectly prepared in the entire conspiracy against Ruchell, ordered that Ruchell be allowed to see these Reporter's



Records and even gave Ruchell a recess to go over them. It didn't take long for Ruchell to go over the records as he already knew what was in them and what was not in them.

After getting the court to verify that the records Judge Colvin had subpoenaed were official records, Ruchell brought out an official Clerk's Record of the same May 24, 1963 hearing which State court officials had prepared to use against Ruchell's co-defendant, Leroy Stewart, whose case was on appeal. Ruchell immediately made the court verify that these records were also authentic in that they had the official court seal. The Reporter's Records of May 24, 1963 are supposed to be a detailed account of everything that went on that day. Yet, in examining these records, it is obvious that someone altered them a great deal and they are therefore illegal! In comparing the Clerk's Records, they briefly state that on May 24,

1963, "...On motion of defendant Magee, all witnesses are excluded from the courtroom, except investigating officer who is allowed to remain..." Ruchell, having exposed the fact that false documents were being used against him, cited the following law: 22 Cal Jur. p. 664 Section 70, which states, "Interference with records, stealing, willfully destroying, mutilating, defacing, altering, falsifying, removing or secreting any record, map or book, or any paper of proceeding of any court, filed or deposited in any public office is a crime, whether committed by the officer having custody...or any other person...." Albert Harris and Judge Morton Colvin are criminals and Ruchell Magee proved this by law in that nowhere in the Reporter's Records does it contain the facts that are in the Clerk's Records or any of the May 24, 1963 details. In 1965, when Ruchell was taken before Judge Walker again, those same false records were used

against Ruchell and thus Judge Walker is a proven criminal. In short: all those who handled those false documents, the records that keep Ruchell imprisoned illegally, are guilty of criminal acts.

Ruchell has proven with unapproachable facts that:

1) His intellectual capabilities far surpass those of the people who accuse him of various crimes solely for the purpose of concealing their crimes.

2) The criminals do not intend to halt their criminal acts against his person.

3) The people must demand, in one continuous and harmonious voice, what Ruchell Magee has demanded single handedly for the last 10 years: his freedom from illegal imprisonment.

The true records of Ruchell's original illegal conviction are being suppressed under the guise of "law and justice." The fraudulent records—the criminal records now that they have been tampered with and altered—are being shown to the people who want to see what constitutes the legality of Slave rebellions. The false records, which the criminals are showing to the people, do not show the truth of a Slave Rebellion; they just show what the criminals want people to see—and they surely don't want the people to see that they are the real criminals.

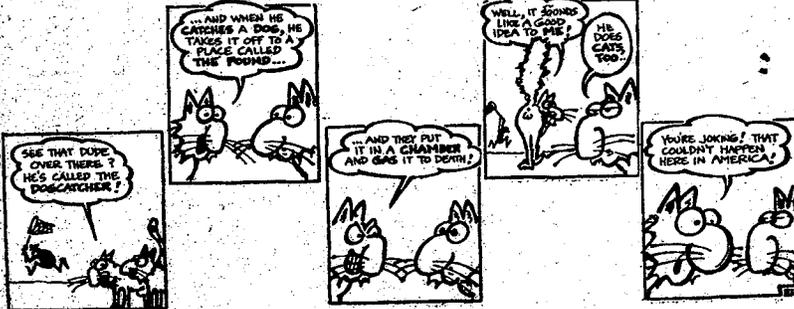
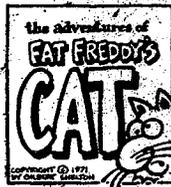
The people have the facts. Now the people must make the demands for justice.

All Power To The People

Johnny Larry Spain
San Quentin Prison
March, 1973



Paul Crawford - Servant of the People.



Letter to Touch News

Ruchell Magee

from relatives because they are all foolish country niggas. Brain-washed to the eye!!! This leaves me in a continually battle to come from under incommunicado while the pig lawyers fills

the little open spaces I do make with fraud on top of fraud. The pig Robert Carrow was Caught by me and exposed to the judges. They see the need to continue their dirty rotty and sickly acts of piling false charges upon me. The Charges can be alleged happen in France, while I was in San Quentin Prison Isolation. The pig lawyers with their long stupid arguments (stunting for the fool attorney general's puppets) always has a way of getting a conviction or convictions against me or anyone else they can single out.

pointed pig lawyer who Carrow picked to take over where he got Caught at. Any fool jury find out what Carrow and judge Imgram and Warden Nelson did will spit in their face—Imgram Know this!!

The L.A. county conviction must be ruled illegal as it is to stop the pigs from trying to hide it with more false charges. All fighting people out there, stay away from Robert Carrow because he is a murdering pig with a lawyers name for disguise!

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lawyer I can be convicted easily on that phony indictment and sent back to San Quentin Prison and isolated for the next ten or more years if the pigs see themselves getting away like they have been doing for ten years.

The pigs are viciously conspiring to keep the Los Angeles County illegal Conviction on me to keep me in the position they have been holding me in, ISOLATED.



I won the right to have two investigators of my choice, but warden Louis S. Nelson ignored this a few months ago on advise of the

ig lawyer Carrow— Now, Sheriff Geary and Judge Imgram holds me in this jail disallow to see and consult with any investigator or people out their circuit, until I get a lawyer to railroad me.

Imgram order finding me incompetent to represent myself is identical to his order denying me the right to see investigators.

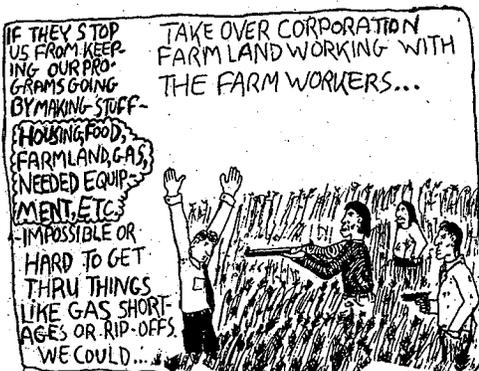
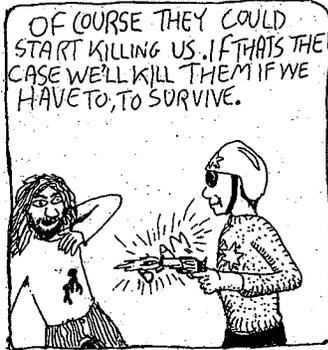
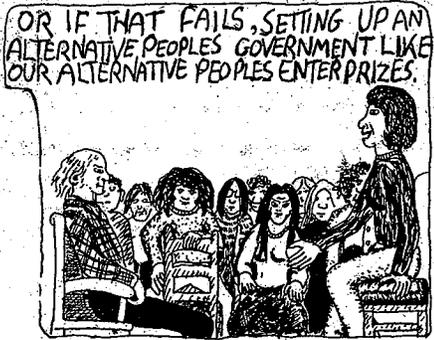
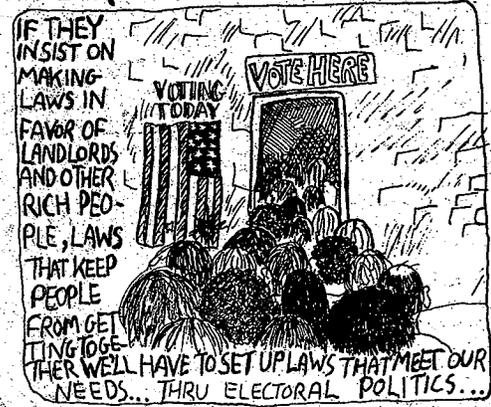
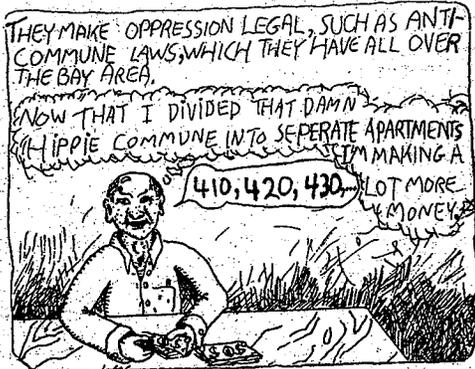
I was representing myself when judge Ginsberg granted my rights to investigators. Judge Imgram is being sued by me for his Corrupt acts, and I would like for the new paper to print this: The lawyer Robert Carrow conspired to have me trapped in with Judge Imgram's next intended ap-

Won The People!
Ruchell Cinque Magee

I don't receive any visits

Amorphia

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15



with those with only a little money and extra time, we can build strong movements. Otherwise, those with money will fail because of the obvious limitations of part-time volunteerism, and those with little money will be excluded because of the greater urgency of finding means to survive.

It is imperative that we don't neglect the survival issue in the course of these political campaigns since we are not independently wealthy, nor state funded, nor in the employ of the corporations. It makes far more sense to give campaign funds to our own workers, than to give them to promoters, profiteers, media advertisements, or whatever.

But just because this lesson is clear, that doesn't mean that there will no longer be people who will try to ignore it. There are always people who would prefer to lose a campaign in order to retain their air of class superiority. If the lumpen, organized along the lines of revolutionary collectives, backed by less impoverished advocates of social change can actually effect revolutionary transformation, it is also possible for the petit bourgeoisie to manipulate the lumpen into a movement under their domination that could buttress reaction.

This is what occurs when fascism arises to save a dying capitalist system. The manipulative ability of the American ruling class being what it is, it is certain that such petit bourgeois dominated coalitions would be welcome at this point. There will assuredly be petit bourgeois opportunists who will leap at this chance to advance themselves. This is one of the developments we need to guard against most closely.

It might seem that the marijuana movement is a long way from a vehicle for revolution or for fascism. But if it is studied closely, it is clear that the relationship of class forces is the same in this movement as in most single issue movements. Amor-



phia, through its political amorphousness, was objectively paving the way for a vicious intrusion of capitalism into the sale of marijuana; and the hobbyists who supported it were easily led into the movement against the White Panther attempts to prevent this.

Of course, Amorphia never actually advocated capitalist control of marijuana, but it became more and more evident that its cooperation could be expected by the non-socialist advocates of marijuana reform. This was shown by their attitude of "Well, we have the money, so we'll be the management, and you don't, so you work. But don't expect to have any control over policy."

Single issue politics is always liberalistic, and liberalism is always conveniently incapable of preventing profiteering, or of restraining fascist attacks against poor people. Nothing short of an honest and committed democratic centralist movement can possibly challenge American capitalism. Everything liberal, amorphous, utopian, or lackadaisical impedes this movement. The choice is clear.

We all know that the ruling class can't stop the flow of marijuana. We all know that this is not because of the courts, or the legislators, or the social reformers. We all know that the defacto legalization of marijuana that we all enjoy comes from the revolutionary power of the people to defeat fascist oppression.

CLASS CONTRADICTIONS

The internal problems that arose within the 1974 CMI in the Bay Area reflected the contradictions.

between a class of organizers who think that minor legal adjustments achieved through casual means would be sufficient to stop the persecution of marijuana smokers and another class of organizers think that only a revolutionary movement based on a refusal to obey unjust laws and a deep commitment to enact and enforce just laws will stop this persecution.

One class, generally composed of people with petit bourgeois values, crystallized around Amorphia, which was the logical vehicle for the activity it advocated.

Amorphia was tightly controlled by a Board of Directors with a broad and contradictory political perspective, and consequently given to opportunistic tactics based on amorphous economic principles. Still, it performed the functions of a political organization sufficiently to enable the spacey coalition of hobbyists that comprised one wing of the CMI to have something to talk about.



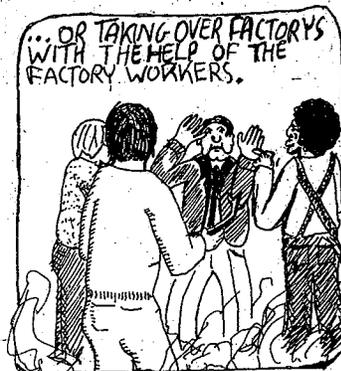
GordenBrownell

From Nixon to NORMAL

When the funds were swindled away from the Amorphia organizers by everything from Hearst enterprises to hip capitalist entrepreneurs, none of these hobbyists was seriously inconvenienced since none of them had committed themselves very deeply anyway.

The class conflict between the Amorphia faction and the White Panther Party emerged over and over. When a block party organized by the White Panther Party to launch the marijuana movement in the Haight

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE



Amorphia

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

met with furious opposition by downtown police and politicians, Michael Aldritch condemned it on the grounds that it might associate the CMI with violence. When Amorphia selected representatives for a CMI press conference, they excluded representatives of poor and third world people, on the theory that these votes were assured anyway. The White Panther Party criticized this since we were engaged in the difficult job of persuading our people that the CMI was not merely white, petit bourgeoisie tedious irrelevance, as large numbers of poor and Third World people thought it was.

Arrest of White Panther Vendor Precipitated Crisis

When a White Panther vendor was arrested while vending the CMI newspaper at a concert in Golden Gate Park, the Amorphia faction refused to support him since he was arrested for interfering with a police officer (he was actually witnessing a brutal arrest) and this was not related to the single issue of marijuana decriminalization.

When the White Panther Party refused to tolerate the asinine sexist cracks of Tod Mikuriya and other Amorphia associates, Michael Aldritch launched a behind the back rumor campaign claiming that we were starting too much trouble at meetings.

When Amorphia insisted on settling issues at meetings of large numbers of vaguely interested people, the White Panther Party objected that people of proletarian backgrounds were disgusted with these space sessions and refused to go to them and were thus being excluded from the decision making process. When we suggested instead that issues be settled through thorough discussion by a small group of representatives of each working element of the coalition, along the lines of democratic centralism, Amorphia claimed that this was indemocratic.

When the rift deepened, partly due to the personality of Michael Aldritch, the White Panther Party urged an emergency meeting with Amorphia. Michael Aldritch pompously refused to meet with us, and Amorphia claimed that their internal structure was such that there was nothing they could do about this.

When the street workers asked for campaign money to buttress their survival, Amorphia workers who were themselves paid out of the "non-profits" of the sale of their papers, fought

this to the point of splitting the coalition, even though some of them would privately agree that it was necessary.

And finally, when the White Panther Party forced a showdown, Amorphia responded by reasserting the bourgeois ownership rights of the office they had pretended was donated to the CMI, and called the police.

Notice the similarity of this microcosm to the overall political economy of the United States. Corporations do the job of organizing the society, leaving themselves abundantly open to all manner of profiteers, swindlers, embezzlers, usurers, and corporation lawyers. At the same time, they maintain an ambiguous relationship with political bodies that theoretically govern the society, but which in practice have so little actual control, and so little knowledge of, and so little responsibility for the reality of the social organization of people's lives and labor, that they are capable of nothing more than irrelevant, spacey, and long-winded debates about the extent to which they should meddle in the affairs of business.

Lumpen Organizers side with Panthers and Good Earth

The other class of organizers crystalized around the White Panther Party and the Good Earth Commune. These people were on or close to the streets, highly antipathetic to the hierarchy of straight society, and unable to afford ignoring righteous survival in the face of a fascist government as a primary issue.

It was inevitable that there would be an argument over where the funds would go. Each side wanted to give the money to people of their class in exchange for a service, which each side strategized to be the best means of getting signatures. Amorphia advocated giving it to the "media" and to hip capitalists, and to promoters, etc. The White Panther Party advocated giving it to street people to set up communes and workers.

But whereas the White Panther Party asked for a coalition in which the money would be divided fairly, the petit bourgeois faction insisted on either dominating the coalition and spending all of the money their way, or else ripping the coalition apart.

Well, the coalition was ripped apart, along the lines of petty-bourgeois management oriented liberals versus lumpen-proletariat worker-oriented revolutionaries.

The lumpen revolutionaries, with the White Panther Party, decided to survive while gathering petitions.

This strategy, Survival Through Service to the People, enabled us to be out on the street gathering signatures steadily for the duration of the campaign.

The only signatures that Amorphia gathered were mailed or brought to their office. Many thousands of dollars and much confiscation for a pick-up point.

If we had been provided with \$3000 for workers, less than half of the money that the liberals wasted, we could have put the petition over the top.

There's no reason why these other things couldn't have gone also. But by

trying to deny workers a means of survival, especially in a cause that helps liberate people from fascist oppression, the people at Amorphia antagonized the very people whose support they thought they had in their pocket, poor and third world people.

SURVIVAL THROUGH SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE!

The loss of time and energy created by a few pathetic, egocentric liberals is tragic.

Survival Through Service to the People is actually the most powerful weapon the people can use in our fight against fascism in the U.S. today.

It is multi-faceted, being righteous and strong both economically and politically.

We are already a powerful resistance movement. Now if we could just galvanize ourselves from a powerful resistance movement into a movement capable of enacting and enforcing just laws. The participation of the White Panther Party in the 1974 CMI was with this strategy in mind.

Middle of the Earth

In the middle of the earth, there is water
Joyousness and devotion must fill us.
Joy from the land, joy from love, devotion to all things.
Joyousness and devotion, coming together to love the people.
for the people are the earth
Inexhaustable are the lessons to be learned from the earth

And without the limits must we love the people
tolerance and protection
Joyousness and devotion:
Coming together a great upheaval
The first shall be last and the last first

Learn from the earth
From the earth comes water
From the people comes strength
To immerse ourselves in water
To teach and to learn.
The mass is the earth.
Each of us is part of the earth

To become truly an individual, we must become one with all.
people's war
people's army
We must love all people and work to come together
in perfect love and peaceful hate.

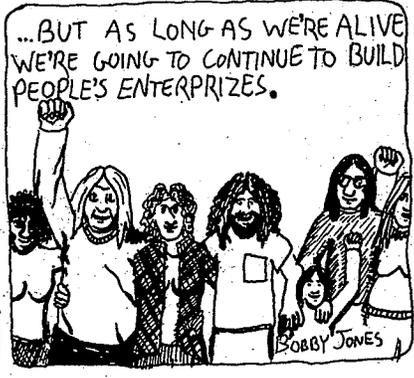
Watching the fog roll in
Separate entities tied together in an unspoken bond.
Nobody ever talks about it
(when I try, my mouth just hangs open)
yet there is something
I know it
something

It's not a movie
not really-It is a sequence of unrelated flashes of light
coming together in an illusion of continuity is it?
It's standing on the edge of a constantly moving flow and it's

A million of years of knowing inside my soul alongside blankness
to believe in man capable of goodness
yet unable to control one's own capacity for evil
to hold beauty and to crush it and confused to be trapped
within myself

Ugly, ugly, nothing is as ugly as a human,
Nothing is capable of the ugliness of human
can human be beautiful?
how beautiful would that be?
to equal a flower
to be

-Larry



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

although it goes to a good purpose (usually), is still profit pure and simple. This form becomes reactionary when, instead of moving beyond it towards people's concerns where continuing subsistence jobs are created for revolutionary workers, we continually demand voluntary labor of these workers in order to accrue more profit for the cause that we're supporting.

Economic Change Or Political Change First?

This is the critical point at which we either opt for economic change or for political change. Each of them can lead to the other of course, but the question is which path is fundamental. We think that distorting the economic form of the movement, our means of survival, in order to attain a political goal is a mistake; especially since what we gain politically is usually pretty meager anyway.

So instead we're advocating and implementing people's enterprises, model communist institutions, as the central task, and we see political and military tactics as valuable insofar as they help to build these institutions.



This has enabled us to define very clearly and concretely our opposition to liberalism, anarchism, and fascism. Once this opposition is clear, once the core of our politics is clear, we can make all sorts of deals with progressives, and even with moderate reactionaries, in the community. It is because everyone knows exactly what sort of revolutionary activity we are engaged in that we can receive county funds without being put in a position of cooperation.

This brings us to the point we talked about in that exchange of letters last year - the relationship of revolutionaries to liberals. Clearly, both forces must arrive at some sort of coalition, popular front, against overt fascism. The question is on what terms this coalition will be forged.

The weakness of the revolutionary movement in the United States has always been that everyone knew deep down that the liberals would provide more real, immediate help to people struggling for survival. So, the revolutionaries became associated with saintly self-sacrifice, or with cynical manipulation.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21



child, all the while babbling about democracy. Except that it provided to some of the less politically aware vendors an excellent example of how the wealthier people use formal democracy to stifle poor people, two hours were wasted.

Finally, the White Panther Party and the Good Earth formed a Central Committee consisting of Sue Copperman, Tom Stevens, and Harry Lehman which is now functioning. The bank account has been set up, money has been borrowed, a regional headquarters is being set up, Gary Nelson is being defended and signatures are being collected at a rate of at least 1,000 a day.

Unfortunately, some of the liberals seem to have gotten the idea that if they can't have their way, they are going to quit. We've heard a lot of talk about our authoritarianism, etc. Nevertheless, we still believe in a coalition. We are willing to work with liberals, and conservatives and whatever as long as the coalition is guided by a policy of collective assistance. We are not going to be strung along by a handful of ego-

tists who want to put themselves on T.V.

As for the single issue concept, we believe that this means that marijuana decriminalization should be stressed above all in all Coalition projects. But if it is going to be carried to extremes, such as claiming that a Grass Roots article condemning heroin can't be printed or that the Food Conspiracy can't be publicized or a vendor arrested for "inciting to riot" can't be defended, etc. - then we are against it. Of course, if we struggle against police abuses, some supporters of law and order might refuse to vote for us. If we call ourselves honest, some liars may refuse to vote for us. If we advocate socialist enterprises, we may alienate capitalists. If we condemn heroin, we might offend pushers, etc., etc. So what?

But so long as this "single issue" theory isn't pushed to the point where it becomes epistemologically nonsensical we want to normalize the Coalition, restore control to a broader segment of the marijuana movement and continue working. All we ask is that the Central Committee be available for day to day crises, that vendors be defended politically [we are not talking about money here] and that the costs of the Regional Headquarters, and whatever future expenditures are decided on be included when money is spent.

Otherwise, there are going to be numerous splinter groups formed, all on collision courses with us and all dividing the marijuana movement which needs unity. We appeal to these groups and individuals to arrange some sort of working relationship with us. If these people persist in holding themselves

THEY'RE A BUNCH OF LAZY BUMS WHO DON'T GOT ANY COMMUNITY SPIRIT!



SURVIVAL THROUGH SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE

Somehow it seemed that revolutionaries were useless until the seizure of power rolled around. It is to break this trap that Huey evolved the strategy of survival through service to the people: reorient our energy from disrupting the power structure to serving the people now. Rely on the people to disrupt and smash this structure, eventually, but don't fall into the delusion that there is some way of pushing them.

This strategy is original, because the situation is original. Not only is there a possibility of generating capital through collectivizing excess wealth in the community, but the rising

class is no longer the productive laborer, but the out-of-work lumpenproletariat.

Working against us are the pathetic bourgeois individualistic habits that make working together to serve the people the last thing anyone would think of in order to solve the survival problem; idealist modes of thought that children and

HOW DO YOU STAY ALIVE?



academics can afford, but that we can't; and the tendency to utopianize social solutions so that only the most pure can relate to them.

In Berkeley it was proven over and over again that white youth tended to look at themselves as a management board for the revolution, instead of as a labor force. We've got to combat this silliness.

aloof from the Coalition, then they are going to have to quit working in the name of the Initiative. In particular, if any fund raising or press conferences go on without agreement from the Coalition, then there is going to be a lot of trouble. A lot of trouble. Because the marijuana movement isn't a joke, or a toy, or a fund hustle or a media hype, or a hobby, or a debating society or anything less than a life and death issue.



If we can get over these obstacles, how can we lose? We will be putting forward real, concrete, immediate programs that cut down on prices and set up jobs. Obstruction of these programs will only disgrace the power structure. Phoney liberals and other savants will be immediately exposed when they refuse to relate to these programs.

And we gain in both the long run and the short run, because even pending seizure of power, we will be helping out a lot of friends along the way. The theory of education through confrontation, which the liberals think they have refuted, will be demonstrated even more powerfully when the confrontations are between, say, the Food Conspiracy and Safeway, or Leopold's and Tower Records.



Eventually We Could Meet All Our Needs

Instead of asking people to boycott capitalists and do without their products, we can provide them with an alternative, thus strengthening the boycott movements. Even die-hard "organize at the point of production" radicals will at least have some good, practical advice to give their fellow workers.

Eventually all the needs of the culture can be met by people in the culture - refusing to work for profiteers, and working for each other instead.

Combat Freeism, is an article written as a letter from the White Panther Party to the Rainbow People's Party of Ann Arbor, Michigan. The main resistance to the revolutionary strategy of survival through service to the people is 'freeist' thought, and we hope that the printing of this letter will help to resolve the question in the eyes of the community.

Letter to
the JudgeCONTINUED FROM
PAGE 11

provision for self-representation as a constitutionally protected right.

As soon as the crack in the constitutional tradition is opened, the amendment to the state constitution requiring counsel for felons is rushed through. Again, the voter initiative reads as though this was some great benefit to the hapless felons who might otherwise be wrongfully imprisoned. The ballot arguments didn't mention that forcing lawyers on defendants could streamline the due process by providing court-controlled defense counsels who would sympathize with the state's need for speedy convictions with no messy references to political injustices.

Then, judges such as yourself, confident of a new judicial spirit, deliver the coup de grace to the right of self-representation by denying it even in misdemeanor cases. But even here, you claim that you are protecting my rights. And if I don't like the way that you are protecting me, you say that you'll put me in jail.

I am faced with an illogical, irrational, brazen denial of my right to explain my own actions in a fair hearing before a jury. At no point have I been told that the state requires the suppression of my rights. Instead, it is all done to protect my rights.

The threat to put me in jail if I don't submit to your illegal insistence on my acquiring counsel that I don't want is far outside of any power that free citizens ought to grant a judge. As a member of the White Panther Party, I'm needed to assist in the Food Conspiracy, the People's Ballroom, and a large number of programs that are necessary to hundreds of people. I can't afford to be cut off from communication with these programs. Imprisonment for the 'crime' of not hiring a lawyer would itself be a crime. So you are threatening me not as a judge, but as a dangerous criminal.

The strategy of the White Panther Party is to create economically viable people's institutions that set up jobs and lower prices. We are organizing people to work for each other, instead of for profiteers. The strategy is entirely legal. There is nothing in the constitution that says that citizens must support capitalism.

But although our actions are lawful, we constantly face interference by 'authorities' who think capitalism is more benevolent than democracy, when it comes to a choice.

We are confident that we can defeat these enemies as long as we are given the opportunity to defend our actions so that no one - official agent or otherwise - can legally attack us physically. The laws of this nation are set up to guarantee that we will get this chance.

Denying the right to defend ourselves in court would destroy this strategy. It would make us completely vulnerable to constant charges which, although we would be found innocent, would exhaust our funds on attorney's fees. Secondly, it would mean that people with only a vague understanding of our strategy would speak for us in court, and this would always lead to distortions that we can't afford.

Conclusion

We have always known that there would be a point where legal action against the fascist repression of constitutionally guaranteed rights would become futile. If I am denied the right of self-representation, then I have reached this point. You can issue any sort of warrant you want and if I am captured you can hold any sort of hearing. But you can't call it a fair trial if I am excluded from participating.

On the other hand, I am certainly willing to stand trial for the charge against me, and if I am convicted, serve whatever sentence the court imposes, as long as I have the right to present my own case.

If you are willing to give me this reasonable chance to explain my actions before a jury, then please withdraw your demand that I hire counsel. I will appear in court on any future date that you set.

Please communicate your decision to Sherman Waring or Terry Phillips, of the White Panther Party, at 1632 Page St., San Francisco (or 543-0335).

Tom Stevens



HOW BEASTLY THE BOURGEOIS IS -

How beastly the bourgeois is especially the male of the species -

Presentable eminently presentable - shall I make you a present of him?

Isn't he handsome? isn't he healthy? Isn't he a fine specimen?

doesn't he look the fresh clean englishman, outside? Isn't it god's own image? tramping his thirty miles a day after partridges, or a little rubber ball? wouldn't you like to be like that, well off, and quite the thing? Oh, but wait!

Let him meet a new emotion, let him be faced with another man's need,

let him come home to a bit of moral difficulty, let life face

him with a new demand on his understanding

and then watch him go soggy, like a wet meringue.

Watch him turn into a mess, either a fool or a bully.

Just watch the display of him, confronted with a new

demand on his intelligence,

a new life demand.

How beastly the bourgeois is especially the male of the species -

Nicely groomed, like a mushroom

standing there so sleek and erect and eyeable -

and like a fungus, living on the remains of bygone life

sucking his life out of the dead leaves of greater life than his own.

And even so, he's stale, he's been there too long.

Touch him, and you'll find he's all gone inside just like an old mushroom, all wormy inside, and hollow under a smooth skin and an upright appearance.

Full of seething, wormy, hollow feelings

rather nasty -

How beastly the bourgeois is!

Standing in their thousands, these appearances, in damp

England

what a pity they can't all be kicked over like sickening toadstools, and left to melt back, swiftly, into the soil of England.

by D.H. Lawrence



THE END