

MOVEMENT

NOVEMBER, 1968

VOL. 4, NO. 10

COLUMBIA
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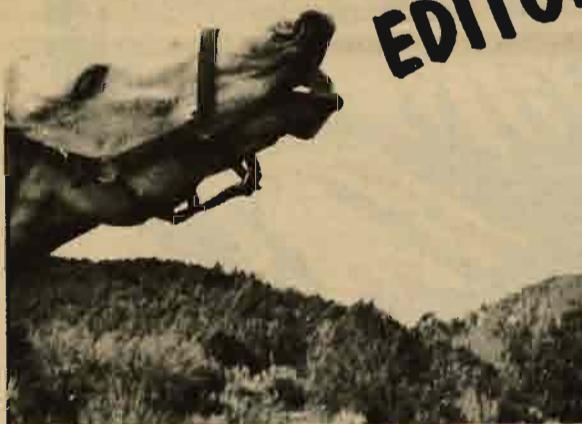
TODAY IS NOVEMBER 5TH WASN'T THERE SOMETHING I WAS SUPPOSED TO DO?

Well, we wuz all settin around the MOVEMENT office, jawin and just carryin on, popping pills so we could put out this issue...when in runs Two-Finger Luke who does our typesettin and says, "Isn't next month November 5 and shouldn't we say something about those elections?"

Sure of course we says, cuz we're a political newspaper and those elections out there is an important part of the political process--how can we ignore em?

I know how we can ignore them, sez the editor (whose name we forget). That wasn't exactly the question but somehow we go onto the subject while sitting on the layout table and somebody came up with some suggestions. We wuz wondering whether we had any readers...who might be so bored that they'd actually be drivin to votin (or something desperate) just for a few cheap thrills.

EDITORIAL



Things To Do On Election Day

First, you can sleep late. And go to bed early. Eat a big meal in between.

Have an outdoor party on the block near your local polling place. Give away free beer. Hold it in a garage and put out an American flag. Lots of folks when they find out it ain't the real pollin place will be real grateful.

Afterwards, post the returns on the garage door, football scores, or maybe how many folks showed up at yer place instead a wastin their short life strugglin with a lever.

Git up, go to work, come home, have a beer and watch the returns on TV. Who knows, somebody may win. Doubtful thought.

Better yet, find a color TV, turn the color knobs all the way up, turn on and dig the establishment light show.

Do whatever you do on an ordinary day. Due to lack of interest the whole thing may be postponed anyway, an its no use gettin all in a lather over something that might not pan out.

Feets In Their Mouths

Now this don't mean we aint been watchin things. We even managed a laugh now and then. And we know, in our hearts, that it all got some meanin. Like when a card sharp reshuffles the cards or the dealer stacks the pack. Only this time the dealers got to show some of his cards anyway, not to say he still dont have a lot of hanky-panky goin on under the table. This time they got three big players--and any way its a losin hand.

We watched whats-his-name put his foot in his racist mouth a few times. Then we watched George pick that Air Force general. So the general gets up and sez I'd rather die with an atom bomb than be killed by a rusty knife in the jungles of Vietnam. Then there's this debate: they been debatin whether to debate if they will debate . . . And they been so concerned with law n order that everywhere they go, disorder follows em like the night breeze follows the L.A. smog.

And we even been speculatin. Like how many people know that if the election goes to the House of Representatives and the House cant decide on a candidate then it goes to the Senate and the Senate's got to choose between the three VICE- Presidential candidates...

Course, they been talking about that war. They got to. Humpty spozed to have moved closer to something and somebody moved farther from somethin and somebody ain't moved--But NOBODY is moving OUT.

Another Way To Vote

We got, right in this issue, a petition about Eldridge Cleaver, who they're tryin to railroad back into jail. Now there's a real candidate. So we figure one thing to do is to get all your folks to sign that petition and get it in before election day and make that like millions of votes.

GI RIOTERS CHARGED WITH MURDER

SAIGON, (LNS)--Six black soldiers, accused of starting a riot August 30 in an Army stockade 15 miles north of Saigon, have been charged with the mur-

der of a white prisoner, according to a report in the NEW YORK TIMES.

The charge grew out of an incident in the Long Binh Jail (fondly known as LBJ) in which 65 persons, including five guards, were injured. Military police used tear gas to break up the disturbance.

An Army spokesman said the murdered man had been beaten with a shovel. The names of the victim and the accused are being withheld pending the filing of formal charges of court martial.

PANTHER CUBS

By Pink Panther

JACKSON, MO. (Special to LNS)--The Panther Cubs saw their first action in Mississippi today. A work gang of black slaves from some county or state prison was being driven down the Hinds County road where Panther Cubs "Huey" and "Malcolm" live. The slave brothers, under the watchful eye of a white guard, were being used to cut down weeds from the roadside. It was 95 degrees in the shade, and the prisoners were in the blazing sun.

It made "Huey" and "Malcolm" mad. They cooked up an idea: "Huey" would yell a message of hope to the slave-brothers and escape before the guard knew what happened. He planned to yell: "Brothers! Be strong! Stay men! Freedom fighters will open the prison soon."

On the way to where the slaves were working, "Huey" met "Malcolm". Together they walked right up to the prisoners and shouted their message. The guard yelled and came after them. They threw rocks. He pulled out his pistol. The Panther Cubs escaped unhurt. "Huey" is nine years old; "Malcolm" is eight.

The Panther Cubs hope older Mississippians will also form small guerrilla bands, but they are not going to wait around for the grown-ups to start first. They say their number will quickly grow now that school has started, and hope to "give Huey (Newton) a thousand Panther Cubs for a Christmas present."

Daley Out Of His



In response to Mayor Richard Daley's TV film: "What Trees Do They Plant?" members of one Chicago radical community group attempted to plant a "peace and freedom" tree last Saturday in a small city park in their neighborhood. Surrounded by about 30 friends and a dozen children, the first shovelful of dust was hardly turned when eight cops and a paddy wagon arrived. In the ensuing debate, Marty Noone, independent candidate for the Illinois State Legislature, was arrested, as was the tree. The shovel was also arrested. The action occurred in Joyce Kilmer Triangle, dedicated to the author of the poem "Trees."

When members of his group, the citizens for Independent Political Action (CIPA) went to bail Noone out, they found that he was charged with "planting a tree without a permit".

LNS/GUARDIAN

Brothers and Sisters,

This 24 page issue of the MOVEMENT increased our production costs considerably. We would like to continue increasing our coverage. To do this we need YOUR help. Please send us information, contributions, help us distribute and get new subscriptions. All of this aid should be sent to our NEW address: The MOVEMENT PRESS, 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, California 94103.

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CHE GUEVARA MEMORIAL ISSUE

SEVEN UP!

The Oakland Seven go to trial November 18. A year has passed since the "crime", last October's Stop The Draft Week in Oakland. STDW, during which 10,000 brothers and sisters tried to halt the induction process at the Oakland Induction Center, helped to issue in a new era of militant street demonstrations. It started the white movement on the road that produced the Pentagon, Columbia and Chicago. It also cost Oakland \$250,000 to keep the Induction Center open for a week. The Oakland powers have not forgotten.

The Seven--Frank J. Bardacke, Terry Cannon, Steve Hamilton, Reese Erlich, Bob Mandel, Jeff Segal and Mike Smith will be tried in Alameda Superior Court before Judge Phillips.

Conspiracy To Do What?

The Seven are charged with conspiracy to commit two misdemeanors--trespass and interfering with the lawful duties of an officer. None of the Seven are accused of actually doing these crimes, just conspiring to do them. The strategist for Alameda County's use of the conspiracy law is a young lawyer named Yvonne Merga. In 1965, when just a law student, she wrote a paper about the advantages of using conspiracy laws against demonstrators. The main advantage, as she saw it, was that conspiracy charges raise misdemeanor crimes to the level of felonies. In her words:

"Recent demonstrators in California have been charged with unlawful assembly, failure to disperse, trespass, and disturbing the peace--all misdemeanor offenses punishable by a relatively minor penalty. The penalty does not deter repeated violations."

"While the illegal demonstrators in California have not been tried for criminal conspiracy, it would seem clear that they could be...If a conspiracy is charged there is no need to wait for all the participants to commit the planned acts before arrests are made...Attendance at a preparatory group meeting to plan an unlawful demonstration would satisfy the requirements of conspiracy..."

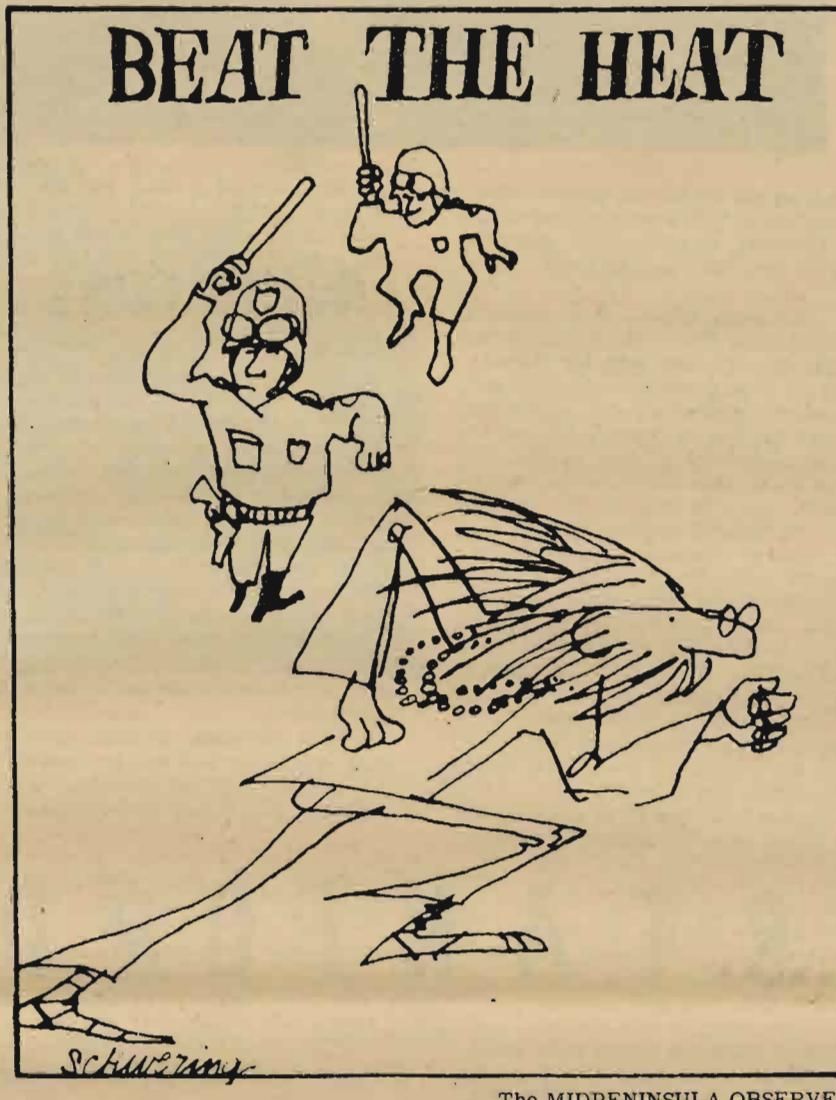
"The sanctions of law applied to a convicted felon are many and harsh. In addition to the initial confinement in the State prison, the felon may be disqualified as a juror, give his spouse grounds for divorce, and may have severe restrictions placed on his liberty even

after he is paroled. The informal penalties, such as loss of job, education and respect would also be compelling reasons for second thoughts on the part of potential unlawful demonstrators."

Punitive? Political? Heavy? Alameda County DA Coakely was so impressed by this political tract that he hired her. She's now an assistant DA. His first application of this strategy was against the Seven.

Counter-Conspiracy

Merga's paper lays out the political goals of the prosecution. They were not



The MIDPENINSULA OBSERVER

able to arrest the Seven before the demonstration, so that part of the strategy failed. If the conspiracy charges are thrown out that would of course be an enormous victory for militant demonstrators. This is almost impossible; the Seven's appeal to higher courts to throw out the indictment on constitutional grounds has been denied. The case of the Boston Five has a much stronger chance of reversing the conspiracy charges: the Five did not know one another before the "conspiracy" occurred. The Seven did know one another and did work together--virtually all that's needed to get an indictment and conviction. According to California law, a conspiracy can be either a felony or a misdemeanor--at the discretion of the judge.

If the Seven were convicted of a misdemeanor, rather than a felony, and were given light sentences, this would defeat the prosecution's attempt to single them out and punish them severely. Everyone who participated in Stop The Draft Week knew they risked misdemeanor arrests. One of the principles of STDW was "do it and get away with it". This is still possible for the Oakland Seven.

Judge On The Outs

Judge Phillips has recently made himself unpopular with the District Attorney's office. He declared a mistrial in a recent case on the grounds that the prosecutor had methodically excluded blacks from the jury. For this act of judicial common-sense--brave, considering the political climate in Oakland--he has come under extreme pressure, received hate letters and phone calls, and incurred the public wrath of DA Coakley.

Phillips is probably more unpopular in Oakland now than the Seven. The Seven have also called the District Attorney's actions racist--but that's expected from new leftists. The DA may attempt to remove Phillips from the Seven's trial on the grounds that anyone that gutsy (read "sensible") might give the Seven a minimal sentence.

November 18 the Seven are up. To the District Attorney and the Oakland power structure and the government, the Seven wish to deliver this message:

"We ain't sorry we did it. We're proud we did it. And don't turn your back on the brothers and sisters, because we may just do it again!" ■

HUEY: THE WILL OF THE BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE DONE

Monroe Friedman, errand boy for and stockholder in the Oakland Power Structures, Inc. Huey P. Newton, co-founder of and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party.

Judge Friedman, on September 27, sentenced Huey Newton to serve 2-15 years in prison for voluntary manslaughter--the compromise with racism that was called a verdict on September 8.

Before the sentence was announced Friedman asked Huey if he had anything to say. Huey shook his head and said no. The judge had already denied motions by defense attorney Charles Garry for a new trial, for probation, and for release on bail pending appeal.

As the sentence was pronounced several shouts of "Free Huey" rang out in the courtroom. Huey turned and faced the large crowd of supporters and raised his arm in the Black Panther salute. The crowd yelled back, "Power to the People."

Almost immediately sheriffs deputies hustled Huey out of the courtroom, put him in a police station wagon and took him to Vacaville State Mental Facility and prison processing center. To be carefully processed. To be kept virtually incommunicado.

The station wagon passed a crowd of supporters on the street. Huey again gave the Panther salute as the crowd cheered. Attorney Garry protested the speed with which Newton was taken away. He had been told he would be able to talk with Huey before his removal. Said Garry, "They must have known what the sentencing would be long before I did."

Tears And Contempt

Mrs. Armelia Newton, Huey's mother, broke down and cried when the sentence

"His tendency to overreact in stressful, unstructured situations was first noted ten years ago and has become increasingly evident in recent years."

"That he has chosen to commit himself to a life pattern likely to involve him in repeated stress situations is particularly foreboding."

"The defendant appears to be statutorily ineligible for probation."

The report was especially concerned with Huey's analysis of the so-called crimes he had previously been convicted of. It reads, "as has been the case with each of his adult offenses, the defendant denies personal responsibility or social culpability for the present offense, projecting the masters upon both the victim and his own environment experiences."

Dig it, brothers and sister. Cloaked in the robe of humane concern and psychological bullshit -- it is nothing more than enemy double talk. From our point of view Huey Newton and the Black Panthers, on both a strategic and tactical level have often demonstrated knowledge of "the appropriate moment to act." Those "stressful" situations mean confrontations with the police occupying army -- they are in fact the ones who not only tend but do invariably overreact, who in fact murder black people.

Revolutionary Commitment

It is true that Huey Newton has chosen to commit himself to a life pattern likely to involve him in stressful situations. He is a black revolutionary. And if that is foreboding, it is foreboding only to his enemies.

At its core the probation report is a succinct and sickening example of the rattlesnake of American racism. The rattlesnake, as well as the sugar-coated bullet.

For of course, the report did say nice

things about Huey. It categorized him as "verbal, perceptive, and possessing BRIGHT NORMAL intelligence." It also called Huey "likeable, friendly, relates well and is not noticeably hostile."

Can you dig that? He is personally not hostile, but also super-aggressive. Does that mean perhaps that his friendliness is just a cover, the slave smiling while plotting the master's destruction? Or does it mean that he is friendly, but, like all of them, sometimes cannot control himself? Racist paranoia and stereotype is written all over the answers.

The Future Of The Case

Judge Friedman denied a request by Attorney Garry to question the probation officer, just as he denied other motions. For the prosecution, the case of Huey Newton is hopefully over. For the defense the case must continue.

Garry will file a petition in the State District Court of Appeals seeking Newton's release on bail. He also filed notice that he will appeal the entire case.

Garry estimated that the appeal on the conviction may take from 18 months to 2 years.

The Sentence And The Movement

Huey Newton has been in jail for almost one year, and at this point it looks as if he will be there many more. In a sense, his case has provided many radicals with a graphic example of something which they knew before intellectually, but did not grasp with their hearts.

And that is that the system is a system. That the establishment has resources and ideological weapons at his command which are powerful. The defense of Huey Newton was conducted on the highest political

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



GUEST LECTURE POWER



BERKELEY —

Course 139 X, Dehumanization and Regeneration of the American Social Order, is a student initiated course at the University of California. The 5 credit course would be as dull as its name if Eldridge Cleaver hadn't been invited to give ten lectures for it.

When Reagan and the Regents decided to forbid the course, the local political forecasters got excited. "Berkeley now has a Columbia-type issue". They thought the Regents had given them an anti-racism/student power issue on a silver platter. "The campus is bound to blow up over this one". They thought if people threw bombs this past summer over a street, they'd do anything when provoked by racism and Regential domination.

So far, the speculators have been disappointed. The issue has become whether or not 139X will be given credit. The mass movement that grew in response to the latest crisis in Berkeley is "calling on the faculty to insist that the Chancellor announce this week that credit will be given. This is necessary to

protect students taking the course. Without credit they face overburdened schedules, the loss of work-study jobs, the loss of GI benefits, and the draft." (CPE leaflet).

This statement shows, in a nutshell, how occasionally Chancellors can get what they ask for. Heynes told the faculty meeting to "Trust students to trust us". The students didn't buy the phony line about how the ban on Cleaver had nothing to do with racism or free speech—the man just didn't have the "academic qualifications". But they did buy the depend-on-your-liberal-professors line.

The liberal professors played their traditional role. They passed a mealy-mouthed resolution condemning the precedent the Regents were setting against academic freedom and "urged" that credit be granted for the course as planned. They stood on principle, but wouldn't allow that stance to bring them into a confrontation with the Regents that "could destroy the University as we have known it". (President Hitch)

The people who wanted to broaden the issues seem to be screwed. The Chanc-

llor has offered a room for the course for no-credit. The faculty will "negotiate" (read plead) with the Regents for credit. How can you occupy a building that has already been offered? And ultimatums over five credits towards graduation don't exactly add up to the radical strategy hoped for.

Meanwhile Eldridge comes to huge rallies and calls for "All power to the people, Black power to black people, Panther Power to the Vanguard...and Guest Lecture Power". He doesn't seem to be taking the thing as seriously as the liberals. And why should he when he may be sent back to San Quentin in a few days? Eldridge may dig the students, but while they cheer him wildly, they don't seem to really dig him. While Eldridge talks about fucking Ronald Reagan and revolution, the students talk about academic credit and "overburdened schedules".

Student initiated courses grew out of FSM. Their purpose was to channel radical activity into institutionally approved channels. For a long time this educational

reform was ignored as a sop. Perhaps not. Things were happening on the streets. But the same people who were on the streets are not in the classrooms. Yet the people who are running the Cleaver-crisis show may end up on the streets. They have been going through all the channels. But after playing by the rules of the game they may feel very cheated when they're denied even such a petty thing like 5 credits.

This is the dynamics of radicalization. The Regents and Mickey Mouse (Eldridge's pet name for Reagan) cannot grant credit for the course. The course had become part of the political campaign of every reactionary in the State. If Eldridge insists on defying "law and order", he can be sent to jail—but never to a tax-supported lecture hall.

Liberal faculty may find some loophole in the Regential order to grant credit, but then they will have to sacrifice their "principles". In any case, sooner or later students will have to either stop calling themselves radicals or recognize the issues and deal with them strategically...

■ ■ ■

GO GO STANFORD

by Jack Gerson

The familiar image of Dennis Hayes, Stanford student body president, is beamed across the television screen. Worriedly, impatiently, he stammers, "We may see something at Stanford this year that will dwarf Columbia."

While it is still too soon to predict, as Dennis Hayes is so quick to do, a mass student movement at Stanford, it is clear that the SDS chapter is stronger and better organized than ever before. Unlike Berkeley, where countless groups, open and closed, vie for public leadership of the militant actions, SDS is the only above-ground radical organization at Stanford. A strong chapter means a strong left.

The first SDS meeting of the year drew 500 people, most of whom had been active in a sit-in last spring protesting suspension of seven students. During the three day action, 700 students, many for the first time in their lives, shared the experience of collective decision-making, freely exchanged ideas, and were able to recognize the possibility of the university in a different social setting. A new group of students emerged from the sit-in, eager to engage in radical politics and already extremely active in the SDS chapter.

Sit-In Results

Many students who sat in to protest administration encroachment on student rights were able to see a panorama of America: the intransigent administration, caught in a bind between the trustees, alumni and right-wing faculty on the one hand and the sentiment of the student body on the other; the liberal faculty, expressing support for objectives but repulsed at the tactics. They saw that power does not respond to reason; it does not act out of a moral sense. It responds only when forced to do so, and then grudgingly. President Wallace Sterling had to lift the suspensions, but at the same time he warned of swift and harsh retribution if the natives should get restless again.

Seeing the myth of the pluralistic university exploded, many participants became interested in the university in all its aspects -- its ties with the armed forces, with business, with the determination of government policy and the

university's influence in this area. Seminars on these areas were set up during the sit-in. They were not well attended, indicating that most students were more concerned with student power. Nevertheless, they laid the groundwork for activity during the summer as well as for the current study-action group structure of Stanford SDS.

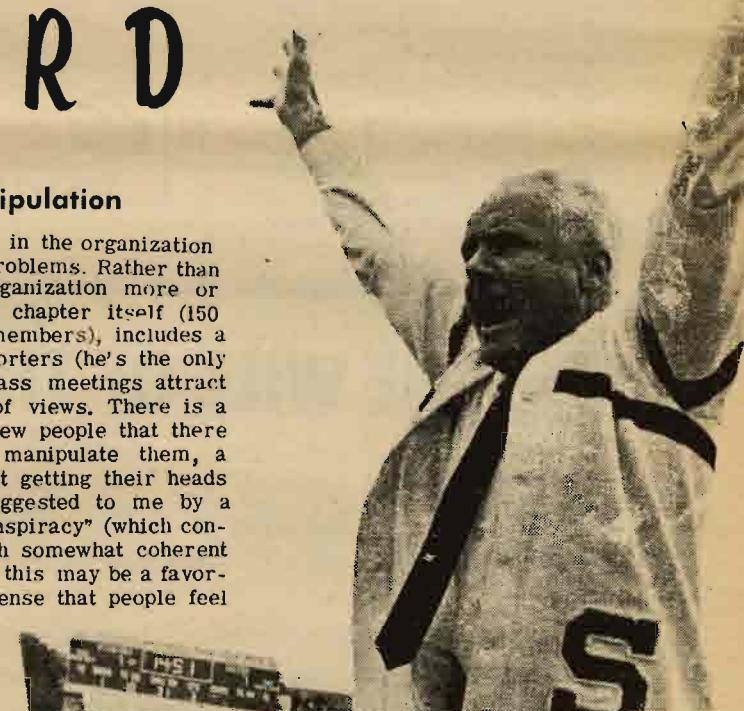
Through The Looking Glass

During the summer, Steve Weissman led a course at the Midpeninsula Free University on power in America. Unfortunately, the focus became power at Stanford, with the result that the several people in the course not from the Stanford community eventually dropped out. The course was successful, though, in accumulating information about the trustees, government research, corporations, foreign involvement (notably Peru and Thailand). From the course came an SDS student guide, *THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS*, a radical guide to Stanford. It consists of three sections: Where You're At, which runs down the Palo Alto area in a thorough manner, from shopping and housing through courses and student government to the draft and the media. The second section, Where They're At, deals with the trustees, the Stanford Research Institute (promoters of counterinsurgency in Thailand), developers of the strategic hamlet program in Vietnam, and large scale defense researchers, Kenneth Pitzer, (Stanford's new president and a noted government scientist), and generally with Stanford's intimate ties with the giant corporations of the area, such as Lockheed and Hewlett Packard; the third section, Where We're At, gives a short history of the Stanford left and then explains briefly the different radical organizations in the area and what they're about.

THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS has been well received. More than 1,000 copies have been sold in the first two weeks, and the general reaction has been favorable. It is probably the most effective vehicle for reaching large numbers of students with research in a palatable form, has enabled SDSers to have something concrete to present to students curious about the organization but not sure what it's all about, and is undoubtedly one of the major factors behind the enormous interest in SDS.

Elitism And Manipulation

The sudden growth in the organization has created some problems. Rather than being built, the organization more or less ballooned. The chapter itself (150 local dues-paying members), includes a few Humphrey supporters (he's the only alternative); the mass meetings attract a great diversity of views. There is a fear among many new people that there is an attempt to manipulate them, a conspiracy aimed at getting their heads busted. As was suggested to me by a member of the "conspiracy" (which consists of anyone with somewhat coherent radical analysis), this may be a favorable sign in the sense that people feel



TRUSTEE OF WELLS FARGO AND STANFORD

that our ideas have the strength to win them over. Nevertheless, we are going to have to convince this group that they're not being used and then face the problem of how to define the chapter politically.

The problem will ease if the chapter agrees

on some form of action, and people are able to once more deal with the concrete

rather than the abstract.

SDS will definitely have to deal in some way with the McCarthy kids. Many of them are actively and solidly involved in the chapter, as opposed to last year, when SDS was a militant-sounding, isolated sect which reinforced its dilemma by refusing to deal with strains not so ideologically "pure". We have to keep in touch and work with these people; they're the natural base for SDS on the campus.

The chapter is structured this year in a way which should help to overcome charges of elitism raised in the past. We have a study-action group setup, ten or so groups on topics like the draft, labor, electoral politics, foreign relations, which meet regularly as study groups and plan actions in their respective areas. Two representatives from each of these groups constitute an executive committee, which is rotated monthly. Executive committee meetings are open. Last year, with no structure, work evolved to a few individuals, who thereby controlled the forms of the organization and made most decisions for it. This

year there are many more people working actively, so centralization of power through default is not as likely.

Another Columbia

The primary thrust for the fall may be decided at the next executive committee meeting. Most people I have talked to feel we should concentrate on action against the Stanford Research Institute. The form of action, and the length of time we should devote to preparatory educational work are still open questions. It is unlikely that Stanford will be another Columbia; there may be a very large movement here, but its form won't be the same. There isn't nearly as much factional friction among radicals at Stanford as there was between Columbia's Action Faction, Praxis Axis, and Labor Committee. Unlike Columbia, which faces the reality of Harlem, Stanford is a fantasy world, isolated from the outside world by a huge campus and its location in the heart of suburbia. But Stanford is even more heavily research-oriented than Columbia, and the vitality of a young movement will burst forth in some form. Dennis Hayes may not have his Columbia, but neither will he and the administration have their Stanford. ■

1,000,000 Signatures for Eldridge

DO YOUR THING . . .

HAVE THIS PETITION SIGNED BY 25
PEOPLE AND MAIL IMMEDIATELY TO:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
P.O. BOX 8641, EMERYVILLE BRANCH
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO KEEP
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER OUT OF PRISON

PETITION NO. _____



PETITION: KEEP ELDRIDGE CLEAVER OUT OF PRISON

"EVERYONE IS INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY"

ONLY THE PEOPLE IN MASS CAN DESTROY RACISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. So we the undersigned who are citizens of America and peoples around the world, DEMAND, that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party; Candidate for President of the United States of America on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket; author of the book, SOUL ON ICE; and managing editor for Ramparts Magazine, we say and demand that he, Eldridge Cleaver, should not be sent back to prison after being released from prison by Judge Sherwin of Solano County in California. Released because the Judge stated that Eldridge then was being held as a "political prisoner." ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is now out of prison on legal bail. We the undersigned say that the California Governor with his "Adult Authority," the courts of California and the federal courts of the U.S.A. had better recognize that everyone is innocent until proven guilty with the right to bail before trial, that this is every human beings right by the United States Constitution, including Eldridge Cleaver.

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GEORGE WALLACE

NO FRIEND OF THE "LITTLE MAN"

By Doug Youngblood

George Wallace is certainly making true his statement that: "We're going to shake the eye-teeth of the liberals of both national parties." The fact that he is having some success can be seen by the results of a recent Gallup Poll in which he racked up 19% of the popular vote. And in a more recent Harris Poll he is credited with 21%. While there is little danger that he will be elected President there are many who fear that his third party can gain enough support to throw the election into the House of Representatives. If this were to happen it would mean that Wallace would probably swing his support in behind the candidate that would allow him a voice in choosing Supreme Court Justices and the Attorney General, plus a pledge to tread lightly in enforcing civil rights laws; and a say in other things like the placement of industry, federal funds, and even the war.

More important Wallace is certainly setting the stage upon which both Nixon and Humphrey will act out their respective political farces and spew forth their election year rhetoric of lies, distortions and empty promises.



For years the movement has been content to label Wallace a fascist, racist, bigot, and reactionary. Now while he may be all of these things these words have done little or nothing to impede the growth of his movement. It is time for our movement to stop the name calling and sit down to make an honest appraisal of Wallace. After all, he is winning the support of those who have traditionally led the fight against fascism and racism--namely, organized workers (e.g. Italy, Germany, Spain). He is also getting the support of people who until now were closed to the unreal and simplistic solutions he offers.

The People Backing Wallace

Who backs Wallace?

"Rumors persist that large contributions are being received from individuals and organizations classed in the conservative and far-right political categories. Most often mentioned is H.L. Hunt, the Texas oil billionaire." (The BIRMINGHAM NEWS). Hunt is a long-time enemy of organized labor and progressive politics.

This right-wing support "rumor" is now well documented and substantiated by an investigation made by four groups which monitor right-wing activities: the Institute for American Democracy, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Southern Committee on Political Ethics, and Group Research Inc. Their investigations show even more clearly to what extent the right-wing is using the Wallace campaign to advance their propaganda and fill their own ranks and coffers. The IAD

prepared a report linking Birch members to 22 of Wallace's state organizations and tying White Citizen Councils' members to 10 of his state organizations.

All across the country right-wing organizations (KKK, Minutemen, the Christian Crusade, National States Rights Party, the American Nazi Party, White Citizens Council, as well as the JBS) have thrown their support behind him and are working feverishly for a victory in November.

Wallace's Popularity

Although these affiliations with right-wing interests shed some light on Wallace they do little to explain his growing popularity (15,000 people attend a rally in Shreveport, La.; 5,000 in Providence, R.I.; 6,000 in Syracuse, N.Y.; 10,000 in Columbia, Md.; and 3,000 in Boston, Mass.)

His popularity depends upon several other factors: political alienation, emotional appeal, his rebel image and the failure of the white radical movement to go to the people.

In the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Julius Lester had this to say: "George Wallace recognized that these 'forgotten Americans' were perhaps more alienated from the society than the children of affluence, the children of the ghetto, and the liberal intellectual. They were more alienated because they were without a means of even expressing their alienation. They looked to the world about them, a world of rapid and radical change, and saw that change as only a threat. And they could find no political force who could speak to their fears and quiet them or speak to their fears and organize them. No one came forward to move them into the process of change, so their fears increased. Wallace has come

forward to articulate those fears and organize them. He is saying publicly what many whites have been saying to themselves and each other. He is reinforcing their resistance to change and cannot be glibly written off as a fascist and a demagogue."

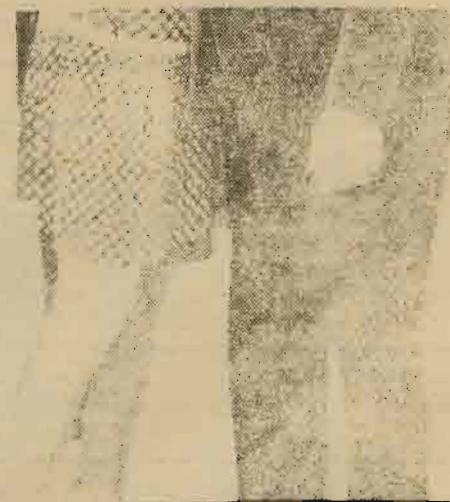
Wallace is making an emotional appeal directed at the fears and insecurities felt by those who are experiencing the same frustration as we are, caused by a "system which increasingly allows for less and less involvement in anything remotely human." But the answers he gives to their questions, fears, doubts and frustrations serve only to strengthen and reinforce the response and behavioral patterns formed and shaped (on a large part) by the educational institutions of the State.

His popularity does not prove that the workers of this country are pro-fascist and racist, but it does prove that for the first time (on a large scale) in 30 years people are talking and thinking politics and in varying degrees most of them have some understanding of the "Tweedle-Dee and Tweedle-Dum" nature of the two major parties and their dissatisfaction with them can be seen in the popularity of McCarthy as well as Wallace. The American Independent Party appears as a media by which they can say "No!" to certain aspects of this system, i.e. the AIP seems a "viable alternative to the Republican and Democratic parties, which refuse to create much distinction between each other". The people are expressing their displeasure with what the 2 major parties have produced and want an alternative. But no alternative exists because Wallace (just like McCarthy) has no disagreement with the capitalistic system and while his AIP seems a vehicle by which they can make their voice heard, it is nothing more than a reinforcing process that ties them even more firmly to the primary source of their alienation, i.e. the capitalistic system.



"Rebel"

"Both (McCarthy liberals and Wallace reactionaries) represent an alienation from U.S. policies, from distrust of the ruling bodies. Both cast their lot with a



rebel, with (in their eyes) the guts to throw down the gauntlet to a powerful and arrogant establishment." (Al Lannon) Wallace appeals in many respects to the rebel in people that comes out when we are fed up with a lot of things: high taxes, seeing our sons coming back from a war with no purpose, their meaningless and unexciting existence, the boredom of their jobs and conformity to rules and regulations they don't agree with.

The only problem is that this rebel is not really a rebel at all for Wallace is no different than Humphrey or Nixon; it's only that he serves different interests of

the ruling-class. His racist populism is disdained, but he is considered a useful counterpoise to anti-capitalist forces loose in the society. They attack him bitterly for his racism in the media, but their real complaint against him is that he is not under control. George Wallace is the only major politician in America with an independent political and financial base." (C. Clark Kissinger, NATIONAL GUARDIAN). McCarthy has been dealt with and while Wallace is viewed as an immediate enemy in the long run he is just as much a friend and believer in capitalism as they are. They will try to crush him but if they can't they will accommodate themselves to him and receive him with open arms.

Sowing The Seeds But

Not Reaping The Harvest

The movement (civil rights, student and peace) has been the chief agent of the unrest, alienation and political awareness that exists but it has failed to go among white people and "move them into the process of change." We have sowed the seeds but have not gone into the fields to reap the harvest that Wallace is finding so abundant and is turning against us. Much of his popularity can be blamed on the movement because we have not gone out into poor and working-class white communities to work at helping white people to liberate themselves. We have not gone among those upon whose backs rest the industry of this country, the task of fighting the wars, the burden of paying the bulk of the taxes. We have not ventured into the areas to organize where people are caught up in a world of second-hand cars, clothes, and grade C educations.

We have not been receptive, responsive, or sensitive to what their lives are all about or what they feel about what is happening around them. We have not explained to them the reasons for our demonstrations, marches and that we understand and make their demands our demands. We have not become the voice to which they listen. We have not provided the channel they think they will find with Wallace or thought they would find with McCarthy. We have not gone among them with explanations of racism, education, the war, or any of the multitude of problems that beset their lives.

No, we have not gone among our own people but Wallace has and he is finding the harvest more than abundant and reaps where he has not sown. The white section of the movement has remained basically student and middle-class oriented and is the primary reason that they have no other voice to listen to but that of George Wallace.

Beyond The Peace And Student Movements

While recognizing that the peace and student movements are vitally important to the growth of radical consciousness in this country I feel that their members are going to have to understand that until their movements become relevant to the needs and show our understanding of the alienation of these "ignored Americans" they (the movement) will never be able to obtain the power to cause revolutionary change in the politics, institutions and other forces that control and shape our lives.

White middle-class kids who could go into Mississippi and other places to assist black people cannot turn and do the same for and among poor and working-class whites. This is not strange when you understand that just as whites are taught to hate and fear blacks; middle-class whites are taught to hate and fear "lower class" whites. The same guilt that initially brought so many into the civil-rights movement does not exist toward poor whites because they are just lazy, pro-fascist and could make it if they'd just wash up and get a job.

It's difficult for middle-class whites to admit that poor whites are their people and they haven't been able to (on any large scale) do what black middle-class kids could do i.e. go into the cotton patches, ghettos and factories to work and organize their people and involve them in the struggle. It is important that this line of thought be injected into the movement. WE MUST GO TO OUR PEOPLE AND ORGANIZE NOT AS AGENTS OF THE BLACK MOVEMENT, BUT AS AGENTS OF REVOLUTION. OUR GOAL IS TO ASSIST OUR PEOPLE IN BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE SYSTEM THAT VICTIMIZES THEM IN THE SAME WAY THAT IT DOES BLACK PEOPLE.

Wallace's Alabama

Wallace presents himself to the nation as the popular governor of Alabama. Yet on primary day, when black people cast 20% of the votes; whites 80%, Wallace only received 52% of the total votes cast. Few, if any, black people voted for Wallace and only 65% of the whites did. If 5% more of the whites had voted against Wallace they would have defeated him. In the general elections he got 66% of the votes because many anti-Wallace people wanted to vote for moderate Democrats, but did not know how to split their tickets. Wallace never mentions the reasons for his low popularity in his own state.

Alabama ranks 48th among states in per capital annual income and is \$900 below the national average.

Alabama meets only one of 8 key standards for state child labor laws.

Alabama is one of the 16 states without an effective minimum wage law.

Alabama has one of the highest illiteracy rates in the nation. More than 40% of Alabama males called for military service are disqualified due to illiteracy and health reasons. Only 3 states have poorer records.

Alabama has one of the highest percentages among states of housing listed as dilapidated.

Alabama is one of the lowest states in the percentage of high school graduates who go on to college.

Alabama ranks 49th among states in Welfare payments for dependent children.

Only 2 states spend less per pupil in the public schools than Alabama, whose \$390 annual expenditure is \$179 below the national averages.

While it is true that many of these problems were in existence before he arrived on the Alabama political scene still during his 4 years and nearly one and a half as unofficial governor the relative standing of his state remains basically unchanged, and there is little evidence that he made any major effort toward solving any of them. While he makes claims about how the state is prospering under his guidance, facts will show that he is misrepresenting himself. (He has wooed some industry into the state by offering free land, utilities, tax exemption and non-union labor.)

The state's rate of economic progress has declined sharply in the last two years. ALABAMA BUSINESS reports that "1967 was quite frankly disappointing for the Alabama economy." While the rest of the South kept moving ahead, total industrial output in Alabama barely matched the 1966 level, and average monthly manufacturing employment fell off from 1966.

There are many Alabamans, black and white, who are working openly and not so openly to oppose Wallace. They represent the decent and human element trying to make Alabama (and other Southern states) better places to live, and their opinions create quite a different picture of Alabama than that being projected by Wallace and the news media.



One thing that we (the movement) must purge ourselves of is accepting stereotypes. For it has not been only the black man that has been distorted (historically and culturally) but the poor white has also had an incorrect image of him projected by the various medias. We see how the media and other instruments that shape public opinion distort our actions, goals and endeavors and we must understand that they do this to other things also. This is one way the State keeps its niggers (black, white or otherwise) in line.

Wallace and the "Little Man"

One of Wallace's loudest claims is that he has the best interests of the "little man" utmost in his heart.

Here are some facts that will show why Wallace is not a friend of the "little man".

Sales tax rates in his state have soared to among the highest in the nation--after he promised not to increase them.

For the first time in many years in Alabama, state agencies--notably the Highway Patrol--interfered in union organizing efforts.

Though he boasts of attracting new industry to the state, in recent years manufacturing jobs increased in EVERY southeastern state with the exception of Mississippi.

Only 8 states pay lower minimum weekly benefits for disability under workman's compensation.

Jobless pay increased under Wallace as it did under all his recent predecessors, but it was boosted at the expense of working women. His administration denied unemployment benefits to ALL working women who take maternity leave without assurance of a job when they are ready to re-

turn to work.

In average jobless benefits payments, only 7 states rank lower than Alabama and 7 are lower in the maximum weekly benefits paid.

These facts make it very difficult to continue believing Wallace when he refers to his friendliness toward the "little man" and makes it more understandable when one Alabamian union official puts it: "Wallace is perhaps the most anti-workingman governor in the U.S." In no other state is the tax structure so rigged against the urban workingman and in favor of the man who owns a thousand acres of pine trees or pasture land in a rural county.

Union leaders are cautious because Wallace has hurt them. He has fragmented their organizations by telling their members: "I could do so much more for you workingmen if you'd just get rid of them nigger-loving leaders you got". Let's listen to what some union officials have to say on the subject of Wallace and the "little man".



"When Wallace was a legislator (late forties) he talked like the workingman's friend. When he ran for governor in 1962 we labor people asked him where he stood on issues like: sales tax, minimum wages, workman's compensation, anti-union laws and he told us, 'Hell, you fellows know how I stand on them issues. I always been for the workingman'. But then his speeches became nothing but nigger, nigger, nigger and we told him he should give us a little less nigger, nigger, nigger and a little more talk about how he was gonna help the workingman. His answer was, 'I'm gonna help the workingman first by taking his part against the niggers: that's all folks want to hear me talk about'. And we told him, 'Well, Negroes are workingmen too, and what all workingmen in Alabama need is a governor to take their part against the big employer and the big property owners'. Of course, George double-crossed us. Show us a politician who's taking the white man's part against the nigger, and I'll show you one who'll never take the workingman's part against employers and big property owners. Why should he? He gets the poor white man's

vote by yelling 'nigger' then steals bread from his pockets."

It's not necessary to re-establish Wallace's racism. But the issue of racism must be raised again because it is the best way to combat his claim of being the friend of the workingman. Racism is not in the best interest of the working class.

Racism and Workers

Racism sets one section of the working-class against another and keeps them from seeing that it is in their class interest (class, not personal) to make demands of some workers the demands of all workers. They cannot be divided for in division is defeat as has happened so many times in the past. Wallace cannot have the interests of the worker at heart when he creates such divisions in the ranks of laborers as he does when he vows: "Segregation forever".

Another interesting bit of information comes to light when we listen to another union leader saying: "Before workingmen in other states start supporting Wallace for President, they should come to Alabama and see workingmen paying Wallace's new taxes on bread, beer, tobacco, auto tags and driver's licenses. They should inspect a state which has no minimum wage law, but which has an anti-union law and an inadequate workman's compensation."

It would seem to me that if Wallace is truly for the "little man" then one of the planks of his platform should be to strike down all anti-union legislation existing in Alabama and in other Southern states. This would allow workers to organize their jobs and would result in better wages, better living conditions and a higher standard of living for those he claims to represent. But in light of what we have learned about George Wallace, I think we can say that it is impossible for him to make this part of his platform because he serves interests whose wealth is tied up in creating a non-unionized floating pool of cheap labor and keeping the South as a place where industry can go to escape organized labor.

While I am aware that many unions are not acting in the best interests of their members, unions are still the only buffer that workers can put between them and those who own the job at which they work. If you think this buffer isn't needed any longer, check out the day-labor halls that utilize non-unionized labor. And as long as George Wallace is anti-union then he is anti "little man".

In closing I would like to reemphasize the importance of understanding that we as white revolutionaries have a job with our own people. If this is not the direction that the movement begins to move in the system that oppresses us all will use our poor white and working-class brothers against us in our struggle for liberation, freedom and dignity.

"IT'LL BE THE GRAMMER SCHOOL KIDS NEXT"

Said one white mother, "I think they're using the generation gap argument simply as a copy-cat method, just to create disturbances. The example set by Cal students has now filtered down to high schools and junior highs. If someone doesn't stand up next year it will be the grammar school kids."

The opening weeks of school in Oakland and in the rest of the country were stormy, to say the least. Fremont High School in Oakland was closed for almost a week, due to some fights between black and white students, a fire-bombing by white students, but, in general, due to the black student perception of the irrelevance and brainwash of the present educational framework.

At many high schools in the Bay Area black students have organized and presented demands. These demands have included: more black history and culture courses, more black teachers, the firing of some administrators and teachers, the serving of soul-food in school cafeterias.

Black History

Most school administrators and teachers, when pressured, and almost all students, black and white, termed the demand for black history "legitimate."

There were exceptions. For example, Stuart Phillips, Oakland Superintendent of Schools, said that there now is a course in Mexican-American history at Fremont High... soon there'll be demands for Oriental history...

And a parent said, "They should provide for themselves, just as other minorities have done. Have a second school after the regular one. There should be no special emphasis on any ethnic group."

Here, racism parades in the guise of equality for all. As if there had not been special "emphasis" and special "deemphasis" up to now.

Eventually Fremont, after meetings day after day went back into session. Black history will be taught, starting immediately. Most other demands are receiving fast attention. The struggle ended in substantial victory.

At Ravenswood High in Palo Alto, students held a sit-in. They demanded the removal of the principal, Malcolm Taylor. Many of the movements began with administrator or teacher provocation, and built as students handled the administrators, not vice-versa. When asked about the quality of education in the predominantly black school, Taylor says, "Many children do have an inferior education, not because of inferior instruction, but because they've done an inferior job of taking part in it."

Malcolm Taylor was removed.

Discipline

At Emeryville High School nine black students blocked a doorway and the school was closed for that day. One administrator couldn't understand why some black students had objected when the course which was being taught in black history was integrated.

Emeryville High did not call in the police. They instead sought "dialogue." After a prolonged assembly in the gymnasium, peace was restored.

The refusal to call police prompted reaction. One mother said, "discipline was more stringent when I was a child... people thought of you as a child and treated you as a child. Even if things weren't

fair to me -- it didn't make much difference because the school and the principal were the bosses."

"It's time youngsters learned that getting an education is a privilege, rather than a right."

In the scattered incidents of violence many people found the hook to hang their objections to student demands. One parent called it "all take and no give... the one quarrel I have with it all is their lack of concern for humanity."

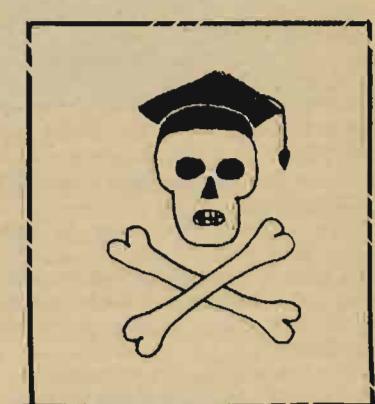
The violence that took place was minor... the threat, however, was ever-present. It, along with the present atmosphere of tension in Oakland, contributed to the surprisingly careful handling of protest by the schools. High school students had found power in organization and in muscle. High school students demonstrated a strong defiance of established school authority. If the administrators were uncooperative, the students simply refused to deal with them.

Where Does It All Come From?

The disturbances in Oakland schools clearly reflect the depth to which revolt has penetrated in 1968 America. In some cases, white students sided with black students against administrators, or in support of the black demands.

In some cases too the demands involved things like more black pom-pom girls -- seemingly surface things which spoke for a larger and less articulated protest against the status quo and the racism of the schools. But often, as in Vallejo, student demands escalated consciously from small demands to broader ones, as black student unions formed to continue the struggle.

Not a generation gap. But a gap informed by the content of black protest against either inhumane discipline or irrelevant curricula or racist teachers. It is clear that the black power move-



ment, as well as the general discontent in this society, has not only filtered down to the high schools... it has recently been invigorated and strengthened by militant actions of high school students.

Many high school students took part in the Stop the Draft Weeks, the riots in Berkeley, the Free Huey demonstrations, the actions in Chicago. Oakland seems a good example of black high school students working effectively on their own base, their own place of work -- the school itself -- forcing once all-powerful school boards and administrators to yield, at least for the time being. From all indications, high school students in Oakland are just beginning to move.

time jobs and maybe if you are really pushed real communes will spring up.

Like one person would work a year and support everybody. We'll have to figure out all these economic schemes. Eventually we'll have to build our own economic system; our own self-sufficing economic system in which people take responsibility economically for their brothers. So far in the movement we all work together to plan demonstrations, to put out newspapers, but we don't relate to one another's lives; personal lives. We don't much care and actually our attitude toward one another in that respect is as bad I think as America's attitude, the average American's attitude. The movement does not enter into the personal realm of how people relate to others as living, surviving people.

But I think that's only because we are in a transitional period. We came out of the 1950s and we're like the first people. The next generation I think will define these things much more as public problems and will form cooperatives.

And I think it's also possible that if we were really together we could go to the liberal middle that exists and steal from them. There are a lot of guilty 40, 50, or 60 year olds around who if we really laid it out to them and said "Look there are 10,000 of us and we're together, we're not working anymore, we're living together and we're full-time agitators, all the time, nothing else, that's our sole life. You're not doing that...support five of us every year."

I think there are ways to fucking beat the system and that people aren't doing that is an indication that it isn't a big problem. But the need will create the answer. The need will create the organization to do it as a matter of fact.

Elections are a P.R. trick

MOVEMENT: What do you think about the elections?

JERRY: I'd like to see us stop them. I think probably we can't physically stop them because it would be too many felony raps for too many people, but I think we can steal the election because the election is primarily a media message to the world and a media message to the American people. So we can steal the media.

Elections are basically a public relations trick that we can destroy because we can become more newsworthy than the election since the election is not an interesting athletic event and it's primarily just an athletic event.

So we go into the streets and police-demonstrator theatre becomes fantastically interesting. They'll dramatize it and sensationalize it and the words will go off that the American elections...it'll get so extreme...First of all they'll militarily over-react. They'll be clubs when they don't have to. They'll make it seem that people are two days away from taking over the country. Two days away from bringing the big cities to a halt when actually you know if the truth was known we're feeble you know so...

MOVEMENT: We have a saying that you can't build a movement on bullshit and isn't that creating kind of a bullshit illusion as bullshit as the farce of the elections themselves?

JERRY: No, it isn't. First of all it's a tactic and it produces results so let's do it...

MOVEMENT: Like what?

JERRY: Right now a kid growing up in America who's like 10 years old when he thinks of the possibilities he thinks of hippy or not hippie. I mean that's like two different Americas. He like has a choice. If he grows his hair long the kids will call him hippy; if he smokes pot then he says maybe I'll get into the drug culture; if he goes to demonstrations it's a big act. So it's hippy or not hippy that's like the two choices. It's not like Democrat or Republican. That's no choice anymore.

We have created an opposite pole of energy way beyond our numbers but because our spirit and our energy and our creativity to totally redefine what America means to young kids growing up...And I think that it's a safe poker gamble to say that we're going to win an awful lot. MOVEMENT: Are we ready to deal with this powerful system's going into a paranoid trip, especially with some of the rest of the country moving right?

JERRY: You could say the right wing is going to come down hard on us and turn us into heroes. That the moment they start taking away our brothers 15 or 20 other brothers are going to appear. That people's commitment is going to triple. I mean that's a possibility, that's a real possibility.

LBJ has helped us grow. Also I want to say that I like George Wallace. He right now is the most important left wing organizer in the movement.

George Wallace brings it all back home. He brings it all together. He says he is opposed to the intellectuals, bureaucrats, anarchists, niggers, etc., university people...He states: every category that we could ever

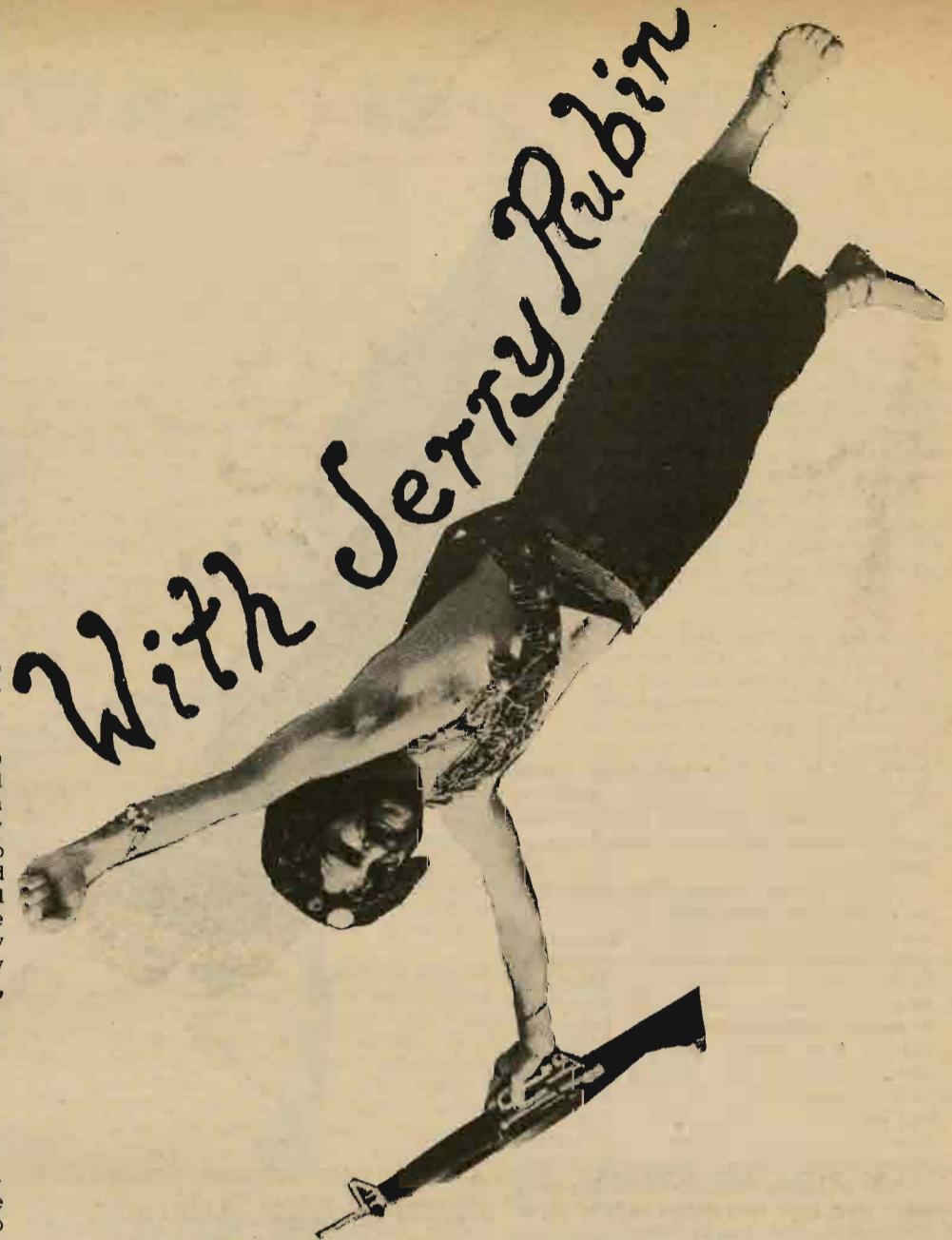
organize into one total force would be like overwhelming--and he lumps us all together. So that brings us together 'cause it makes one thing out of us and I think we are one thing although we're not conscious of it.

I think we have to do what we do and take our chances, because we have to act as totally free people or otherwise we'll have to give everything up. The election comes up and I have to ask myself, "What in my most total freedom would I want to do?" I'd say, well I want to go into the streets and show my opinion about it. And I think we always have to have that kind of total personal honesty in action.

MOVEMENT: That's quite an emotional way of expressing themselves and you would agree that not everybody would be expressing their total freedom by doing that. There are alternatives...

JERRY: No, No, I think people are basically emotional and I think that reason is used to give justification for fears. I don't think anybody intellectualizes himself into becoming a revolutionary. He feels that he just absolutely needs to do this and the intellectualism is most usually an excuse. Like I have a feeling that when people go to demonstrations the demands that are made, the issues that are raised are really irrelevant to why they came.

They're here because they want to pick up girls, they want to have a good time, they want to be where the action is, they want to fight the cops, they want to make history, they want to do something unusual. It's all personal and emotional reasons and then you hear all the intellectualizations, the battle of the leaflets, and man there are a lot of crazy people here really acting on some nutty levels...there's a leaflet about Marxism, who the hell knows from his Marxism?



to be talked about--and I know a little bit about this because I was a reporter--that there is a lot of freedom for the individual reporter...that paper is going to report us as long as we are news. And news means as long as he can impress his editor that it will sell papers, which means people care about it. I think that there will be a point when that'll be closed off to us, that whole thing, that the media will be taken over and run differently, that's true. Then I think we'll be large enough that we may have our own media...

When the media covers us the images are youth versus cops, long-hair versus short hair, people in the streets unarmed against armed people, people fighting for a cause and people just carrying out brute force. and I don't care what their words are, they can use any words they want. A little kid watching that sees the black hats and the white hats and sees people he identifies with against other people. So it's by definition revolutionary.

I think the only thing that really reaches people, that really has like mass effect on consciousness is the media. So I'm interested in projecting what I am to lots of people. I don't see any other quicker way to do it using 20th century methods, which we have to use, because that's how the man uses it. The power people use the media. We are no weapon against them if we are going to wave our movement newspapers and our leaflets and our Sproul Hall rallies while they're using television.

I mean Jesus, look at Bobby Kennedy, everything he did was to consider television because he knew television was the single way to control the country.

I think that most people very, very much, unconsciously or habitually use the media to make decisions in the movement and if we were conscious about it we could control it; and it has to be controlled because there are very great dangers in it. I'm aware of the dangers and I think...I consider myself really able to control it because I am aware of how important it is and how dangerous it is.

Most people just like are uncritical about it because all they do is talk bad about it while all their actions take it totally into effect. That's connected to the fact that the new left is so ideological and so separated from action. That the people on the campus movements who are Marxists never really know what's happening in the country and they are really swimming in their own rhetoric. And most every idea that comes in is judged in terms of their rhetoric; every question in terms of their rhetoric; and they're playing a rhetoric ballgame.

What happens, pray tell, if your rhetoric does not fit in any way to how people live, relate. If your rhetoric does not apply in any way...you're radicals? No, I think radicals means you make change not that you think radical thoughts.

MOVEMENT: What are you trying to project in the media?

JERRY: Basically what we are saying is shit on middle-class America and we are a new breed. People see us and hear about us and we're identifying with the enemy, we're growing our hair long, we're not taking baths, we're fucking with everyone else, we're spitting, we're standing on our heads, we're saying we don't like your careers, we don't like your degrees, we don't like your wars, we don't care what you think of us, we're getting arrested--going to jail with the niggers. I mean Jesus, you know, a good boy like you doesn't belong in jail. And so we're a new breed--we take dope--exotic religion, strange customs, you know we look like the man from Mars, and that is like a total message to middle-class America.

It's a message of baby you are over, we don't like it, we don't want to repeat what you did, you are over. I mean that's the message to young, little kids, you know. This is where its at, this is another road to live. There's a whole different way, a totally different way--come on.

Don't pay attention to what your parents, your teachers, your ministers, your doctors, your neighbors say, they don't know nothing. Listen instead to the freaky, crazy people that everybody puts down and then come live with us and the whole thing. We have invited every young kid in the country to change his life so we had better create that alternative economy which will make it possible.

Panther-Yippie

MOVEMENT: Tell us something about you and Eldridge, the Yippie-Panther alliance and all that kind of stuff.

JERRY: Well I can only talk from my own perspective. I saw the Panther-Peace and Freedom alliance as a necessary one, but one that was not helpful to the white community because it made demands on the white community which were much less demanding and courageous than the demands it made on the black community.

To blacks it said, "Get your shit together and become a total revolutionary against the system". To the whites it said, "Become a part or full-time worker in an electoral party which is trying to appeal to all Americans". I understood it, though, because I understood the political atmosphere of the West Coast and the effect of the Huey Newton case, and I thought that it was a necessary step to give the Panthers some liberated territory to ally with the Peace and Freedom Party. I also accept that the Peace and Freedom Party was probably the only thing going at that time in the white community.

But the message to whites and to blacks has to be the same. That white and black is a state of mind and you're as repressed and oppressed as you feel, and whites

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

OUR GENERATION

LARGEST NEW LEFT QUARTERLY

IN NORTH AMERICA

SPECIAL ISSUE ONE (208 PAGES)

STUDENTS

AND

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HUEY

Continued from Pg. 3

as well as stringent legal grounds. It challenged not only the prosecution assessment of the shooting, but the entire framework of racist injustice, both in the courtroom and on the streets.

Because of the mass exhilaration of the defense work (an important indication of strength in itself) some people alternated between super optimism as to its outcome, and a political despair should it not come out well.

They have learned from Huey Newton's long-range and selfless attitude. They have learned better the nature of the system --

and that it will take more than momentary triumph or defeat to bring it down. The mass defense has raised the political consciousness of many people, black and white.

In his statement on the verdict Huey Newton pointed out: "We have just started fighting and now we must fight to the finish and the finish will be when all black men are freed from jails and prisons in this racist country. At this time we must fight on a political level and on a judicial level, we must influence the courtroom and we can do this by uniting and for black people and for all revolutionary people black and white, to send letters into the court and escalate the propaganda throughout the world so we will expose the hypocrisy of the judicial system. I am very sure that we will be very successful and that we will get a new trial not because of the kindness that the appellate courts will show us but because of the political pressure that we have applied to the establishment and we will do this by organizing the community so that they can display their will. The will of the black people must be done and I would like to compliment the people on the revolutionary fervor that they have shown thus far. They have been very beautiful and they have exceeded my expectations. Let us go on outdoing ourselves, a revolutionary man always transcends himself or otherwise he is not a revolutionary man, so we always do what we ask of ourselves or more than what we know we can do. We have the people behind us that we are always successful, the people collectively."



have got to do the same thing blacks have got to do. And they have to give up their privileges and join the revolution and make it a revolutionary thing and not just a black thing.

I think strangely enough the people that have done that have been the people that are popularly called hippies, because in defining themselves as totally, freakish-looking visual outsiders--and long hair may be the most important political issue in America today; think about it, everybody always talks about long hair...I'm not for ending the war, just all those long haired people are", you know. So long hair is a critical, critical issue. They have defined themselves, whether they decided to intellectually or not, into another class.

And the police respond the same; going after long hair at a demonstration or an event, of course. And that actually is more alienating in America than just being a radical in your head, while looking, acting and living like the average American. That's the cultural revolution which was a transformation of people's values and lives. I think that Eldridge is very aware of what is happening in the white community and very aware that the direct threat to the old values, which immediately becomes how you live, is potentially revolutionary and that's the thing to link up with.

One is Out, One Wants Out

One group that has never been in the American system and the other group that wants out, that's the link up. And I think that's a similar thinking that the Yippies are involved in. The Yippies sense that what we are trying to create is a population of freaks who are out of the system, treated as such and therefore become enemies because of their existence. Their existence determines them as enemies. And so that black-white alliance will be an alliance that makes them enemies of America. As I understand it that's some of the background for Cleaver deciding that it was important now to recognize another element in the white community and to say that that was what they had to relate to.

I think broadly speaking that element is Yippies, street people--there is a definite thing with street people, it exists in NY and I think it exists here. High school kids, all the long-haired kids in the country today, and SDS people.

MOVEMENT: What the fuck are the Yippies anyway?

JERRY: First of all it's a joke. Its purpose is to freak out the left as much as freaking out the middle and the right. It's a figment of our imagination, which also is very real. There are long-haired freaks who are politically active, and take drugs and have a vast generalized rebellion about them, anarchistically drawn and like are turned on by things. That's the population of people who come under the yippie's masses. And like I saw that at the Pentagon. So after the experience at the Pentagon some of us who didn't feel comfortable in the political organizations because they never talked about our lives and felt a compulsion to be involved in action felt they needed to create a whole new style and I think the Yippies are more of a style than an organization. And so we got high a few nights and created a vision for Chicago.

MOVEMENT: What kind of people were involved?

JERRY: About 30 to 40 people. People who are very much into theatrical things and freak things, very ego-oriented people, people who are like very personally in

but for values, people making the revolution against boredom. People making the revolution because they have nothing else to do. People born past the 1950 mark and who have experienced a new kind of America. Well, that's the class.

MOVEMENT: Do these class lines cut across age lines? Generation gaps?

JERRY: For individuals. Age is only a matter of how you feel. Like Bertrand Russell is our leader.

MOVEMENT: He's a Yippie leader?

JERRY: One of the leaders; there are lots of leaders, but he's an old Yippie there bouncing away.

MOVEMENT: It's my recollection that very recently you passed the age of 30, traditionally known as the age of trust. Is that so?

JERRY: Yeah, but don't you remember about 7 months before my birthday I wrote a big article in which I said you can't trust anybody over 35. I was laying my own ground there.



what they are doing. The new left seemed very unsatisfying because it was not cultural. It did not relate to music; it didn't relate to style of life; it didn't relate to the way people looked; it didn't relate to how people loved and the hippie movement was in its most I am all alone and I am one aspects. It had separated itself from the action and passion of everyday existence.

So there had to be like a middle point. Our slogan was: Rise up and abandon the creeping meatball. We demand the politics of ecstasy. If people could be happy with those then you understood what Yippies was because Yippies was a matter of feeling. It didn't have a political program, just a style, a feeling. Burning money was sort of our internal symbol of what we were all about. The death of an old value system. Also it was a movement very much based on laughing at what exists. Running a pig for President. Satirizing.

One Dimensional Left

MOVEMENT: Would you like to elaborate on some of your criticisms of the left in this country and why you think a new style is needed?

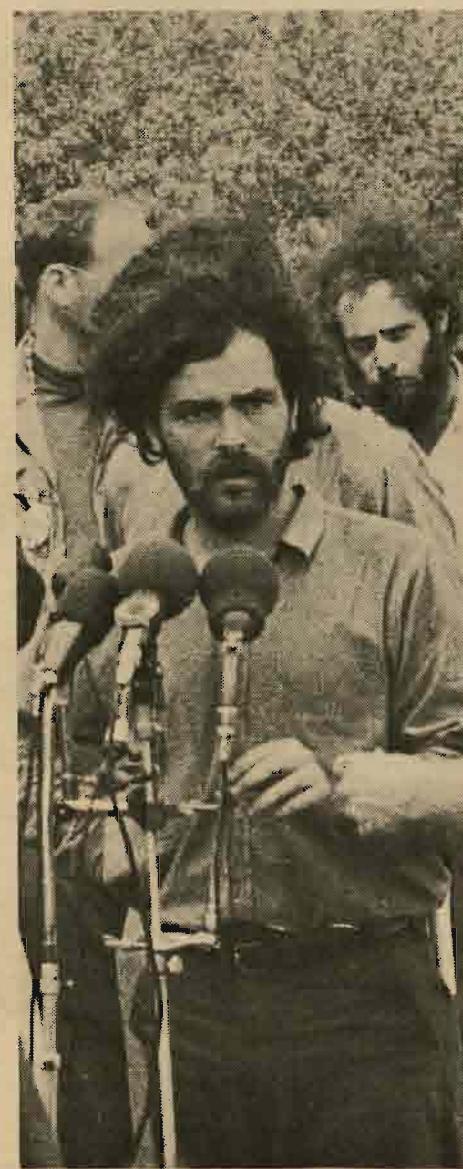
JERRY: The left is one dimensional. It's like only on the political level and it's fighting only with 19th century weapons and it isn't interested in the total revolution. It's not into sex, it's not into music, it's not into the way people live. And I think Yippies is into all those things. Not successfully, but it's stumbling into all those things and only awaits to be replaced by people who can do it better. I think it's very important for Yippies to affect the political left as any other group, as any other group. Because the political left gets into very bad bags.

I saw people's attitude to the Yippies when that started. That's some kind of indication. I saw how it was put down, I heard the putdowns. The putdowns were a revelation of the people putting down, as all putdowns are. They didn't tell me too much about Yippies but they told me about that person. Pretty much the GUARDIAN and the MOVEMENT ignored it; that was significant. A great part of the left ignored it. Another part of the left attacked it by saying it was not political even though at the same time it criticized it for organizing the Chicago thing; some sort of contradiction. So very few people on the left understood what it was all about.

We consider ourselves part of the revolutionary class. Most people do not consider themselves part of the revolutionary class. They look to another class to make the revolution. But I consider myself part of the revolutionary class.

MOVEMENT: What class is that?

JERRY: The class of the drop-out middle class whites. Refugees from the suburbs. People fighting not for material goods,



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IS BEST KNOWN FOR:

(Check One)

- Its pioneering role in gym construction
- Its comfortable camping facilities
- Its proximity to ghettos and police stations
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- Mark Rudd

In every political movement there are events of great importance; events which either at the time or in retrospect stand out as watersheds in the history of the struggle. In the student movement in the United States today the rebellion at Columbia University last May is ASSUMED to be just such an event. On universities all around the country radicals with glee and administrators with gloom talk about their schools being turned into "Columbias".

Despite all the talk about creating 2, 3, many Columbias the radical student movement in this country has not really analyzed the events that transpired there. We can assume that our enemies have.

In order for a political movement to grow it must constantly analyze and learn from its experiences. This is especially true when the events raise the struggle to a new level.

With these thoughts in mind the MOVEMENT publishes this special four page supplement on the struggle at Columbia University last May. The article was written by Eric Mann of New England Regional SDS and originally appeared in OUR GENERATION, a Canadian magazine. The version printed here was edited by members of the MOVEMENT staff with the assistance of Mark Rudd, President of the Columbia chapter of SDS during the struggle.

* * * * *

Throughout the brief history of the New Left, and SDS in particular, we have had trouble reconciling the intellectual and the activist, the sensitive and the courageous, the practical and the militant. With a few exceptions, most SDS chapters followed one of two stereotypic patterns: 1. the "reasonable" chapter -- well-liked by liberal students, intellectually more cogent than its liberal opposition, usually opposed to specific militant tactics as precipitous, sees "turning people off" as the worst danger, led by people who don't have a very optimistic view about the possibilities of changing the country. 2. the "kamikaze" chapter -- heavy on revolutionary rhetoric, frequently isolated from its potential base, action-oriented, able to move on national campaigns like Dow Chemical, but usually unable to initiate mass action on its own because its base is too small. Luckily, in the past year, several chapters have moved towards a synthesis of those two tendencies, and are moving in the direction of relatively small campus groups -- (40-100) with a larger number of sympathetic contacts who are the base for militant mass action.

In the case of the Columbia chapter this synthesis took place not before, but during the mass strike. Up until a few months before the strike, the Columbia chapter, while not fitting neatly into either of the two chapter models, could have been described as a "reasonable chapter" in spite of its strong desire not to be. Led by a group referred to as the "Praxis Axis" (so named because most of its people were close to the Praxis group who introduced discussions of the new working class into SDS debate) the chapter had been losing its sense of direction and internal energy. While not opposed to militant action, the chapter

Turn to the next page

COLUMBIA EXAM-- A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT



photo: N.Y. Newsreel

The man in the middle is:

- a) Grayson Kirk, b) a plainclothes cop,
- c) an I.D.A. spokesman

COLUMBIA EXAM CONTINUED

YOU HAVE

had directed almost all of its attention to the issue of campus recruiting by the armed forces and corporations with strong ties to the war machine. Most of the attempts at organizing militant actions were effectively parried by administration tactics like calling off visits of recruiters, and student government inspired referenda in which the students voted overwhelmingly for "open recruiting".

By early spring a group within the chapter, emphasising the need for confrontation politics, supported Mark Rudd for chairman. Rudd's election, in half-serious chapter rhetoric, was hailed as the victory of the "Action Faction" over the "Praxis Axis."

On April 26, after a week of student occupation of the university, the New York City police department brutally arrested over 700 students.

I arrived at Columbia the day after the mass arrests. In a week's time the chapter had grown from a fairly small striking force, to a much larger striking force with more buildings being seized, to a provisional insurrectionary student government the day after the first bust.

Relationship Between Police And Supporting Base

It is certainly true that the issue of police on campus led to increased student support of the people who seized the buildings. However, the frequently-made statement that until the police bust, the demonstrators were isolated from most of the students, isn't accurate. Shortly after the buildings were occupied, a poll showed that a large majority of the students were in accord with the issues of the demonstration, but that a large majority were opposed to the tactics used. This ambivalence led to large numbers of students neither actively opposing nor supporting the demonstrators. But, as the shock of the original tactics wore off and the reality of the students in the buildings became an established fact, more and more students came to support the action, despite their tactical misgivings. Thus, the police busts certainly helped develop support for the strike, but their primary effect was to move large numbers of students from

follows: the original strike committee claimed to represent 700 people -- approximately the number of people arrested in the building Tuesday morning. Using a formula of one delegate for every 70 people represented, the original strike committee would have ten delegates. It was also proposed that the black students in Hamilton Hall would get three delegates. If the formula were strictly applied, the black students would get only one delegate, because they numbered about 100; but Rudd explained that their importance to the strike and their initial role couldn't be measured strictly in numerical terms. This suggestion was unanimously supported by the body. One delegate for every 70 students WHO SUPPORTED THE ORIGINAL DEMANDS OF THE STRIKE would be added to this original base of 13 delegates.

Crucial Meeting

A few alternate proposals were offered from the floor, but the most serious threat to the SDS proposal was offered by a group called Grad-Facs (Graduate Faculty). The speaker for the Grad-Fac's proposal was an articulate liberal. He argued as follows: "While we owe a great deal of gratitude to the original group that was willing to take action, the REALITY (how liberals love reality!) of the situation is that the strike is now much broader than they ever expected, and in order to make the strike committed truly representative we must not force candidates running for the steering committee to accept the six demands of the strike." Delegates should be free to run as long as they support the strike. They need not support the specific demands of the strike. Although everyone was using the word strike, it became clear that although the students were united in staying out of classes, they were far from united on the political direction of the strike.

The Six Demands As A Definition of Politics

The official "six demands of the strike" were: 1. The university must break all ties with I.D.A. 2. Construction of the gym must be terminated. 3. A permanent student-faculty commission, democratically elected, must be established to hear and pass binding judgement on all future disciplinary actions. 4. All legal charges against students and community demon-

strators must be dropped. 5. All University disciplinary actions against demonstrators must be cancelled. 6. The ban on indoor demonstrations must be revoked.

Students were surprisingly open to this analysis, and within a few days after the bust, the six demands re-emerged as the central issues of the strike.

During the lengthy debate on the proposals, two major trends were clear: there was widespread distrust of SDS, and there was widespread confusion among the students. Speakers were able to score points easily by charging SDS with manipulation, or with trying to take over the strike. Students who had stayed on the sidelines for a week, criticizing the methods used by the demonstrators, now talked about SDS trying to take over "our" strike. Anti-radical liberals (as opposed to the many liberal students who were open to the left) used rhetorical tricks to encourage distrust.

The vast majority of the speakers came out against having the six demands as a prerequisite. Judging by the crowd's reaction to the speakers, I was sure that the Grad-Fac's motion would be passed. But when the vote was taken, the SDS-sponsored resolution got over 75% of the vote. But when the Grad-Fac's resolution came up, over 60% voted for it too. The vote made several points clear: 1. Despite a great deal of verbal hostility directed at SDS, when it came down to a vote, many of the people who applauded speakers who criticised SDS ended up voting for the SDS proposal out of a grudging sense of respect. 2. The fact that two contradictory resolutions won a majority indicated the confused and fluid nature of the politics of many of the students.

At that point some form of revote would have had to be taken to choose between the two positions. But before that could happen, a unique quirk of history took place. One of the members of the strike committee came running over to Mark Rudd and said, "Accept the proposal, otherwise we'll have a bad split on our hands." In the tremendous confusion of the moment Rudd walked over to the microphone and said, "We withdraw our motion." The place went wild. The liberals were hysterical, not because they particularly understood the differences between the proposals, but because it was a concession from the radicals. Their co-existing fear of and attraction to the radicals had been reconciled to their great relief. Although it would be short-lived, they were now clearly willing to accept SDS leadership because now SDS was both the most militant and the most REASONABLE -- two qualities rarely

defeated. Thus, in the "content" part of the resolution the six demands were overwhelmingly supported. But then, in the second part of the voting, on "structure", the stipulation that the delegates had to support the very same six demands that had been voted on by the body became a controversial issue.

Complexity of Dynamics

After the meeting the only option open to SDS was to organise like hell during the next two days to elect as many people as possible to the new strike coordinating committee who were committed to the original six demands. The possibilities for winning a large majority were good because 1. SDS had quickly grown to represent large numbers of students on the campus, 2. the vote on the "content" part of the resolution had been overwhelmingly behind the six demands, 3. Mark's "magnanimous" gesture had further increased SDS popularity, and 4. many of the liberals who had voted for the Grad-Fac's resolution were not opposed to the six demands, but were hung up on making them a "compulsory" prerequisite for candidates.

The next two days provided the first example of grass roots democracy that Columbia students had ever experienced. Thousands of students were scurrying all over campus organising groups and talking politics. Not at mass meetings where all they had to do was to shut up listen, and then vote, but dozens of separate meetings that they had organized and run themselves.

SDS-Led Majority

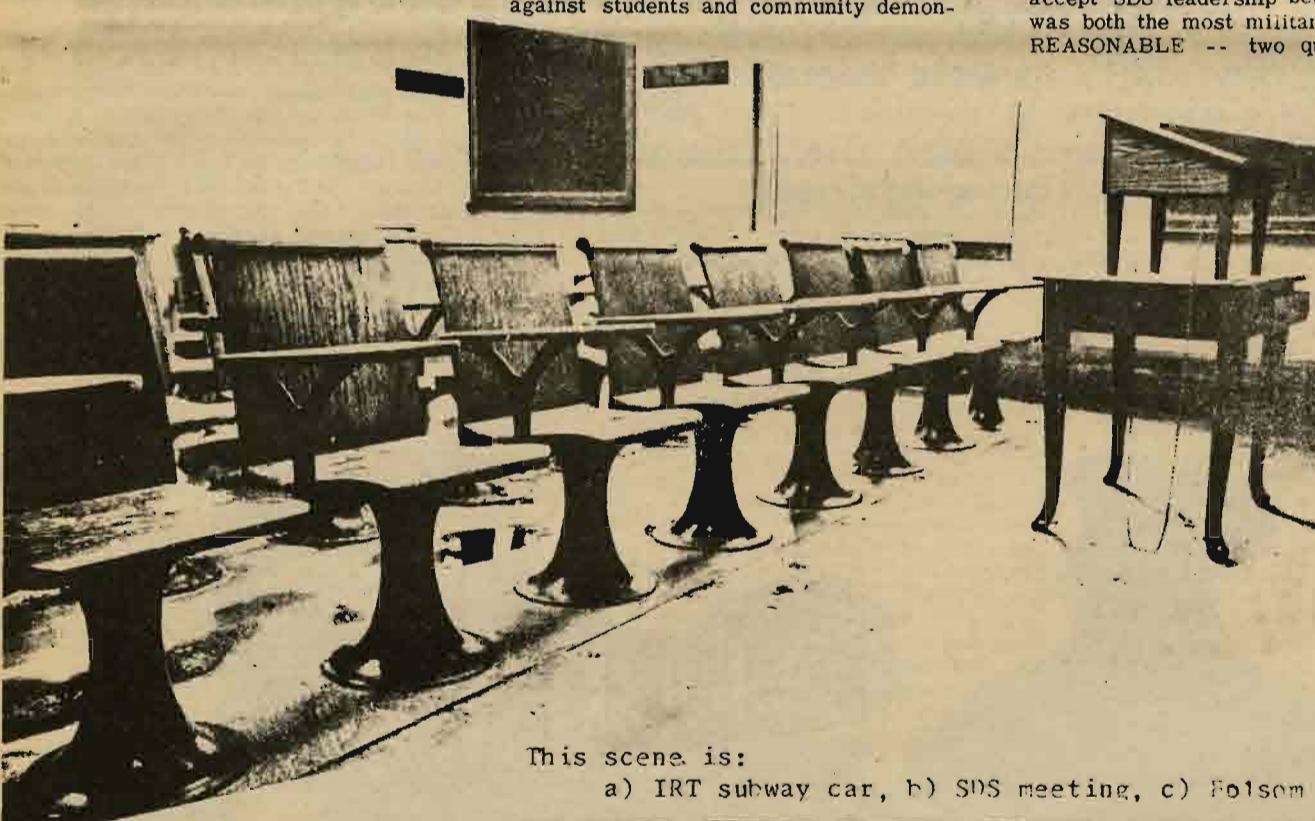
When the new strike coordinating committee convened, SDS had won a majority. Of the 70 delegates, slightly more than half were solidly radical, and could be counted on all of the time. About another 10-15 were very receptive to radical arguments, and although they sometimes voted with the moderates, they felt uncomfortable voting against the radical position. Thus, on some issues the radicals would win by only three or four votes, on others they would win by a strong majority; but there was never an instance where a major policy decision was made over the objections of the radicals on the committee.

The day after the mass meeting, while many people were spending time organising for the elections, a second aspect of the work began. It became clear that while the chapter had begun as a relatively small striking force, it now was faced with two imposing responsibilities: maintaining the strike and creating, albeit temporarily, an alternative university. In fact, the two jobs were organically related. Some students were leaving the campus and were waiting to see what would happen. But many more were staying on campus, supporting the strike, but were not clear what it meant to support the strike besides staying out of classes. The leaders of the strike committee realised the need to set up a counter-university, or in this case, a revolutionary university, because in the eyes of most students, the strike was not just an action, it was an institution.

Revolutionary Counter-University

The liberation classes tried to serve several functions: 1. To give students an example of the type of university Columbia could be under different political conditions 2. To keep students occupied and on campus. 3. To provide a unique opportunity to put forth radical critiques and solutions to political questions in courses taught by radicals from around the city, many of whom were not "professionals". And 4. To provide an opportunity for radicals to show that they could run institutions competently and democratically.

Many students were rapidly changing their opinion of the left, and although still suspicious, were becoming increasingly open to ideas that only a few weeks before they would not have considered. It became clear that while some peoples' ideas change through discussion, action can provide a political context in which those discussions can be most fruitful. For many, resistance to radical arguments stems, not from disagreeing with the particular issue being discussed, but from a belief that radicals can't win. At Columbia, thousands of students came to believe that the left was, or perhaps could be, a real force in this country. And because of that feeling, they became more open to our politics. The liberation school could have won even more respect for the left; as it turned out, it was missed opportunity.



This scene is:

a) IRT subway car, b) SDS meeting, c) Folsom Prison

passive to active support, not from a position of opposition to a position of support. One of the lessons learned by college administrations is that, in the future, police action will be much more swift. The fact that the Columbia administration allowed the demonstrators to stay in the buildings for several days before even trying to bring in police, led to a much greater base for the strike. In the future, we must plan our tactics with the understanding that in most cases, we won't have a period of days for students to come to accept our tactics. The administration will try to move quickly, while student disapproval of our tactics is greatest.

SDS was now leading a majority movement, but it wasn't at all clear how long that majority would last. The splits among striking students became clear at the first mass meeting two days after the first bust. Close to 1,500 students met in Wollman auditorium to decide upon the future of the strike.

At the meeting the radicals put forth a plan for extending representation on the strike committee. The plan was as

strators must be dropped. 5. All University disciplinary actions against demonstrators must be cancelled. 6. The ban on indoor demonstrations must be revoked.

The liberals who entered the strike after the arrests were not necessarily opposed to the six demands, but were primarily concerned with issues of police and student power. The issue of student power will be discussed later, but on the issues of police on campus and the resignation of Kirk and Truman, SDS was very successful in convincing students, after many days of debate, that the actions of the Columbia administration and of the New York City Police were not examples of irrational brutality as much as rational political intimidation. A great deal of work was done to re-emphasize that Columbia's policies on the gym, I.D.A., and channeling students into corporate bureaucracies were the central questions, and that calling for resignations of individuals without challenging the function of Columbia in capitalist society was not dealing with the root causes of why the police were called in the first place.

found together. This is not because radicals can't be reasonable in the sense of being open, rational, humane, but because liberals usually interpret reasonable to mean malleable, and are threatened by radicals who clearly reject give-and-take mainstream political styles.

Seconds after he made the concession, Rudd realised that he had misunderstood its implications. He had thought that the concession being made was that the original delegates to the strike committee would be re-elected by the communites. But, in fact, he had agreed to waive political criteria for membership on the strike committee. This confusion can only be explained in the context of the confused nature of the meeting itself. There were proposals and counterproposals floating around the room, and to make matters more complex, the voting on the resolution had been split up in two parts. The first part was called "content" and dealt with the specific demands of the strike itself. A resolution by the CUSC -- the student government that would have watered down the demands of the strike had been voted on first and was soundly

ONE HOUR TO COMPLETE THIS ARTICLE

Limitations of Experiment

There were fundamental problems with the liberation classes. Most classes weren't courses -- they were one-shot talks by radicals around the city. Many of the speakers were virtually unknown outside of left circles, and since the speakers weren't committed to organizing a study group, they couldn't build a course by meeting with one or two radical students, planning a course of study, and then having the students recruit others for the next class. If "faculty" had been willing to make more of a commitment, classes could have been better attended.

Another problem was that most of the courses were very academic. Students were going through a dynamic political process, and were much more critical of old forms. Some of the people planning the liberation school were radical, in the sense of having a radical political analysis, but weren't very radical about education. Most of the courses assumed that radical education meant radical scholarship, and so, courses on Marxism, liberation movements in Latin America, radical economics, etc., were not only part of the curriculum, they were the major part of the curriculum. Thus, while the course on folk dancing attracted fifty or sixty students every time it met, most of the other courses had difficulty involving five or six people consistently. Clearly radical scholarship should have had a place in the liberation school curriculum, but the assumption that large numbers of striking students would be attracted to primarily abstract, academic courses proved to be false.

Problems also developed with some of the regular faculty who supported the strike, but who refused to change their conception of teaching. Thus, French #104 became Liberation French #104, the difference being that it was held on a lawn, and supported the strike. But rarely did regular faculty understand -- or perhaps choose to understand -- the broader political nature of the strike, and choose to re-evaluate their relationship with students and the relevance of the curriculum they were teaching.

Many of the people working on the liberation classes were well aware of these problems, but because the more radical conception of the liberation classes involved considerably more energy and

ing to other students who had not joined them in the buildings, so that after the first bust, the idea of students determining the direction of the university gained acceptance.

But when the possibility of a mass strike became a reality it was clear that the SDS chapter was not adequately prepared to handle the imposing bureaucratic task of running a large-scale liberation university. Clearly, a chapter with hundreds of members, most of whom had been involved in day-to-day organizing work in dormitories, seminars, cafeterias, and student activities would be better prepared for such a job. But at this point, there is no SDS chapter in the country that meets that description. Most chapters are composed of a hard core of twenty-thirty people. Of those, many are not really organizers in the sense of someone who sets out a constituency he wishes to reach and makes a conscious effort to speak with new, uncommitted people on a regular basis. A chapter with ten such people is quite lucky, and yet a chapter structure with such a weak daily apparatus, while able to involve large numbers of people in militant demonstration, can hardly be expected to transform itself into a democratic, dynamic staff organization within a few days or weeks. Under the circumstances, the people organizing the liberation school worked with extreme dedication. The major problem was the scope of the task they faced, not their lack of awareness or willingness to face it.

Student Power & Liberalism

One of the major political questions the radicals on the strike committee faced was dealing with demands of their constituency for "student power". In this constituency, two clear tendencies emerged. The people in the FIRST GROUP could not accurately be called radicals, but were very sympathetic to radical politics, defended SDS to critical students, and militantly supported the strike. Their support for the six demands was solid. Even though some of them had personal doubts about the amnesty position, they supported the demand for amnesty because they saw efforts to modify the demands as jeopardizing the thrust of the strike. Besides supporting the six demands, most of these students also

thus, the two major groups both supported some form of increased student power, but disagreed on the importance of the six demands, and on basic political questions as well. The half-hearted supporters of the strike found their position represented on the strike coordinating committee by the most opportunistic elements led by the CUSC. The most militant students, although looking to SDS for leadership, often found their concerns most directly spoken to by a relatively small group of left-liberalists who voiced strong support for the strike, but also placed great emphasis on proposals for restructuring the university. The SDS leadership, while not completely united on the issue, gave little attention to the student power issue, and tried to avoid dealing with it as much as possible.

Weakness of SDS Thinking

The first public formulation of the SDS position came at the mass meeting following the arrests. An SDS spokesman, while directing most of his remarks to unity on the six demands, also dealt with the issue of student power. He said that while there had been recent talk about the administration's granting students more voice in running the university, real student power was an unrealistic expectation until the whole society could be changed. The critique was not very enthusiastically received. On the one hand, SDS was demanding that a major American university stop construction of a multi-million dollar gym and withdraw from a military research organization whose functioning is of great importance to the American ruling class. On the other hand, it was telling the striking students that demands for greater student power were "utopian".

The argument was in sharp contrast to the forthright style that had gained great respect for SDS among the students. In fact, the radicals' opposition to student power demands wasn't based on their impracticality -- we had always prided ourselves on leaving "practicality" to the liberals -- but rather, was based on a fear that student power would be used in the short run to blunt the political direction of the strike, and in the

issue during the strike, SDS didn't feel confident about its ability to reach students through careful explanation of its politics and programme.

Opponents Use Weakness

The fear that demands for student power would jeopardize the thrust of the strike were intensified by the actions of senior faculty. The trustees looked to smoother faculty types like Professor Alan Westin of the Law School for help in calming the natives. They formed the Executive Committee of the Faculty which got a lot of publicity during the strike because of its work in trying to develop proposals for restructuring the university, and its plan to hire (bribe?) students to work during the summer to come up with concrete ideas on the subject. Despite Westin's lack of public support for the strike, many students were not that critical of his role, because they felt that since the strike committee was not placing a big emphasis on restructuring proposals, someone had to.

The fear that restructuring would be used as a wedge to split the student support for the strike, or as a lever in negotiations to win concessions on the six demands, should have been openly expressed to the students, and probably would have been understood and supported. But this position couldn't be effectively raised because the radicals weren't just opposed to the use of student power as a bribe during the strike; they were opposed to the whole liberal conception of student power. This became clear when a group of delegates split from the strike committee in May to form the "Students for a Restructured University".

SDS hasn't spent a lot of energy developing a clear position on student power, but most of its members share certain basic agreements about it. To begin with, radicals would never call themselves students for a "restructured" university. A group whose primary definition of its program is in structural terms indicates an acceptance of the legitimacy of the



These people are:

- a) protesting inadequate garbage collection
- b) liberating a university
- c) trapped in a university

Photo: N.Y. Newsreel

wanted some structural changes in the decision-making processes of the university to allow a greater student voice. The SECOND MAJOR TENDENCY was clearly hostile to the radicals, somewhat supportive of the strike but critical of it because "SDS has taken over a potentially good thing". This group prided itself on its grasp of REALPOLITIK principles, and put forth the following arguments:

"The strike committee is being unrealistic in sticking to all six demands. The real issue of the strike is student power, and in order to get it we'll have to show the administration that we're willing to work with them. Thus, a realistic settlement would look something like this: The administration gives in on the gym. On the other hand, we may have to give in on some issues, like maybe I.D.A. and amnesty."

Opposition to amnesty, however, was fairly strong among many of the students who supported the strike, and suggestions about giving in on the amnesty issue were often argued on the basis of the issue itself.

The "communards" conveyed this feel-

long-run to co-opt potentially radical students. While that fear was certainly justified, the radical leadership never went beyond it to formulate a clear position on student power and to win support for it among the thousands of students who would have been very open to a radical definition of the university. The rare instance when SDS people talked about student power, they did so in cliches like, "You can't build socialism on one campus", which besides being unenlightening, weren't even phrased in rhetoric that most of the students could relate to. In fact, the rhetoric of the Columbia chapter, which had often been hard and "old left" in style, was generally excellent during the strike. Students who had sounded like sectarian radical caricatures weeks before the strike, regained their ability to communicate with students when it became clear that the strike was serious business. The fact that the rhetoric slipped back into OIA, politically ineffective styles when the issue of student power was being discussed, was due to the reason that, unlike almost every other

administration and trustees.

A radical student power position begins with a political, or content critique of the university, and talks about structural changes within the context of that critique. Thus, while SRU is concerned with developing a parliamentary solution to the problems of Columbia, SDS argues that talk about bi-cameral legislatures of students and faculty, and the sharing of power among students, faculty, administration, and trustees doesn't address itself to the question of the function of the university. Most of the major functions of the university -- manpower channelling, mass socialization, research serving corporate interests -- will be opposed by radicals despite any restructuring proposals passed because they are not issues that can be decided by majority rule as it is presently manifested. But holding these views without developing a clear counter-theory to parliamentary democracy makes it difficult for radicals to aggressively challenge liberals in debates on student power.

(Go right on to next page.)

COLUMBIA EXAM

Continued

While we are able to defend, and sometimes gain support for, actions which defy majority votes of students -- for example, SDS continued its opposition to military recruiters on campus despite a student referendum vote supporting "open recruiting" -- we have not developed an alternative rationale to majority rule. It is essential that we do so, both to develop a clear political alternative to liberal restructuring proposals that don't rest on a political critique of the university and the society, and to prevent the development of undemocratic tendencies within our own movement.

Up until recently SDS was able to relate almost all political questions to a belief in participatory democracy. But now it is becoming clear that we will have to face the tension in our thinking between a commitment to participatory democracy and understanding of the conditioning effects of repressive tolerance.

Also, while it's true that certain uses of student power will be strongly opposed by groups like SDS, there are certain areas in which student power and radical politics are complementary. For example, the demand that a given number of students -- let us say 20 -- can initiate any course that they wish, and receive credit, is a demand which speaks to students demanding a greater control over their own lives, and is also building a radical student movement. Similarly, students' demands for an end to undercover police agents on campus and an end to restrictive social regulations are certainly issues that radicals can actively support.

The strike committee will face a difficult political situation when school re-opens in September. If the university agrees to stop construction of the gym and if a faculty commission that is due to give its report over the summer recommends formal disaffiliation with I.D.A., then only two major issues will remain -- amnesty and university faculty individually continuing their work for I.D.A. The FIRST ISSUE will be difficult to mobilize significant and sustained support around. While a majority of students eventually came to support it, their commitment to it stemmed primarily from its being one of the six demands. Standing alone, it is doubtful that many students will be willing to fight very hard for amnesty.

The SECOND ISSUE, preventing university faculty from continuing work in defense research, was not one of the original six demands, but rather, is the logical political outgrowth of formal disaffiliation. The original demand -- breaking "all ties" with I.D.A. -- was interpreted by most students to mean breaking all FORMAL ties. While most people in SDS felt that the demand should also prohibit individual faculty members from serving the defense establishment, this issue was not raised publicly during the strike. If it had been raised, it would have met strong opposition from students on the grounds that individual faculty have the right to work at what they please, and would have involved another conflict between civil liberties and justice. Despite initial opposition, it is conceivable that because of the political climate of the strike, an aggressive educational campaign could have developed support for this position, but since it wasn't done, it will be difficult to introduce the idea after the university seemingly complies with one of the demands of the strike.

Into this complicated political situation will march SRU, armed with exciting new proposals for student power. At this point, after a summer of preparation on their part and the difficulty of re-establishing the momentum of the strike, SRU will pose a major challenge to SDS for the political leadership of the students. The fact that SRU has received close to \$50,000 in foundation grants less than two months after its inception indicates that the liberal establishment is well-aware of the potential of using student power demands to defuse the growing radical movement. It would be ironic if such a strategy were successful, because in the eyes of most students -- even those who have little love for the left -- SDS is the founder of the student power movement. Although many people in SDS are far from happy about this identification, we will have to move beyond a fear of having student power demands coopted to developing a clear radical program on student power and aggressively taking on the liberals in this area.

Democratic Action

Another problem that faced the strike committee was the problem of developing a mass decision-making structure. During the period when the students were holding buildings, the strike committee



These people are:

- a) trying to see their Army recruiter,
- b) being kidnapped, c) happy

was a uniquely democratic institution. Commune meetings were heated and long -- partially because of the cohesion brought about through confrontation, partially because of the awareness that the action was of great importance. The initial opposition to the tactics of the demonstrators diminished within a few days, but not solely because students got used to the demonstrators' presence in the buildings. A great deal of the support for the demonstrators developed because students outside of the buildings heard reports of the impressively democratic way the communes were being run.

Item of maintaining cohesiveness and commitment -- always a difficult one -- was greatly influenced by the nature of how the strike began. The fact that the original defining character of the strike was its tactics continued to influence its development throughout its duration. As a result, the leadership of the strike spent a great deal of energy planning a series of confrontations that would keep the pressure on the administration and maintain a sharp focus on the strike. Considering the great difficulty of such a strategy, they were quite successful.

Failure to Extend Democracy

The democratic nature of the strike continued during the next few days after the arrests while the constituency groups were getting organized. But beginning on the first day that the reconstituted steering committee met, the participatory nature of the strike declined rapidly. To begin with, the radical leadership of the strike committee became extremely involved in parliamentary hassling with the other delegates. Although the radicals had a slight majority on the strike committee, there were numerous instances when defections were anticipated, and many close calls did, in fact, ensue. But while the leadership was involved in five hour political meetings there was no similar political body set up to involve large numbers of students. Although frequent rallies were held outdoors during the strike, there were no regular mass meetings where the leadership reported to constituency groups. Decisions were supposed to be made in the groups of 70, but without some form of mass meetings where issues were debated before people broke up into their groups, the vitality of the strike declined and people lost interest in constituency meetings. Even the communes which had achieved remarkable solidarity during their week of struggle, had great difficulty holding their people together to discuss politics. Communes continued to meet after the bust, but even they met infrequently and had relatively small attendance. By the time school closed for the summer, the strike committee had become a body generally representative of student opinion, but was hardly the vital, responsive organization it had been during the early part of the strike.

This problem was part of a larger one -- maintaining the momentum of the strike. After the first bust the momentum of the strike could be described as steadily declining, with frequent exciting incidents temporarily halting that decline. The prob-

Expanding The Action

There were many actions: a demonstration against a university ban on outsiders coming into campus, rallies with people from Harlem, a demonstration by the moderates on the strike committee to retest the ban on indoor demonstrations, and most successfully, a joint sit-in with community residents in Morningside Heights who seized a building Columbia owned because of high rents, poor services, and efforts to evict them. Over 140 people were arrested, about half students and half tenants, and hundreds more were in the streets. Finally, there was the second bust. The police were called in to clear demonstrators protesting the disciplining of six students who participated in an earlier demonstration against I.D.A. Police stormed through campus, clubbing demonstrators and non-demonstrators, students who supported the strike and students who couldn't care less. Even though they were ordered to clear the campus some police went inside dormitories to beat up students. Students retaliated by throwing cobblestones ripped up from the walk, and dropping heavy objects off the tops of buildings on to police cars.

But despite the large number of actions that took place over the last month, these actions were not enough to maintain the momentum of the strike. Until the second bust, which took place in late May, there was a period of almost a month where there was no significant physical confrontation between the administration and the students. During this period, when the administration played a consciously passive role, momentum was difficult to keep up because, without a visible common enemy, the direction of the strike had to come from within. In this case, because the SDS chapter was primarily a striking force, not a well-organized group that had worked together effectively on a day-to-day basis, they were unable to transform the character of the strike from

a mass confrontation to a sustained mass action -- running a liberation school, keeping effective pressure on the administration, turning out an effective propaganda offensive, organizing students on other campuses and support groups all over the city, continuing the political development of the students, and involving students in a continuing democratic experience.

People reading this may begin to think, "Man, if I were running the Columbia strike, things would have been a lot different. I wouldn't have made those mistakes -- it seems so obvious." But that's exactly the point: it was obvious. The leadership of the strike, and the hundreds of others who worked hard on keeping the strike going were painfully aware of the problems being encountered, and, if asked, could probably list and analyze many other problems that haven't even been mentioned. But there was an important reason why awareness couldn't be automatically converted into implementation: THE INTERVENING VARIABLE OF MASS POLITICS. The chapter was not simply a bureaucracy making decisions and implementing them in a vacuum. The chapter was a group of people trying to function in the midst of powerful political currents. When things were moving, they moved with enormous force and rapidity. When periods of inertia set in, the malaise was overpowering.

The Columbia strike more than any other event in our history, has given the radical student movement the belief that we can really change this country. The whole tone of political discussion has changed. Six months ago people talked about building a radical adult movement in terms of finding useful roles for former student radicals. Now, these same discussions begin with the understanding that while the student movement can catalyze groups in the society, until we develop a base among teachers, government employees, technicians, industrial workers, high school students, and tenants, the gains of the student movement will be minimal.

New Stage For Democratic Action

Finally, the Columbia strike was a tremendous re-vitalizing force for SDS and the New Left at perhaps the lowest point in its brief history. Up until this spring, the growth of SDS had been steady and impressive -- not just in numbers, but in political influence as well. Despite its definition as a radical, multi-issue group, SDS had built its base almost exclusively on the issue of the war in Vietnam. But during the spring, despite the objective evidence that the war wasn't de-escalating at all, and its prospects for settlement were far from definite, the mood on many campuses was that the war was no longer an issue. For the first time in our history another organization -- the national McCarthy for President apparatus -- had replaced us as the major political force on the campuses. On some campuses where SDS wasn't very well developed, chapter people themselves were out working for McCarthy. In most instances, however, the chapter maintained a strong criticism of McCarthy, but frankly, few people were listening. Our base -- the large number of open, basically liberal students, -- were either involved in the McCarthy campaign, or, while agreeing with a political critique of McCarthy, just couldn't get worked up about the war when negotiations were taking place, and it looked like either McCarthy or Kennedy would be elected and would try to end the war. Our efforts to talk about the conditions of the settlement, and McCarthy's adherence to basic cold war premises, were looked upon as sectarian carping by many students who only a few months before had participated in our demonstrations.

In the midst of this malaise came Columbia. For almost two weeks Columbia was the central political subject on many campuses. An SDS chapter had been able to move dramatically, right in the middle of the McCarthy-negotiation anaesthesia. And not by taking advantage of a ready-made situation, but by actively initiating the confrontation themselves. SDS has many problems. It has become clear that SDS's organizational and political growth has not been able to keep up with rapidly changing events, and as a result, many political opportunities have been missed. The combination of the Columbia strike and a Humphrey candidacy provides SDS with its greatest opportunity ever to build a mass-based student movement. If we are successful, we can use the university as a training ground for the development of organizers who will begin to build that adult movement we talk about so much.

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AFTER THE WAR IS OVER

(Speech by Terry Cannon at the Dr. Spock - Oakland 7 Rally in Berkeley, Sept. 27)

Brothers and Sisters,

Last year at this time we were about to mount one of the most successful and dramatic protests against the war, when we tried to shut down the Oakland Induction Center. People were desperate and they took strong measures. Then we went through a period of hope and expectation around the so-called peace candidates. Today that hope is over and we're in for a rough time for the next few years. A rough time.

It doesn't matter whether Nixon gets elected with the help of Wallace or the Hump gets it with the help of the cops, we're in for some repression that will probably make what's happened so far look like they loved us.

Repression

Repression falls alike on the nice and the not so nice; on the street fighters and the head of the New Hampshire delegation. It fell on Dr. Spock whom every mother loves and on the Oakland 7 who are another kind of mother. This is important. All three major candidates are campaigning on a ticket of law -- which means murder, and order -- which means death. And when they talk about anarchists they mean you and me and Dr. Spock and all those nice delegates to the Convention who thought they were members of the ruling class but whom Daley thought were a bunch of commie rats and had them beat on the head.

I just returned this afternoon from a conference with members of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and for me and the rest of the Americans who visited with the brothers and sisters from the jungles of South Vietnam, it was mindblower. We got a good idea, I think, of how a mature revolutionary organization works.

First of all they don't get in a big moralistic lather about who are the good guys and who are the bad guys. If you want the Yankees kicked out of your country you're a good guy. The NLF is a front, a real front; it includes

peasants and landlords and middleclass people. The landlords and middleclass don't water down the armed struggle because they see that shooting the Americans is the only way to get them out. Napalm and defoliants and repression don't make a lot of distinctions. That's why the Saigon army troops are so demoralized. Their parents and families get their crops destroyed along with the rest. You don't tell a man to join the army and then that army and the Americans bump off his mother. It doesn't work. So the puppet troops don't fight.

That's beginning to happen here. The sixty black guys at Fort Hood weren't about to go to Chicago and beat up on their kid brothers and sisters in the streets. We're going to see more of this.

No Revolutionary Tactics

I learned something else important too. There is no such thing as a revolutionary tactic. You don't see one group in the NLF calling another group finks cause they held a peaceful rally with women and children and baby carriages. And they don't call others left adventurers who want to fight in the streets. They see everything in a context -- in a strategy -- a sense of the total, lifelong effort that's needed in the U.S. to bring this monster down.

AMERICAN LEFT ORGANIZATIONS ARE LARGE DEFINED BY THEIR TACTICS. This is understandable; we've been experimenting with tactics, trying to find ourselves. We have a whole organization devoted just to peaceful massive demonstrations -- at least until recently -- the National Mobilization. You've got the flatbed truck and bullhorn set. We've got SDS which refused to take part in unmilitant demonstrations because they weren't "revolutionary". And the Resistance, a large organization devoted basically to the burning of small pieces of paper. I'm not putting them down. This has been part of our maturing, our development. I've been in the same bag: I

thought there was a revolutionary TACTIC -- all we had to do was find it, do it, and get away with it. And I got frustrated when nothing turned out be IT. Well, there ain't no it. When we do find it, it's going to be some massive combination of fighting cops, peaceful demonstrations, sit-downs, strikes, electoral campaigning, and armed uprisings. With the emphasis on the words COMBINATION and MASSIVE.

Stop The Draft Week

The Oakland 7 case is a classic of how we ordinarily organize demonstrations.

A bunch of leaders from all over meet and issue a call. They all sign their names to the call. They go back to the areas and have public rallies and meetings to get people out. They try to get some big names to support the action so people will know its really important.

Then the demonstration takes place, a lot of people get arrested and the leaders go to court for conspiracy. That's not true of every demonstration, but it's true enough to make us think twice.

The Seven are in fact not being tried for conspiracy. We're being tried for everything that happened last October. We're being tried for building 50 barricades, pushing 100 cars into the streets, breaking a cop's leg and costing Oakland a quarter of a million dollars to keep the induction center open a week.

That's cool. I don't regret a thing. If we could do it again tomorrow, I'd do it. I don't want to go to jail, but that's the name of the game.

What I'm saying is we're getting to a more mature level. We don't need big names to call a demonstration. A lot of big left names told people to stay away from Chicago. Big names haven't been calling riots in Berkeley. People take it on themselves to do what is necessary by any means that are nec-

essary.

An American Front

Someday I hope we'll have a real front to liberate this nation. Within that front some people will work clandestinely, some openly. Everyone: teachers, factory workers, students, technicians, cops, (I don't see why we shouldn't have some of our own people inside the police force) and soldiers will have specific work to do. They will be able to see how their specific work relates to the general struggle. They won't think a tactic is a way of life.

Right now we can all work, and I hope we will, to continue to free Huey and the Oakland 7, and Marty Kenner who's up for conspiracy to commit verbal murder in New York and the folks who will probably get conspiracy charges out of Chicago. We'll never win unless we protect our own. But the only final answer to repression is the broadest, deepest movement we can organize. The only way to end repression is to make the revolution.

That sounds in some ways like a pat answer to repression. But it isn't. The war is going to end someday. And it's going to end one of two ways, either the NLF will win or the United States will lose. No other way. While we build the anti-war movement we have to be building the attitudes, and forms of organization that will be the force to bring the American monster down -- after the war is over.

We have to be thinking now always -- what will we do after the war. The war is important, crucial. In America, it exposed to all of us what was wrong with our country. None of this will go away after the war. After the war, that's when the struggle begins.

We're going to face some tough times and some fine times. I'm glad I'm back. These are going to be some fine times, the finest times this country has ever seen. ■



by Chris Bergman

There is a wealth of recorded Bob Dylan material, among it some of his best, that will probably never be released and is available to the public only through the FM underground. These recordings cover the whole span of his career. Many of the songs were edited out of his albums, some for obvious reasons like recording flaws or because the song just didn't get off the ground on that particular take. A good many others, however, were edited out for no apparent reason except perhaps because of some asshole decision-maker at Columbia, if Columbia operates like most big record companies. From the days when Dylan's career really started picking up steam behind his direct powerful poetry of protest, we have, among other unreleased songs, "Turn, Turn To The Rain And The Wind", which tells the story of a friend sentenced to years in prison for an accidental death.

The song describes the injustice so probable from the courts and the close-minded attitude of the judge when his ruling is questioned. Also from this early period is "Lay Down Your Weary Tune", featuring some of Dylan's most beautiful imagery, similes of the earth's natural beauties and the sounds of musical instruments. This song was slightly popularized on an early album by the Byrds.

Writing On The Wall

Somewhat later in his career, perhaps about the time of "Bringin' It All Back Home", Dylan recorded "If You Got To Go, It's All Right". The line continues, "But if you got to go, Go now, Or else you got to stay all night". This certainly should have been released. Musically it rocks and it never failed to be a show stopper in the days when concerts were frequent. It doesn't seem likely that it was edited out because of censors worrying about offending people with



the subject matter, but such stupidity goes on all the time in the music world. Like the furor over the Rolling Stones latest album cover, which is holding up its release. The cover picture is a bathroom with the song titles and other phrases written on the wall. There is nothing "dirty" included in the scribbles, but the record company blocked release saying the cover was "in poor taste".

Among the other really exceptional cuts from Dylan's unreleased repertoire is "Keep It With Mine", a slow gentle song of advice and kindness featuring some of Dylan's best singing.

One of the tapes in this series was never meant for release but was made under Dylan's supervision for exposure to other musicians who might want to record them. Accompanying Dylan on this tape is The Band, who recorded a few of the numbers on their LP,

"Music From Big Pink". One of the most well known of the songs on this tape is "Wheels on Fire", which was recorded by several people including England's Julie Driscoll who had a slight hit of it in this country. Another well known one is "The Mighty Quinn", a huge success for Manfred Mann. One of the Best on this tape is "Down on The Flood", a country tune which Dylan does with a gently swinging arrangement far superior to Flatt and Scrugg's version of it. "Nothing Was Delivered", another country tune, was recorded by the Byrds in their latest LP devoted only to country music, "Sweetheart Of The Rodeo".

Nobody Does Dylan Like Dylan

As with Dylan's available music, I think that very few people can bring the power to a Dylan song that Dylan can. The Band managed to do it, but then one of their members helped write all but one of the Dylan songs on their album. Occasionally a musician can recreate a Dylan song forcefully by changing it, not just imitating it, to their style and making it believable from the standpoint of their sound. Such is the case of Stevie Wonder's "Blowin' In the Wind", and Jimi Hendrix's version of "All Along The Watchtower", especially the former.

It may be that if Dylan decides to cool it with recording, the record company may release those which they've held back thus far. It's a shame that we have to wait till then and it's a shame to think that that day will ever come, but you can be damn sure that they won't release it until there's a profit possible and they think that's only when Dylan stops producing new things.

Recent Releases

Muddy Waters, for a long time Mr. Cool of raw, down home blues has come out with an album "Electric Mud", that updates his sound in forceful style, but the album is shrouded in mystery. First of all there is no mention on the album as to who the back up band is and though one is supposed to assume that it's Muddy on lead guitar, there are those who have doubts. It doesn't seem likely that a man can change his guitar style overnight and be so accomplished and far out in his new vein at first attempt. At times it sounds like Clapton, for a moment like Bloomfield, and then like no one else. Whoever it is, he is an amazing musician. Many of the songs are his old standbys but they've never sounded like this before. As one devotee put it, "He's showing all these honkey bastards how to play psychedelic music". That's one way to put it, for that's an unavoidable adjective when describing the sound, but who the hell is backing the cat and who's on that guitar? If it is Muddy then my apologies for the doubts and hats off to a master of the guitar.

Super Session

Al Kooper of Blood, Sweat, and Tears fame directed this album which features Mike Bloomfield on side one and Steve Stills, formerly of the Buffalo Springfield on side two. Kooper plays organ and various other instruments and does the vocals on both sides. To start at the top, the Bloomfield side is fantastic. Bloomfield plays with an expressive, lyrical touch the likes of which he's never captured before. On the other hand, The Stills side is good for what it is, but it's no where. It concentrates on a thin, sweet sound that's pretty gutless. The two sides are rather incompatible since I'm sure that there are few fans who can really get into two so different approaches, when one so far exceeds the other.

Banned in Chicago

"Street Fighting Man", the Stones' single, issued before the Democratic Convention, was immediately banned in Chicago. Said Mick Jagger -- "They must think that song can make a revolution -- I wish it could". ■

MORE Revolution

WAR AGAINST

- PARASITISM
- VICE
- EXPLOITATION
- COWARDICE
- SELFISHNESS
- INDIVIDUALISM

MORE REVOLUTION

Cuba may be the closest thing there is to a "new left revolution" but it is not "new left". It is a creative Marxist-Leninist revolution. The revolution is anti-authoritarian but disciplined. There may be freedom of expression for artists, but art schools are run like all other Cuban schools--by military routine. People just don't do their thing--they do what the revolution needs them to do.

There is no "participatory democracy" in Cuba. There is mass participation in the revolution. Decisions are made according to the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

The Party, The People

The Communist Party has full control over state power in Cuba. After long investigations and criticism sessions, party members are nominated by their co-workers. The party itself makes the final choice. (In the future they hope that the people will have a high enough revolutionary consciousness to make the final choice.) Party members hold practically all leadership positions. Fidel is indisputed leader of the Party and the country.

The Central Committee makes basic policy decisions according to their understanding of what the people want, and the economic and political necessities of the country. The people have a voice -- through the formal channels of the various mass organizations -- through informal channels like Fidel's typical surprise visits and discussions with the people. But Fidel can't be everywhere at all times; and, the mass organizations (trade unions, block organizations, women's federation, etc.) have a lot of work on their hands in implementing various programs that have already been decided.

This is why the maintenance of close ties between the Party members and the rest of the people becomes so important. Most Party people are full-time workers, peasants, soldiers, etc. They are virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the people. A much smaller number are professional Party cadres who work in the various mass organizations, ministries and Party units. These cadres try to make sure they are not isolated from the rest of the people.

An example of mass participation and Party leadership: The Central Committee, especially Fidel, decided to experiment in setting up a really communist region within socialist Cuba. That region is the Isle of Youth, alias the Isle of Pines, once infamous as a Penal Colony. Mostly young volunteers go to work on the Isle of Youth in its agricultural camps. They go for an indefinite period of time. The camps

are run roughly according to the principle of "to each according to his needs . . .". Money is nearly abolished.

The physical conditions on the Isle are rough and the work is hard. The ideological-orientation wing of the Central Committee (COR) has conducted fantastic mobilization campaigns to get people to go to the Isle. How were these campaigns interpreted? I asked many people on the Isle why they were there. The universal reply showed that they had a good understanding of why their participation was important. "I'm not here because I was told to come. I understand why I can make my greatest contribution to the revolution by being here."

Civil Liberties

There are few formal civil liberties in Cuba. But there is substantive liberty for everyone to be free from the slavery of economic and social insecurity. The feelings of the great majority of people are always accounted for. But freedom of expression is not absolute. Expression of personalized-selfish grievances is discouraged. Individual gripes are not considered counter-revolutionary -- rather they are re-interpreted into collective tasks.

The principle is "freedom of expression for everything that is not counter-revolutionary". One COR director told me that the definition of "counter-revolutionary" is rather narrow. Something against the will and interests of the Cuban people is counter-revolutionary. The Party ultimately judges this.

The Cuban reaction to the Czech situation tells a lot about civil liberties, freedom of expression, decision-making and what is considered counter-revolutionary in Cuba. For months before the Soviet invasion, every day the newspapers devoted an unusually large amount of space to impartially reporting Czech developments -- Czech cables, Tass cables, Chinese cables, even cables from pro-U.S. press agencies. The people also knew that the Czech government was one of the few governments in the world that refused to publish Che's diary in full and made their own excerpted version. (The diary is available in Bolivia, Spain, even Argentina). Many Cuban students and

commercial attaches had been in Czechoslovakia and in Cuba people had had a lot of first hand contact with Czech technicians.

On the basis of all these sources, the Cuban people had developed a definite attitude towards the Czech mess. Before Fidel gave his speech, COR made a poll of the Cuban people to learn how they felt about Czechoslovakia. The COR director was surprised that 86% of the people strongly opposed what they considered middle class reforms in Czechoslovakia and thought they should be stopped "by any means necessary".

When Fidel later put down anti-communist developments in Czechoslovakia he was reflecting the ideas of 86% of the Cuban people. But his speech went beyond that. It tried to educate the people more about revolutionary politics, and re-affirmed Cuba's own Marxist-Leninist policies. He explained how communism became corrupt in Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries. He maintained that "liberalization" was another word for bourgeois reforms and commercialism. He opposed the creation of opposition parties and freedom of the press for pro-imperialists. He also followed his tradition of attacking the hypocrisy of the U.S.S.R. and challenged it to be revolutionary, to give up the idea of peaceful co-existence.

Then there was the minority position. The night before Fidel's speech about fifty Cubans, mostly students, tried to stage a spontaneous pro-Czech demonstration. All spontaneous demonstrations are illegal in Cuba. The demonstration never quite came off and most participants were detained for questioning. Five of them who had "counter-revolutionary" pasts were kept in jail.

I was amazed after speaking to one of these demonstrators that she was only questioned and not detained. She is a student. She lived quite well by Cuban standards, received all her needs from the State and had complete freedom in her artistic work. She had the nerve to make her gripe about the non-availability of rum into a generalized condemnation of Fidel. This was the only time I ever heard any basic criticism of Fidel. It was malicious. Essentially she accused Fidel of being a hypocrite because he criticized bourgeois attitudes when everyone knew he came from bourgeois background and hadn't really changed at all! Other things she said made her sound like a Kennedy liberal.

Workers' Freedom

There are no strikes in Cuba. When I asked workers about this, they were sincerely baffled. "How could we strike

against ourselves?" But there is an institutionalized grievance procedure. The trade unions (CTC) defends workers against unreasonable managers. Managers don't belong to the CTC.

Sometimes the Party acts quicker than the CTC in defending workers. Incident:

On the Isle of Youth there's a family camp where workers from Havana volunteer to go with their families to work for ten of their thirty-day vacation. I had been working with these people for several hours. We had developed a pretty efficient system for unloading the coffee plants. A manager, apparently unaccustomed to the system, came by. After one minute of observation, he singled out one of the better workers and started ranting about his sloppy work. The manager and workers had quite a heated argument. None of the other workers defended their "companero". After the manager had the last word, he walked away in a huff.

After work, I was rapping with some of the workers and they all agreed that the manager was wrong. They criticized the others for not speaking out and bragged about how militant they were when they were in Havana. They were proud of the grievances they had won against their manager there. But they didn't know the scene on the Isle, and after all, they were only there for ten days. The matter seemed dropped.

The next day, the party cadre who had brought me to the camp asked me my opinion of the incident. He wasn't there but had heard about it. He concluded that the manager was wrong, but he also blamed the workers for not defending one of their own. That was a sign of a lack of revolutionary militance. The Party had decided to call a meeting of the whole camp to make sure everyone understood the issues and understood the need for militance on the side of justice.

A Block Meeting

Sometimes the people attack the position of the Party and win. One night in Havana, I came upon a local block meeting being held in the street. The meeting was called for the people in the neighborhood to evaluate the services of the managers of the various stores in the area.

The local Party people were conducting the meeting. They encouraged and got full participation. I could see the Party people begin to squirm as a series of housewives were praising one of the managers. After about fifteen minutes, one Party woman finally began to attack the manager for being a lousy administrator of the lines of customers. (Cuba has launched an austerity program as part of a big thrust to become economically independent by 1970. Lines outside the stores and restaurants are one of the most common sights in Havana.)

Most people gripe when they have to wait on lines and the Party people were trying to pass the blame for the lines on to the manager of this store. The people's reaction was impressive. They defended the manager by explaining that the lines were inevitable. "The country is underdeveloped and in order to develop all resources had to go to agriculture." They also talked about the economic blockade and the need for sacrifice. They clearly understood that the problem of lines was deeper than the efficiency of one manager and refused to be persuaded otherwise by Party members. These were the same people you might hear complaining as you pass any line in Havana.

Ideological Campaigns Swing

Contact with socialist realism has trained us to expect dull, heavy-handed campaigns in communist countries. The expectation is immediately put down in Cuba. Posters announcing the need for more work, the defense of Vietnam, the support of the black struggle in the U.S., etc. are usually done in pop art style with psychedelic colors.

Documentary movies, even films of Fidel's speeches, are always very creative -- conga drums in the background, jazzy flashes of words and color. I saw abstract paintings in every official office I visited. The Central Committee came out against the persecution of girls in mini-skirts. In short, one gets the overwhelming impression that the country's leadership is above all youthful and hip. (The average age of the philosophy PROFESSORS, the same people who put out a New Left Review-type magazine, is about 23!)

Most mobilization campaigns and ideological work use down-home language, combined with vocabulary of guerrilla struggle. There is a Che Guevara Work Brigade. There are "guerrilla workers" (ones who after eight hours in the factory volunteer for another six in the fields outside Havana). The "Woman is the Revolution Within the Revolution", Camaguey (pioneer agricultural area) is the "Moncada of Today's Youth". Fidel's speeches are famous for their informality and humor.



MORE REVOLUTION...

It is the year of the "Guerrillero Heroico", and Che will decorate the Cuban landscape and permeate the Cuban mind for many years to come. But the heroic guerrilla is not the romantic adventurer. Most Cubans have had personal contact with Che and for them, his image is heroic, but not romantic. Members of the Che Guevara Brigades don't have long hair, nor are they impulsive or individualistic. They are an elite, disciplined group chosen from army men who work 24 hours a day clearing swamp land. What the Cubans learn from Che is a tremendous spirit of self-sacrifice, discipline and an incredible willingness to DIE for the liberation of any people.

Gaps

Top Party people all seem tremendously open, creative, sophisticated and sensitive. But not all party members are like the four or five Central Committee members I met (including Fidel). The average educational level of the Party is 6th grade (perhaps like our 3rd or 4th grade). This statistic, I think, is the single most important statistic: in explaining to non-Cubans a lot of what we don't understand about Cuba.

The statistic shows what economic underdevelopment means in human terms. One doesn't need a formal education to understand the viciousness of imperialism, exploitation and poverty. But one does need training to develop modern agricultural techniques, or design an economic plan or to recognize more subtle cultural problems. And once in power, you also need a fair amount of self-consciousness and sophistication about the tendency toward super-defensiveness.

So you tend to see a gap between top level and lower level leadership -- that is, an occasional tendency towards dogmatism on the lower levels. It was only a few years ago that Cuba threw away Soviet-type Party manuals. The change in orientation is hard for uneducated people to make quickly. This problem is combined with Spanish traditionalism which is still a part of most Cuban's mentality. So, for instance, these people may seem very progressive when talking about armed struggle against imperialism, but quite backward when talking about mini-skirts, hippies, fags, women's liberation or racial

prejudice. (The racial issue in Cuba is very complicated. It needs a separate article.)

The Central Committee and other high level leaders recognize this dogmatism as a problem, but not a basic problem, since it is only transitional. Economic development and defense against the U.S. get top priority. And the fact that Cuba has virtually eliminated illiteracy (which was 35%) is more impressive than the provincialism of some party people. The fact that women now have equal educational and job opportunities is more impressive than the super macho attitudes of a lot of men. (One of the most typical scenes in Cuba is the sexy-assed militiaman in full uniform, machine gun and all, with a head full of curlers -- that's where Cuba is at on this issue.)

Paradise to Come

Cuba was not the poorest country in Latin America, but it was the one most penetrated by the American economy and culture. Every man-made resource in Cuba was American -- ranging from Cadillacs to all the country's electrical systems. And you can't put a Soviet or Chinese bulb in an American socket. You can't keep American technicians in a communist country. You can't change the cultural hegemony that comes with sixty years of Miami-mafia type cultural imperialism within ten years, especially when the chief problem is feeding people and self-defense against the CIA.

Revolutionary Cuba persists 90 miles from its "favorite neighbor". That is no small accomplishment. For the revolution to continue as a revolution, the Cuban people will have to sacrifice for several years to come. Some Cubans still have the Miami-mafia mentality and are not willing to make sacrifices to preserve their liberty. The worst of these are called "gusanos" (worms), the people who decide to leave for the States, Mexico and Spain. The government encourages their departure and the people can't understand why they would want to go.

Most of the gusanos nowadays are not upper class. The rich ones who couldn't make their peace with the revolution left a long time ago. The ones who leave now are lower-middle class or even lower class, who were irreparably

corrupted by an Uncle Tomism that is universal. The gusanos, like the Toms, still believe that there's a quick way to individual prosperity. They love Cuba, but are too sick with American propaganda to wait for the revolution to grow.

All Cubans love Cuba, like a ghetto mother loves her child. Cuba is not yet a paradise. Although, for most, it is a paradise compared to the past. For everyone, it will take years of hard work and struggle before the paradise no longer demands sacrifice.

The New Man In The New Society

The revolution is an experiment that often proceeds on a trial and error basis. Cuba is flux. The creation of the new man in the new society has begun, but there are no formulas. Few have a very concrete idea of what he will look like and how to make him.

One thing is sure. The classic contradiction between the individual and society is disappearing -- so is alienated labor. For anyone, especially a city-bred intellectual, working in the hot Cuban sun cutting cane for eight or ten hours would seem like a drag. But when people know they are cutting cane for themselves and their children, when they understand why it is necessary and when they know that EVERYONE is doing it, people really want to do it -- even enjoy it.

When the individual works for a society designed for him, it is not really sacrifice. It is something else that is hard to describe with American concepts. It is satisfying, it is a way to transcend egoism and selfishness and join with your fellow man.

This is what the "Revolutionary Offensive" and abolition of material incentives is all about. Beginning in March, all remaining private enterprise was nationalized or closed. Bars and cabarets were boarded up, the price of rum rose to \$20 a bottle and lines got longer. But these are only the material aspects of the Revolutionary Offensive. The purpose of this campaign is not only to get rid of enclaves of capitalism, launch the austerity program, and eliminate hangouts for the more parasitic types. The purpose is also to impress upon the people the seriousness of the revolution; to guard against tendencies for revolutionaries to grow soft; to impress upon the people the dedication needed

to build communism.

Revolutionary Offensive

For the last few years the Cubans have been trying to eliminate material incentives. The process has been gradual and non-coercive. With the Revolutionary Offensive the campaign took on a new urgency. Most people volunteer for overtime work without pay. There are all sorts of programs encouraging city-people to work for various lengths of time in agriculture, without special pay. All work centers and schools devise various ways to work extra to salute the 26th of July, then Sept. 28, then Oct. 28. They go from one mobilization to the next. The rewards are collective and non-material -- a special greeting from Fidel, a banner for the plant, special recognition in the press, etc. Cubans think material incentives perpetuate selfishness. Moral incentives move towards the creation of the new man.

All these programs operate under the political necessity, that has become policy, that no one's material status will fall. The workers' renounce overtime pay, but Fidel announces special sick pay. Whenever wage differentials are narrowed, the top scales are never lowered, rather the bottom scales are raised. So doctors or professors still can earn as much as four times what a factory worker earns. And there are still fancy restaurants for the doctor to spend his salary on.

But workers too go to restaurants and fancy resort areas. Former mafia-run exclusive clubs are now free recreation centers. Everyone gets one month paid vacation during which time many spend a week or more at Cuba's famous resorts.

There's still the Copelia crowd, hundreds of young people who do nothing but stand in line flirting and waiting for ice cream every night. But they are not typical. The typical young person spends most of his time practicing the slogan of the Union of Communist Youth (UJC) -- "Study, Work, Shoot". They are participating, in the countryside and in the cities, in the three most important tasks of the revolution: education, economic development, and defense. Everyone must be proficient in all three tasks before the new man in the new society creates himself.

■ by Arlene Eisen Bergman

ASSAULT ON THE ISLE OF YOUTH.

by Arlene Eisen Bergman

We had worked in the fields for twelve hours and as we walked back to the camp, the girls were singing and talking about going into town that night to Copelia, the ice cream parlor. The girls who came to this camp were volunteers and most of them were on the "first communist region of Cuba" for as long as the revolution needed them there.

As we showered and changed, their chatter was pretty typical of single girls anywhere. After dinner, the girls grew impatient for the arrival of the trucks which were going to take us into town. They had conga drums and were shaking their shoulders to a very lively song about the citrus harvest. Some were dancing with unbelievable energy considering they had worked since dawn in the hot sun.

The trucks finally arrived and the drums and singing continued. A few girls mounted a banner on the truck with the name of the camp -- Youth of Steel. As we neared town, the drums became livelier and everyone got more excited.

The boys from the brother camp had already arrived and helped us down from the truck. Altogether, there were about

250 of us. Everyone made a conga line behind the banners and half-marching, half dancing, still to the drums, we proceeded towards Copelia.

One banner announced the camp's support for Fidel's speech on Czechoslovakia (the speech had been studied and discussed for several days). The others hailed the growth of the local unit of the Young Communist Union and greeted the mobilization to celebrate one hundred years of struggle. (October 10, 1868 -- Cuba's declaration of independence was issued).

All this time the singing and shouting was so loud and everyone seemed so engrossed in it, it was impossible for me to find out what the hell was happening.

We were about 100 feet from a block-long line in front of the ice cream parlor

when suddenly, without warning, everyone started to run like mad towards the line. In seconds, we had broken through the line and stormed inside of Copelia. The singing died down and one of the girls jumped on top of a table and read a two minute declaration (the contents of her speech were already on the banners). Then, before we could catch our breath, everyone dashed out and the "Assault" was repeated at three or four more eating places.

All the time I was thinking, "Where the hell are the cops?" We were totally caught up in the running, shouting, and singing. I forgot that I wasn't in a militant demonstration at home. But the tactics seemed better than the ones we use here -- the element of surprise had given the "Youth of Steel" total advantage.

Everyone Dug It

And there were no hecklers. Some militiamen smiled and I heard some old men saying "Viva the militance of the youth." People who had been waiting in line for hours for a dish of ice cream didn't seem to mind having to wait a little longer.

In between assaults, I managed to find



photo: S.F. Newsreel -- Mark Hardesty

out what this "demonstration" was all about. By the time we assaulted the last place for the night, the provincial Party Headquarters, I found out that the whole thing had been planned at a pre-dawn meeting that day. The places to be assaulted had not been warned, except for the Party Headquarters (where the trucks were waiting to take us back to the camp). The banners indicated the immediate purpose of the assault. The larger purpose, which seemed well-accomplished, was to demonstrate the revolutionary militancy of the youth.

A day later, on the boat back to Havana, I was talking to a professional party cadre about the assault. He told me that they are quite typical. He remembered one that he participated in where thousands of young people from one province assaulted another province and painted the town red -- literally. The assaults always seen spontaneous, and the spirit is definitely not contrived -- but the assaults are always carefully planned by the youth.

In 1953, Cuban revolutionaries assaulted the Moncada barracks. Today, the Cubans still use the concepts of guerrilla warfare. The brigades of Che Guevara attack swamps -- the youth assault indifference.

"A Woman Who Took a Rifle to Moncada Had to Be a Liberated Woman"

Interview with Haydee Santamaria by Arlene Eisen Bergman and Amy Ansara

Interviewers' Note -- Haydee Santamaria is a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and currently director of Casa de las Americas, publishing house and cultural center for Latin America. She also chaired the OLAS conference in 1967.

Haydee and her martyred brother Abel, who at age 24 was tortured to death after the assault on the Moncada barracks, came from an upper middle class family. They left home to join the revolution when she was seventeen. In her reminiscences of Moncada, Haydee recalled, "In order to buy a rifle, in order to buy bullets, we had to go without eating, we had to go without smoking, without even a cup of coffee." She was jailed, later fought in the Sierra, and married Armando Hart, current Secretary of Organization of the Party and member of the Politburo. Haydee is the mother of several children.

Her image of herself is a sincerely modest one. "My importance comes from the revolution because before the revolution no one asked me for interviews". She insists that any other woman would be in her place if she had had teachers like Abel, Che, Fidel and Raul. Yet she could only think of one other woman with whom she would change places--Tania. Haydee would like to have the opportunity to serve and fall the way Tania did. She offered this thought spontaneously and quickly added that she shouldn't think this way because it is perhaps a form of envy and she can't feel envy.

When Haydee speaks, much of her impressiveness comes from non-verbal communication--elaborate gestures, not only with her hands but with her entire body; her expressive face; her tone of voice which went from soothing whispers to throaty combative shouts without warning; but most of all, her informality, spontaneity and sensitivity.

She wanted it to be very clear that she had not been speaking as a leader, but as a revolutionary individual, that within the Central Committee, no one speaks as leader--"although we all agree on basic principles, there is much debate over form".

"The New Man Is An Integrated Man In An Integrated Society"

QUESTION: Revolutionary Cuba has an image of the society it hopes to create. The "new man" (hombre nuevo o hombre integrado) is often posed as the ideal. What do have in mind when you speak of the new man?

HAYDEE: The concept of the new man is a very new thing. It is still mostly an abstract ideal because the new man can only be created by a new society. The new man will not be exceptional in his society -- he will be the normal man. Che is an example of the perfect man. He was exceptional, so we can't use him as a model of the new man. Not all women can be expected to give birth to such an exceptional man.

The new man will not be an individualist, rather, individuality and collectivity will be combined in the new man. He may be a skilled specialist but without professional superiority and with his other talents developed. He is an integrated man in an integrated society. For example, the integrated man, perhaps an architect, knows he is not superior or different from a carpenter or the man who plants the trees. He knows this because his work is integrated with theirs. He realizes the importance of all work and should know how to do most kinds of work. The architect must appreciate construction materials and know how to plant trees. The new man is integrated with his work and the rest of society and understands the roots of everything.

QUESTION: How does the revolutionary government plan to create the new man?

HAYDEE: All this is easy to say. It's easy to theorize, but practice is much more important. Men cannot be moulded like dough. The new man has to come from new parents -- a new generation. But fifteen years is a short time in the history of a people. And at least that much time is needed if the new man is not to be created mechanically. Establishing schools with free tuition, room, board, books and clothes is not enough, since the teachers too would have to be new men.

Creating the new man is not just a question of teaching sacrifice. The new man in the new society would be something as natural as breathing or singing.

QUESTION: We imagine that bourgeois values must be destroyed before the new man is created. For example, we have noticed many hotels and restaurants retain a bourgeois style of service, even though the humblest worker now attends these places. What do you think about these forms left over from bourgeois value systems?

HAYDEE: The fact that all service employees have renounced tipping is much more significant than the remaining bourgeois forms of service.

I agree that eventually these forms must disappear in a revolutionary society. Right now the most important task for Cubans is production. Eventually we must get rid of all formalism. (What is important is to teach our waiters to appreciate beauty and culture.) But you don't get rid of old formulas by replacing them with new formulas. Once a man is humanized, then manners, or respect for humanity, come naturally. This is a slow cultural process and can't be imposed mechanically.

"Culture Should be in the Streets"

QUESTION: How are you bringing art and culture to the people?

HAYDEE: Culture should be in the street. When people walk down the street they shouldn't be pointing at someone else's shoes, "What pretty shoes, were they cheap?". They should be able to say, "What beautiful art". Stores should not display clothes, they should display art and ways of utilizing art. For example, they might display an old sofa and show how it can be made more beautiful.

Ahora somos. (Now we ARE). We will eventually develop participatory theater but so far our task has been to create theater. Before 1959 there were three theater groups in the entire country. Now there are sixteen professional drama groups. The trade union confederation

people in the Plaza of the Revolution. (The major governmental buildings line this plaza and in the center is the podium from which Fidel gives his formal speeches when in Havana). Every month we close the plaza to traffic and the children are invited to do whatever they want.

Facilities are provided for painting, music, puppets, all kinds of sports, etc. Kids can discover themselves there and see what kind of activity they like the most.

(At this moment she lifted up the cookie tin that we had been eating from). "Look, this cookie tin was designed by a famous Cuban artist. The drawings were made especially for the tin and you can find this tin in any household. We're underdeveloped in production but not in culture. Some day there should be so many museums that we won't have paintings to fill them."

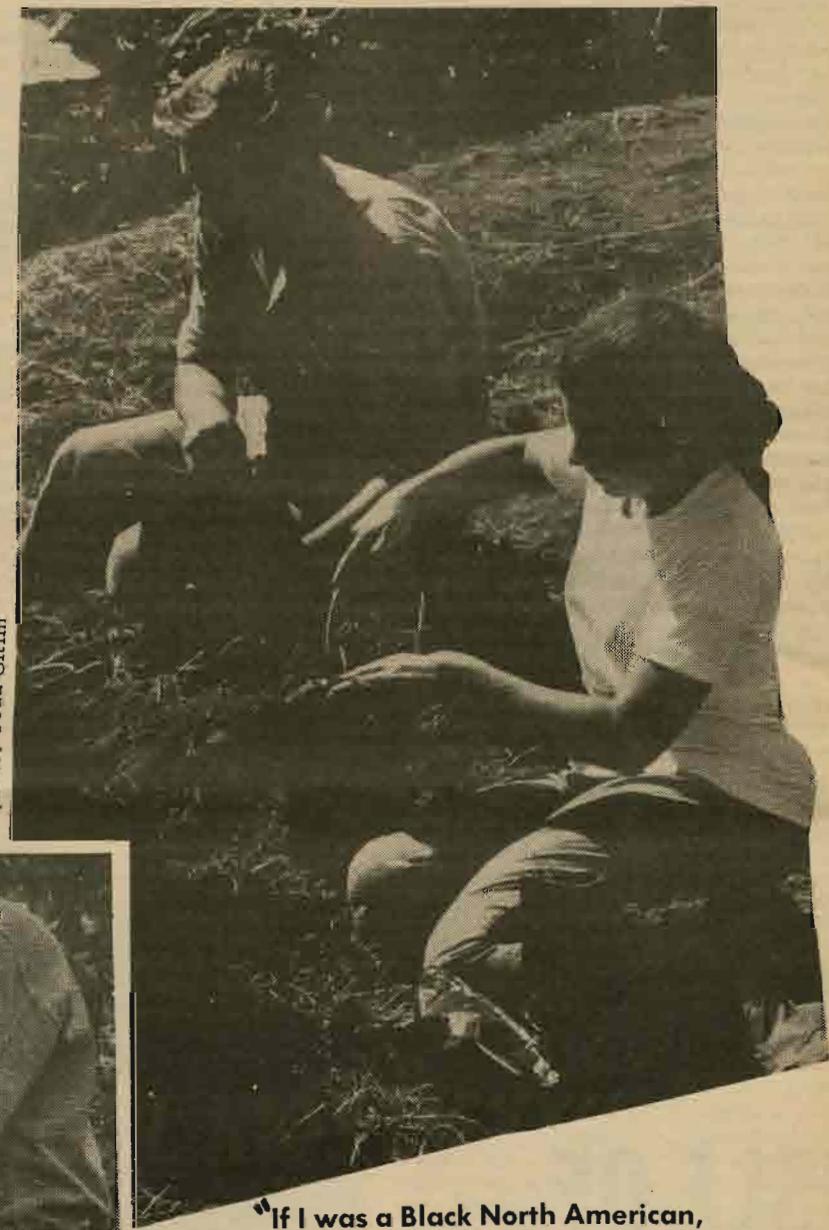


photo: Todd Gilpin



HAYDEE, CELIA, FIDEL (left to right)

Art is integrated with politics. People should have beautiful things, not commercialized things. In this society there is no need for consumer manipulation.

Casa de las Americas tries to humanize values through a wide distribution of culture and art. Through art we can create a sensibility to being human. But changes can't be too abrupt, that would be inhuman too.

Four years ago things were much worse. We got rid of the silly uniforms and you no longer see children as doormen. What is fundamental is that children no longer prostitute themselves for tourists. Come again in four years and you won't recognize the place.

(CTC) has 25 national groups. Each organization on the local level has its theater group -- in the factories, in the schools, or the farms, in the provinces, there are thousands.

A man can be an actor and a worker at the same time. All workers' theater groups in each province compete to form the provincial group. When a worker is chosen to join the provincial group the workers in his plant are so proud that their group is represented that they usually work overtime to do the work of their comrade while he is away at rehearsals and performances. Some of these provincial groups are really as good as professionals. We have also brought culture to the

"If I was a Black North American, I Would Have Killed 1000 Whites By Now."

QUESTION: How has the revolution dealt with problems of racism, racial prejudice, assimilation on a cultural level?

HAYDEE: Racial discrimination in Cuba no longer exists, so we probably don't even think about a lot of the problems you think about. Beauty is infinite and it has no rules. Tastes can't be explained but the most beautiful woman in Cuba is considered the mulatto.

When black people become convinced that they can have an important post with kinky hair, then they stop processing their hair.

We have developed the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore precisely to recognize the African heritage in our culture. The Cuban tradition is rooted in African culture.

African culture is an inspiration for a lot of modern Cuban writing, woodcarving and arts and crafts. I really believe in the folklore, though not the gods. It's beautiful. We teach the folklore in the schools but not as a religion. The legends are beautiful and the rituals creative and always spontaneous.

I want you to understand that I respect religion although I don't believe in it and don't like the bureaucracy of the church. For example, look at Father Camilo Torres, he had the same attitude towards man as the hat.

If I was a black North American I would have killed 1000 whites by now. Racism in the U.S. seems worse than the Batista tyranny.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Cuban Hero on the U.S. --

FROM BAY OF PIGS TO CHICAGO

by Arlene Eisen Bergman

In 1961, when the U.S. invaded Cuba at Playa Giron, Fausto Diaz was an illiterate black worker. On that beach, he lost both legs and an arm defending revolutionary Cuba against imperialist bombers. He was seventeen years old then. Today, seven years later, Fausto is a national hero. More importantly, he is a member of the central committee of the Union of Communist Youth (UJC) and founder and chairman of the Jose Echevarria Youth Brigades. He has nearly completed secondary school and when his time isn't occupied with organizational work, he hopes to study Kant.

I visited with Fausto for a day. I had intended to rap about Playa Giron and the Cuban Youth Organizations. But he started asking about our movement in the U.S. and we never got off the subject.

As I was trying to explain where we are at, something unusual for conversations between Cubans and Americans took place. He began giving his spontaneous gut reactions to the various issues and problems I was posing.

This was unusual because all Cubans feel that we know more about our situation than they do and that each movement must work out its problems on its own. No one tries to impose Cuban experience on others -- least of all Fausto.

His reactions and suggestions were offered in the spirit of a personal interchange among friends. He did this because he wished to correct what he considered my own "defeatist" attitude. (I felt I was just dealing honestly with American reality.)

Street Fighters in the Factories

Fausto insists that youth have a vital role in building a revolutionary movement. "Youth have been catalysts for all revolutions". But when he says this, Fausto has a special kind of person in mind. Someone who is willing to be a martyr for the revolution. "All revolutions need martyrs".

The objective conditions for revolution already exist in America, according to Fausto. What is needed is a politically conscious group to teach the people about the objective need and possibilities for revolution. This educational process cannot be carried on by intellectuals. The people can only be taught by deeds -- deeds coupled with ideological work.

When he speaks of masses Fausto means workers. When I raised the problem of the long-standing gap between students and workers, he seemed to understand the problem, but thinks it is surmountable. "Students can't use the same methods as the capitalists to organize workers. You just can't call a meeting and expect them to respond. The same people who have been fighting in the streets should be organizing in factories and other places where the masses are. Then the street fighter can approach the worker as a friend and explain to him personally why he took to the streets. You must have patience. You must do much more than talk. The worker whose son has been fighting in the streets will have sympathy for the students. The worker whose benchmark has been beaten will have respect for the radicals."

"Besides, if you don't work with these people, the enemy will. You must start with the thirteen and fourteen year olds. Try to reach them through cultural things and entertainment. It's like planting coffee -- the harvest takes many years. Our struggle began four hundred years ago when the Spaniards first raped Cuba."

Fausto also thought it was important to work with secondary school teachers. "They are much less corruptible than university professors, and they reach the youth at a formative time".

He mentioned tutorials as a way to establish contact with the youth. This got us into a discussion of liberalism and the various government attempts at co-optation and "domestic pacification programs". He had the idea that we should try to infiltrate these programs, or at least use some of them for our own purposes. "Work on any available front".

As soon as Fausto mentioned the importance of a vanguard, I explained that in the U.S. we have too many "vanguards". Many heads and no bodies, and rampant sectarianism.

"You all have to face the same enemy -- capitalism", he replied. "The problem is to filter out the false revolutionaries -- filter them out in action. Take the process of monopoly concentration under capi-

Why can't you break the separation through fraternity and revolutionary consciousness?" When I tried to explain the centuries of distrust that have grown between blacks and whites in this country, he understood, remembered Fanon and tried another tack.

"Well, the leaders have overcome this distrust, haven't they? If the masses have confidence in their leaders, the unity can begin among the leaders and the masses will learn through their leaders to overcome their distrust. If black people see white people carrying guns along with the Panthers, they must get some confidence in the white revolutionaries."

"First speak from the same platform as the Panthers. Then go into the community individually with the Panthers and wage your struggle against the cultural nationalists with deeds. Whites will have to create martyrs. When the cops occupy the ghetto go into the ghettos, carrying photos of Malcolm, Huey and Che, and take some of the bullets meant for black people. You need dramatic action. Black people will have to think that all whites can't be their enemy, if a white man takes a bullet meant for a black man."

"This kind of commando action requires strong cadres. But the commandos will complement the organizing work being done in the schools and factories, and make this work more effective. It should be easier to work on the cultural level after the black community has seen such deeds."

Group Interests & Selfishness

I explained to Fausto how we were most effective when organizing around short-range group interest issues and that often the issues were not the same for black and white groups. He thought that we should use the police more to dramatically demonstrate the nature of our common enemy and interests.

I talked about the fear many of us have of violence -- and explained how it was a tremendous advance that today many people in the white movement are no longer afraid of tear gas. (When Fausto talks about violence, he is referring to life and death struggles).

"You always have to have confidence in your base. It is your responsibility to raise the level of political consciousness to overcome this fear. You can never do that if you don't have confidence in the people. You must have patience, everything can't be changed in a day. You know, we used to have pacifists in Cuba -- not anymore, our survival depends on our militance."

"You can play on King's death a lot to show the futility of non-violence. Passivity in the face of all forms of American brutality is inhuman. The

American people must be re-humanized. Start with the thirteen year olds. Develop internationalism, not selfishness in the history and geography classes. We must be the doctors who cure this dehumanization and teach people to work for the world and not themselves."

"Teach people the need for self defense. If someone plants a bomb in a factory, always explain to the workers why their work place was blown up. If you talk about killing the enemy, always explain why it is necessary to kill. Victory or death. But sometimes, when there's death, there's also victory. Che never will die because he fell fighting, and others like Inti Paredes in Bolivia are carrying on the struggle right now. Also, remember that martyrs humanize the people, they show the sacredness of a really free existence."

Discipline

Fausto had talked a lot about using the youth's anxieties and personal grievances with society as political levers to reach new people. He also talked about the need for disciplined organization. These two themes reminded me of the anti-authoritarianism of many of our most militant people, so I raised this contradiction with Fausto.

"I don't know much about these people that the press calls 'hippies'. If they're the ones who are willing to fight in the streets then they're good. But some day they'll need to learn the usefulness of organization. I guess you must be with them on a one-to-one basis for a long time before they'll want to go to a meeting. And your meetings should not be like the meetings of politicians. Revolutionary meetings must be different. Affinity groups may be a revolutionary form, but can't be effective unless members of a vanguard coordinate them."

"The victory depends on discipline. It is better to have 100 disciplined revolutionaries than 1000 anarchists. For example, you need arms and therefore you need to infiltrate reactionary groups. This requires discipline. Leaders must be examples for the people that they can respect. In every difficult moment Che and Fidel were always in the fighting vanguard. I don't mean you should be adventurists and stand in the line of fire unnecessarily. You must respond to the hysterical violence of the imperialists with disciplined revolutionary violence."

"It was the revolutionaries who went to the Sierra -- and the Sierra forced them to be disciplined. You may have your Sierra when you organize a real vanguard and gain confidence in the people."

"You must create another Vietnam inside the U.S. We are all equal. The world is our country (El patria es el mundo)".



photo: S.F. Newsreel -- Mark Hardesty

Students of Revolution

By a member of the Union of Students for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

Student rebellion in Vietnam has grown and hardened since the days of the Diem regime. When the United States set up Diem they also launched a corrupt cultural offensive. Much of this offensive was aimed at Vietnamese youth, pushing a seductive policy of cooption, urging them to join the puppet army.

This tactic has failed to change the will of Vietnamese students to resist. Vietnamese students have inherited a long tradition of resistance, with much experience from the struggle against French colonialism. Numerous martyrs of the past have become examples to the students today.

Student Political Demands

In defiance of the fascist law 10/59, in defiance of guillotines and other methods of torture, the students have organized strikes and demonstrations. In 1959, the student movement made the following demands: use the Vietnamese language in high schools and universities; change the curricula to correspond with the independent and nationalist spirit of students and for the improvement of Vietnamese life; provide scholarships for children of the poor.

The student demands were not limited to the university's role in political repression. Other demands included: comply with the Geneva accords of 1954; peace; regularize relations between the North and South; hold negotiations between representatives of both regions to arrange for general elections; end anti communist diatribes; end the destruction of cities which dislocates the urban population, destroying their homes and way of life.

These demands indicate the development of a once sporadic student movement into a political organization. They coincided with insurrections in rural areas in 1959. These insurrections, together with the offensives launched by the guerrillas and Armed Forces of Liberation, began destroying the local power of the enemy and attacking them in their urban dens.

When the National Liberation Front was founded, the Union of Students for the Liberation of South Vietnam (USL) joined it. This began a new, more solid political stage in the student movement.

Students and Workers

The political and armed struggles of the South Vietnamese people gave a big push to student struggles in cities like Saigon, Da Nang, Nan Trang, and other cities that had never before seen mass demonstrations.

This struggle contributed to the fall of Diem, and since Diem, has obliged imperialism to restrain their top puppet at least twelve times.

On many occasions, students have coordinated their efforts with Buddhist masses and other patriotic groups. They have strengthened their struggle by slowly gaining the sympathy, support and participation of their professors. Families of students and even a good number of officials, soldiers, and functionaries of the puppet regime have also been reached.

The student movement is closely tied with the worker's movement. The students see the workers as the main force in the anti-imperialist battle. The workers see the students as an important ally -- often the catalyst of wider political struggle.

In September 1965 when 200,000 workers in Saigon-Cholon mounted a work stoppage, students declared their support and fought at the workers' side. And during the student-initiated demonstrations in Hue and Da Nang students received the support of the workers. This alliance has strengthened the political struggle which goes on continually in the cities of the South.

Imperialism forces this movement. In an effort to pacify student unrest, an "Educational Congress" was called, promising educational reform. At the same time young demonstrators were being repressed with tanks, guns and poison chemicals.

Students on the Move

When the puppet army attacks the schools the youth raise barricades, using chairs, sticks and rocks as defense against the criminals.

In answer to the assassinations committed by the Yankees, the students of Da Nang invaded the General Quartier of the U.S. forces in that zone and captured six Americans.

In answer to the state of emergency de-



TROOPS OF THE GUERRILLA ARMY
ENTERING TOWNS LIBERATED DURING THE
TET OFFENSIVE

photos: Liberation News Service, South Vietnam

cree, tens of thousands of Saigon youth surrounded the office of Nguyen Khanh, forcing him to admit his crimes and renounce his constitution.

In answer to the curfew order decreed by Khanh and Tran Van Huong, students mounted strikes, meetings and demonstrations precipitating the fall of the "civil" regime of imperialism.

At the beginning of 1966, in all important cities, there were large strikes and self-defense actions carried on by students and urban masses. This marked a new peak in the urban struggle. The movement spread to provincial towns, even attracting puppet soldiers and workers on U.S. construction sites.

Because of good coordination between different levels of organization, the student movement had a big influence on the people of the cities, especially in the Saigon area.

In the Occupied Zones

At first the forces were small, but they grew quickly. There are some cities in which the number of student participants has reached 80,000.

We have learned how to combine political struggle with armed struggle. From street demonstrations and strikes we have passed to higher forms--occupying the radio stations of the enemy, or the airport, and arming ourselves with sticks and knives.

South Vietnamese students understand that the fight for student rights, liberty and democracy cannot be divorced from the struggles waged by the people under the leadership of the NLF.

It is for this reason that slogans like "Educational Reform", "Expulsion of Secret Agents From the Schools", are always closely linked to slogans like "End Military Conscription", "Down With the Imperialist Aggressors", and "End the War of Yankee Aggression".

It is for this reason that the cultural offensive of the Yankees is doomed to failure.

In The Liberated Zones

While students in the cities suffer the cruelest repression, students in the liberated zones work with the NLF to transform themselves into full citizens of Vietnam.

In spite of the bombs, machine guns, massacres of children, and destruction of schools, education has developed greatly in liberated areas. More than 500,000 young people attend schools in which they receive a national, scientific and popular education.

With the increase in schools, the quality of education has also improved. And when the classes are not in session, teachers and students alike participate in the construction of villages, aid in production and combat and give classes to the rural population.

Younger students gather cartridges and bomb cannisters for the guerrillas. Students are organized in teams to distribute news and act as messengers and intermediaries. Thousands of students take part in political struggles along with their parents. Many times young people have thrown themselves to the ground, using their bodies to block the advance of trucks or armored cars.

The liberation struggle and its schools teach revolution. During the last 6 years these schools have provided many militant centers for the NLF and other fronts of resistance.

These schools also learn from and teach youth who have had to leave the occupied zones. Some of these youth have enlisted in the liberation forces.

The General Offensive

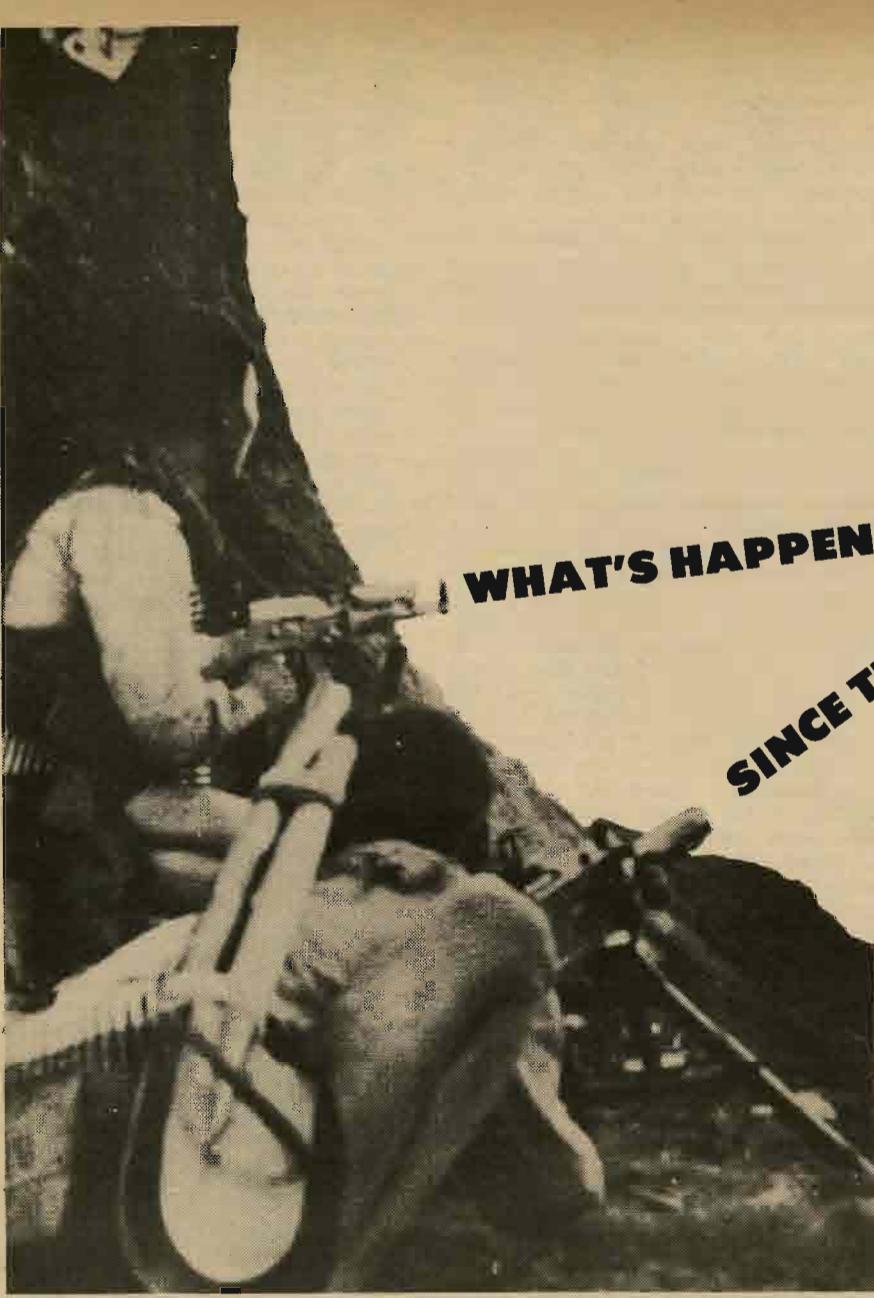
During the Tet offensive and the simultaneous revolts in the cities, students played an important role. They took up arms to fight against the aggressors and their pimps.

When needed, they are always ready to leave the universities. Thousands have joined the armed units of the revolution and the self-defense units in the cities.

Using the arms of the enemy against the enemy, fighting together with the urban masses and the revolutionary armed forces, students have become heroes in the streets--destroying Yankee tanks, shooting down planes in broad daylight. They have won the admiration of the population.

The people of Vietnam--North and South--young and old--are conscious of their duty to defend their country. With the thrust of the Tet offensive, and the leadership of the USL, students will continue to play a heroic role in the national liberation struggle.

South Vietnam, May 4, 1968



WHAT'S HAPPENED IN SOUTH VIETNAM SINCE THE TET OFFENSIVE

by Terence Cannon

(The information here is based on a recent week of intense conversations between Americans in the anti-draft movement and young people from the NLF of South Vietnam).

Most Americans are aware that the Tet offensive by the National Liberation Front changed the nature of the war and the political struggle in South Vietnam. The political importance of the offensive and its aftermath has not been examined in depth. What I give here is just an outline of important changes.

On April 20 and 21 a conference of the newly-formed Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces of Vietnam was held in an area near Saigon. It published a manifesto similar to that of the Front and announced its support of and alliance with the Front. The public spokesmen for the Alliance were condemned to death by the Ky regime and are now living in liberated zones.

The Alliance is an URBAN ORGANIZATION and represents the shift of powerful forces over to the Front. They are respected members of the bourgeoisie (one is a big landlord). Their support amounts to recognizing the Front coalition as the real government of South Vietnam (more about this later). They have clearly decided to risk their fortunes with the Front rather than face being on the losing side.

The Front Coalition

The Tet offensive brought the cities into direct participation in the revolution. As the Front wins militarily, it extends its political influence over liberated and contested areas. It is building the coalition that will govern the country after the war is over. This will be, as the Front makes clear, a coalition of "all strata of the society", from peasant to industrialist.

Many American leftists seem shocked to hear that the Front is really a NATIONAL front for liberation. It is a patriotic force, not just representing the peasants (though they of course are in the vast majority), but representing everyone who wants the Yankees -- and every other foreign power -- out of their country.

As the cities are liberated, similar groups to the Alliance will be formed. They will be part of the patriotic coalition that will govern after the war.

Their immediate goal is an "independent, free, peaceful, neutral and prosperous state" of South Vietnam. This will be followed by reunification with the North. In the words of the Alliance, "National reunification is the eager aspiration and the sacred obligation of our entire people. At present, there are actually two different political systems in north and South Vietnam. National re-unification cannot be achieved overnight."

Reunification will take place step by step through peaceful negotiations between the two zones and without foreign influences.

Cowboys

The bourgeoisie are not the only urban forces who have joined with the NLF. The Front representatives who spoke to us praised highly the "cowboys", the street kids in Saigon, who joined them in the Tet offensive. "We couldn't have done what we did in Saigon without them," one person said. "They knew every alley, every street in the city. And they were brave fighters. After the offensive, a group of them came to us and said -- We've helped you fight, now will you teach us about politics?" The NLF left

a cadre of political educators to help the street kids find out what politics was all about.

On the working class: it is important to know that Cholon is not a "Chinese district" as it is presented in our papers. It is a major Chinese and Vietnamese working class factory district. The NLF moves freely through this district going in and out of Saigon; thus its strategic importance to the NLF and the Americans.

"Clear And Hold"

American strategy has also changed since Tet. No more Search and Destroy; no more pacification. It's now called Clear and Hold and is a version of the Enclave Theory. American forces rarely move out of their entrenched positions. They establish a "fortress", destroy the jungle for miles around, plow the land on the perimeter and try to hold on to it.

I asked one of the NLF people -- what about the Enclave theory? He smiled and said, "Khe Sahn was an enclave." There are no real enclaves in the South anymore. Saigon is far from a walled city. The Front controls important sections of the city ("control" means that the Saigon and American troops do not enter those sections, nor do the Saigon police. The NLF has a secret parallel government in these sections. The NLF also freely brings its surplus rice from the Mekong Delta into the city, sells it, and uses the money to buy American guns and farm equipment.)

The Real Government

More and more since the Tet offensive, the NLF is acting the role of the actual government of South Vietnam. Once only a few countries allowed NLF delegates to set up offices. Now most socialist countries have NLF embassies. Offices and information centers are being set up this month in France, England and Sweden. This amounts to semi-official recognition of the NLF by these nations.

The people of Vietnam are winning the war, but the war isn't over. The NLF delegation was asked, when will the war end? "When the Americans get out," they said. It wasn't a pat answer.



photo: Liberation News Service, South Vietnam

ROTC BUILDING

BURNS DOWN

by Stern and Shelton

SEATTLE, WASH. Sept. 20 (LNS) -- A crowd of 300 spectators, some cheering, "This is number one and the fun has just begun--burn, baby, burn," watched as the Naval ROTC building at the University of Washington burned Wednesday, September 18, causing approximately \$50,000 damage and demolishing military records and files.

The burning climaxed several recent incidences of political fire bombings and arson in Seattle, including destruction of the Central Area Motivation Program (the local War on Poverty), a number of businesses in the ghetto area, and an eating establishment that had discriminated against hip-types.

Following the Wednesday fire, a Seattle newspaper reported that the University administration was confronted with the possibility of having to police every building on the 600 acre University of Washington campus to prevent further disturbances.

A fire marshall reflected official sentiment when he complained, "We feel this is a particularly bad situation. It shows a great disrespect for authority and for the country itself." ■

Culture Assaulted At Lincoln Center

by Sharon Shelton

NEW YORK, Sept 20 (LNS) — While scores of New Yorkers hurried into massive Lincoln Center to find out what movies to talk about this year, a small band of demonstrators had their own message about the elitist nature of the New York Film Festival and the arts as a whole.

The demonstration was organized by a coalition of groups including Newsreel, a group of radical documentary filmmakers; segments of the Columbia Liberation School; and other political, theatre and media groups.

Their methods of expression -- soapsuds in the fountain, jeers at Mayor Lindsay, and guerrilla theatre -- contrasted sharply with the austerity of the Lincoln Center Plaza and the atmosphere surrounding the festival's September 17 opening night.

The demonstration attacked the sterility of establishment arts and attempted to tie together the relation of the arts to a racist and imperialist culture. A Liberation School statement said: "We realize that war and racism in America are not isolated incidents, but inevitable and logical manifestations of a political economy which has created a deep, often sophisticated culture whose central function is to defend the system against revolution. We must extend our analysis to that culture."

Newsreel adds to the indictment: "Lincoln Center is the cultural manifestation of United States imperialism," dictating the cultural "separateness, superiority and inaccessibility of the upper class."

Some judged Tuesday's demonstration against the Festival a failure because so few participated and because no disruptive action was taken inside the theatre. Many thought Lincoln Center was a poor target to make the point, because (unlike many other festivals with similar programs) it did not award prizes and many of its films were excellent ones, made by "underground" filmmakers around the world.

Robert Kramer of Newsreel, however, said he thought it successful because it "at least raised the question of Lincoln Center's legitimacy." This point is probably more significant than it first appears, since the demonstration marks one of the first attempts by the left to explain to the public the difficult issue of the relation of the arts to a racist and imperialist culture. ■

HAYDEE, Cont. From Page 18

The Party is Directed By Man Not An Abstract God

QUESTION: Would you talk a little about how you think revolutionary organizations develop?

HAYDEE: Now it is simpler, because we have state power. Before we had state power there were no well-organized mass organizations, only the Cuban people against the tyranny of Batista. The July 26 Movement was the closest to being a mass organization, especially after the armed struggle in the Sierra began.

The July 26 Movement had the best leaders -- all were revolutionaries, but our leaders were the most competent ones. Fidel, with all the same conditions and intentions, things would have been different without Fidel.

QUESTION: How do you view the role of revolutionary leaders?

HAYDEE: I'm a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary and I think the role of leaders is very very very important. There must be someone to guide and orientate the party. The Party is directed by man not an abstract god. One must believe in man.

Because I am a Cuban I won't even use a Cuban example. The Communist party in Viet Nam is a real revolutionary party because of Ho Chi Minh. The Communist Party in Korea is revolutionary with Kim Il Sung. There exist Communist Parties in Latin America which are more reactionary than American politicians, more reactionary than the CIA!

A vanguard party needs vanguard leaders. Everyone can't be a leader until we have the new man -- the new society.

QUESTION: What is the relationship between the leaders and the masses?

HAYDEE: The local mass organizations are very important. For example Local Power ("poder local", something like municipal government) was created to resolve administrative and service problems but the head of each local power is a party leader. You cannot separate political from administrative problems.

CDR (Committee for Defense of the Revolution), a national mass organization organized on the block level, is the most important organization in the country. Nearly everyone is a member. They are so conscientious in protecting the revolution that they know when a kid is playing hooky or when a mother doesn't boil her water. CDR played a big role during the Yankee invasion at Playa de Iron. CDR acts in a spirit of revolutionary consciousness. They are nothing like the police force that the imperialists would like you to believe they are.

Revolutionary leaders are not distant from the people. For example, take the decision to close the cabarets. CDR participated in that decision. Militant members of CDR never went to cabarets -- they didn't like cabarets. Only lazy types who didn't want to work and black marketeers really enjoyed the cabarets.

I belong to the CDR on my block. Everyone on my block belongs. I am not the chairman, and I participate in the meetings and activities on the block like everyone else. In the CDR I am subordinate to the local chairman. For example, one time before all private

restaurants were closed, the chairman accused a local entrepreneur of dealing in the black market since he always had meat for sandwiches late at night after the state restaurant had run out. I knew that the accused had nothing to do with the black market. His meat lasted longer because he cut thinner slices. But I couldn't pull rank and announce my knowledge expecting the issue would be dropped. I raised my hand and only stated that before we accuse this man perhaps there should be a more thorough investigation. After a committee investigation, at the next CDR meeting the entrepreneur was absolved.

The CDR gives a voice to the masses. This organization reflects all their grievances. In cases where their grievances are real but cannot be solved because material conditions prevent solution, those conditions are explained in the CDR. CDR also draws distinctions between collective and personal or egotistic problems. When the people are able to recognize their problems as a collective, the first step towards the solution is passed.

QUESTION: How do people participate in the decision-making process?

HAYDEE: I'll give you a concrete example. A certain district had a refrigerator problem. Everyone had a new house and each one wanted a refrigerator, but given our economic situation it was impossible for each household to have its own refrigerator. The people, in this case it was in a local power meeting, recognized that they couldn't solve their

problems on an individual basis. On their own initiative and after much discussion they came upon the idea of having a communal refrigerated room. In this case, the people became their own leaders because they dealt with their individual problems as a collective problem. This represents an important step in raising revolutionary consciousness.

You may think that the case of refrigerators is a trivial decision, but it is not. These small problems of housing refrigerators are important. The question of who gets a new house involves basic political issues, it is not a matter of who has the most money. The same process in deciding refrigerator questions is involved in so-called "larger" issues and policies. Besides, in an underdeveloped country policies with regard to material things like refrigerators are of top importance. By the way, the opportunity for this kind of participation in decision-making and the collectivization of the problem is another way people get practice in creating the new man. Refrigerators may not be important in a developed country like the United States. But on the cultural level the United States is underdeveloped. Always looking for the cheapest goods and commercialization of life is the worst kind of brutalization. Sometimes I wish the Yankees would invade again, just let them touch the smallest leaf on one of our trees and we'll show them how developed and brave they are. They're animals. For the slightest bit of mineral, they will destroy the history of an entire people. I am not anti-imperialist out of ideology, but from my guts, because of a sensitivity for humanity.

to Huey Newton

It is the season for wild storms, black man.
The streets are paved with grains of history
skin and blood ripped from the waist
furies drink the repressed explosion
of a silence thirsty after decades of drunken stupor.

It is time this anger sprinkle the spirited
cock of our times with the sacred firewater
lying dormant inside the bruised and maimed
bones of our common ancestors.

Never mind the bars, we know you will return
from battle riding high on a bronze goat
scattering the original power of the Efik
on the organic foliage of the hungry,
you will return motherfucker in the throats
of a deluge affirming we are a whole new beginning
the source of the stream of black people.

Abraham

Abraham is a black Cuban poet who works for the Provincial Board of Culture in Havana.
(translated by Elias)

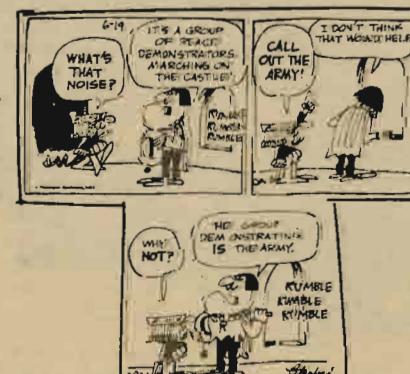
THEY NEVER SHOULDADONE IT!

They never shouda done it.

When Washington used the capture of the spy-ship Pueblo as an excuse to call up 37,000 Air Force, Navy and Army Reservists and National Guardsmen, many for shipment to Vietnam, they thought they had pulled a fast one. But it backfired, just as surely as most of their schemes for "pacifying" the Vietnamese people have backfired. And now they have announced their intentions to release all 16,000 Air National Guardsmen and Air Reservists by next summer.

Plenty of guys in the military are opposed to the war and many are against everything about the military, and the reserves probably contain somewhat more than their share. Men who joined, in many cases, because it looked like a way to stay out of the war and are now probably far into school or secure in jobs. Men who are older than most draftees, have had more formal education and are pretty used to dealing with bureaucracies by this time and know how to find the weak points.

So the military now has to deal with anti-war activity even among their most privileged and elite group, the Air Force.



While dissatisfaction is present throughout the military, the reservists have helped plenty to bring it to the surface on bases to which they have been sent. The brass is now faced with such things as lawsuits by the reservists against the call-up and a GI anti-war march which might have taken place with the call-up, but with much less support.

In October the U.S. Supreme Court will decide the fate of some 7,000 men from at least 4 reserve units. Some, who joined before 1966, are suing for breach of contract, as they were told they could be called only in case of war or a national emergency. Others, who joined after a law was passed in 1966 allowing Johnson to call up the reserves when he damn well feels like it, are contending that the law is an unconstitutional delegation of power by Congress to the Executive branch. In addition to wanting out, 250 soldiers in the 29th Brigade at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, are also asking for \$10,000 each in damages.

The brass is becoming frantic about the GI March for Peace which will take place in San Francisco on October 12 (starting at Golden Gate Park's Panhandle at 11:00 AM). Generals are recommending that the demonstration "be quashed if possible because of possible severe impact on military discipline throughout the services". Military patrols at Ham-

ilton Air Force Base are instructed to try to stop the posting of stickers advertising the march but with the admonition to use "maximum discretion" as the brass "cannot afford to arouse discontent or disaster". Seven civilian women were detained while leafletting at Hamilton, held against their will and harassed for 2 and 1/2 hours before being released when the March officials called the base to enquire about them. The organizers of the March have been ordered to bases in Utah and Taiwan, for the time the March is to take place, but these orders have so far been reversed by civilian courts.

The latest ploy of the brass is to pull inspections, "beautification detail", and riot drill at the local bases on October 12. Attorney Grossman, an attorney for the March, is filing an injunction to compel the military to show cause why these events should take place on October 12.

The brass might be able to cut down on the number of GIs participating in the March, but nobody is going to be fooled by the extra work and inspections. And the men aren't going to be happy about it either. No doubt the Pentagon and their puppets in the universities are starting to work on pacification programs for their own troops. But they ain't gonna work either.

Game submitted by a Fort Knox GI who wishes to remain anonymous.

Adapted from FTA (FUN, TRAVEL and AVENTURF an enlisted mens news paper.
North 20th St., Louisville, Ken tucky 40203.

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS I. YOU MUST OBEY THESE INSTRUCTIONS EXPLICITLY. FAILURE TO COMPLY WILL RESULT IN FORFEITURE OF TURN AND A FINE NOT TO EXCEED 1/4 THE COST OF THE GAME. II. ALL PLAYERS WILL MOVE IN A COUNTER-CLOCKWISE DIRECTION, BEGIN AT 2400, TERMINATE AT 0000. III. THE DICE MUST BE SHAKEN IN ONE OF THE FOLLOWING POSITIONS: SQUAT, PRONE, PRONE SUPPORTED. IV: LIFERS MAY USE LOADED DICE; ALL OTHERS MUST PLAY THE GAME ACCORDING TO THE RULES.

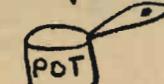
V. SHOULD A PROBLEM ARISE DURING THE COURSE OF THE GAME, A PANEL OF 3 PERSONS WILL DECIDE ON A RULING. THIS RULING MAY BE APPEALED BUT TO NO AVAIL, SO DON'T APPEAL. SIMPLY CONTINUE WITH THE GAME.

PLAYER TOKENS

- Player 1



- Player 2



- Player 3



- HONOR
POLICE



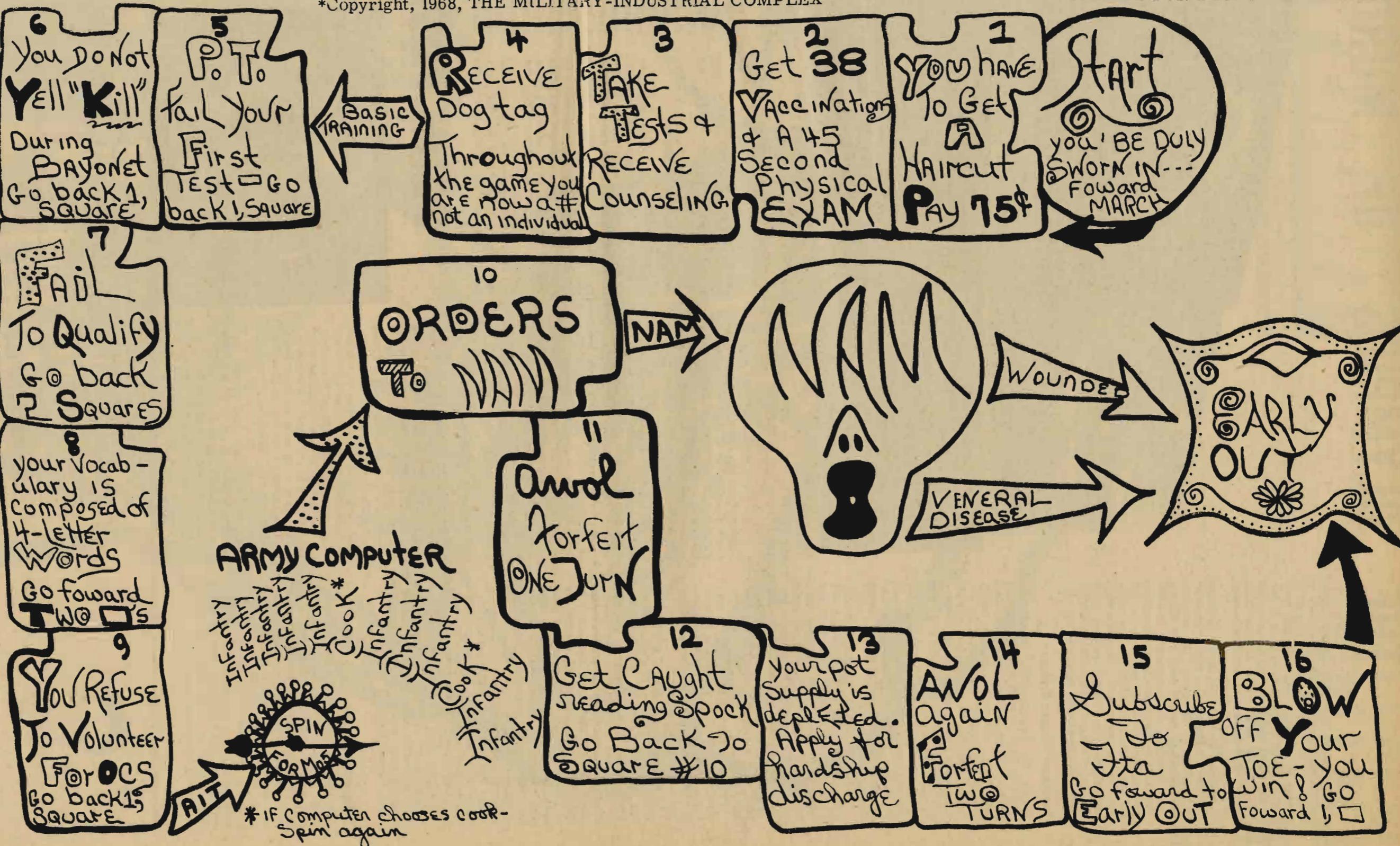
- Plants



EARLY OUT

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A GAME FOR YOUNG MEN AGES 18-35



THE OLYMPICS OF MURDER

The students in Mexico have been facing incredible brutality. The headlines of Oct. 2, "At least 40 dead", this 40 is added to a list of well over 100. Sixty more are missing since July. It is believed that they were lined up and forced to wait for tanks which crushed them to death. Their bodies were incinerated to prevent proof of death.

And the Mexico City Hilton continues to take reservations for people planning to attend the Olympics. The Mexican oligarchy has poured over \$150 million into facilities to accomodate tourists who come for the Games. They even printed new money so there would be enough for the visitors to spend. As new hotels were being constructed, Mexico's slum population grew. People seemed quiet. Nothing, it seemed, would upset the Games, except maybe an Afro-American boycott.

Mexican Silence Broken

July 25. An apparently unimportant event (a fight between rival high school students) brings unexpected consequences. Riot cops and secret service agents occupy the schools. The pattern for the coming months is established; student disturbance, police and army brutal overreaction, student protest, pig reaction, revolutionary violence.

July 26. Pigs attack and shoot into a peaceful, legal demonstration which is protesting yesterday's occupation and celebrating the beginning of the Cuban Revolution.

By July 29, 200,000 students in Mexico are on strike. The strike at the National University, its 29 affiliated schools and many high schools has continued until the present. The presence of the army on campuses organized the students. The students responded to tanks and battalions with combat committees, political brigades, stones, molotov cocktails and even some bullets.

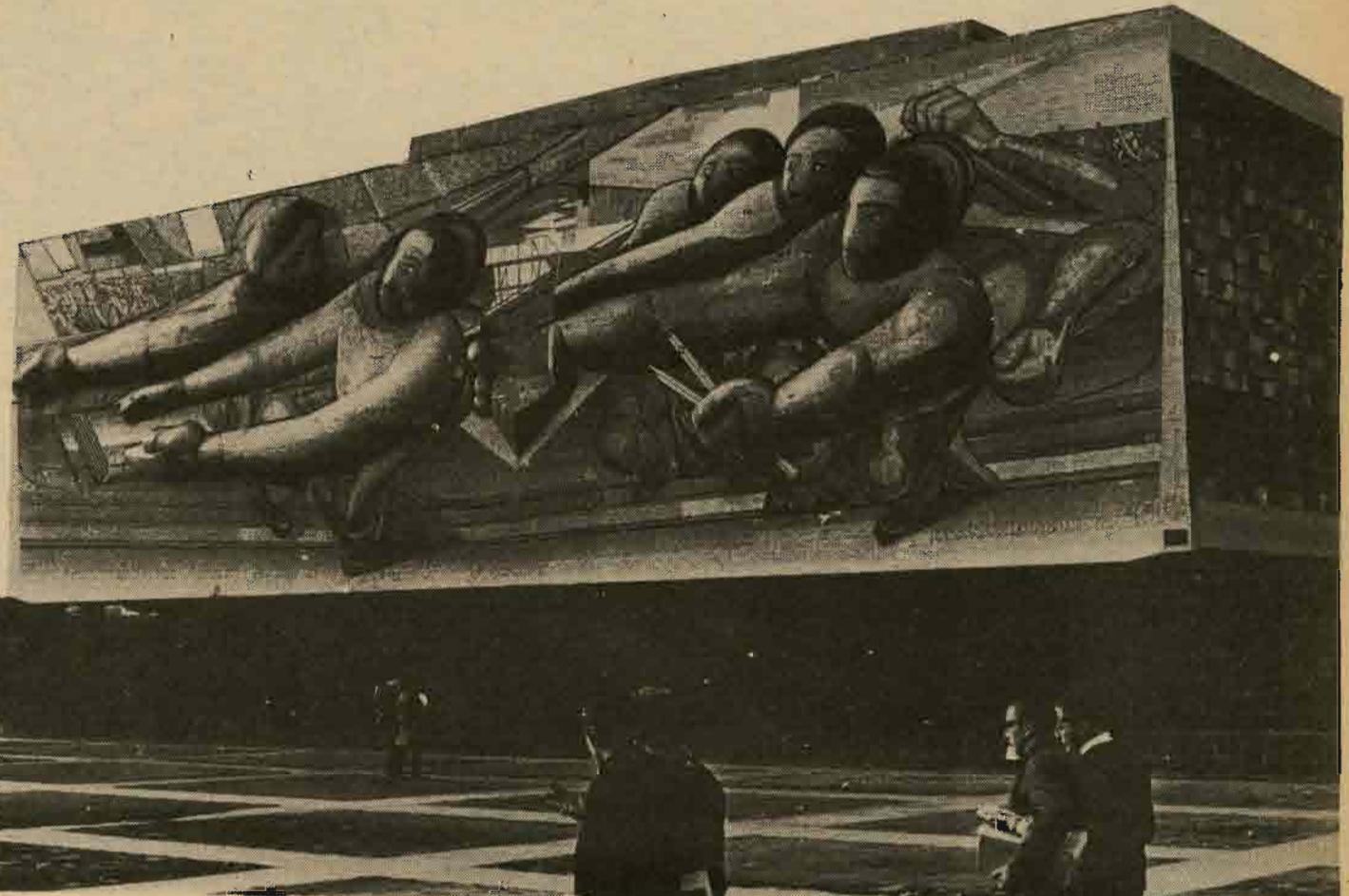
They didn't have enough time to proclaim they were accomplishing a revolution of consciousness. Instead of proclamations, actions showed that something revolutionary was happening.

On August 27, at least 35 were killed. Some 300,000 students and their supporters staged a peaceful march through Mexico City. Their bravery in the face of tanks and machine guns was heroic. They demanded removal of the Police Chief and his assistants, dissolution of the riot squads, repeal of Article 145 of the Constitution which gives the government extraordinary powers to deal with subversion, indemnification of the families of slain students, investigation of those responsible and freedom for all political prisoners (there are thousands). These demands were highly political because they desanctify "Mexican democracy", and repression shows the true nature of the regime.

In the following days, the demands were ignored. More were killed and arrested. This is how a rebellion against police brutality turns into a revolt against corruption, exploitation and injustice.

Political Brigades

In order to combat the continuous campaign of lies in the press, the students are sending political brigades all over the City to distribute leaflets, speak to the people. Over and over these leaflets and speeches repeat that the students are not just fighting to protest brutality, but are defending the legal constitution, and protesting corruption, exploitation, injustice, poverty, illiteracy, lack of freedom of speech, press, etc. Many brigades are arrested.



These brigades, combined with government atrocity, have been successful in gaining support among the population for the students. People in lower class housing projects have been sympathetic. In fact, one of the cops who was killed was shot by an army man when the cops broke into his house to arrest his mother who had been helping the students.

On the marches, there were parents, workers, small businessmen, farm laborers. Banners identified each group of supporters. Many groups not directly involved have actively supported the strike: a group of writers and artists, groups of electrical workers, bakery workers, telephone workers. There is also a letter from a guerrilla leader, Genaro Vazquez, expressing sympathy with the movement.

The Agitators Responsible

The only one responsible for the crisis is the Mexican Oligarchy which, in its zeal to present to the world its Janus face freed from the poverty of the country, proved incapable of predicting the consequences of its own intolerance. They have staked everything on the profits of the Olympics. The middle class hoped the Games would boost Mexico's prestige.

The catch is that political tranquility is a prerequisite for the Olympics coming to and staying in any country. The government thought a big show of force would shut the students up for at least the duration of the Olympics. They were wrong.

The students have made clear that they plan to try to break up the Olympics if their demands are not met. The Olympic Stadium, with a great mosaic relief of Diego Rivera on the outside, is located

on the Campus of the National University. Now, the Mexican Army with 90 tanks and 10,000 men occupy the National University.

Support for Our Brothers

No one should go to the Olympics. People who have already left for Mexico should do everything they can to support the students while they are there.

In New York, there was a rally at the Mexican Embassy. One Mexican speaker said, "Before the revolution in Mexico, 2% of the population controlled 80% of the land. Now, after 60 years of 'revolution', 1.6% controls 70% of the riches of the land".

A statement issued by SDS and the International Assembly of Revolutionary Students convened at Columbia University

declares: "Boycott the Olympic Games -- Behind the facade of new paint, flowers, beautiful buildings, stadiums and fountains there lies a barricade of barbed wire, guns and tanks to hide from the world the truth about the conditions of the Mexican people. These facts can no longer be concealed because of the heroic action of hundreds of thousands of Mexican students who have succeeded in ripping away the mask of lies . . . The cynical politicians out-smarted themselves by choosing to use the students as pawns in their political intrigue. They merely sparked a chain of events which will certainly lead to the overthrow of the existing police state which must be replaced by a popular and genuinely democratic society based on the whole population and for their benefit."

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