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MOVEMENT

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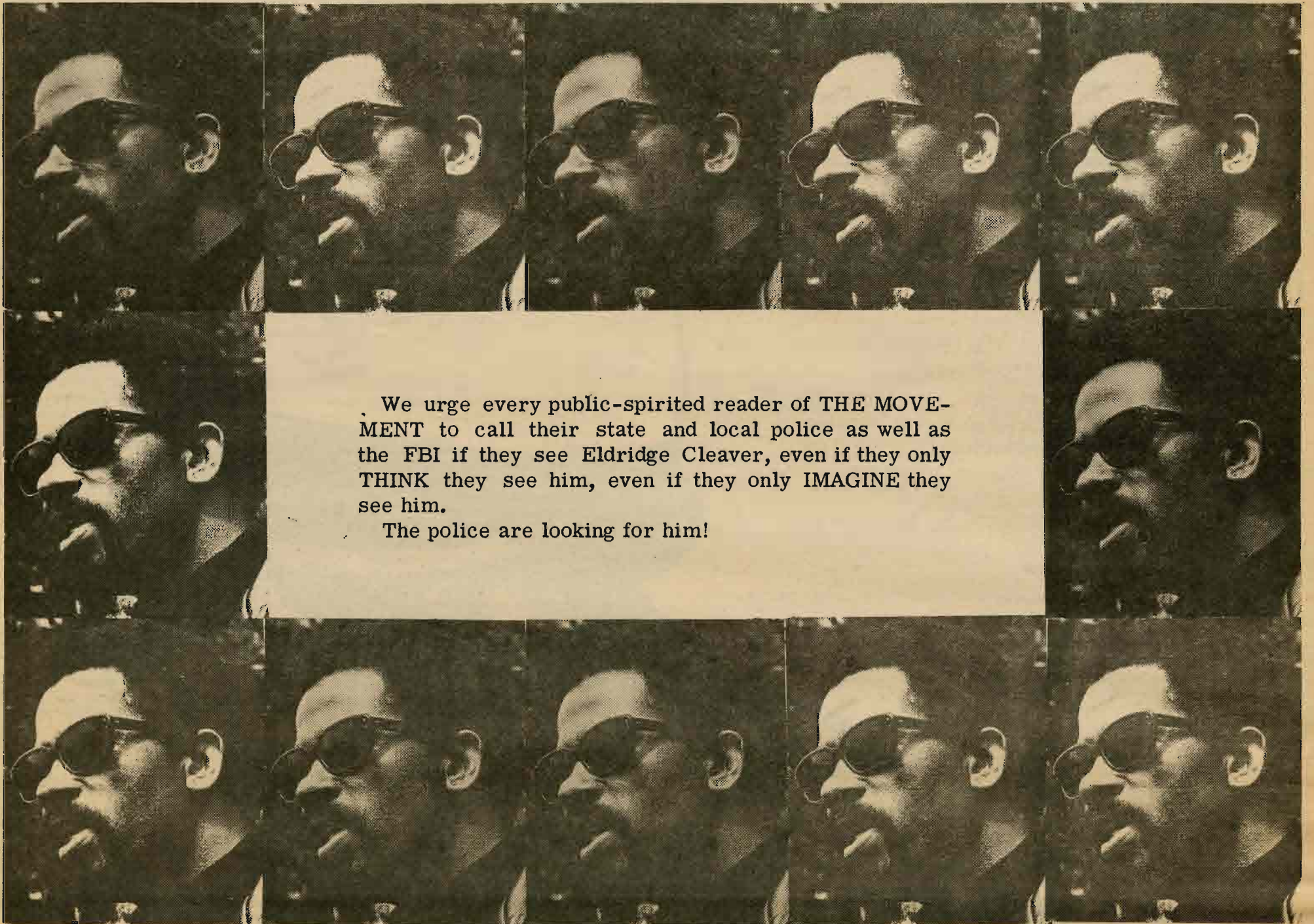


in this issue:

S.F. STATE, WORKING CLASS ORGANIZING: NORTH & SOUTH

THE MOVEMENT PRESS
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94103

THE FBI'S 12 MOST WANTED MEN



We urge every public-spirited reader of THE MOVEMENT to call their state and local police as well as the FBI if they see Eldridge Cleaver, even if they only THINK they see him, even if they only IMAGINE they see him.

The police are looking for him!

GOING NORTH? BE PREPARED

Dear Friends:

We're sending this letter out because we are meeting certain kinds of difficulties with people leaving the U.S. military services and coming to Canada that we feel can be avoided if they receive better counselling in the U.S. As you may or may not know, an unofficial decision has been made by the Immigration Department in Canada which recognizes their rights to become bona fide immigrants to Canada. Although they are not officially encouraged to come to Canada, if they have enough general prerequisites to meet Canadian standards, they receive landed immigrant status. Their biggest difficulty besides getting jobs is that often there is a two-week to one-month lag in between when they come and when their credentials are in order. During this period they are not officially allowed to work even if they have a job offer.

What we would hope to do is cut down this period of limbo and save them several hungry weeks. If any such people happen to get in touch with you,

tell them that they will need the following in Canada:

1) An "Application for Permanent Residence" form from a Canadian consulate. These are located in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. They should either write or phone for the forms (with a civilian address for them to be sent to) or have someone pick them up at the consulate.

2) A birth certificate or passport. These usually take some time to get. Therefore, the process should be initiated as soon as possible. We suggest that they have the forms mailed c/o an alias to one of the committees in Canada. Our mailing address is: P.O. Box 4231, Vancouver 9, B.C. We hold mail forever.

3) A high school or college transcript and/or diploma. These also take a while to obtain. They should be mailed under the same covering alias. One cannot get landed immigrant status without them.

4) A marriage license or divorce papers, if applicable. The same subterfuge applies.

5) Job letters from former employers. If there is some chance the employers will be unsympathetic, this can be foregone.

6) If at all possible, a good amount of money should be obtained, not only for living here while looking for work, but to show at the border when he tries to get landed immigrant status. We suggest several hundred dollars. However, if this is not possible, he should come anyhow.

For more information write either to us (our street address is 2741 W. 4th Ave.) or to the Toronto Anti-Draft Programme, P.O. Box 764, Adelaide St. Station, Toronto 2B, Ontario (their street address is 2279 Yonge St., Suite 15).

Committee to Aid American War Objectors
P.O. Box 4231, Vancouver 9, B.C.

January 1 marks the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. The MOVEMENT supports the Week of Solidarity with Cuba, January 2-9, that SDS has called.

Groups who plan educational activities on Cuba for that week should contact the National Office

of SDS and send for the November issue of the MOVEMENT which features several articles on Cuba and an interview with Haydee Santamaria, member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. (It's also got some good stuff on the U.S.)

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panther shootout

WHOSE GAME WAS IT?

by Robert Avakian

On Tuesday, November 19, at about noon, a converted bakery truck, donated to the Black Panther Party for use in delivering its weekly newspaper, pulled into a gas station on Third Street in San Francisco. The truck -- which bore the words "Black Panther" and "Black Community News Service" and was plastered with posters calling for the defense of Eldridge Cleaver -- had just completed delivering Panther newspapers in the nearby Hunters Point and Potrero Hill ghettos and was headed for a Panther meeting in Oakland, across the San Francisco Bay.

When the truck pulled into the gas station, William Lee Brent, a Panther captain and one of the passengers in the front seat, got out and ordered two dollars worth of gas from an attendant. Then, according to Henry George, another attendant at the station, Brent walked over to George and asked him for change for a quarter. Brent and George walked over to the cash box, some twenty feet away, and George opened the box and started to make change for Brent's quarter.

At that point, according to George -- a talkative white kid, about 20 -- Brent insisted "I want all of it (the money in the cash box)." George told me he was confused at first and mumbled something unintelligible in response. Brent then pulled aside his coat to reveal a pistol and demanded "I want all the money." George answered "It's not mine to give," whereupon Brent pulled what George described as a ".45" out of his belt and, pointing it at George, repeated "Give me all the money." George, of course, complied with this request and then Brent, who, according to George, was very calm during the entire episode, took the money, returned his gun to his belt, fastened his coat back over the gun, walked back to the truck and paid the other attendant two dollars, out of the 80 dollars he had just taken from George.

Brent got back in the truck and it pulled out of the station, while George and the other attendant copied down its license plate number. In response to my direct question, George said that it was entirely possible that the other people in the truck knew nothing about the hold-up pulled off by Brent. In fact, George recalled, during the time that Brent was raiding the cashbox, one of the passengers in the truck got out and went into the restroom. You would hardly expect someone to be caught with his pants down, if he were involved in a robbery and quick getaway.

Near the Pig Station

From the gas station, the truck proceeded along Third Street onto the freeway which leads to the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. For some reason, however, instead of continuing onto the Bay Bridge, the driver of the truck, Wilfred Holiday -- known as "Captain Crutch" because of his rank in the Panthers and a marked limp -- took the last San Francisco exit off the freeway onto Seventh Street, only a few blocks from the San Francisco Pig Station. The Panther truck, whose description was by now broadcast over the police radio as the getaway vehicle in a robbery, was almost immediately recognized by plainclothes pigs, who were driving their prowler car in the area.

They pulled the Panther truck over and one of the pigs, Robert Flynn, drew his gun and ordered Holiday out of the truck. Flynn had Holiday spread over the side of the truck, frisking him, when Brent apparently leapt from the truck, with his gun drawn, and fired at Flynn, who crumbled to the ground, seriously wounded. At this point, the other pig, Lieutenant Dermott Creedon, jumped from the prowler car with his

gun and he was immediately struck by several bullets from Brent's gun. Creedon, too, was critically wounded. At this point "Crutch", Brent and the third Panther in the front seat of the truck, 19 year old Harrill Hill, took off running.

But a third pig, Sgt. Michael O'Mahoney, who, according to the police, had been "hitchhiking" in the car with Creedon and Flynn, took out after Holiday, Hill and Brent. After exchanging gunfire with them -- in which O'Mahoney was slightly wounded in the hand -- he managed to chase them into a dead-end alley. By this time police reinforcements had already arrived and Brent, Hill, and Holiday had no choice but to surrender.

They were captured without another shot being fired. In the meantime, pigs had surrounded the Panther truck and arrested five Panthers, including Raymond Lewis, editor of the Panther paper, who were trapped inside. None of these five had any weapon and no guns were found in the back of the truck. In fact, only one gun was confiscated by police, the .9 millimeter pistol fired by Brent and found on his possession. Still, all 8 people in the truck were first charged with armed robbery and assault with intent to commit murder.

"Big Al"

As if this whole incident did not already smell foul enough, Mayor Benito "Big Al" Alioto of San Francisco immediately called a press conference. He announced that he was formally requesting the San Francisco Grand Jury to conduct an investigation of the leaders of the Black Panther Party to determine whether they were guilty of conspiracy to murder policemen -- whether, as Alioto framed

it, there were concrete Panther plans to shoot at any policeman that stopped them. This action by Alioto was coupled with the fact that the Nov. 19 incident came just 8 days before Eldridge Cleaver was to surrender himself to the California Adult Authority. It was also in the midst of the heightening struggle at San Francisco State, in which Panther Minister of Education, George Murray, was a central figure. This context made the entire episode very suspicious.

At this point, however, events began to turn back on Alioto and the San Francisco pigs. Panther leaders Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver publicly charged that the hold-up shootout was the work of police agents, not of Panthers. Who could really believe that Panthers would be so stupid as to pull a robbery in broad daylight, with several witnesses, using a truck with the words "Black Panther" on it for a "getaway vehicle"? The only other possible explanation, they noted, was that Brent was simply a kook. He violated several cardinal principles of the Panther Party, including the prohibition against carrying concealed weapons during mass political work, such as distributing the Party's newspaper.

Then, strangely, the Grand Jury met and refused Alioto's request for a conspiracy investigation of the Panther leadership. And two days later the District Attorney's office dropped charges against everyone but Brent, Holiday and Hill, the three who were in the front seat of the truck at the time of the robbery and the shootout.

Police Agent?

Those who have worked with the Panthers and with Brent in particular find it difficult to accept the notion that he is a police agent; but it is even more difficult to believe that he is a kook who went berserk. It is true that Brent seemed very politically uptight, stable, disciplined and generally possessed the attributes of a solid revolutionary.

But it hardly needs mentioning that these are also the attributes of a good police agent, who -- as everyone who has participated in an organization that is infiltrated by finks knows -- are almost always the hardest working and seemingly the most dedicated people around. This is one of the safest ways to avoid suspicion. And we should remember that the Bolshevik Central Committee contained an agent for many years, even during the October days of 1917.

Brent's very seriousness and seeming stability make it even harder to believe that he suddenly went amuck. He was an experienced armed robber -- who had done several years in the joint some time ago, but mysteriously got five years probation, with no jail time, when he was last convicted of armed robbery. This makes it even more difficult to swallow the idea of his pulling off the half-assed "robbery" that he apparently DID pull off at the gas station -- unless, of course, he committed the "robbery" as part of a plan to discredit and perhaps even destroy the Panthers.

The answer of Giant Hog Alioto and the San Francisco pigs -- as well as many people in the movement -- to the allegation that Brent was a police provocateur is: why would a police agent shoot and seriously wound other pigs? But this objection is valid only if we assume that Brent was actually a POLICEMAN who was sent into the Panthers as a regular police officer. This, of course, could not be the case. But if, as is far more likely, Brent was

merely a black man, convicted of armed robbery, whom the authorities could blackmail, he might well have acted as a police agent, without feeling any allegiance at all to the pigs.

If we add to this general picture the fact that Brent had recently come under suspicion by Panther leaders we can construct the following possibility: Brent is working, perhaps against his gut instincts, as an informer for the police. He finds that he is being cut out of important information, quarantined and concludes that his cover is being blown. So, on reporting this to the pigs, he is ordered to pull off some act that will discredit the Panthers and make it possible for Alioto, who has been waging a crusade against the Panthers since he took office last year, to really come down hard on the Panthers (for example through a grand jury investigation and indictment of the key Panther leaders).

Brent is led to believe that he himself will escape indictment -- for example, he is told that if he pulls off a robbery that implicates the Panther Party, no arrests will be made right away, but Panther leaders will be picked up and charged shortly afterward. But then, when the truck is pulled over and Brent realizes that he has been double-crossed, that he will be arrested, his true feelings toward the pigs come to predominate and, since he has nothing to lose, he shoots as many as he can.

Charges Dropped

This is of course conjecture. But the problem of explaining why Brent, if he is a police agent, would shoot pigs, is not as difficult as explaining why, if Brent is not a police agent, charges against five Panthers are suddenly dropped. Especially since one was Raymond Lewis who is on parole and, like Cleaver, could be ordered held in prison, at least until after his trial. Or why, for that matter, the Grand Jury should refuse Alioto's request for an investigation of the Panthers. The only logical explanation for these two related facts is that the authorities discovered that Brent -- and perhaps others -- were police agents and that an investigation that put Panthers up against the wall, might well bring this fact out. The whole thing might blow up in the pigs' face.

But whether Brent is in fact a police agent or simply a kook, the question is being asked by many people in the movement: how could an agent or a kook like Brent, who has been in the Panthers only about one year, rise so fast to the relatively high rank of Captain? And how could a kook or an agent almost succeed in trapping several top members of the Panthers in the ridiculous situation of being apparent accomplices in armed robbery and attempted murder?

There is no doubt that this kind of breach of discipline will hurt the Panthers, in the short run, in the black community. Many black people, who hold down jobs and have a family to support, but are still politically conscious enough to generally support the black liberation movement, will not want to get involved with an organization if it means that they might get trapped in some situations similar to the November 19th episode. We are not talking

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Rallies are held every Saturday in a cow pasture. The crowds vary in size from 55 (one cold, rainy day) to over 800 on a nice sunny one. Cars stand in dual lines, many bumpers distinguished by faded onmipresent WALLACE stickers. There are some Blacks in the crowd, but the vast majority is White. A flat bed truck is situated in the middle of the pasture and the speakers are talking about the working class struggle and the need for Black-White unity. The speakers are members of something called the GROW project which wants to build a mass movement across the White South. A movement which would link up with others to change the system under which we live. This is all taking place in Laurel, Mississippi, said to be headquarters for the White Knights of the Klu Klux Klan. It is a beginning.

GROW stands for Grass Roots Organizing Work. It is a project of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), and is headquartered in New Orleans. The project is staffed by white refugees from the civil rights movement (mostly ex-SNCC people). Its director is Bob Zellner, a 28 year old Alabamian who was the first white SNCC field secretary (1961), and one of the last whites to leave that organization.

The idea of such a project was conceived by Zellner, his wife Dottie, and two other White Southerners, Carl and Anne Braden, directors of SCEF. The field work is a little over a year old and has made some modest but important gains.

How To Reach Southern Whites?

How to begin to reach the White lower classes in the South? This was the first question. The GROW staff, having worked in the Black communities of the Mississippi Delta and having credibility there, went and talked to the local Black folk, old friends, people who had lived in that area for generations, and knew all there was to know about how people lived and worked and died.

We got some names of some poor whites and directions (there are no addresses in the rurals 'cepting a mail box) and went visiting.

We don't quite know what it was, perhaps movement propaganda, but we were afraid of approaching these people. After all, in the innocence of the '64 Summer Project, we were told these

people were the enemy. They were the ones who shot into the COFO freedom houses, beat upon you when you were walking the picket lines, poured the ketchup over your head when you were integrattin' those greasy spoons, fighting for the right of Black people to eat lousy hamburgers, even if they couldn't afford them.

What a pitiful mess we found.

White Poverty

The woman was obese; the kind of obesity that comes from eating all that greasy, fatty crap the poor use to fill their bellies. She was lying in bed under a multitude of blankets, a three or four year-old child laying beside her. Periodically the child, whose only clothing was a shirt, would get up and walk outside. The child was what the medical profession calls a mongoloid. It was 20 degrees outside and there were puddles of ice in the yard.

The woman was sick with flu and her husband, who worked in a nearby factory for \$1.35 an hour, was also sick. His wife said she thought he had TB, but so far they had not gotten round to checking into it. She had a bottle of patent medicine and wondered if it might help her. However, she couldn't read and asked us to check the label to see if there was anything harmful in it.

Before we left she wanted to know if we were connected with the War on Poverty. No, we weren't, we told her--not the Government's anyway. We met a lot of these people,

All God's children Ain't free From the Sharecropper's shack To the Penitentiary

— Johnny Cash

Some dealt with the wretchedness of their lives with dreams and illusions like the woman who was writing songs and sending them to a radio station (along with \$2) in the hopes that someone would set her words to music and she would make a bundle just like the announcer/pitchman said she would.

Then there were those who faced reality with their own reality, like that man in Smith County who was peddling illegal booze and making a few bucks until the cops busted him. His wife brought three children into the world, each one dying shortly after birth. And the chicken caretaker who looked after 35,000 chickens and made \$35 a week. He was one of the more successful ones. But then his house did not have a bathroom and the family performed the necessary bodily functions off the back porch, and emaciated dogs carried the mess away. And the man in the Delta who received \$10 a week, and a three room shack, for herding cows for his boss-man. He had eight children, one a small infant, and he "supplemented" his income with government surplus food. And the 28 year-old man who had no toes on either foot (he cut them off while chopping wood), was going to marry his 12 year-old first cousin, and he didn't even have a job prospect.

This, I believe, is what sociologists mean when they talk about the cycle of poverty.

Beaten

We collected about thirty of these people, which included some small children and teenagers, and brought them to New Orleans for a week-end of workshops. It was impossible to meet in their own community as they were as frightened of the authorities as Blacks were in the first part of the Sixties. A sharecropper wanted to attend a literacy class, but was sure his boss-man would disapprove of it.

That New Orleans workshop and subsequent visits to these people in their own communities, all this increasing our knowledge about them, led us to conclude that they were thoroughly

beaten! Unlike poor Blacks, they lacked spirit and hope that something could be done which might alter their lives. The most humane thing, we concluded, would be for some benevolent soul to provide them with welfare, housing, medicine, a nutritious diet, knowledge of sanitation and hygiene, and they just might make it past the age of forty. While they could be part of a movement, they were not the sort with which you could build an effective spearhead.

The Long Strike

In the summer of 1967 we began making visits to Laurel, Mississippi, where a labor struggle was going on between Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA), and the Masonite Corporation, the largest producer of hardboard in the world. The plant had been unionized since 1939. Both capital and labor agree that Local 5-443 has been the most militant union in the South on economic issues. In 1967 the Local had a membership close to 3,000, about 75% of it White. The company tried to push through a plant reorganization scheme (partial automation) which would have eliminated jobs and increased individual work loads. The Local struck.

The strike lasted about 7 1/2 months and was very bitter. The repercussions have yet to be fully felt. The struggle is still going on today.

A short capsule of what occurred is:

Klan Baiting

(1) The company effectively "Klan-baited" the Local. This was not hard to do in Jones County where many Klan members in the past have been arrested for crimes ranging from intimidation to murder. Yet to charge the Local with being Klan controlled is absurd. In 1964, after the Local did away with its sub-local (Black) and integrated, a Local officer was flogged by some Klansmen, and the Local officials bought a full-page ad in the LAUREL LEADER-CALL that threatened war on the Klan and warned that "blood would flow in the streets" if further such

Photos and Text by Robert Analavage



incidents occurred. They did not occur. Just before the strike ended the MFDP passed a resolution supporting it. Yet it is important to note that there are people in the rank and file of the Klan, who are also in the rank and file of the Local.

(2) Management posed as the friend of Black people by integrating showers, drinking fountains etc. Of course the company was only complying with a Federal order, but it was an effective tactic because the Local had supported certain segregationist practices inside the plant. The company pose as a friend of the Black workers was shown to be even more ludicrous when our research discovered it has a plant in Johannesburg, South Africa. Yet this tactic lured at least half of the Black strikers back to work. In addition strike-breakers were imported by Masonite from Georgia to Texas. During the summer almost the entire football squads

this strike. GROW's Mike Higson explains: "In Laurel, Masonite has economic, political and propagandistic control. It is a company town. Masonite is the largest employer in a two or three county area. In 1966 it effectively shut out St. Regis Paper Company from starting a new plant in or around Laurel by the simple expedient of upping its labor force by 1,000. It did not want a competitor in the local labor market. Masonite doesn't own the local media, but since it is a heavy advertiser, the one TV station, several radio stations and the only newspaper, all reflect a pro-business, conservative stance. Outside of these institutions are the banks, the businesses and the Chamber of Commerce, all of which depend heavily on the weekly Masonite pay roll. Jones County is a colony and the mother country is in Chicago. This year the labor in Laurel will send back a good part of Masonite's net profit of \$8.4

he could accumulate and he discovered that the International had violated its own constitution in imposing the trusteeship and signing the "sweetheart contract". Jack Peebles, a New Orleans attorney and Vice-President of SCEF, went to court for the Local. The suit is still in the courts due to charges and counter charges brought by the International and Masonite. First arguments will be heard soon. The probable length of the court battle might best be appreciated if it is mentioned that Hulse Hayes of the Cincinnati law firm which wrote the Taft-Hartley Act, heads a five lawyer team for Masonite, and the International is using a Little Rock law firm which included one ex-governor, and the former Commissioner of the Arkansas Public Service Commission.

On the organizational level we have been holding rallies and workshops, building trust and credibility. Good rapport exists between GROW and the

and they've been ignored. A Klansman in North Carolina wrote an article published in a liberal Southern churchmen's journal. Listen to some excerpts and you will get an insight into the bitterness.

We gonna take the government and everything else we can lay our hands on away from YOU. We gonna take it BACK And we gonna do this because you not fit to run it. You been stealing the country blind, you been sucking up to niggers and forgettin' bout OUR problems. You send OUR boys over to Vietnam to fight an undeclared war and then send our boys home again in wooden boxes. And YOUR boys go to college and get draft DEFERMENTS.

You laughed at us. You scorned us and mocked us and teased us. We poured into the cow pastures of Carolina by the hundreds and then by the thousands. And we was right there in the open, BLEEDING, and you didn't bring bandages. Not YOU! You sent the FBI. We remember that. We never forgit that thief Lyndon Johnson on television telling us to "get out of the Klan and return to decent society, now before it is too late". Dumb Lyndon didn't even know we was in the cow pastures in the first place because he was runnin' from a society that he helped make INDECENT.

Yes, its true we ignorant,

Yes, its true we hate,

Yes, its true some of our crazy brothers go out of their skulls and do awful things.

Yes, its true we poor diseased and wear 'ole clothes not fit to do much of anything 'cept maybe a plow jockey.

Now the question:

How come they so MANY of us? What in the world kind of country YOU been runnin' all these years. I really don't think we could possibly do any worse, an we might just do a whole heap better.



from Ole Miss and the University of Southern Mississippi at Hattiesburg were recruited.

(3) Injunctions were secured against the Local ending picketing. Masonite had hired Wackenhut security guards (of Florida and Governor Kirk fame), even before the strike began and sand-bag bunkers and machine gun nests were set up on company property. Gun towers still dot the plant area today. The company even bought up a gas station situated near a plant entrance, where workers congregated, and ordered them off the property. During the strike five men were alleged to have been killed. We have been able to confirm one death--that of a Wackenhut guard who was killed with a shotgun.

International Sells Out

(4) Masonite production declined both in quantity and quality. It had to sell \$35 million worth of prime timber to St. Regis Paper Company (recently acquired by RCA). In retaliation Masonite brought a \$3 million damage suit against the International and the International panicked. It did two things: a) it negotiated a "sweetheart contract" with the company, and b) imposed a trusteeship on the Local, seizing their union hall, their finances, and then removed the Local officers. Masonite then dropped its \$3 million suit.

(5) 2,100 men, many who had worked there 20 and 30 years, were thrown out of work. Christmas was three weeks away. Their own International had sold them out. They couldn't even get a local attorney to help them--indeed the local attorney who had represented them received \$25,000 on condition he would not represent the Local in any future litigation. At this writing over 800 of the strikers have not been taken back because they are considered strong unionists. Approximately 1,600 now do the work that once required 2,100 men. (For a detailed running account of the Laurel strike write to the SOUTHERN PATRIOT, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211. See also the MOVEMENT April 1968; December, 1968).

Anyone who is serious about building a movement in the South would do well to recognize what formidable opponents we have as exemplified by the power and resources utilized by Masonite in

million to Chicago, where the company has its head office."

While this strike was going on the GROW staff met many times with the strikers. At the time of the strike the thing the Local needed most was to get the black scabs out of the plant and returned to the strike. But the Black unionists were bitter and rightly so over the second-class participation they had in the Local. On the other hand they had profited from a strong union and their wages were higher than other Black workers in Mississippi.

An Attempt at Coalition

The winds of change blow, and the winds said that Whites do not work and organize in Black communities. Our hope was to form a joint project with some Black organizers around common interest and defeat the company in its scheme. We would work with Whites as indeed we already were, and the Black organizers would work in the Black community. If we could prove that a Black-White coalition could be built in Mississippi its impact on the movement would be tremendous and it would spur others. Concessions would have to be made by the White union, i.e. participation in union affairs, and a strong Black caucus would have to be built. To be kind I guess we would say that any Black groups we contacted in Mississippi and on the national level were unresponsive. But this story will come out another day.

GROW could not wait until it had the cooperation of movement Blacks and decided to go it alone. The situation was drastic. The men now had no one to turn to, morale was very bad and people began drifting away. The men wanted to battle it out in the courts and wanted our assistance.

Court Struggle

Jack Minnis, SCEF's research director, has a talent for finding flaws in the system. He used to be in charge of research for SNCC, where he uncovered an obscure Alabama law that eventually led to the formation of the Lowndes County Freedom Party (whose symbol is the Black Panther) which in turn gave rise to the Black Power movement. Minnis pored over all the strike data

white working class community in Laurel. We have been able to do this while still maintaining our relations with Black, anti-war and student movements. It has been an honest relationship from the beginning. In our first meeting with the strikers we informed them of our background with SNCC and SCEF. After a pause their response was: "We don't care about that, what can you do to help us?" A five man committee has been formed from the Local to co-ordinate the struggle--three of them are White, two are Black. Morale is still a problem, but these are hard men.

None of this is really dramatic, but we feel it is fruitful. For instance Minnis used one rally to explain the law suit in terms of the whole nature of the state and federal judicial system and Senator Eastland's role in appointing his men. "If there's justice in the courts we will win", he said, "because the law is supposed to be on your side. If we can't win in the courts we will have to try something else". His theory about the system is that if you are going to change it you must first understand it. A lot of people in Jones County are beginning to do just that.

Breaking Down Isolation

We believe the most important aspect of this project is the beginning it is making in breaking down the isolation the movement has had from these whites. Our relationship with them is good. We have been invited into their homes, eaten and slept there, and they have visited us in New Orleans at the GROW center. The center is a large building we've purchased that we hope can be used as a training center for future struggles. It is presently shut down by the city in a maze of harassing building regulations.

Our discussions range from our experiences in the civil rights movement to various political positions we and they hold. Right now we have fraternal relations with the Klan rank and file. We've sipped moonshine, discussed Wallace and drank beer into the wee small hours in a bar we were told was a headquarters for the Klan.

We've talked to similar folk in the Carolinas, in Georgia, in Alabama, in Louisiana. They've been used, BADLY,

Alternative to Wallace

If there is any possibility of changing this country people like the man who wrote these lines MUST be organized. George Wallace has exploited this and they voted for him because they did not have anyone else to vote for. The movement must offer an alternative to Wallace organization, and that is what we are trying to do.

A few weeks ago in Lowndes County we met some Black Panthers from Oakland, California, who had come down to make sure nothing happened to local people on election day. We discussed what we were doing and one of them said--"If you can get to those kind of White folks and we could get to the Blacks, Man nothing would stop a movement like that!"

The South is a colony and its Black and White inhabitants are exploited like the inhabitants of any colony. Just check out where the Boards of Southern companies reside and where the profits go, e.g. Masonite. We must begin to develop research and consciousness along these lines, and we must be able to explain this simply and patiently to people at the GRASS ROOTS. And to get information to people at the GRASS ROOTS, you must FIRST go there and gain their confidence and trust.

The way Bob Zellner put it at a workshop with Laurel unionists is: "What we are trying to do is carry on the work of really organizing grass roots in the South, like in Laurel, Mississippi. If we had the kind of organization we hope to have in a year or so, the fight would involve a lot of people across the South and not just between labor and management in one town.

"The question is have we started something that will get working people of the south together political and economically? I believe we have."

Further information can be obtained from SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211 and GROW, 731 Napoleon Ave, New Orleans, La.



photo Barron Wolman

THIS IS NOT A ROCK GROUP. Left to right: Steve Hamilton, Bob Mandel, Reese Erlich, Terry Cannon, Frank Bardacke, Mike Smith. Not in photo (cause he's in jail), Jeff Segal.

Inside Court With The Oakland 7

Oakland, December 2 -- A bad day in court with the Oakland Seven:

"I consider this case to be of the utmost importance," said Judge Phillips. "Under our constitution the courts are the final arbitrator between conflicting constitutional rights. This case points up one of the most basic of those contradictions -- the right of people to demonstrate versus property rights. It is tremendously important that this be a very fair trial and a most just one. The case must be decided in a calm, dispassionate manner, with a minimum of hysteria in these often hysterical times."

With these words, the good judge denied the last of several motions and requests that the Seven's lawyers had put before him. Their motion to quash the Grand Jury was ridiculed by him because it was the same one the lawyers had pled for Huey Newton. The motion to separate Jeff Segal's trial from the others was denied, because the DA said it was impractical.

The motion to open up the personnel records of certain police involved in Stop the Draft Week was denied because it was "unfair to the men", even though the lawyers wanted to find out whether those cops had been involved in police brutality cases before.

And then the righteous judge came up with his own motion: a gag rule. His order said that none of the defendants, the subpoenaed witnesses, their lawyers, or any member of the DA's office could make any out-of-court statement about the merits of the case or the evidence presented.

In theory this is meant to cut down wild news publicity which would prejudice a jury against, for example, a person on trial for murder. Like the conspiracy law, it has been used more frequently in political cases in California. It muzzles the defendants and their lawyers and keeps them from building the kind of political support that was organized around the Huey Newton case. Huey's lawyer Charles

Garry frequently went on TV after the court sessions and described who was lying and why.

A lawyer for the Seven pointed out that the DA's office had already made many statements about the "obvious" guilt of the Seven, when the indictments were first handed down. To this the noble judge replied, "Just because the DA made statements he shouldn't have, do you want the right to do it too?"

Judge Phillips is a liberal judge -- perhaps one of the best in the Oakland court system. Unwittingly, he was pointing out the basic contradictions not only of the constitution, but of the capitalist system -- property rights vs. peoples' rights. And he showed which side he was on -- the side of the DA, cops' rights, and the system. This, no matter how much "soul searching" he had gone through, as he told the court.

The gag order was SUA SPONTE, that is, handed down by the judge on his own initiative, without request from plaintiff or defendant. But it was Jensen, the DA, who vigorously defended it. His office had gotten their public licks in, and they don't want a repeat of the Newton case.

INSIDE OUT WITH THE OAKLAND SEVEN

BY LINDA MORSE

Outside Court With The Oakland 7

The trial has been put off until January 13, for sure, maybe. A political defense means organizing community support and taking the offensive whenever possible. That is what the lawyers and the defense committee are doing.

The Committee is speaking to community groups, asking professionals -- doctors, lawyers, professors -- to place support ads in local papers, putting the Seven and their supporters on radio and TV (after the Gag rule is overruled, or in spite of it), and organizing benefits to raise money and draw attention to the case.

On January 16 we will put the system on the defensive again -- this time out of court. We are convening a Commission of Inquiry into the war and the legacy of the war.

Four days of testimony by movement people before a panel of local activists, professors and reporters who will cross-examine the witnesses. On the panel at present are journalists Andrew Kopkind and Donald Duncan; Professors William Kornhauser and Franz Schurman of UC Berkeley; Ron Dellums, Berkeley City Councilman and former black community organizer; Todd Gitlin, past officer of SDS; and a member of the Black Panther Party.

The first day's testimony will prove the fact that there are thousands of political prisoners in this country -- a mindblower even to the Left. School washes our brains with the idea that we are distinguished from "totalitarian" countries like Russia and Spain by the fact that there are no political prisoners here. Even the left has no idea of the number. The staff of the Commission is gathering this information. It will be backed up by testimony from Dennis Mora of the Fort Hood Three, Dr. Spock, and others.

DAYS TWO AND THREE: VIETNAM

Testimony will focus on what is happening in Vietnam now. We hope it will articulate today's radical analysis of the war, as opposed to the view radicals held three years ago. Many of us entered the movement because we felt the war was "illegal, immoral and unjust." Now even liberals see the war as some kind of imperialist venture.

But many things are still unclear. Are we in Vietnam to contain China, or to get tin and tungsten? Or is Vietnam meant as an object lesson for revolutionaries? Is the war following Herman Kahn's plan -- to de-escalate in the eyes of the public, while in reality shifting to a more deadly military strategy? Or have the European policy makers

and financiers said to the U.S., "Listen, Big Boy. The price you pay for colonizing industrialized nations in Europe is that we have your economy by the balls. Lay off Vietnam or we'll ruin your dollar."

The second aim of these two days is to come out with a good military analysis of the war -- something that has not yet been done in this country. Practically everyone, including most leftists, believes that the U.S. is "holding back" militarily. Yet the NLF claims that it has already won the war, and the U.S. is being forced to get out.

Last year Abe Fortas came out with a little booklet on civil disobedience: the blueprint for how the power structure should handle it. His theory is the basis for squashing dissent while maintaining the trappings of democracy. Every radical should study it. Historian Howard Zinn will describe the Fortas Plan and refute it.

We will document repression in the country and in the Bay Area -- not just atrocity stories, but also an analysis of who is doing the repressing, why, and how, the better to fight it with.

The Commission should accomplish several things: to clarify our political position, to express support for the Oakland Seven in a positive way, to take the offensive against the REAL conspirators, to reach people outside the hard core of this movement and broaden the movement once again; and to present facts which will most certainly not be permitted into the trial as evidence: the current state of the war, the extent of repression.

We hope the Commission will get broad media coverage, though the most important way of reaching people is directly through attendance. After it is over, we intend to publish the testimony and cross examination in a book for distribution as widely as possible.

The Oakland Seven are a prototype case for the Nixon administration. The Seven will be on trial as Millhouse is being inaugurated. The Commission will be meeting as demonstrators pour into Washington for the inauguration.

Carl Oglesby has said that under Nixon, "the year of the heroic guerilla" may give way to "the year of the leftwing scapegoat." Nixon is an old hand at that game. A strong showing that week in Oakland and Washington may give him pause.

how it worked in boston

by Vernon Grizzard

The strategy of community-based draft resistance was first proposed systematically a year ago. (See "We've Got to Reach Our Own People", The MOVEMENT, Nov. 1967). This is an evaluation of an attempt to implement that strategy in two neighborhoods.

The attempt began at a time when there was much talk of moving from "dissent to resistance". People turned in draft cards across the nation, the Pentagon was "assaulted" and the streets of Oakland were barricaded during Stop the Draft Week.

We wanted to move to solid organization and meaningful confrontation on the issue of the War. We felt the need to make our anti-war activity relate to the development of a movement with bases in poor and working communities. We chose the draft as our issue, very simply, because it was the most important and tangible manifestation of the war in people's lives.

After considering several different communities in the Boston area, the Boston Draft Resistance Group (BDRG) chose two adjacent areas of Cambridge. Neither neighborhood is a black ghetto or a tight ethnic community -- both have a uniquely stable integration. Each area has a large public housing project, as well as a significant proportion of working home-owners. Students from nearby Harvard, Radcliffe, and MIT have for some time lived on the edges of these neighborhoods. In short, we consciously chose to work in a situation that was socially, economically, and politically "open" to us and our ideas for organization.

More than One Approach

We set to work to reach people in many ways. First, we made use of the BDRG draft counselling office in one neighborhood. But the office never became a "neighborhood center". We made a conscious decision to remain centered on the draft issue. Eventually this made it necessary for us to exclude the neighborhood kids who tended to hang around the office, thus symbolically clinching our determination to remain a reasonably efficient draft organization.

Our second approach was to use established channels. We contacted ministers, social workers and other friendly adults. Though these contacts were sometimes frustrating, we found most people friendly



and cooperative. A few were extremely helpful, offering their church for meetings, or writing letters of reference for a deferment.

Our approach to the high schools was less successful, though we did not work as hard on this possibility. We found the authorities were immediately suspicious, and the kids were very reluctant to risk much in a confrontation. To them, the draft seemed far away -- they knew that even as seniors their induction was probably more than a year away under the highest-age-goes-first draft guidelines.

Our third approach was to meet people informally -- hanging out in a pool hall or a bowling alley. We also tried to set up meetings and other group situations to begin dealing collectively with the draft. One of us worked at a settlement house for several months in a part-time job with teen-aged kids. Another worked for a few months in a factory in the neighborhood. Canvassing, door-to-door, went on for nearly three months and involved over 30 students, as well as those who were working full-time in the neighborhood. We started canvassing to make the BDRG office known in the neighborhood, so that we wouldn't be run out as a hostile group. This worked and we met draft age men and older people who were sympathetic to our aims.

We Had a Little List

We also used the draft system itself as a means of meeting young men. Each month we got the list of men classified I-A and systematically attempted to meet and talk with them. This was perhaps the least successful method of outreach. We would spend a lot of time with the telephone, maps, and walking from block to block only to find that the people we were looking for had moved with no forwarding address. Often the person was at school or work, or had a deferment lined up. Parents would also make it difficult for us to see their son.

Our other scheme to let the draft system do our work for us was extremely effective. We began to go down to the local board early in the morning on the one day each month when guys are ordered

to report for a pre-induction physical. Sometimes more than a hundred guys would report for the hour long wait before they boarded buses for the examining stations at the Boston Army Base. The physical is humiliating as well as threatening and we found in this situation we were able to rap quietly, give a speech, and even hassle the local board authorities, always gaining the support of most of the men. We began to ride the busses into the Army Base with the guys whenever we could get on (which was often). (The newsreel movie, Anti-Draft in Boston, contains a section which describes this work.)

The "Horror Show."

What we came to call "the early morning show" led naturally into the "horror show": some BDRG members would go into the examining station with guys who had a physical and together they would pass out leaflets, speak out, or question the authorities in front of all the guys there. Several times these confrontations led to physical attacks by Army Base personnel and BDRG members have defended themselves rather than going through the nonviolent routine. At present there are 24 local boards in the Boston Area which are hit with the "early morning show" and sometimes a "horror show".

Our last attempt to utilize the draft system itself for our organizing involved research into the background of the local board members. Unfortunately we did not find the Cambridge board members vulnerable to attack, as board members sometimes are. They are often over-age or all white in an all black neighborhood or they live outside the area they are legally bound to reside in.

No Union

No community-based draft resistance union, or anything resembling it, emerged from our work. We did, however, reach a few individuals. The problem was that we had no collective form of action around

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90 days-for what?

San Francisco -- The sequel to "How'd you Like To Make A Deal?" (THE MOVEMENT last month) was played out on Nov. 22. Terry Cannon stood up before Judge Elton C. Lawless and got sentenced to three months in County Jail for profanity.

The Probation's recommendation of sentence was one of the shortest on record. It said simply that though Cannon seemed to be a nice guy, he had got mixed up with a bunch of "creeps" (presumably his friends) and therefore ought to be sent to jail. The District Attorney told the judge that Cannon had betrayed all the respectable-type folks who had written character references for him.

"I disagree with the District Attorney," said Lawless, "Six months would be extreme." Three would do. Co-defendant Rick Epstein got 45 days because "unlike Cannon, he has no prior record."

Terry is out now. After serving two weeks, his lawyer got him released on appeal bail. Lawless refused to set bail when he learned that the ungrateful bastard had refused to lie still and was appealing (bail, after all, is a mere constitutional right). He finally got out on \$1250 bail, five times the amount set for the original charge.

"The other prisoners couldn't believe it," Terry reports, "I was in with a guy who had thirteen separate legal

cases against him, ranging from attempted murder through possession of guns and large quantities of drugs. He had jumped bail on all of them, left the country, returned, went to trial and got six months."

"The liberal theory of rehabilitation doesn't apply to political prisoners. By putting them in jail are you going to rehabilitate them into liking cops, digging the war in Vietnam and supporting capitalism? Not a chance. The only "solution" for them is to throw a way the key. A good friend of mine, Bruce Dancs, was just sentenced to an INDEFINITE term of up to six years for burning his draft card two years ago."

There is no formal recognition of political prisoners in America, but a practical recognition is arising. They are given harsher sentences for the same crimes. The courts are carefully distinguishing between the organizer and the organized. The organizer gets socked away. The organized is given a lighter sentence.

A warning to the courts. The Panthers and the Muslims have been able to do a lot of organizing inside prison. The comradeship between white hippies, white working class kids and white leftists created by being thrown in jail carries over into the streets. The Lawlesses are sowing the wind...

Dear Terry

As I look out the windows of my Oakland penthouse on a clear day I can see across the Bay to San Francisco. I try to make out where your deluxe accommodations are. 'Tis strange to be so near and in condition to be so far apart and then in spirit to be this close together. The meaning of Comradeship becomes so much clearer -- conditions, such as this, strip it of its artificial trappings and bring it (and us) down to its (our) elemental nature. There's a clear and basic definition of comradeship that a sharing of this kind of struggle produces. Impossible to vocalize, but, dig -- can you feel Huey, the brothers serving their time all over the world, Fidel in jail or Lenin or Oginga Odinga, me. The oneness in space and time and nature bring us close, inside of each other roaming the joints of all our parts. It's the comradeship of this feeling that I mean and that builds a whole new dimension to how we knew each other (as close as that was) before you started to do your time.

Thoughts that run through my mind -- remember my political position ongoing to jail -- well it's still the same but the last couple of months have taught me something very important. This is that although it was politically correct I had come to it because of a lack of confidence, after all, for the way we live the conception of exile life (underground life) is not as different from our street lives as the conception of jail life is. The past six months have removed that unconscious lack of confidence little doubts of ability to handle

certain kinds of things that I think both of us have/or had), toughened up that part of my being and have convinced me of a realistic ability to handle just about anything. Subsidiary insight, leaders, test-cases, martyrs, etc. most of the time do very important historical acts for some of the most screwed up reasons -- when you meet the guys in the joint on draft charges, who by their being in jail make a profound impact on people's politics, and see they have some of the wierdest, mixed up and confused mental conditions. It, as we used to say, isn't what they say or think but what they do that counts -- the language of action.

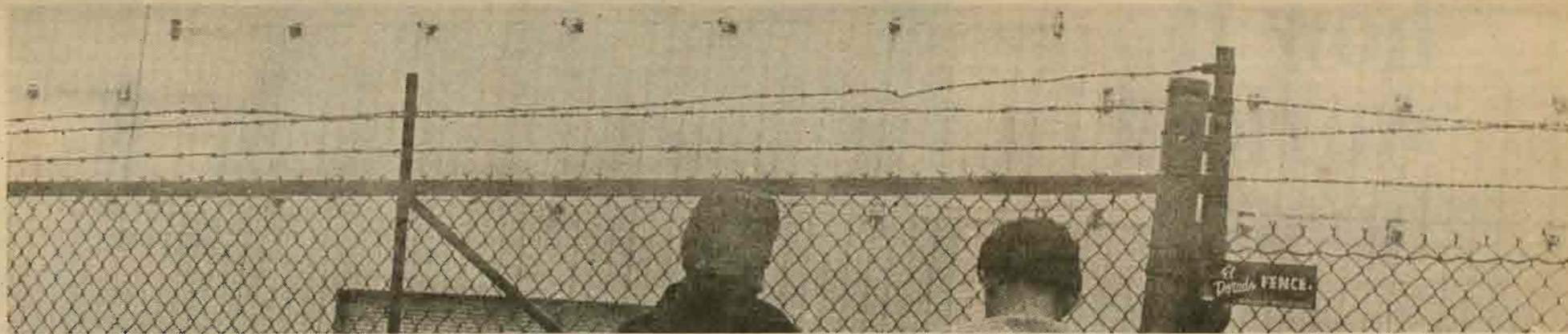
Also, we expect to take losses in the course of making a revolution, present conditions are a part of those losses and in many ways personally bitter since they come about as a result of silly mistakes. We learn, maybe, something about dealing with lawyers, even the best of them have to be constantly pushed and more specifically, copping these days will do us absolutely no good. But even in the area of mistakes there is a thankfulness that error is not yet loss of life and if this is the only thing we have to personally pay we'll be very lucky.

And it will be a gas to talk to each other after things are over; experiences to add to our book maybe.

Write if you can.

We keep the faith with each other.

Venceremos,
Jeff



LEARN FROM THE PEOPLE SERVE THE PEOPLE BECOME ONE WITH THE PEOPLE

By Steve Hamilton

At least since the time that Stokely Carmichael told white SNCC workers to "go and organize THEIR people", the movement has been vaguely burdened by the realization that it should be relating to poor and working class whites. That however, was the last thing that movement people were either inclined, or thought themselves capable to do. The more actively political people today are student-intellectuals and a majority of these are from petty-bourgeois, usually professional families. Many are appalled that the working class people, even its youth, have not learned the things about American society that they have learned in the last few years. In any event, the radical student community suspects that it would be difficult to communicate politically with these people. Much theorizing has been done on the backwardness of the blue collar working class, based on negligible experience. Drawing the conclusion that much more must be known before the Left can BEGIN to move in that direction, they believe the greenest pastures are, after all, just where they are at--joined together with other radicals in T-groups and shot gun associations. The sarcasm is directed at a tendency of the Left, not at affinity groups, per se.

About a year ago several of us moved to a working class community to see what we could do. It's far too early yet to weigh accomplishments, and we're hesitant to generalize from our limited experiences. We realize that much harm can be done by generalizing on such a broad subject when so little is known. At this point, however, some things can be learned from the experience that exists in this area. We will relate, therefore, some of our experiences, our views on orientation for working class organizing and some implications that we see for the left.

Richmond, California is an industrial city with a population of 85,000. Located just ten miles north of Berkeley, it is surprisingly insulated from the cultural and political milieu of the Bay Area. When someone from Berkeley or San Francisco visits Richmond, they experience a step back into the Fifties. There is only one theater in Richmond and it shows only girlie movies. On Friday night both guys and chicks cruise the "main" and meet at the Doggie Diner. In this age of "cultural revolution", the character of the high school hasn't changed much, except for the chicanos who vaguely identify with the Brown Berets and some middle class kids from the hills who hitch-hike into Berkeley on weekends.

War Time Boom

Richmond and the adjoining city to the north, San Pablo, were built up almost overnight during World War II when it's port became the center of shipbuilding and repairs on the West Coast. Eighty thousand workers were employed by the Richmond shipyards and drydocks. Most of the work was unskilled and it was plentiful. Many worked two shifts, walking from one shipyard to another between shifts, sleeping in the barracks pro-

vided on their off-shift. Around that time Standard Oil was located in Richmond along with related industries and machine shops. The "dust bowl refugees" provided Richmond with a large portion of its work force--the people from Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska who came out to California in search of the jobs that were no longer available back home. They settled in Los Angeles, Fresno, Tulare and in Northern California in Richmond and San Pablo. The people who live here now are the same people and their children.

Richmond is fairly typical, then, of concentrations of less skilled, lower paid working class people, usually of Southern descent. They are the most effected by unemployment and by those hard times when the bills amount to more than they're making. They probably reflect to the greatest degree both the positive and negative characteristics of the American working class: There is racism, patriotism, male chauvinism--the tried and true methods of a ruling class keeping the energies of the poorest people misdirected--and at the same time there are few bourgeois illusions about who has power. Poor people don't have any power, they know that, and the factories where they work aren't in business to give them a livelihood. Not too many would disagree that "the country would be better off if it was run by poor people like us instead of by big business." To that most would nod in agreement, but rule it out of the realm possibility. They did anyway until George Wallace came along.

Not Afraid To Fight

They're not afraid to fight. They have been doing that all their lives. They don't have to be persuaded to take up a gun if their enemy has one. The question

is, of course, whether the left or someone like George Wallace will be able to define the enemy to their satisfaction as the contradictions grow more intense.

I've been speaking only of white Richmond: 30% of the population is black, concentrated in a section bounded by the railroad tracks known as the Iron Triangle and bordering on North Richmond, an unincorporated Black area. This is one of the largest and poorest concentration of blacks in the Bay Area. Black people came here during the War, for the same reason that whites came. They were lured out of the south by industrial and government recruiters with promises of prosperity. The Blacks who were able to get steady work usually worked in the same places and at the same skill level as the whites from the adjoining neighborhoods. Some of the poorest sections are now integrated and the schools are relatively integrated.

Bob Avakian and Harry Pollitt moved to San Pablo in the fall of '67. They had no clear idea of what could be done, but were quite sure that if the Left didn't begin to relate to the working class it would soon be all over but the

struggle is nothing new. For example, when the Chinese Communist Party sent its cadres, many from intellectual backgrounds, into the countryside to organize the peasants they had a problem in that the "peasants tended to fall asleep while the cadre were speaking". We've found generally that the principle that Mao emphasizes: "learn from the people", "serve the people", "become one with the people", are good to constantly keep in mind. And when applied to the experiences and attitudes of the American Left, they are not truisms at all. Mao once said that the main criteria for judging whether a youth is a revolutionary is whether or not he is willing to join with the people.

We got acquainted mainly with young guys, married and single. We "did a little drinking" (a too frequently used expression of mine), helped people we knew and gave them advice with legal hassles or tangles with the pigs. We were very open about our politics. We had a big poster of Huey over our mantle, and joined with some of the guys in some retaliatory harassment of local enemies of the people, and in



photos: S.F. Newsreel -- Mark Hardesty

shouting. Harry got a job, Bob remained active in Bay Area Peace and Freedom, and they did nothing the first few months but get acquainted with the community and a few of its people. I moved out in December when Stop the Draft Week was over.

We agreed with the JOIN people that in order to relate to people politically you have to share the same life style, face the same kinds of problems (like keeping a job), and relate to people as friends, not just political organizers. For those willing to try, realizing they don't have all the answers and willing to learn from the people, it's really not so difficult. After a while in fact, we began to feel alienated from the ingrown character of movement culture.

So you don't have to be superman, but most would have to go through some changes--we have. But this kind of

midnight poster hanging expeditions ("Liberty and Justice for All" was the most popular, with the cops raping the statues of "Liberty" and "Justice").

After being evicted from our first place, we moved into a larger place with a few other full time and part time residents. The City of Richmond had its first "peoples' house", where the picture of Huey overlooked the scene of Richmond's wildest social life.

As people became sympathetic without politics, they identified very quickly with the militant anti-pig posture of Huey and the Panthers. "Free Huey" became the slogan, much to the astonishment and displeasure of the Richmond and San Pablo pigs.

During this time the guys and a few chicks gave us some help in distributing leaflets we produced on political issues, started spreading the word themselves,

generally kept the pigs uptight, and started to point out to us that we needed an organization that could "serve the people" (meaning to help get guys out of jail, finding lawyers, helping with draft, unemployment and welfare problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig cops, politicians and businessmen who fuck us over.

Generation Gap

There has been a lot of talk about generational differences in the working class which we believe to be essentially correct, but somewhat exaggerated to fit the "cultural revolution" analysis. Many working class young people can become sympathetic to the rebellion of middle class youth, especially when they see them getting serious and being willing to stand up against cops, because they also don't share the exact values as their fathers.

Older people have had to fight hard enough just to earn a decent living in their time and regardless of how they feel toward the bosses, the government and local big shots, they feel fortunate if they now have a steady job. A job is always important for a working man's self identity, unless he feels strongly enough that he is being made a chump. Many young guys feel the same way that the black guys they're working with feel toward their jobs; it's a "slave".

Black friends, an occasional contact with an underground newspaper, pot, soul music--all serve to create some sympathy with blacks and students in rebellion. But then, just as the blacks, they cannot be expected to react in the same way as a student might. They don't have the options that students do and when they get a family (most guys marry by twenty; girls by seventeen), credit and bills become a daily reality and their problems qualitatively much more like those of their fathers' than those of students. The discontent is nevertheless there and growing and when they begin defining their own cultural and political alienation, their fathers should understand what they're talking about. This is when class alienation will add political substance to the present cultural alienation.

Political Issues

Now I'll run through some of our attempts to relate to the community on political issues. This brings up an area that I haven't dealt with yet--the job of trying to educate the broader community as issues arise, especially in relation to racism--which must be part of a strategy for working class organizing. From these experiences we will draw conclusions on how people feel about these issues and how the Left, even

the campus Left, can relate.

We tried working initially within an OEO community organization in San Pablo. The project had been initiated by some local hot shots, meglomaniacs, who hoped to gain a little standing and a steady income at the expense of the people. Together with a local Catholic priest and some good people who had been turned off by the organization, we put out a leaflet attacking their do-nothing approach. In response they put out a leaflet red-baiting us, based on information they obtained from our landlady and the San Pablo police. (We are particularly vulnerable to red-baiting and we don't hide the fact that we are communists. It's just not always the best way to start a conversation.)

Since we were clearly in the right, nobody took the latter leaflet too seriously. Though the people won the battle temporarily, we saw no way to rise above the bureaucracy and turn the organization into a real community union. We decided that if our community activity was to have any real value, we had to relate to issues within a radical perspective. This meant radical leadership and politics no matter how small the beginning. Some could relate to that, and those were the people with whom we would be working.

Trade Union Work

Later, we applied the same principle to trade union work. Union leaders aren't about to let their unions become revolutionary organizations, and we can't hope to win a majority of workers on most political issues at this point. We can relate to workers who are ready to listen much better as an independent movement, even through an organization like Peace and Freedom, if the right approach is taken.

Our next involvement was in a union struggle. I had been working at the Rheem plant for a few weeks when the contract with the Machinists Local 824 expired. Wages were relatively low, the company was as chickenshit as any other when dealing with grievances, and the men were ready for a strike. The older men were more anxious to strike than the younger ones, and I found the same thing to be true at another place I worked that went on strike. The older workers had been there for years and planned to be there in the future. A week previous to the contract date, the word was passed around that everybody should refuse overtime so the company couldn't build up extra stock in preparation for the strike. When one young guy who had a family reluctantly agreed to work overtime, an old timer said, "Yeah, I used to fuck myself to get ahead when I was young". They went out and stayed out for six weeks.

Bob Fitch had begun working with us,

particularly in the area of research. Bob wrote up, and we printed, a leaflet picturing a board meeting of the First National City Bank of New York, with one of the board members circled and titled, "Who Is This Man?" The man was R.W. Dowling, owner of a controlling interest in Rheem. The leaflet noted Dowling and Rheem's massive world-wide interests, increased profits and Rheem's partnership with Charles W. Englehard, the real life model for "Goldfinger", who as head of the "Witwaterstrand Native Labor Association" impressed blacks from the backlands of South Africa to work in mines and factories for practically nothing. It was a leaflet on monopoly capitalism and imperialism and everybody dug it. The business agent of the Local passed it out to the guys as they came in to sign up for picket duty.

The company decided to start bringing trucks in. Management drove the trucks, led by a wedge of county cops. The workers on the line resisted and were maced and beaten. Seven guys were arrested, four of whom were black. The union members retaliated by chaining the gates during the night.

The Rheem plant is located on the edge of the ghetto. On the same day that the confrontation occurred, a fifteen year old youth was shot in the ghetto on suspicion of being in a stolen car. The Black community went out on the streets, the National Guard was called, stores were looted and the biggest furniture store in town was burned down. A curfew was imposed and a line of troops encircled the ghetto, standing shoulder to shoulder with raised bayonettes.

Linking Up Issues

We put out another flyer divided down the middle. On one side, with a picture of the Rheem plant, was the story of the union busting cop attack. On the other side the story of the shooting with a picture of cops with shotguns standing guard on a street corner. We called for a rally before the City Council meeting with two sets of demands: 1) that the City Council pass an ordinance forbidding strike-breaking, forbid the use of mace, drop the charges against the Machinists, and fire the police who attacked the workers; and 2) that they order the five hundred police out of the ghetto, release all black people arrested in connection with the uprising, make it illegal for police to use their guns on fleeing suspects, and indict the reserve cop who shot the black youth for murder.

We passed the flyer out on the picket line, at other factories and at shopping centers. Although this got us into some good heated discussions, the response from white workers, including Rheem workers, was not good. They didn't like

cops when it was a matter of their own lives or their union struggles, but they would support the cops in the black community. When the emotional confrontation subsided, however, we could gain some agreement that black people were discriminated against by white cops and that, perhaps, they should then have the right to police themselves.

Patient work has to be done, making white workers face up to racism. The militant rhetoric of the black movement is for blacks; we have to learn how to relate these same issues and demands to whites. We felt that we were definitely right in attempting to link up the issues.

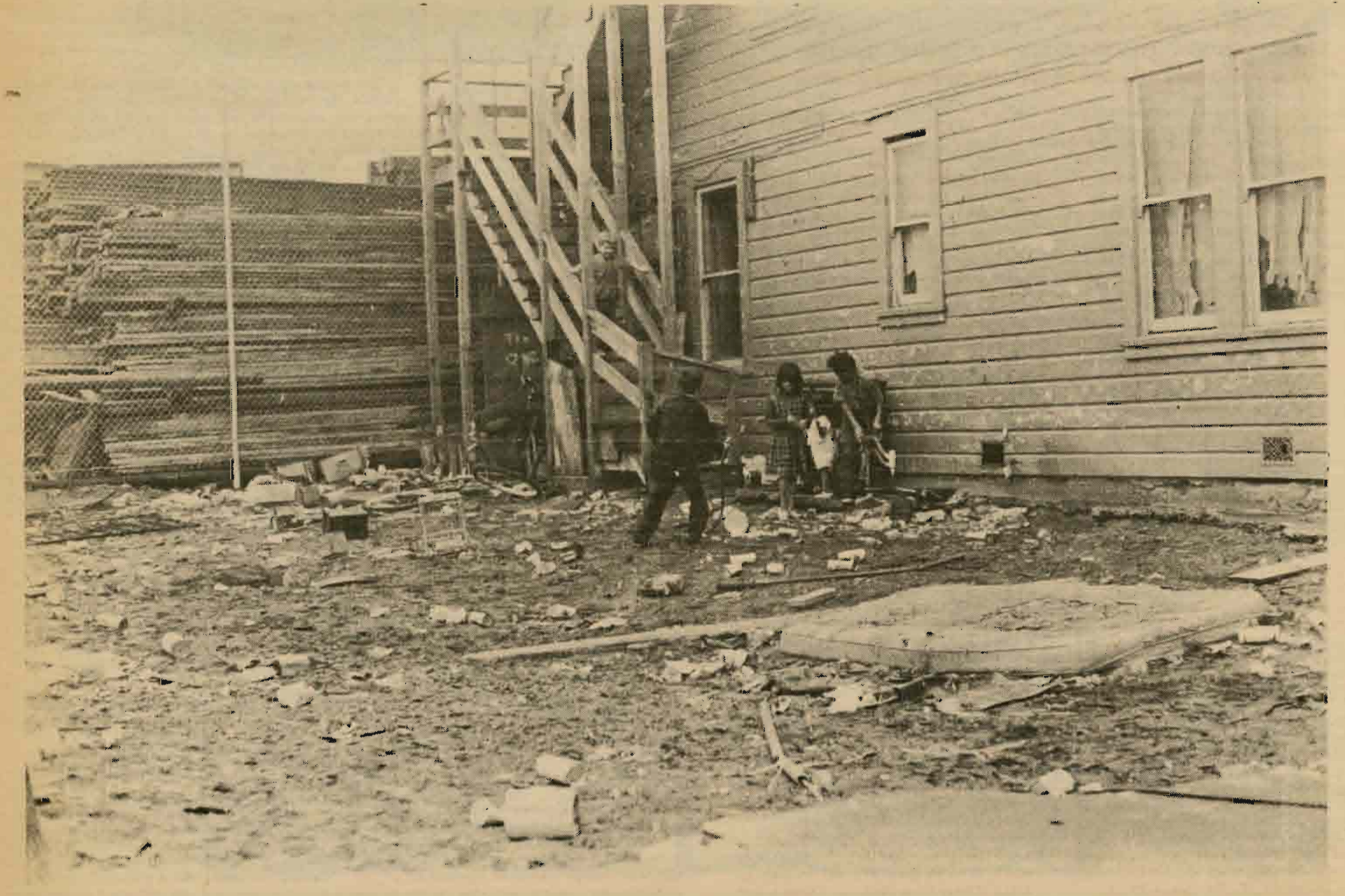
The rally was attended by our own friends, some blacks and Peace and Freedom people with a few new people added. The City Council, under pressure from blacks and liberals at the meeting passed a resolution requiring cops to shoot only in self defense.

Exposing The Real Enemy

The following week the Richmond merchants organized a campaign to repeal the resolution. Two thousand people attended the next City Council meeting to "defend the cops", with the merchants being the most vocal and the most racist. The resolution was repealed. Following this a black boycott of Richmond merchants was launched by the black community. We put out a leaflet aimed at whites explaining that racist actions, like those of the merchants, were attempts by the people who profited from the ghetto--merchants, landlords, and factory owners--to maintain their profits, at gunpoint if necessary; that these conditions could not exist for long and that it was in the interest of white people to support justice for blacks. We passed the leaflet out in front of the stores under the auspices of Peace and Freedom, which created even more discussion because most people knew something about Peace and Freedom and its alliance with the Panthers. Peace and Freedom is a small group of dedicated people in Richmond who have worked on issues like this and have been of help to the black community, not hung up on electoral politics. On these issues we identified with and worked with Peace and Freedom, but still put out our own leaflets with a white working class perspective.

Recently we participated with Peace and Freedom and the Panthers in starting a campaign for community control of the police. This coincided with similar campaigns in Berkeley and Oakland, demanding a separate police department for the black community and a program of democratic neighborhood control of the police for both the white and black communities. When enough support is raised in the black community, this could be an important power demand.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15



THE TIME IS RIPE

There are times when the only protection available to a nascent revolutionary movement is the ability to stay one step ahead of its class enemy -- through its understanding of the dialectics of its own development to foresee and thus hasten the transition to new forms of action.

We are moving into a period where previous strategies and commonly used tactics are taking their places as only a part of a growing battery of forms that have proved effective in practice.

The history of our movement can be seen, in outline form, as a history of tactics. "Reformist" tactics of petition, vigil, and picket line in the early 60's . . . sit-ins, confrontation and legal challenge in the period of civil rights and student power demonstrations . . . the recent radical tactics of disruption, resistance actions (to the draft, against Dow), resisting arrest in sit-ins, street fighting and barricades.

At each point of transition the decision to test new tactics came as a result of concluding that the old tactics were no longer "effective." This conclusion was itself triggered by two mutually reinforcing factors. First, the participants level of consciousness as to the nature of the evil being combatted. Second, the ability of the power structure to frustrate the intentions of the movement.

In this way civil disobedience was transformed into mobile civil disobedience when the numbers of demonstrators became too large to arrest and try . . . when those in power saw such demonstrations as a threat (saw us as an enemy) . . . and as the movement came to realize that peaceful change was impossible.

In similar manner mobile civil disobedience became street tactics . . . just as picket lines had become sit-ins . . . just as sit-ins related to unconstitutional actions (such as those at discriminatory lunch counters) gave way to those of wider scope (to protest hiring practices).

Another Transition

We are in a similar period of transition in the student movement today, but the consequences are far greater than before. In colleges and universities across the country, we have begun to see the end of disruptive "radical" confrontation tactics as universal touchstones in the creation of student protest.

This change has occurred for the same reasons that previous changes have . . . the ruling class and its administrators now are starting to understand the operation of student confrontation. Its purpose is to force the administration to make "blunders" which can be used to move students into action.

Often we have said, "If it hadn't have been for their stupidity, this never would have happened." Of course, the rulers must always act "stupidly" or commit the grossest "blunders" because of their inability to understand that THEY are the source of opposition. . . that they bring on their own destruction and must act in their own class interest.

This does not mean, however, that they will always act "stupidly" (in their own interest) on the same issues. They learn after the fact, but there is no doubt they learn. We must move on to higher forms if we are to survive. If we do not, if we instead halt the evolution of new forms, we become in fact reactionary.

The two responses of administrators to confrontation tactics are first, to refuse to respond at all, and second, to attempt to crush the revolt immediately -- either by giving in, closing the school, or arresting all leaders on increasingly severe charges.

The stakes have risen greatly and the potential dangers become more pronounced. This should not surprise those of us who consider ourselves revolutionaries. As Marx says in THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE: "At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labor, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labor, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism. After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief."

It is this increasing use of state power as an instrument of war against the movement which both "perfects" state power and forces us to understand the necessity of its seizure.

This means the tightening of controls by the ruling class over the state . . . a state which owes its existence solely to the objective irreconcilability of class interests and attempts to integrate or reconcile all potentially dangerous conflict by co-optation or coercion.

Like State, So Administration

The university administration is exactly analogous, in this regard, to the state. Its existence is solely due to the objective irreconcilability of the students' interest with those of the ruling class. The ruling class sees the university only as a vocational school-research center which socializes the extensive costs of advanced production forms for it. The administration, like the state, must move to increasing despotism and its repressive character becomes more and more obvious.

But this development can only be understood when seen in combination with others. As the administration begins to understand student power tactics, students begin to see that student power is impossible in a capitalist society, that the only answer is social revolution.

In many cases, the issues themselves reflect this shift. For example, from protest of the university as center for counter revolutionary activity (DOW Chemical, research) into insisting the university be used for revolutionary activity (credit for a course on racism, lessons in the history of black revolt). This is the transition from defensive to offensive use of a tactic.

This change in the form and direction of tactics to the offensive necessitates mass preparation and education for its use. The leap in consciousness required is considerable and cannot be ignored.

The Movement Itself

For the past several years, SDS has been practically the only activist group on campuses across the country which did not operate in a cadre fashion. That is, it defined itself as the student movement, even rejecting notions of cadre organizing as being manipulative.

During this time liberals were often regarded as enemies of activism, who had to be confronted, just as the administration, with their own connections to racism and imperialism.

But now a new phenomenon has begun -- the development of activist organizations made up of liberals, which force SDS to re-define itself as the left-wing of the student movement.

No surprise. As the stakes rise on campus, as disruption of normal functions increases, as more and more students in SDS or who are independently radical start the process of redefining themselves as revolutionaries, as class contradiction and polarization become more obvious, these liberal activist groups emerge.

A large group of reconcilers, petit-bourgeois advocates of order and peace come to the fore just as the situation becomes more polarized and threatening.

Anarchism & Terrorism

Along with this increase in opportunism comes the development of anarchism and terrorism as a strategy. Both anarchism and opportunism will be characteristics of this transitional period. They are two sides of the same coin, polar expressions for the same mis-understanding of the nature of the state.

Opportunism and anarchism are essentially rejections of political mass struggle, but one advocates peacefully changing the university while the other advocates destroying it. Both are unable to understand that the two things must be done simultaneously. The university must be destroyed and a new one built in its place which will represent only the interests of students, and the majority of society.

A similar division marks another aspect of the transition taking place in the student movement. One group advocates the notion of the critical university a la German SDS. It advocates the orientation of students TOWARD the university to organize around undermining professorial authority, examination disruption, liberation classes.

The other group calls for relating primarily to "off-campus" issues, and bringing the students into the community. The debate over whether or not to organize on campus or off has occurred many times in the past ten years. It has never been resolved, except momentarily as a particular event demanded people's energies. Each time it has arisen in a widespread way, as it has again today, it indicates periods of indecision as to which of several possible directions and tactics should be chosen. It demonstrates that redirection is needed.

Which Direction

All of these developments combine to point us in a particular direction. They point toward the creation of different organizational forms than we now employ.

They indicate the necessity for developing cadre organization, a mass base -- and theory as a prerequisite for both.

Only a cadre organization with a mass base can withstand increasingly severe onslaughts of terror from the ruling class -- since it alone is capable of operating on BOTH legal and illegal levels.

This form is also the only one capable of relating to liberals -- individually in terms of recruitment after winning them over and collectively in being able to struggle against the dangers they represent.

Only a cadre form of organization can maintain the discipline necessary for political work under present conditions while simultaneously developing creative new approaches to struggle.

Without such an organization we shall be rapidly isolated . . . and anarchism and opportunism will be the ONLY alternatives for the next period. All that exists in between will be crushed.

The bourgeoisie will not sit idly by while we openly debate its destruction. It will react with a terror even the strongest and most cynical of us will be shocked by. We must be prepared and prepare others for this eventuality.

While we do not yet understand all that is necessary to a revolutionary analysis in the U.S. and this can only arise out of struggle -- yet, as Lenin writes, a revolutionary party can be formed as soon as a revolutionary line has been developed. But not before.

The time has come for conscious application of energy toward the development of that line. Now. Without it, the despair of many in the student movement will increasingly be felt in the separation of politics from struggle. Militancy without politics, which has characterized many of past Black student protests, will move us away from the conscious direction of our movement.

The function of a revolutionary in a pre-revolutionary period is to move people into action. To raise their revolutionary and class consciousness, to move them into new forms of action based on new consciousness.

In short, the function of a revolutionary is to understand the direction and "laws of motion" of society in order to change it. We have begun to reach a period when this can be done only with coordinated, national, not solely student, cadre organization.

Ken Cloke

ODD BODKINS

By DAN O'NEILL



SAN FRANCISCO POLICE STATE COLLEGE



photos: Nacio Jan Brown

The strike at San Francisco State, which began on November 6, has developed into the largest, most prolonged student struggle of this era. Thousands of students have been actively involved in confrontations that have drawn gunfire from the police for the first time on a white state college campus. In order to understand the dynamic behind the strike, one must understand the background of the different forces involved.

THE BLACK STUDENT UNION

The BSU became formally organized as the spokesman for the small number of black students on the campus during the fall of 1966 and the spring of 1967. Originally the main emphasis of the BSU was on black culture, "black pride". Outside people such as Lerol Jones assisted the BSU with their work on campus; black arts programs were set up in the black community of San Francisco.

During the fall of 1967 Huey P. Newton spoke at San Francisco State; afterwards there was an obvious change in the actions of the BSU. For the first time they declared some form of solidarity with the white radicals, when the whites fought the cops at the Oakland Induction Center in October, 1967. (See The MOVEMENT, November, 1967)

Also, the BSU began to articulate more openly a program of revolutionary politics on the campus, although much of this was still clouded by a lingering anti-white feeling. In December of 1967, the BSU engaged in their first mass political action on campus when they joined with SDS and other white students in protesting the suspension of nine BSU members for allegedly beating up the editor of the campus newspaper, who had openly attacked Muhammad Ali.

On December 6, black students and young black community people ransacked the bookstore and the cafeteria in protest over those suspensions, while the white radicals marched into the Administration Building. But the white campus was hostile to the militant actions of the blacks and the BSU was isolated from most of the white students.

During the spring of 1968 the BSU brought Dr. Nathan Hare to San Francisco State and he began to prepare concrete plans for a Black Studies Department. The BSU did not participate in the May sit-in (see below and The MOVEMENT, July, 1968) with SDS and the Third World Liberation Front.

This failure to participate was for two related reasons. First the BSU did not wish to work within the basic tactics of non-violence of the sit-in because they felt that their constituency would not respond to those tactics. At the same time they thought that more militant confrontations would isolate them from the rest of the campus, and therefore, threaten their survival.

During the summer and early fall of 1968 the BSU formalized their demands for Black Studies and more admissions and prepared to strike in order to win those demands. They were adamant about their developing demands long before the suspension of Panther English teacher George Murray.

THE THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT

This group of students of color formed in spring 1968. Although it included the BSU, in the early stages the TWLF served mostly as a force for the Latin American Students Organization (LASO), Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC), Philippino American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE) and the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA). It was the TWLF, lead by LASO, MASC and PACE that formulated 3 demands: 428 special admissions for minority students; 10 faculty positions to be chosen by TWLF; and the rehiring of Dr. Juan Martinez, a radical Chicano professor canned by a reactionary history department. These demands were joined with SDS's demand on the removal of AFROTC to produce the basis for the May sit-in, which won the demands of the TWLF and almost won the demand on AFROTC. During the summer and fall of 1968 the TWLF formulated their plans for a school of Ethnic Studies and for more admissions, and they too were prepared to strike. The key point to consider is that the formation of the TWLF as a fighting force on the campus was sparked by the success of the BSU in being able to fight for the black students.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

SDS began on the campus in the fall of 1966 with a group of less than 10 white radicals. They succeeded in ex-

panding their base by anti-war work and by conducting a boycott of the school cafeteria demanding lower prices and student control. In the spring of 1967 SDS concentrated on campus complicity with the war in Vietnam and fought over recruiters and class ranking. The December 6 struggle split SDS over the issue of supporting the militant disruptive actions of the BSU versus isolating SDS from the white students. Only 75 people went back for a follow-up one day sit-in while about 400 had participated in the original action on December 6.

SDS recovered from the split and was able to build a mass action involving over 1000 students during the May sit-in. The campus has voted to kick AFROTC off, but the faculty retained the program by 30 votes. The important thing is that white students had also sat in and been arrested for the demands of the TWLF. SDS had begun to win masses of white students to see that institutional racism was a reality and that the interests of white students lay in defeating that racism by allying ourselves with the people of the third world. The connection between the policy of the Air Force in Vietnam and the policy of the college against non-white people in California was made. Thus many white students at S.F. State were prepared to see themselves as fighters alongside the people of the Third World in the battle against imperialism.

THE MOOD OF S.F. STATE

The other key force in the strike are the students who were not previously involved in active struggle, but who were still uneasy within the system. S.F. State had a functioning Experimental College (EC), which despite its "touchie-feelie-lovie" weaknesses did serve to open the minds of many students who would have suffocated in the regular classrooms. Also a group of community action projects called "the programs" had involved many students in working with community people and had also encouraged, in a sort of piecemeal fashion, the demands for relevant education and self-determination that were going to shake the college. In general the mood of the campus was anti-establishment and vaguely in support of radical ideas, but many students had never been faced with having to put their thoughts into action.

THE STRIKE

The fall semester began with the news that the Trustees of the State College System were frantically trying to dismiss English instructor and student, George Murray. Murray, the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party, had been openly calling for the arming of black people and was spreading the gospel of unified world struggle against imperialism. Murray was suspended on November 1 by Chancellor Dumke and then President Smith.

The Trustees were also planning to take away all student rights, including the power and money to run programs such as the BSU, TWLF and the EC were then conducting. It was clear that the ruling class was preparing a general offensive on the campus; and as in the community, the Black Liberation Movement was to be the first victim. This threat of attack coupled with the increasing political radicalization in the black movement--as expressed by the growth of the Panthers--set the stage for a massive showdown. The BSU laid down their demands: Black Studies now with 20 faculty and complete control to rest with black students and faculty; black control over financial aid; all black students to be admitted by Fall of 1969 regardless of qualifications; full salary for Dr. Hare; and the reinstatement of George Murray.

The TWLF was ready to join in the offensive and their relations with the BSU were becoming much more solid as the influence of the Black Panther Party heated turn the BSU into an explicitly anti-imperialist group. The TWLF demands, a school of Ethnic Studies with 30 faculty in addition to the Black Studies Program, more third world admissions; retention of Juan Martinez; and third world control over the School of Ethnic Studies. Both the



photos: Nacio Jan Brown

BSU and TWLF insisted that their demands were non-negotiable since they involved the self-determination of their people and this principle could not be negotiated.

As the date of the strike neared, white students from SDS and the programs decided to support the strike on the basis of the 15 demands of TWLF and BSU, and not to add white demands. SDS led the fight to have this position adopted because in the eyes of the leadership racism was the central issue, the main obstacle to the development of a radical movement on the campus. They felt that the primary task was to combat racism among white students by putting forth a program of SUPPORT for the militant struggle of the BSU and TWLF.

NOVEMBER 6-12

The first week of the strike resulted in acts of disruption and sabotage conducted by the BSU and TWLF while the whites concentrated on picket lines, classroom education teams and mass rallies. It was clear that this was a new form of struggle and the white students faced a monumental job in convincing other students not to be hung up by minor property damage, but instead to understand the issues and support the strike. The level of effectiveness stabilized with a few hundred whites actively working on the strike while a few thousand simply stayed away from class.

NOVEMBER 13-19

On Wednesday November 13, after a week of a fairly successful strike and continued guerrilla raids on key departments of the college, the Administration blew its cool and sent the hated Tactical Squad to help break the strike. A huge battle followed in which 8 students were singled out by the Pigs and arrested. The cops drew their guns and a more bloody battle was only averted when a group of 50 faculty, who had gone on strike that morning over the Murray issue, marched between the students and the Tac Squad and negotiated a withdrawal of the Pigs from the campus.

It was clear that the campus could not function: President Smith ordered the college closed. It stayed closed for a week and was only reopened at the insistence of the Trustees who kept insisting that a hundred professional agitators were responsible for all the trouble. On Tuesday, November 19, Smith announced that school would reopen for an administration-student-faculty convocation to flush out the issues of the strike.

NOVEMBER 20-27

The first convocation ended after one session when the BSU and TWLF discovered that classes were still being held. When Smith refused to order all classes canceled, a mass march of about 1200 students moved through all the buildings and turned out all the classes. Students engaged in hand to hand combat with plainclothesmen who were swarming all over the campus--one plainclothesman fired into the air twice--and the Tac Squad had to be

called in to restore the Racist Order.

The importance of the first convocation is that the BSU and TWLF were able to greatly increase support for the strike among white students because of their strong stand in support of relevant education to be controlled by the people being educated and to be used in serving the needs of the community. On Friday November 22, the students and faculty met in departments and demanded a three day convocation without any classes. It was during the second day of the new convocation that the Trustees found a new man to run their factory: English professor S.I. Hayakawa, last remembered for his flaming defense of Mayor Daley. The Trustees apparently felt that meaty-mouthed Smith had to be replaced with a "Strongman".

THANKSGIVING

During the vacation period the emphasis of the strike shifted to the community. It was here that the background work done by the BSU and TWLF began to pay off: they were able to mobilize large numbers of people in support of the strike in the black and chicano community in the city. The white movement was also able to start the nucleus of an outside support group from community people who had been reached over the summer in the fight for rent control and tax relief. Leaflets were handed out at factories and shopping centers in working class areas showing how racism was the enemy of students and workers and that the college did not serve the needs of working people, but was in fact controlled by the same people who were responsible for strikebreaking, high rents and exploitation of labor.

DECEMBER 2-6

On Monday December 2, the school reopened as an overt police state. There were to be no picket lines, no rallies and no strike. Anyone who resisted these orders was to be suspended immediately and then within 72 hours receive a trial before George Derugin of the World Business Department who graduated from the University of Berlin in 1942. Early in the week the campus was a battle ground with police breaking up picket lines, chasing people into the cafeteria and cracking heads while hundreds watched in shock.

This action then escalated into massive confrontations in the afternoons, during which 3-4 thousand students would confront the police, throw rocks at the Business Department and Administration Building and form massive protest marches around the commons. As many as 500 cops were needed to break up these demonstrations, which sometimes lasted for as long as three hours. A fighting movement developed due to the tremendous spirit of the BSU and TWLF leadership and the almost universal hatred of the police.

Over 90 were arrested in this period, including leaders of the black and third world community who had come out to campus to defy the police state and announce their support for the BSU and TWLF. At least 10 strikers and one cop required hospital treatment. By the



end of the week it was clear that the total repression of political rights had not crushed the strike at all, but had instead opened the way for more support.

The local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) voted on the afternoon of Tuesday December 3 to seek strike sanction from the S.F. Central Labor Council. The Council, in coalition with Mayor Alioto, organized a peculiar meeting with Executive Committee on the following Monday. The Mayor sent silent representatives, the Trustees were absent. The AFT presented its six grievances, a mixed bag including the 15 student demands, and the Labor Council was forced to grant a conditional strike sanction. The conditional strike sanction allows the AFT to apply for definite strike sanction if 72 hours of mediation fail to bring labor (teachers) and management (Trustees) together or if Hayakawa fails to close the campus for three days starting Tuesday, December 10. In addition a rank and file meeting of the International Longshoremen and Warehouse Union (ILWU) voted to support the student strike.

Hayakawa has already agreed to grant a shadow of the demands--trying to split

Roger Alvarado is a leader of the Third World Liberation Front, Nesbit Crutchfield is a leader of the Black Student Union and Mason Wong is a leader of the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action, all at San Francisco State College.

The following are excerpts from a discussion held with them about the struggle at State on December 6. The discussion was part of the "Surplus Prophets", a radio show heard on KPFA, Berkeley, California.

QUESTION: What is the status of the strike at this point?

NESBIT CRUTCHFIELD: As of now the strike at State has been going on approximately a month and five days. These fifteen demands have not been met and therefore the strike is still going on. It's getting stronger and stronger. One very obvious thing we should bring out is that the black community, the brown community and the yellow community have shown that we are different college students, students of our communities. We are not in a cocoon. The demands are a matter of survival for our community.

SELF-DETERMINATION

Q: Why are these demands non-negotiable?

NESBIT: They're about self-determination. Self-determination means the power

and ability to determine our own destiny --to address ourselves to what we are as a People. We couldn't do this in the past because we had no knowledge of our own history, our own heritage, our own background or culture. We're talking about seizure of power, but you seize power in a context and our context is S.F. State College, as an extension of the community, as a microcosm of the entire society that we live in.

We're not asking for a Black Studies Department that will be like the other departments in the College. Our department will create a vitality that people have never seen before.

ROGER ALVARADO: We do not want equality, we want more. We want the ability to control the power, the authority, the finances, to direct our education. We understand the principle on which we base our demands is self-determination. Determination to direct ourselves to learn whatever we want to learn and

use it the way we want. NESBIT: We're not talking about Negro history like they teach in the Negro Colleges of the South. They encourage the attitude that we must assimilate, that we must not be a People, but rather drown ourselves in some melting pot. We're black people and we want to carry out that long, very fascinating, venture of finding ourselves.

The innovative education we're talking about will show black and third world students what mechanisms and power determine and exploit them. What powers make our fathers castrated automatons. We're going to bring them to that education factory and show them these powers and how and why they must be changed. This is why we're having so much trouble with the demands--because they're talking about self-determination. If we were asking for a Negro studies program that talked about cooperating with the system, then we would have been back in school weeks ago.

Community Needs

Q: How has this struggle developed? NESBIT: The fifteen demands have developed over a long period of time and consultation--they weren't made spontaneously just for the sake of confrontation.

ROGER: We started about a year and a half ago. What we got was referral to committees and promises of things to come. We called the strike because of our needs as a People, not just our needs at the College.

We will no longer tolerate someone telling us how we're going to live our lives. S.F. State is only the beginning. Our people can no longer afford to wait. Anybody in this country who is poor, automatically loses 7 years of his life. We are no longer willing to lose seven years of our lives in the context of education or in the context of anything else.

Poor people in this country pay the highest percentage of their income for taxes. They pay a higher percentage than Rockefeller has ever had to pay in his whole life. If Rockefeller can make a billion dollars a year, then he's going pay \$99,999,999 and 99 cents to the people because that's where he's getting his money from.

You can talk about revolution. I've been talking about revolution for 5 years and I still haven't gotten the goddamned revolution. And the revolution is not going to come until I get my ass down to where my people are at and what my people need and begin to relate to that.

QUESTION: How have black, brown and yellow people come together?

MASON WONG: The reason we've joined together is because we have common needs and common desires. The Chinese for example are tired of being used by the power structure as an example; playing us up as a unique group. "We remain silent. We work hard. We don't ask for help. We don't go on Welfare. We're happy people and Chinatown is a happy town." Chinese people are suffering. We've been suffering ever since we came to this country. Because of our image we've paid a heavy price. We have poverty and ignorance.

The Chinese people who have made it are forced to exploit their own people. Don't let the restaurants and the glittering lights fool you, because I can take you down a half a block away and you'll see common kitchens, a community bathroom--one bathroom for 90 apartments that are four by eight--old people that are hiding and afraid to come out. We can't communicate with these people because we've been educated by the white

CONTINUED ON PG. 22



Alex Foreman

The Song Of Hayakawa

OR

UP AGAINST THE WALL MOTHER COUNTRY

Should you ask me, whence this story
Whence these protests and repressions
With the chantings of the students
With the blow and blood of nightsticks,
With the hard lines of the trusties.
With the lying tongues of reagens
With the rushings of great meanings
With their power found in action
And their world reverberations
As of wounds within the monster?

I should answer, I should tell thee
"From the past and from the present
From the slavery in Southland
From its partner in the Northland
From the fire in the cities
From the poor, the lost, the cursed ones
Where the youth, on plastic campus
Is taught with lies of men in power...
I repeat it as I heard it
From the lips of revolution
That musician, that sweet singer."

By the shores of Golden Gateway
By the rotting BART construction
Stood a campus of Glenn Dumke
Son of a dollar Dumke
And behind him rose the trusties
Rose the rantings of the gov'ner
To the tune of corporations.
But the answer that is blowing
In the winds of change that's coming
Also beat the Big Sea Water.

There the wrinkled Old Glenn Dumke
Nursed his puppet Hayakawa
Rocked him in his crooked cradle
Aided by an Alioto
Who provided piggish sinews
Tried to still his sweat by saying
"Yes the arm of force will save thee."
But no lullaby the chanting
"On strike let's shut it down!"
Who are these who fill the campus
With their fists upraised in Anger?
"On strike, let's shut it down!"

Many things his masters taught him
After Summerskill had fallen
Down the hole to Ethiopia
After Smith of lacking lustre
Found the burden too disturbing.
Many things his masters taught him
Of the ways to handle protest
Of the ways to dodge the issues
And protect the status quo.
Trained him in the hard line holler
Showed him blood they called the system
That has tried to rule the world.
And policemen beating warriors
In the Death Dance of their Order...
And the sight made him excited
As a ride on roller coaster
With strong stomach he enjoyed it
In the time of his tenth birthday,
On the tubes of their mass media
Taught him how to be flamboyant
How to represent the racism
That had placed his own strong people
In war camps in California.

And they pumped him full of letters
Word, syllabics, call it hot air...
But they called the stuff semantics.
Told him problems all were verbal
Bluster all that now was needed.

But the lips of revolution
Answered back, "no Hayakawa".
Answered back with strength of
numbers
Echoed past the armored legions
With their pistols drawn and pointed.
Answered back to Hayakawa
Said the issues must be answered
Education must have meaning
Help to change the present order.
For our people whom you've stepped on
Now are waking, now must study
Lessons taught by your oppression
Learn the history you've stolen.
That is why we on this campus
Demand self determination.

Answered back, "no Hayakawa".
And their rising calls were answered
By some elders of their peoples
Saying, "we will stand between you,
When the swine approach your marches,
We'll not let a generation
Lose its youth and lose its struggle
For your struggle is our struggle
And your lives the lives of brothers."

Forth upon the Golden Gateway
By the rotting BART construction
With the purse strings of his masters
Fastened to his head and shoulders
Hayakawa launched new efforts
To subdue the rising rebels
After watching from his window
All those beaten and arrested
He talked with an Alioto
And announced a "new" position
To preserve his falling campus
To divide the chanting students
But the pigs still root on campus
And the students hold more rallies
As their struggle is continued
From a new and stronger level.

Maybe ups and downs of struggle
And new twistings of the trusties
May discourage and new methods
Will be needed, still the song of
Hayakawa and the dirges of his masters
Can have only one conclusion,
As the struggle always deepens
As the people see deceptions
And increase their ways of protest
As they organize their numbers.

Then the song of Hayakawa
Who seems strong but whose repressions
Only mean that he is failing
Then the song of Hayakawa
Ends - "Farewell O Hayakawa".
As students black-brown-white in color
Crush his fiery puppet pratings
And the winds announce their message
Sing - "Farewell O Hayakawa".
As students black-brown-white in color
Chant - "Farewell O Hayakawa."
Thus departed Hayakawa
Hayakawa's strings left dangling
And the masters behind curtains
Sought in this their time of sunset
Still to still the rising protest.

But their time's not long in coming
And their sunset is our sunrise
Sunrise too in other nations
Where they send their thieving armies
Many nations like the campus
And whose people are as students
Men of self-determination.

Talk about an education
We have gained one in these hours
And the song of Hayakawa
Every note a lesson learned.

Lincoln Bergman

SERVE THE PEOPLE continued from p. 9

We want to give it what support we can and use the campaign to talk to whites about the issue of black liberation.

Why Racism

Much of our community propaganda has dealt with racism--not because this is the best issue to approach people on, but because this is an issue that relates to white people right now. If we don't do some fast talking most whites are going to react negatively as the struggle for black liberation sharpens.

Even without having yet built a significant base it is possible to create political understanding in a white community over a period of time. We can't always create our own timetable and even when we can, there is no way to avoid the issue of racism. We have to win over any radical base we build in the white community to support for the revolutionary analysis and program that is put forward by blacks and neutralize the great majority in much the same way the left had to find ways of neutralizing the American people in regard to the revolutionary program of the Vietnamese people, so as to get the oppressors off their backs.

People were won over on the basis that the Vietnamese War was no more in their self-interest than in the self-interest of the Vietnamese people. We are both oppressed by the same enemy. The same is true about the war on the black community and the same urgency is required.

Style and methods of organizing must always flow out of ideology and political strategy. If we don't keep that clearly in mind, we'll tend toward reformism or mere populism.

all for us, ALL of the major candidates are bought and paid for by powerful financial interests, which have some disagreements among themselves, but share a common desire to make money from the sweat, blood, tears and taxes of the majority of people in this country.

and that,

the only way we can change this situation for the better is for all of the working people and small property owners--who make up the vast majority of the American people--to get together and take the power over our lives from the big business tyrants who now run the country and ruin all our lives.

We distributed the leaflet for several days before the election at factories and shopping centers. This time we made a point of hitting the three factories where I had worked previously. I knew a lot of the guys at each place and we also had several friends who worked at one of the places. At these places the guys paid more attention to what we were saying.

Many people, including many Wallace supporters, read the entire leaflet and expressed enthusiastic agreement. They were somewhat surprised to find someone saying in such a direct way what they already felt--that American politics, the political machinery and the politicians were disgusting because they related in no way, and had no intention of relating, to the interests of people like themselves. Many were more knowledgeable than we on the various ways that big business fucks the public through government spending and tax policies.

ing deception that is the cover for militarism and fascism will. There are tendencies in both directions, and it would be our fatal mistake to write off the majority of working class people into the latter category.

Role For Students

It will be some time before very many people from student backgrounds go into working class communities. That is to be expected--we are more concerned with the orientation of the Left and what it can do as it is now constituted.

The Left must develop an analysis of the way the system works in regard to working people, of class power and how it operates in determining government policy, because the people are looking for such an analysis. This means uncovering and explaining how policy is made--like the war in Vietnam--and who it profits. It means providing the arguments that can lead to the conclusion that capitalism is not in the interest of working people. Also, we must convince the people that we are fighting for their interests and that will not happen until the Left starts shedding some light on the ways in which working people suspect that they are being fucked.

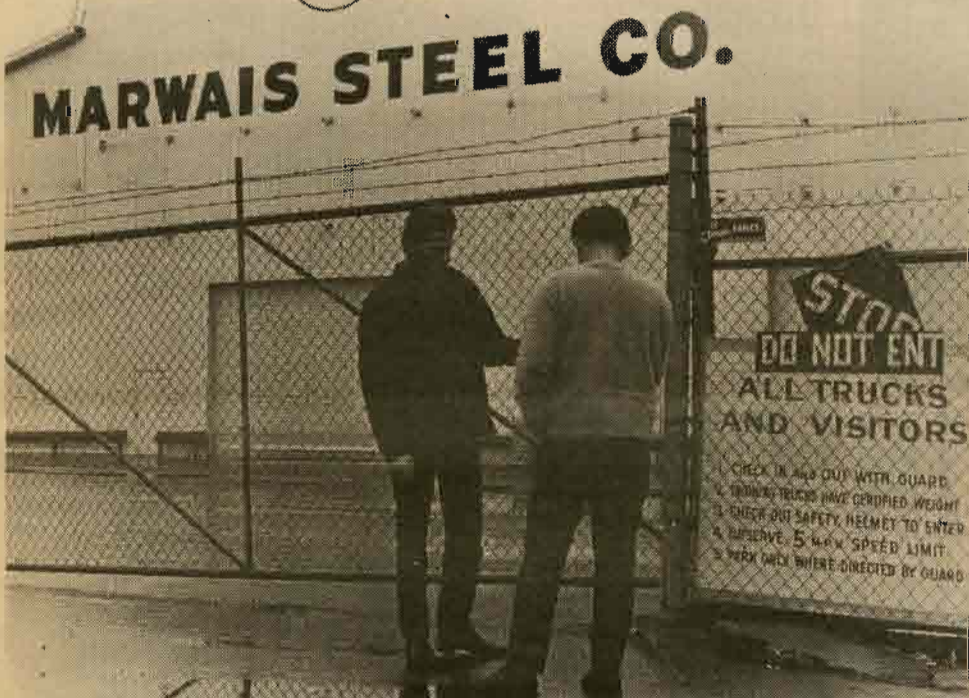
The analysis must be made in the process of waging campaigns over such issues as safety legislation for factories and mines; union busting and wage freeze legislation (which will come this year); Nixon's fiscal policies that serve to create unemployment; and Federal, state and local tax measures. The TAX ISSUE is the most basic; it shows most clearly who gets fucked and who profits. The objects of an attack on taxes would

co-optation of the majority of students while some of the more radical students become discouraged and despair of the political efficacy of any program altogether. As repression grows sharper, these comedowns will take a greater toll. This situation will continue as long as political leadership on campuses content themselves with interpreting the mood of the time into action, but can offer no longrange perspective for relating to the rest of society in a way that makes final victory seem a possibility.

Perspective

Now I'll return, in conclusion, to our perspective for a working class community. I dealt in length with how the Left can relate to the working class because that, as well as the work we do in Richmond, amounts to questions of ideology, strategy and class orientation for the entire movement, not just for "community organizers" who are "doing their thing".

Radical working class formations will emerge with varying organizational forms and relate to the movement in quite different ways. People have learned some things about issues in a community and how to relate to them, much about what not to do; but no one seems to have yet found any really viable organizational forms. Radical caucuses within unions have met with some success. In Richmond we are looking toward a radical community organization made up of people working in local factories, the unemployed, and some local high school and junior college students. It will be organized on the basis of an open radical political perspective and



We had quite surprising results from our leaflet on the election. It was titled, "Warning! These Men Are Extremely Dangerous!", above mug shots of Nixon, Humphrey and Wallace. Here are a few quotes from the section on Humphrey to give an idea of the style and approach: HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY alias, "HUMPTY-DUMPTY" alias, "THE JACKASS" Wanted in all 50 states for fraud; grand theft tax; armed robbery and murder. Humphrey heads criminal machine called "Democratic Party", which last year used racket called "TAXES" to steal over \$100 BILLION. Most of this loot spent on purchase of dangerous weapons (tanks, bombs, missiles, etc.) ...many already used in illegal enterprise in Vietnam--killing 30,000 Americans and 500,000 Vietnamese. "Democratic Party" extorts votes from working people and small property owners, but is bankrolled by bigshots. Humphrey machine sent 60 THOUSAND U.S. men into U.S. cities to fight other Americans and protect property of Humphrey's big business "friends". Humphrey machine ruined U.S. economy so much that HOUSEHOLD DEBT owed to furniture stores, car dealers, mortgage holders, etc. HAS GONE UP 155 BILLION DOLLARS IN THE PAST 8 YEARS. Because of these policies--that benefit big business, but hurt ordinary taxpayers, Humphrey got almost 10 BILLION DOLLARS from big business tycoons--who also kick in to the major rival syndicate, called the "Republican Party".

The back side of the leaflet contained less incitement to riot. Entitled "Why Vote For An Evil" it explained that

NONE OF THE THREE MAJOR CANDIDATES IS ANY GOOD--and most people know it! No matter how many campaign promises they make, no matter how many times they tell us they're

As backward as most people are on some questions, particularly on racism, the consciousness of working people does reflect their objective situation--life is getting much harder; prices are going up, wages are not keeping up with prices, and taxes are continually increasing. Having no control over prices, people want to know if increased taxes are necessary; if they are the people to be taxed, and what the taxes are to go for.

Most of their taxes, of course, go for imperialism. Most of the tax dollar is spent on the military machine, foreign aid, war, and space--all justified by the cold war and all providing profits for the largest, most powerful corporate interests. These interests can be narrowed down to almost a handful of people, the same people who are the president makers--those who control the political machinery.

It's a commonplace of history, but often forgotten, that while students and intellectuals develop a radical consciousness over moral concern with issues, working class people do when they are alienated from the basic economic part they must play in society; that of creating profit for somebody else. When working people are radicalized it will be on the basis of anti-capitalism.

We grant that their condition will have to deteriorate much farther before that will happen on a large scale, but we must be laying the political groundwork now for that possibility if it is ever to be actualized. The Left must realize that the severe economic and political crises that result in this age of national liberation struggle--which have hardly begun to manifest themselves--will accelerate loss of confidence in corporate liberalism. This trend was evident in the last election and in the rise of Wallace. Either real class consciousness will take its place or the populist sound-



also be those things which are the very props of imperialism--military spending and foreign aid.

Service Centers For The People

The organizational vehicle for the implementation of this kind of program could be the formations of radical students that now exist--even those that have existed heretofore on the scanty diet of electoral politics. It would be good for organizations that are linked in the public mind with support for black liberation and a radical anti-war posture, like Peace and Freedom in California, to take up these issues.

The student movement can also relate to this type of program. Students realize that the University is a service center for the ruling class. Rather than just remaining alienated from this process, they should have the view that their own academic work, as well as political involvement, should be just the converse of that--serving the people. The dynamic of the campus movement is now in fact the struggle to force the University to serve the interests of Third World people. That view, which is very healthy, might be expanded to include white working class people when the Left begins to act on some of the issues that relate to the latter.

Research could be done on the reasons behind policy decisions in Washington, on taxes etc. The content of courses and of university policy should be launched by students on issues like taxes, community control of cops or rent control that affect working people as well as students.

This perspective is particularly needed on campuses because the movement on a given campus usually goes through cycles. First a successful action, with the sense of a movement being built, relating to large numbers of students followed by a longer period of liberal

posture, working class identity and with the dual purpose of "serving the people" (helping people with everyday problems), and getting across some political understanding to our people

A useful tool, we think, would be a newspaper with political articles, information on peoples' rights and other articles on sports, etc. The newspaper will be clearly linked with the organization and will be a way of making contacts and building a political identity for the group. Campaigns in which we become involved, like community control of the cops or supporting strikes will be of much more value when carried out by a group with a local and radical working class identity.

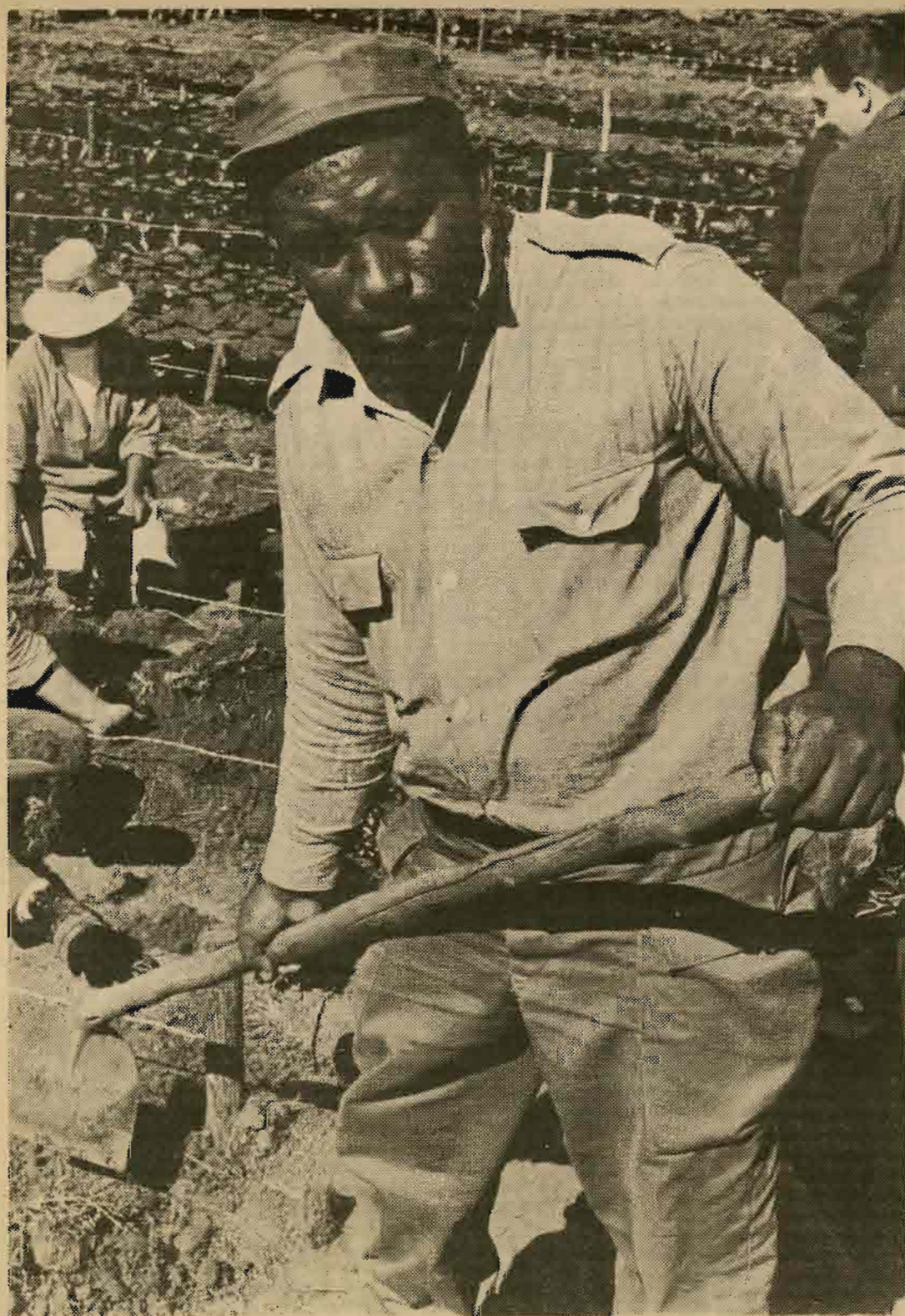
Midnight poster raids and other things that are fun as well as having political value will definitely play a part in building a fighting spirit and camaraderie.

We may even win if we keep in mind the words of Comrade Mao:

The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.

★





Let's see what I have,
I can move,
I Juan with Everything,
Peasant, worker, simple man,
I can talk to the banker,
not in English
nor as Senor,
But as companero.

Let's see what I have
I Juan Negro with Everything;
no one dares stop me
at the door of a ballroom or bar
nor in the lobby of a hotel
screaming No Room
not even a private one (let alone a suite)
where I could rest my head...

I have what I have,
A place to work,
To earn
Something
To eat,
Let's see,
I have what I had
To have.

From I, JUAN NEGRO
by Nicolas Guillen

RED AND BLACK IN CUBA

VENCEREMOS MEANS WE SHALL OVERCOME

By Arlene Eisen Bergman

We all talk about how racism is tied to capitalism and imperialism. So when an American radical goes to revolutionary Cuba, a country whose economy was once based on slavery, one of the most important points on the itinerary of the political tourist becomes--how have they dealt with racism?

After two months in Cuba I am no expert on this question. First impressions can be misleading--especially because we observe with the pre-established framework of people raised in a racist society, and as radicals, we are super-self-conscious and sensitive about anything racial.

At first I was too quick to label some of the white Cubans I met as racist, until I learned that "some of my best friends are black" simply doesn't have the same significance as it does here. Or, after walking through the streets during carnival--where a huge black face mask adorns many lampposts, I started thinking: "shit, the same racist stereotypes as in the U.S." But some of my black Cuban friends assured me that the masks were traditional and offended no one.

A Bit of History

The number of people in Cuba who (if they wanted to) could claim to be pure white is relatively small. No reliable statistics are available and a lot depends on how one defines black or white. Perhaps a majority of Cubans are mulatto, and are considered such in Cuba, but would be labelled "Negro" in American society. Most Cubans estimate that there are between 30 and 45% black people.

The history of racism in Cuba begins 400 years ago with the importation of slaves from Africa. Conditions on Spanish plantations were unbelievably cruel, but were different from their North American counterparts in several important ways. First generation slaves were sent to large plantations and subsequently allowed to maintain their tribal identity.

Africans in Cuba have preserved a certain collective consciousness and continuity of identity over the centuries. Thus African religious cults named after various tribes still exist in Cuba today. (Black religious movements in the United States have, until recently, been almost exclusively Christian). A 400 year-old Yoruba dialect can still be heard in certain areas of Cuba. Afro-Cuban music and dance forms are much closer to the African originals than are the North American variants.

Rebellion

The political expression of this African identity was a tradition of continuous insurrection and rebellion which lasted until the early decades of the present century. The first slave revolts in the continent occurred in Cuba in 1525. During the 19th century there were many revolts and conspiracies, usually involving several thousands of slaves and originating in Oriente Province. This province has the highest percentage of black people and is the traditional birthplace of all Cuban rebellions, including the current revolution.

Afro-Cubans played an important part in the wars of independence. Even the name given to independence fighters, "mambises", was of African origin. Antonio Maceo, a black man called the bronze titan, was one of the most important independence leaders and is a national hero today--second in stature only to Jose Marti.

The last Afro-Cuban uprising in 1912 was only suppressed after U.S. Marines intervened and 3000 Afro-Cubans lost their lives.

Away From Separation

After 1912, the African political tradition merged into the general currents of Cuban radicalism, although the religious cults and blood brotherhoods persisted. This merger was, perhaps, facilitated by the limited nature of racism in Cuban society.

Spanish adventurers usually did not bring their wives to Cuba and were forced to take African wives. Spanish law, unlike the Anglos', recognized these marriages and thus a tradition of inter-mixing was established in Cuba as early as the 16th century. Ethnographers say that whites began to join some of the African cults in the 1880s. (Once when

a black friend invited me to go to one of the rituals regularly held in private homes, I hesitated: "Won't they resent a white outsider?" His reply surprised me: "Of course not, they'll probably think you're a believer".)

It is difficult to talk about degrees of racism. Being a bit of a white supremacist is like being a little bit pregnant. But most Cubans insist that racist attitudes and ideology were never very firmly implanted in Cuba and that once slavery was abolished in 1886, Cuba was on its way towards being an integrated society. They say it was the Yankees who re-imported racism and promoted the Jim Crow laws that lasted in Cuba until 1959.

Discrimination

Until the revolution black Cubans were badly discriminated against. Most black people were unemployed. The lucky ones cut cane a few months of the year or worked on the docks or in other menial positions (busboys, shoeshiners etc). Black people were paid less for the same work. Jim Crow laws barred black Cubans from restaurants, hotels, beaches, institutions of higher education, etc. White Cubans were also discriminated against, but on the grounds of class, not color.

Most black people lived in subhuman housing which, in urban areas, tended to be ghettoized. But, perhaps because poverty was so widespread, white people could usually be found in the same areas. (Whenever we passed poorer neighborhoods we always saw a relatively high percentage of black people. At the same time, in accordance with the revolutionary policy that those in the worst housing get first crack at the new buildings, we saw a relatively high percentage of black people in the modern housing projects that are springing up all over Cuba.)

Pre-Revolutionary Culture

Until the revolution the vast majority of black Cubans identified with one of the many tribal religious brotherhoods. Many of these groups were secret societies. Among the Albaqua, for example, those who betrayed the brotherhood's secrets were executed. Although a few white people were believers, the great majority of white people were ignorant and condescending toward the societies.

Socially, the mulatto offspring of mixed marriages

tended to form a different strata than the black people. Sometimes the color distinctions became rather invidious and a small difference in shade might mean the doom of a potential marriage. I knew one Cuban, the son of an Arab father and a mulatto mother, who insisted he was black while his parents were proud to call him mulatto. When he married a black Cuban, his parents disowned him. While he was a child of the revolution, his parents' prejudice remained untouched.

In the popular arts, black Cubans also suffered. "In the comic theater the 'national character' of the personalities was nothing more than stereotypes that corresponded to the colonialist mentality dominant during the 19th century, that is, to the slave society in which they had originated.

"The personalities of the lumpen black boy, the coquettish mulatto women and the brutish black stud in the majority of works served to perpetuate the prejudiced mentality of that epoch. We shouldn't forget that this comic theater had much in common with the Minstrel shows in the South of the United States...The form caricatured the reality of the black population. With the most liberal authors this became a trite paternalism." (Eugenio Hernandez Espinosa, contemporary black Cuban playwright.)

Black & White Together In The Sierra

The July 26 Movement was integrated from the start. Those who struggled were defined by their hatred for the Batista tyranny and imperialism, not by their race.

The people who gave orders in the Guerrilla struggle were chosen on the basis of their competency as guerrilleros, nothing more. Raul Castro's column in the Sierra Maestra was affectionately known as the "Mau-Mau". Two of the top five commanders were black. They later became members of the Central Committee. (Almeida and Amejeiras). Amejeiras was later removed from the Central Committee for reasons having nothing to do with race. He simply would not follow revolutionary discipline.

I met two black brothers who had fought in the Sierra in Che's column. I asked them why they joined--"We were starving at the time. We had no special ideology, only the drive to get Batista off our backs." They could not think of a single experience with racism during their time in the Sierra. Once we began rapping about the U.S. they were incredulous when they heard that black and white revolutionaries in this country do not belong to the same organization.

The Guerrilleros Take Power

There is a slogan in Cuba today, "Yesterday's dreams are today's revolutionary laws". Once in power the revolution moved swiftly against racism. Just weeks after Batista fled the revolutionary government abolished all Jim Crow laws and established and enforced equal opportunity and access to all Cuban institutions. All private clubs and establishments (all of which were finally closed in the spring of 1968) which refused to allow black people were shut down.

No doubt there was some white reaction against these measures. The process required a lot of education, and sometimes coercion. Those unable to reconcile themselves to these and other revolutionary changes are now in Miami.

In the past ten years Cuban society has been completely overhauled. Black people share the benefits of socialism with their white and brown comrades. All institutional bases of racism in Cuba are gone today. Cubans of all color participate in the task of building the revolution--in schools, in factories, on farms and in recreation.

Even so, 400 years of racism can't be erased in ten. In Cuba today you still find a disproportionate

number of black people in lower-paid jobs. You still find that most of the longshoremen are black and you still find predominantly black residential areas with rather poor houses filled with relics for the African cult rituals (along with pictures of the revolutionary heroes). But political science students join the longshoremen in voluntary work on the docks regularly, and the child of an unskilled worker can be assured of a free professional education.

The problem is transitional. Of Cuba's 7 million people, 1.6 million graduated from the sixth grade this year. These and the millions who will follow are children of the revolution for whom racial oppression and the denial of opportunity is a remote episode in history.

Prejudice

White supremacy originated as a rationale for slavery and other forms of economic oppression. But the relationship between structures and attitudes is not a simple mechanical one. Only vulgar Marxists would claim that with socialism all traces of racism on the cultural level disappear.

During the early stages of the revolution Fidel recognized this problem explicitly. He told the Cubans in early 1959 that racism was a scheme to divide Cuba against itself and warned that Cuba had enough enemies on the outside. He cited the important part black people had played in the Revolution. Then, in the bluntest terms, he told Cubans there was no such thing as a "pure caucasian". Pointing to those proud of their Spanish ancestry, he said that Moors from Africa dominated Spain for 800 years--"all of us have African blood".

Fidel also emphasizes the links between black liberation and socialism. "In the past when voices were raised in favor of liberation for the slaves, the bourgeoisie would say 'impossible, it will ruin the country'; and to instill fear they spoke of the 'black terror'. Today they speak of the 'red terror'. In other words: in their fight against liberty they spread fear of the black man; today they are spreading fear of socialism and communism." (Speech--July 26, 1962)

A National Black Studies Program

The revolutionary government has taken deliberate steps to sponsor Afro-Cuban culture and consciousness. The aim is to educate the entire population, black and white, about African contributions to Cuban culture.

The Institute of Ethnology and Folklore does research on African heritage in Cuba. They also study this heritage in Africa. Most of the researchers are black Cubans who are paid to learn as much as possible about their heritage and then disseminate their findings. The institute publishes various pamphlets, runs a museum of folklore, and sponsors seminars that bring together ethnologists and folklorists from Cuba and Africa.

Much of the work of the Institute finds its way to Cuba's mass media. The most popular monthly magazine, CUBA, regularly carries articles by people connected with the Institute on Afro-Cuban cults, brotherhoods, slave rebellions and art. The Institute also provides resource material for the National Folklore Troupe which stages authentic Afro-Cuban dance and song all over the country.

One black Cuban I knew worked for the Board of Culture. His job was to visit various factories, schools and farms giving seminars on Afro-Cuban folklore and traditions. He felt that his work was a step towards eliminating white supremacist attitudes and achieving a genuine cultural integration--not on white man's terms--but on a universal level.

During this year, GRANMA (the organ of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party) has been carrying a series on the history of Cuba. This series commemorates the 100 years of Struggle

(1868-1968) and is used in political education of workers and peasants all over the country. Many of these articles stress the role of black people in these last 100 years, and cite the struggle against slavery as the first revolutionary episode in Cuba's history.

But it is Cuba's educational system that is the cornerstone of the revolution's elimination of racism on a cultural level. Children of all races live together in school from near infancy. They are being taught to be good communists. They are taught about the atrocities in Cuban history and the viciousness of Yankee racism. Each time I visited a Cuban school I was impressed by the complete lack of racial consciousness on the part of the students. I never saw what is so common in the U.S.--children in a playground, black ones on one side, whites on the other.

More Revolution

There is a slogan in Cuba--"More Revolution", because there is always a need to deepen and broaden the changes that will some day make Cuba a utopia. More revolution is definitely needed before all traces of racism are eliminated in Cuba, especially on the cultural level. If you leaf through BOHEMIA, the weekly magazine, a kind of socialist version of LIFE, you could get the impression that the standard of beauty in Cuba is still white, or at least, light mulatto. Few models or drawings of people used in the various national campaigns for health, work, etc. are black.

While black and white Cubans mix freely at work and at school, I saw much less mixing socially. On the beach of a country club that was once reserved for foreigners, there were perhaps 60% black people. But the groups of friends that were relaxing together in the sun were not racially mixed.

On another occasion a blond Cuban girl and I were together on a bus with two black Cuban men. (My hair is black and my skin was quite dark from the sun). An older white man sitting next to me on the bus asked, "Are you her guide?" I said, "No, why?" quickly enough so that my foreign accent wasn't detected. The old man told me that he figured my blond friend was foreign and I was her interpreter because "most white Cuban girls prefer not to be seen in public with black men. It isn't nice."

But the biggest problem seemed to be a denial by some of the problem and therefore an inability to deal with it. The overwhelming majority of Cubans I spoke to about race relations, black and white, completely denied the existence of any hangovers from Cuba's racist past. This denial always puzzled me. I don't think any of these people were trying to hide the truth from me.

"No there isn't much inter-marriage in Cuba, but that's not because we're prejudiced, it just isn't the custom". (white chauffeur)

"I don't know who told you there was still prejudice in Cuba, he's either crazy or a counter-revolutionary". (University student and member of Communist Youth, white)

"No, I have never been insulted on account of my race." (black guide)

"Yes, I know what you mean. I ran into a lot of racism when I was studying in Germany, but there's none of that left in Cuba because all the racists have gone to Miami." (black gymteacher)

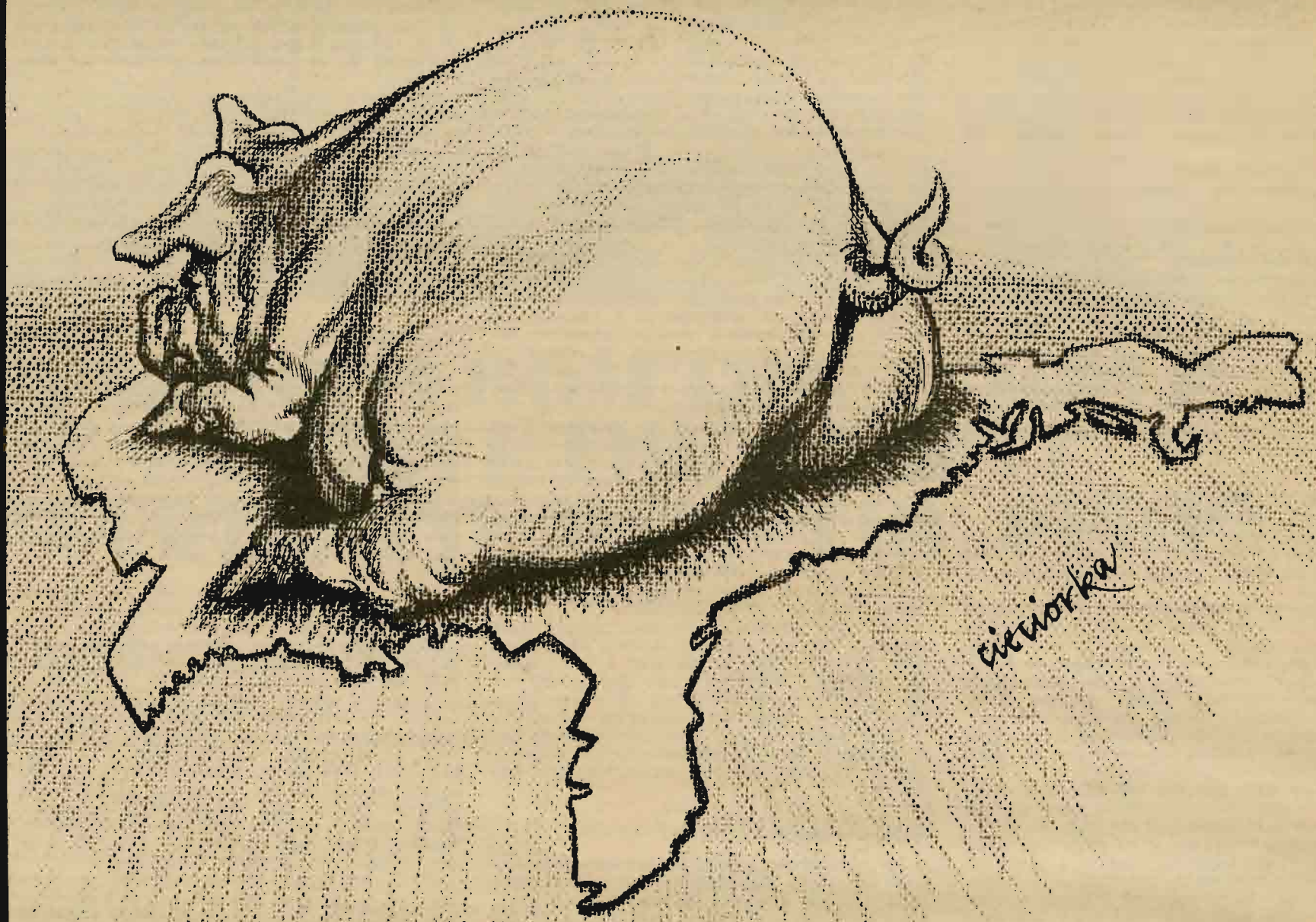
"No, you can't call prejudice a social problem in Cuba today. There may be a few old bigots left--but that's an individual psychological problem that is bound to disappear." (black party member)

Yet, some black Cubans I met described many encounters they had with racial prejudice. I personally encountered a few when I was with some black Cuban friends. Perhaps these experiences were atypical, but I don't think so. I got the feeling that some people denied any racist hangovers because they were white and had neither experienced

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

photos: Todd Gitlin





VENCEREMOS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

nor practiced any form of racism. Others ignored racist hangovers because they are convinced it is a transitional problem that is bound to disappear. Some associated racism and prejudice only with the most crude forms which, of course, don't exist in Cuba. Finally, I think, some communists simply could not understand how prejudice, unsupported by any economic base, could be an important question to consider.

Alienation or Assimilation?

A few years ago a letter written by a black North American in the U.S. to her mother explaining how she had discovered the beauty of blackness and the importance of wearing her hair natural was translated and published in the Cuban press. Several black Cubans told me that for several months afterwards, it became the fad for black Cuban women to wear their hair natural. The fad was an expression of political support for black revolutionaries in the United States.

After a few months these women began straightening their hair again. "Straight hair is prettier". (All Cuban women seem to set their hair) These women felt no need to reaffirm their blackness in Cuban society. During the two months I was in Cuba I saw two black women with natural hair--one had a Haitian background and the other was an extremely sophisticated intellectual who followed the international negritude movement very closely.

The black intellectuals I knew interpreted the denial of prejudice by blacks and their preference for straight hair as a sign of alienation. Some even went so far as to say that the great majority of their black Cuban brothers still had a colonial mentality.

Other people interpreted the same phenomenon in an entirely different light. They said that it was a sign of success in achieving assimilation and a racially harmonious society. I asked one mulatto psychologist who worked at an examining center for juvenile delinquents, what percentage of the JDs were black? She responded, "I don't know, I never noticed."

I have a feeling that the correct interpretation lies somewhere between these two extremes and that as time goes on, the latter will become more true. The tasks and structures of the revolution can't help but bring people together and the "National Black Studies Program" (which is constantly being expanded) seem bound to create a truly assimilated society. Assimilation in this case will not mean subordination of African culture. The culture of the Island is Afro-Cuban.

Cuban Advocates of Black Power

There is a group of black intellectuals in Havana today who identify with aspects of the Black Power/Negritude Movement. Almost all Cubans identify with black struggles in the United States, as they identify with and support the Vietnamese and other liberation struggles all over the world. But this group also feels that Cuba itself needs some sort of black movement.

Their position is a complicated one, often contradictory. Neither the group nor their political ideas are formally structured. They are simply a group of friends and co-workers (mostly in the national black studies program) who spend a lot of time discussing racial issues, have parties together, etc. The group is fairly heterogeneous politically. Some are members of the Young Communists or the Party. Others seem to be critical from both left and right wing points of view.

I didn't spend much time with those whose criticism came from the right, but it seemed that several that I met are rather middle-class in their orientation and when denied certain privileges (which no Cuban has) they would grumble about prejudice.

The left wing of this group (they do not recognize themselves as such--this is strictly my interpretation) consider themselves marxists and revolutionaries. One of them who heard about Stokely's statement that communism wasn't relevant to black people was furious. "To say that communism isn't relevant to black people is to say that black people ain't human." Another, once said, "Without marxism there'd be no reason for living."

These people demanded no special privileges. They saw their role as working to overcome what they called alienation from blackness. But they recognized the potentially reactionary tendencies in a black movement that might divide the revolution. They aimed for an affirmation of black dignity--but that affirmation could not exclude white people. "If whites didn't come to my seminars on African culture half the reason for giving them would be lost."

I could detect none of the self-consciousness or tension that black and whites often feel when talking to each other here. I went to several "black power" parties in Cuba. There were always some whites--always a small minority--but no isolation or self-consciousness.

Support Our Black North American Brothers

It was always very easy to talk about race in Cuba because the black struggle in the U.S. is usually the first topic Cubans questioned us about. Stokely's name is as familiar as Ho Chi Minh's. (I met several Cuban girls, black and white, who carry his picture in their wallets). "Now" is one of the most popular songs. Newsreels about black struggles in the States are shown regularly in all movie theaters and the press carries stories of the struggle nearly every day.

We wore "Free Huey" buttons everywhere. When we first arrived, July 24, people would ask--"What does that mean? Who is Huey? Black Panthers?" We would explain and they would respond, "Oh, very good". After six or seven weeks (which included the time the Panthers visited Cuba, people would see the button and stop me in the street, "Oh, you're a Black Panther! How brave! You are destroying the monster from the inside". Then I'd have to explain that white people weren't Panthers, but that we support the Panthers.

All Cubans think of black liberation fighters in the states as their comrades. But whenever I started speaking to Cubans in a mixed group black Cubans

were always much more persistent in their questions about the black movement than were the whites. (This was true only on this topic)

One told me that he had named his newborn son Malcolm--but it was not because he thought his son would have to struggle like Malcolm X. No, he just thought Malcolm was a great revolutionary.

Many Cubans, but especially black Cubans, were glad to hear that the black struggle in the US was no longer non-violent. They could never understand marches and legalistic battles. A young black modern dancer I knew spent most of his time telling me how he wished he could go to the States with his machine gun and kill every racist in sight. Guillen's poem's, "It's All Right" probably expresses this feeling best:

It's all right that you sing when
you cry, black brother

It's all right that you preach in
dynamited temples...

But, my crucified Southern brother,
Remember, John Brown

Who wasn't a black man, but defended
you with a gun

...But in case, my brother,
Should it be the case that you
Don't have a gun, you can

Then

Don't know-

Get Something

A hammer, a stick,

A stone, something that hurts,

Something sharp that wounds,

Hits, draws blood,

Something.



"Dedicated to the stopping of America's mad rush toward world war, and the dehumanizing of our citizens by the military-industrial complex:

"Take business reply cards, already post-paid and mail them back to the company. Just write Stop the War, big and clear on them. It costs plenty if you consider the thousands of otherwise useless communication sent out every week and the number of people who oppose the war.

Let our reply to business be: STOP THE WAR".

This statement in the February 1968 issue of the Lancaster, Pennsylvania FREE PRESS was the government's excuse for an investigation and arrest of FREE PRESS editor Christian Eaby on two counts of a federal law dealing with obscenity.

Shortly after the issue came out Christian and his wife Kathleen were called to the office of the Lancaster postal inspector to discuss "illegal misuse of business reply cards." At that time there were piles of business reply cards, perhaps 500, on the inspector's desk. He told the Eaby's that the cards

ANTI-CHRISTIAN OBSCENITY CRUSADE

violated several statutes and asked them for a writing sample. After consulting a lawyer who said it was not illegal to write "stop the war" on business reply cards and that nothing could be done to the FREE PRESS for printing the article, Christian and Kathleen refused to give the writing sample. Nothing more was heard until Christian was arrested November 4. A secret indictment which had been handed down by a Federal Grand Jury on September 10 was held until Christian's arrest on November 4. In what was more than a coincidence Christian was arrested the morning of a high school student strike which he helped the Lancaster High School underground organize. He was chained around the waist and handcuffed, taken to Philadelphia to sign his own bail and left to find his own way home. This quite effectively prevented him from speaking to any high school students who came to the strike meeting. The arrest was on felony charges and conviction would mean a sentence of up to two years.

Christian is a former college student who dropped out to organize in Lancaster, a small manufacturing and farming community near Philadelphia, in which he has lived all his life. He has been talking to the working people and their kids, flooding the neighborhood and high schools with literature in an attempt

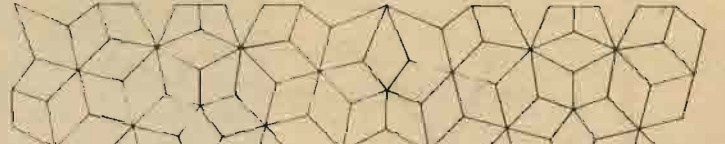
to stimulate independent thinking, to "expand the range of the possible." Throwing out ideas, such as turning slum housing over to tenants so that they can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live. Just ideas, but when they led to a strike of high school students the government decided that they were dangerous enough to put Christian up on a jive felony charge.

Although Christian isn't sure what "evidence" the government has against him, a postal inspector has claimed that he mailed five obscene business reply cards to various businesses. None of them are alleged to have contained any pictures or photos, but the government claims that they were of a "defamatory, libelous and scurrilous nature."

This is apparently the first case of its kind in which a federal law (which carries a ten year maximum) dealing with obscenity has been used to attack someone for political activity. Christian's lawyer feels that this is a test case. A political defense is planned, and money is needed for legal expenses. Checks should be made out to Christian Eaby Defense Fund and sent to the FREE PRESS, PO Box 592, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17604.

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Computers in Revolt



Scientists who are opposed to the maintenance of the American empire abroad through armed or covert oppression are apt to adopt an ostrich attitude toward the consequences of their work.

They are apt to say that during work hours they develop and implement their own purely technical ideas, and that the uses to which that work is put once it is out of their hands is no concern of theirs. They are the craftsmen of knowledge and technique, and cannot know who will use the tools they fashion. As a matter of fact, everyone knows who pays for the research -- the Department of Defense -- and he who pays the piper calls the tune.

Of course, there may be an occasional surprise for the ostrich, as when an intelligence system for indentifying NLF leaders in Vietnamese villages is applied to locating and identifying militants in the ghettos of Detroit or Cleveland. These surprises can make it more difficult for the scientist to preserve his artificial innocence.

Scientists tend to be a liberal group. The ideology of the university departments which train them still relies on the myth of the scientist as a lonely (often persecuted) seeker after truth. The work reality is that of someone producing a product according to the requirements of a military machine with no control over what happens to that product, and often no access to it after it is finished.

Consequently, there is an opportunity for organizing a large group of oppressed workers in critical areas of the American economy. This opportunity has been ignored by the new left -- largely because of a tendency to equate technology with the institutions and individuals who control it (in this society).

In any work situation an individual can be radicalized if he can be brought to a recognition not only of the oppressive way in which his work IS used,

but further of how it COULD and OUGHT to be used, based on radical political assumptions about how society ought to be constituted.

A new left computer software company called Meta Information Applications, has been formed to begin the task of radical organizing in the computer field.

M.I.A. is structured as follows. There will be two basic categories of work: (1) Good work -- work that the people in the company judge to be worthwhile for radical political and technological purposes. In a good society this is the sort of science directed toward satisfying human needs and oriented toward human values; work that the scientist would be rewarded for pursuing, by the society. In our profit-oriented militaristic empire, we do not assume that good work will be paid for by anyone. (2) Bad work which will be as limited and as harmless as possible -- work done simply in order to support the individuals who constitute M.I.A. and to provide whatever resources M.I.A. requires.

American society traps people in a consumption cycle in which the only aim of work is the accumulation of money for the aimless consumption of goods. As they are caught up in this system, people lose sight of their original work goals. M.I.A. confronts this situation directly by creating for people a genuine opportunity to decide that the primary purpose of their work should have radical political and technological ends. The continual choice between the two types of work will provide the participants in M.I.A. with a real chance to break the consumption cycle, thus deepening the process of their own

radicalization.

More specifically, M.I.A. proposes the following kinds of work:

a) Theoretical or practical technical work that can contribute to an advancement of the field and raise the level of technical sophistication of the people

in the company; for example, the development of better computer techniques to help rationalize economic organizations, or basic theoretical research.

b) Production of educational material on the nature and purpose of the computer industry and affiliated fields; the ultimate aim of such work would be political organizing.

c) Studies of potential theoretical and political uses of technology, for example, in proposing a radical alternative to contemporary urban life.

d) Use of information technology for movement groups engaged in research and analysis like NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) or research project of Students for a Democratic Society or Movement For A Democratic Society, the off-campus branch of SDS.

e) The construction of a technical system that replaces the notion of value based on profit with the notion of value based on human potential.

f) Simplification of bureaucratic work of movement organizations like REP (Radical Education Project).

MONEY WORK

A) Commercial programming and consulting work for relatively harmless institutions like museums and hospitals (remembering, however, that all sources of money are elements of the capitalist structure).

b) The development and leasing of proprietary programs such as small-scale information retrieval systems.

c) Consulting and research projects for bad customers where the nature of the work permits the incorporation of self-limiting features which void the

potential (bad) uses by the customer.

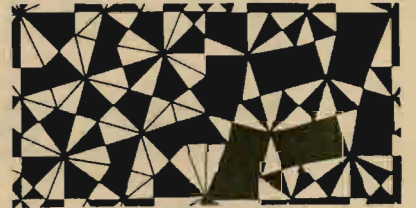
Meta Information Application needs people who identify strongly with the movement or need a way to do so, and who are computer people, especially programmers and software types. If you are interested in computers because they represent an easy way to make money, forget M.I.A.: it's not for you. M.I.A. will be staffed by people who express their creativity working with computers, but do not want to be creative at the expense of their brothers, in the service of the corporations and corporate armies.

M.I.A. is incorporated in the state of New York. It is capitalized in such a way that putting in money or buying stock gives NO control over the company. After a probationary period, every person who works for M.I.A. becomes part of the decision-making apparatus: one man, one vote. People will hassle out with each other what work to do and what to get paid.

The military and corporate giants have had a monopoly on technology long enough. Now is the time for us to develop and utilize technology for the people. Now is the time to humanize computer technology. Join the Struggle!

M.I.A. is one of the projects of Movement for a Democratic Society in New York. If you are interested in M.I.A. or know of any work for M.I.A. (either area of work) please contact:

Robert Shapiro
240 West 98th Street
Apartment 14H
New York, N.Y. 10025
Telephone: (212) UN4-1771
Please describe your background and interests.



BOSTON

continued from page 7

which an organization of neighborhood resistance could grow.

The rhetoric of collective self-defense against the draft left only two possible courses of action in the neighborhood. One was an attack on the draft board or its individual members. We found them to be relatively invulnerable. The second possibility was to get permission from a man who wants to refuse induction to get his neighborhood out to support him.

But we were envisioning collective support for an individual act which never materialized. In fact, we expected this, for many of us had not taken such a step -- we still have our draft cards and our deferments. We believed it a mistake to encourage individual resistance to the draft, especially among non-students. There is some division within the BDRG on this issue, but there is unanimous sentiment against building our strategy on individual acts of refusal.

The inevitable result of all our talking with potential draftees was not collective action, but individual draft counselling, which often required months of study and legalistic criteria for one deferment or another. Older people in the neighborhood who agreed with what we were doing could do no more than talk with the young guys as we were doing.

If the draft affected enough men at the same time

within a given community, then perhaps the problem of individual counselling could be overcome. But the number of men threatened at any one time is small and the threat exists only for a limited time (no matter which way it is resolved).

The pre-induction physical is a situation where large numbers of men are tangibly threatened at the same time and place. This is the reason for our success there. Our propaganda and disruption in those situations is clearly understood, and is supported more often than not.

All this is not to say that we had no success. We were able to keep some guys from the neighborhood out of the draft who almost certainly would have gone in if we had not met them. Also, the BDRG continues to create situations in which people at the physical exams sympathize and support us. The BDRG has become a highly effective center for agitation, propaganda and disruption.

For a long time the movement has been concerned with organizational forms. We have a potential student mass organization, SDS, which is an inadequate instrument for revolutionary change. Community organizing has been advocated by many of us in the New Left as the solution to our dilemma of being primarily a student movement. BDRG, I believe, indicates another possible direction for our organizational energies.

Our legitimacy as revolutionaries need not depend on our ability to create lasting organizations in communities which we set out to organize. Instead, perhaps, we should be content for the time being to create close-knit organizations of movement people which can reach out to new individuals and create more organizers in these communities. Success would not depend on their ability to form a trade union, community union, or community-based DRU.

For example, the BDRG, or a group of radical teachers, a GI organizing committee or strike support group, or a propaganda group -- all these centers of activity -- could advance the movement without necessarily resulting in permanent organization. We should be realistic and recognize that centers of activity will arise, grow and die. The criterion for success should be whether or not they leave more people behind who can pick up on a new activity, build a new center of outreach make a more incisive attack next time.

We ask so much that we can too easily think we are failing. The failure of the strategy of community-based draft resistance does not mean that it is impossible to build an effective organization which can reach most young people who face the draft. It only means that for now, the form of that organization will look more like the BDRG than a community union.

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WHAT RE VOLTING HIGH SCHOOLS!

by Nick Freudenberg

Reprinted from THE HARD CORE,
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University SDS.

In the last six months, the New York City high school student movement has grown from a handful of disparate peace and civil rights groups into a radical movement which aims to make high school students a political force in New York.

The current period of development began with the intense political activity of late April. On April 26th, 200,000 New York City high school students stayed out of school to protest the war in Vietnam. The next day several hundred black high school students marched from Harlem onto the occupied Columbia campus and formed the High School Coalition, a group which worked in black high schools and later developed ties with the local Black Panthers. Within a month, the Coalition sponsored several militant demonstrations. At Brandeis High School on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, students demanded that Rep-

Brown be allowed to speak at their school, that students take over disciplinary procedures, and that the school start a Black History course. When the principal refused, a mini-riot broke out, students walked out of the school to hear Rap outside and cops beat up and arrested Coalition leaders. The next day the principal gave in to most of the students' demands. Similar events occurred at Harran High School, also near Harlem. By the end of June most of the Coalition leaders had been arrested.

Also in June, radical students at the vocational Food and Maritime High

School demanded an assembly to explain their positions on school issues. The principal refused, but the students held the assembly anyway, effectively ending all classes for the day. When the radical students won the student government elections, the principal fired a teacher who had been helping them. The kids responded by shutting the school down with a week-long strike.

During the summer, the New York City High School Student Union emerged out of the Student Mobilization Committee. Trying to move beyond the mass demonstration politics of the SMC, the Union spent the summer talking about high school organizing and the structure necessary for a mass organization. Throughout the summer a group of high school and college students as well as outside agitators met weekly at the SDS Columbia Liberation School to research history curricula, and the political and economic functions of the high school, and also to plan strategy for the fall. Both the high school union and the SDS group were mainly white middle class.

At the start of the year this fall the New York schools were closed by the teachers' strike. Although a few high school groups held support demonstrations for community control and for the people of Ocean Hill-Brownsville, the issue of community control has so far failed to mobilize large numbers of high school students. One notable exception occurred at Seward Park High School on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, where several hundred students protesting both students' issues and the extra days of school required by the teachers' strike were attacked by the New York Police. The ensuing skirmish resulted in injury to nine pigs and four students.

In October the High School Union called for a student strike on Election Day, protesting the use of the schools as polling places for the Humphrey-Wallace-Nixon slate and the contribution of the schools to the war (schools send names of male students to the draft boards and prohibit anti-war political activity).

Trends and Problems

The above events show three related but distinct trends in the New York High School movement. First, the black students, represented by the High School Coalition seek to organize black high schools around the issues of racism. During the summer the Coalition merged with the Black Youth Federation, a more broadly based group, but as yet they have been unable to mount any actions this year. Internal disputes, the confused state of black politics in New York and legal repression pose serious threats to the Coalition's survival.

The second trend, exemplified by the students at Food and Maritime and Seward Park includes militant black, white and Puerto Rican working class kids. So far, all their actions have been spontaneous one-shot affairs, mainly around student issues.

Finally, the white middle-class high school movement organizes mainly college bound students around student issues as well as the war and imperialism. Although this group can mobilize large numbers of people, as in the April 26th strike, the student organizers have as yet failed to build an ongoing struggle and failed to transmit their commitment to large numbers of students. The political differences which precipitated the Student Mobilization split, i.e. whether to organize solely around the war or to include other issues such as student power or racism, continue to divide the high school union. So far the union has had difficulty in raising broader political questions within the schools.

Strategy

The strategy for the coming months is fairly clear. We must attempt to unite the three trends into a single force that can act together in the city schools and with the other strata of the movement in New York. The tasks of that force are to expose and oppose the class nature of secondary education, to build an ongoing struggle in the city schools, and to relate that struggle to the broader struggle in the country. The politics of a united front must combine the anti-racism of the blacks, the militance and rejection of social control of the working class youth and the developing anti-imperialist perspective of the white kids. These links must develop organically. For several rea-

sons, the working class kids provide the key to that organic development. Because of their militance and incipient anti-racism, they can fairly easily draw the black students of the Coalition towards them. Because of their focus on student issues, they can attract the middle class kids. A key task of organizers in the white high schools is to solidify the anti-imperialist consciousness of their constituencies so that these politics can be carried to the wider movement. As the white movement grows bigger and tougher, and as the black movement clarifies its politics, the two ends of the three way union will draw together.

It would be foolish to minimize the obstacles to this strategy. Whether the working class students can move beyond reformist issues, whether the exceedingly tenuous links between the white and the black students can be developed or even maintained, whether all these groups will be able to reach out to the masses of as yet unorganized students, all remain serious questions. Furthermore, this strategy is more relevant to Manhattan, which does not include large numbers of lower middle class Wallace people, than to Brooklyn or Queens where the problems are different.

Community Control

The outcome of the battle for community control now raging in the New York City public schools will affect the growth of the high school movement. In the short run, real community control might make the growth of a city-wide high school movement more difficult. High schools would be run autonomously and city-wide issues would be harder to raise. Black students would be even more apart from white students than now and the ties between working class neighborhoods would be cut down. However, none of the de-centralization programs now being proposed or attacked in New York "threaten" real community control. The slickest plan, formulated by ruling class handyman McGeorge Bundy, actually gives more power to the State Board of Regents and to the Mayor than before. The Bundy plan also maintains a strong central Board of Education. But even a real plan for community control would in the long run encourage a serious high school student movement. Most high school organizing does take place on a local level and community control would encourage alliances between high school students, radical teachers and community people. Since local issues would be fought on local levels, a unified movement could devote its energies to broad political questions and concentrate both on attacking the political and economic functions of ALL high schools, community controlled or not, and on joining with other parts of the movement on wider issues.

Election Day Program

The election program adopted by the New York SDS regional Council and later by the National Council at Boulder offered an ideal opportunity to begin to develop the links within the high school movement and between high school students and other parts of the movement.

The election day strike called by the New York High School Student Union, together with the actions of the four day regional mobilization, could have radicalized white middle class students as Chicago radicalized some McCarthy kids. If connections had been made between community control and the elections, black and working class kids could have been drawn into the strike and demonstrations.

The election day program, however, failed to reach most of these goals. The teachers' strike made in-school organizing impossible. The lack of discipline among high school organizers, the failure of campus SDS chapters to activate their people and simply the lack of enthusiasm about the elections all contributed to the failure. More seriously, the high school union has shown that it has no real mass base yet. The working class and black kids have yet to be attracted to broader political issues, and SDS has so far been unable to reach out and unify different strata of the movement. Despite these failures, the high school movement in New York goes on. Now, as before, our primary task must be to organize strong radical groups in every high school in New York and to mold those groups into a political force that can change the shape of things to come.

NEW YORK (LNS)--The Bronx High School of Science, widely touted as "the best secondary school in the United States", echoed this week shock waves originally generated among students near and far, from Ocean Hill-Brownsville to Mexico City.

A student sit-down in the principal's office November 18, elicited a promise for a student referendum on 20 proposals for radical reform of the administration and curriculum of the school. The referendum took place the morning of November 22.

Among the proposals were such elementary matters as:

**The right to leave the school at lunchtime with parental permission.

**Free use of the front entrance by students. (Many schools are designed with a side entrance for the students, usually rather plain, and a main facade for "adults only".)

**Elimination of a pass system that subjects the students (average IQ about 135) to a prison-like system.

**Replacement of a medieval dean's office by a student-faculty discipline board. (Bronx Science is possibly the only institution in the world with an official actually titled "coordinator of latenesses".)

But some proposals were more fundamental:

**Abolition of all faculty boards and replacement by bi-partite student-faculty boards.

**Enrichment of the curriculum by unlicensed

visiting lecturers.

**Review of curriculum with an eye toward increasing student participation in planning.

All of the proposals were endorsed overwhelmingly by classes voting by paper ballot in the homerooms, sometimes by margins of five to one.

This vote occurred despite the intervention of the principal, Dr. Alexander Taffel, who took to the public address system on the eve of the referendum and advised students who were "not sure" to vote "no".

And, against the backdrop of "orderly democratic procedures" occurred a comic opera. It involved the classic principal, who wants to suspend a small group of students who, knowing that basic reforms will not be implemented, the referendum notwithstanding, have begun to take the rights they consider inalienable.

The reason that Bronx Science may not suspend these students is simply this: Hearings are mandatory in formal suspension, thus any impartial hearing involving an incident at Bronx Science would reveal the current incompetence of this institution, most of its teachers and its administration.

At this writing, it is uncertain whether any students have been actually suspended at Bronx High School of Science. One student was apprehended this morning in the act of photographing the principal "You are suspended," said Dr. Taffel. "Get your coat and leave this building."

Others were threatened with arrest and/or suspension, but it is doubtful that any formal action has been taken.

What is perhaps most meaningful is that while the students voted for the proposals, slightly more than 50% of them checked a box at the bottom of the ballot next to this cop-out:

"I voted 'yes' on the referendum proposals, but disapprove of the methods by which the referendum was obtained."

The same sentiment was expressed less formally by a social studies teacher at the school who referred to the protesters as "Kamikazes".

Asked what he meant by this, the teacher said, "They have written off their futures in this school. They will sacrifice their scholastic careers without benefit to themselves."

Staunch union member? No. The speaker was one of a handful who had braved the filth and threats of the United Federation of Teachers' picket line to go into Bronx Science when the school was open in support of decentralization.

For background on student activity during the teachers' strike see, "Bringing A Lot of It Back Home", the MOVEMENT (December, 1968).

Sid Hammer

more on new york high schools

What happened in the New York high schools in late November most clearly reveals the strengths and weaknesses of the city high school movement. Following the "settlement" of the teachers' strike, the Board of Education added 45 minutes to every school day and eliminated most school vacations. The time was added not to make up for education that the kids lost but rather to make up for the pay that the teachers lost during the racist walkout. High school people responded to the extra time with spontaneous walkouts, strikes and demonstrations. By Thanksgiving Day, a Citywide Strike Co-ordinating Committee (CSSC) had been formed, and on the Friday after Thanksgiving 42% of N.Y. high school kids stayed out of school. A demonstration at the United Nations on that day, attended by more than 2,000 high school students, ended in a battle between cops and kids in which kids threw bottles and rocks and cops clubbed and trampled demonstrators, first in the U.N. Plaza, then in the subways.

For the next few days, the struggle escalated. Each day more schools would have demonstrations, more kids would be arrested or suspended. Tactics and demands varied from school to school. In Brooklyn groups of several hundred people would go from one high school to another urging people to leave their schools and join them. Often the marches turned into battles with cops and on a few occasions kids went into schools to get people to join them. In Queens a small bomb exploded at Andrew Jackson High School. By Thursday, December 5th, however, the combination of clubbings, arrests, suspensions and intimidations began to take its toll. That day the leadership of the SCCS was arrested and charged with inciting to riot and violation of the state truancy laws. That night the strike committee decided to call off the strike as a "bad tactic". Sporadic

activity continues, however, in schools around the city.

The student strike shows that masses of high school students can be mobilized into political activity. For the first time, white middle class kids, white working class kids and blacks and Puerto Ricans were fighting around common demands. Working class kids in Queens who beat up anti-war demonstrators on April 26th were now talking politics with high school union organizers and digging it. And for the first time a

citywide high school movement making demands on the Board of Education seemed possible.

But the strike also showed that there is as yet no leadership for a citywide movement and no clear radical consciousness. The CSSC was dominated by the Afro-American Student Association, a nationalist-oriented group with opportunistic politics. Consistently, the ASA refused to expand the demands to include more political issues. The High School Union, fearful of losing its newly

won support, also hesitated to broaden its demands beyond the 45 minute issue. They did, however, include a demand for due process for students and a vague demand for student power. The High School Coalition put out ten demands including student control of curriculum, black history and all military and cops out of high schools. They were unable to get the CSSC to approve those demands.



DON'T MESS WITH MIKE

Mike James, a member of the MOVEMENT's Chicago editorial group and a national officer of SDS, was busted in Chicago on Nov. 11 and charged with criminal damage to property.

James was picked up on a traffic violation and taken to the Summerdale Police Station, target of JOIN's march against police brutality in the summer of 1966. He was arrested on the criminal damage rap while posting bond on the traffic ticket, and was released three hours later after posting \$1,000.

The arrest warrant had been issued on September 24th by a member of Chicago's red squad, the Police Intelligence Unit, for an act allegedly committed at the time of the Democratic Convention. The specifics of the act are still unknown, and there is considerable confusion around the case.

For example, both red squad cops and the FBI had been asking about James' whereabouts on numerous occasions during the last two months, but twice when Mike spoke publicly after the warrant's issuance red squad cops pointed at him but made no attempt to arrest him.

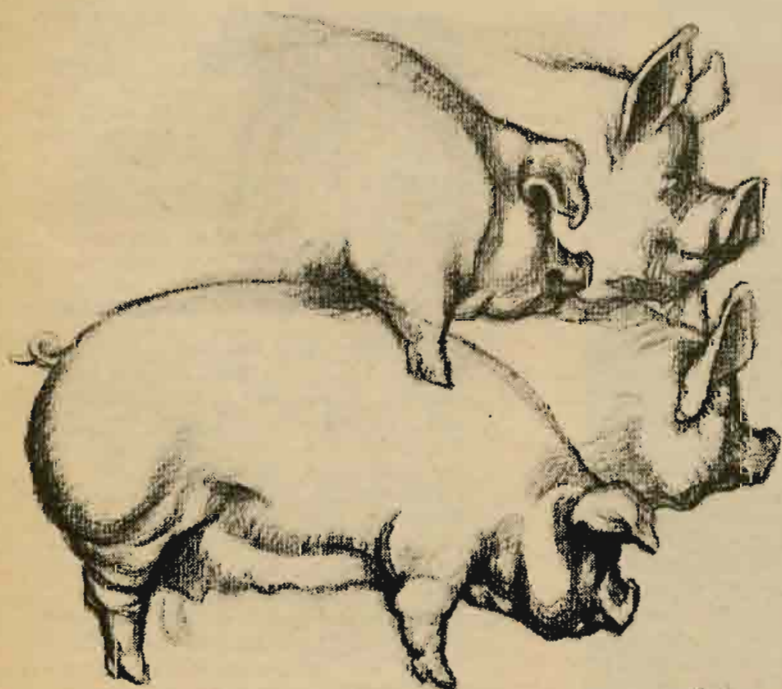
Criminal damage to property is a state charge. Damage under \$150 is a mis-

demeanor punishable by a fine not exceeding \$500 and/or not more than one year in jail. If damage is greater than \$150 it is a felony, punishable by fine and up to five years in prison.

James is a former JOIN worker and managed the Peggy Terry for vice-president campaign (see THE MOVEMENT, Dec. 1968, "Time to Fight"). He is now working with the National Organizing Committee, organizing young working class kids around the midwest in four areas: police, courts, and prison; the army; the job; and working class high schools.

Another NOC organizer, Gary Maynard, was recently released after 18 days in jail in Columbus, Ohio. He had been held pending a "security investigation" after his arrest on charges of possessing obscene literature and assaulting a cop. Maynard had been distributing NOC literature in Columbus in connection with the Terry campaign.

Money is badly needed for legal expenses. Funds should be sent to: Mike James, c/o SDS; 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612. Or they can be mailed to THE MOVEMENT; 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, California 94103. ★



FROM THE STOCKYARDS

CHI COP BUSTED

On November 18 Chicago patrolman Richard Nuccio was sentenced to serve a term of 14 to 15 years for the murder of 19-year old Ronald Nelson.

Nelson and about twenty friends had been at a hot dog stand when the owner of the stand, who hates the kids and wanted them off his property, called the cops. Nuccio chased Nelson up an alley and shot him in the back from about 60 feet. There had been no provocation whatsoever for the shooting.

Ron's twenty friends, who had been at the hot dog stand and witnessed the shooting, approached several community groups and brought pressure to bear on them about the murder. They aroused

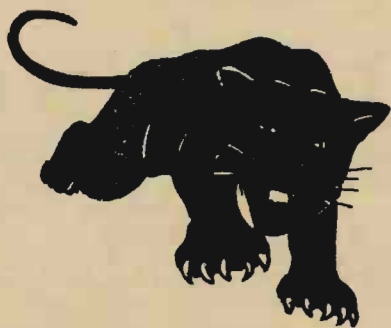
people in the community and succeeded in getting an indictment against Nuccio for murder despite severe harassment by the Chicago cops. They are calling for local control of police and may start a defense committee to combat police brutality.

The people from the community filled the courtroom for eight sweltering August days, keeping the pressure on until Judge Richard J. Fitzgerald, in what he termed the hardest decision he ever had to make, found Nuccio guilty on August 30.

Fitzgerald reinstated Nuccio's \$20,000 appeal bond and gave him until March 15 for his appeal trial. Under Illinois law the crime of murder carries with it a maximum sentence of 14 years to life. The 14-to-15 year sentence means that Nuccio will be eligible for parole in less than six years.

For details on the shooting, the trial and community response see the September and October issues of the MOVEMENT. ★

But even this serious setback did not prevent the Chinese Party from leading the people of China to liberation. The fundamental reason the Chinese were able to correct even serious errors lay in the fact that the Chinese party was rooted in the Chinese people, and dedicated to serving the people and learning from them. THIS SAME KIND OF DEDICATION, and the same real roots among the people, is true of the Black Panther Party today. While the Panthers are bound to make mistakes and suffer setbacks, they are also bound to correct them and carry forward the struggle as long as they continue to practice the principle laid down by Huey Newton of fighting for the basic political desires and needs of the people. ★



★

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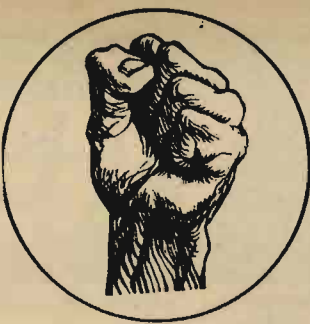
At press time the police terror on the San Francisco State campus is escalating. Leadership is being picked off and charged with felonies. President Hayakawa has signed complaints and warrants have been issued. He has stated that he will continue to rely on the police. Over 100 arrests have already been made. Funds are desperately needed for bail and political-legal defense. All funds should be sent to "Bail Fund", Margaret Leahy, c/o Ecumenical House, 190 Denslow Drive, San Francisco, California 94132.

MUTINY

The fate of 27 GIs charged with mutiny for their participation in a sit-down demonstration last October 14 remains hanging. The 27 men, prisoners in San Francisco's Presidio army stockade sat down, according to prisoner Richard Gentile, "to protest the Bunch killing and to get the paranoid guards changed". The previous Friday, October 11, Richard Bunch had been killed by a guard. The prisoners staged a minor riot that Friday and on Monday, October 14, they acted. Most of them are serving time as malcontents, because as prisoner Linden Blake puts it, "the army is a big bummer and I don't want to be part of a machine that runs people".

The decision to prosecute fully has been under consideration by the military since pre-trial hearings ended November 26th. If they proceed, the future is grim. The 27 men face a possible death penalty, and the last such invocation of the mutiny law resulted in sentences of 50 years hard labor for Korean GIs who in 1953 refused to work on a cold, rainy morning.

The names of two of the prisoners are Steve Rowland and Keith Nather. Letters should be sent to the Stockade, San Francisco 94129.



fist button

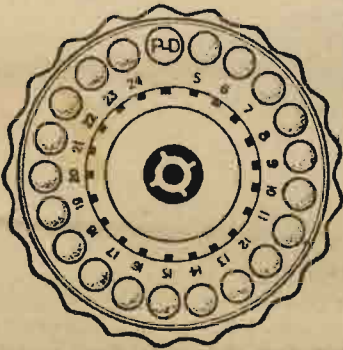
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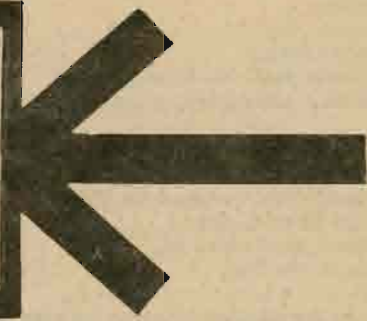
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It is imperative that we in the radical movement know exactly who our oppressors are. That means, among other things, calling names—especially the names of those key money-powers and their servants who attempt to remain invisible behind the screen of their power apparatus. One such figure, brought recently to the attention of the Guardian, is the man above: Dr. John S. Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering for the Defense Department. His job? To hand out more than \$60 million per year for scientific research on behalf of U.S. imperialism. One of his interests, indeed, is the "motivations" of the Columbia rebels. In a future issue of the Guardian therefore, you will learn more about him, including his address.

Among other of our recent and regular features: ☐ a two-page diagram of the power structure that dominates Columbia University ☐ a detailed breakdown of U.S. military arms manufacturers ☐ regular dispatches from Southeast Asia and Paris by Wilfred Burchett ☐ former SNCC-member Julius Lester's popular column ☐ new left analysis by Carl Davidson ☐ book, film and record reviews ☐ much more in 20 to 24 pages tabloid

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EPISTLE TO MY COUNTRY

by Doug Youngblood

the eagle (or is it a vulture?)
is
fallin
&
in its plunge
plastic explodes from its head,
plastic ideologies, plastic faces, plastic
existence

plastic minds & hearts
unused IBMs resting behind plastic eyes
plastic sex, cities, & churches
kept alive by war
shove, push, step on,
get to the Top
&
hold the plastic emptiness in bitter hands.

Woody told us, remember?
"plastic, everythin' gonna be made outta
plastic"

&
it's come to pass
that what he foretold is now reality.

Warhol understood & made money from it
with his
"exploding plastic inevitable"
that tried to make something beautiful
out of capitalism
&
Dylan
who cried to us:
"i can see that your head has been
twisted an fed
with worthless foam from the mouth"
only wanted us to know that
"...not much is really sacred"
so
"light another match, go start anew",
but we demanded that he lay aside
the thunder
for an Ellisbethean concept
of structure
which would result in the solidification
& realization
of the ideals that we held
only he wouldn't lay aside the lightning
for a candle
because he saw the wall of plastic
that was moving toward us
&
understood its connotations
&
uncompassionate nature
&
cried again to us that:
"i saw a new born baby with wild
wolves all around it"
and
"i try to harmonize with songs the
lonsome sparrows sings
there are no kings inside the gates
of Eden,"

oh, sing no more my soul
the celluloid currency of crime
nor
the metaphysical money of misery.
sing instead of Revolution
&
yes, let there be songs of peace!
America, why are you ashamed of your
poets?

II

"plastic, everythin's gonna be made outta
plastic"
plastic justice, charity, & affluence
with alters
built to the god of war
burning bright
in Gary Indiana,
factories groaningly produce
the steel of death
&
in the light of these grisley cathedrals
stand
the hungry children
the angry blacks
the blinded soldiers
&
from the plastic penitouses
the children of wealth
cry of the terrible loneliness & sterility
of
a plastic existence.

plastic promises, propaganda, & politics
America is a plastic imitation of
the Republic, brain-child of
Plato (an ardent enemy of democracy).
"plastic, everthin's gonna be made outta
plastic"

We too are plastic
plastic to be molded by the State
into whatever it wishes
&
so some of us are shaped into workers,
niggers, beggars, warriors
or whatever is needed to make real
the Republic
where everything & everyone is defined
&
put into their slot.

America, it's no fun to be imprisoned
in someone else's
argument.

III

we heard the cries of our black brothers
&
marched southward to liberate them
only to find
our own bodies manacled with the chains
of capitalism
&
we began to understand a little more about
the nature of the world.
we began to understand a little more about
the nature of fascism.
we began to understand hypocrisy, ex-
ploitation
&
the frontierless world the plastic leaders
are constructing.
malnutrition in Mississippi
hungry & jobless miners in Kentucky
& Tennessee

empty fields in Kansas
storage bins standing full
billions of dollars spent to produce
carnage & rubble
bayoneted rifles & tanks in the streets
of America

shouting "never!"
to those who have stepped outside your
arguments
&
definitions,
calling for the cleansing winds of Rev-
olution.

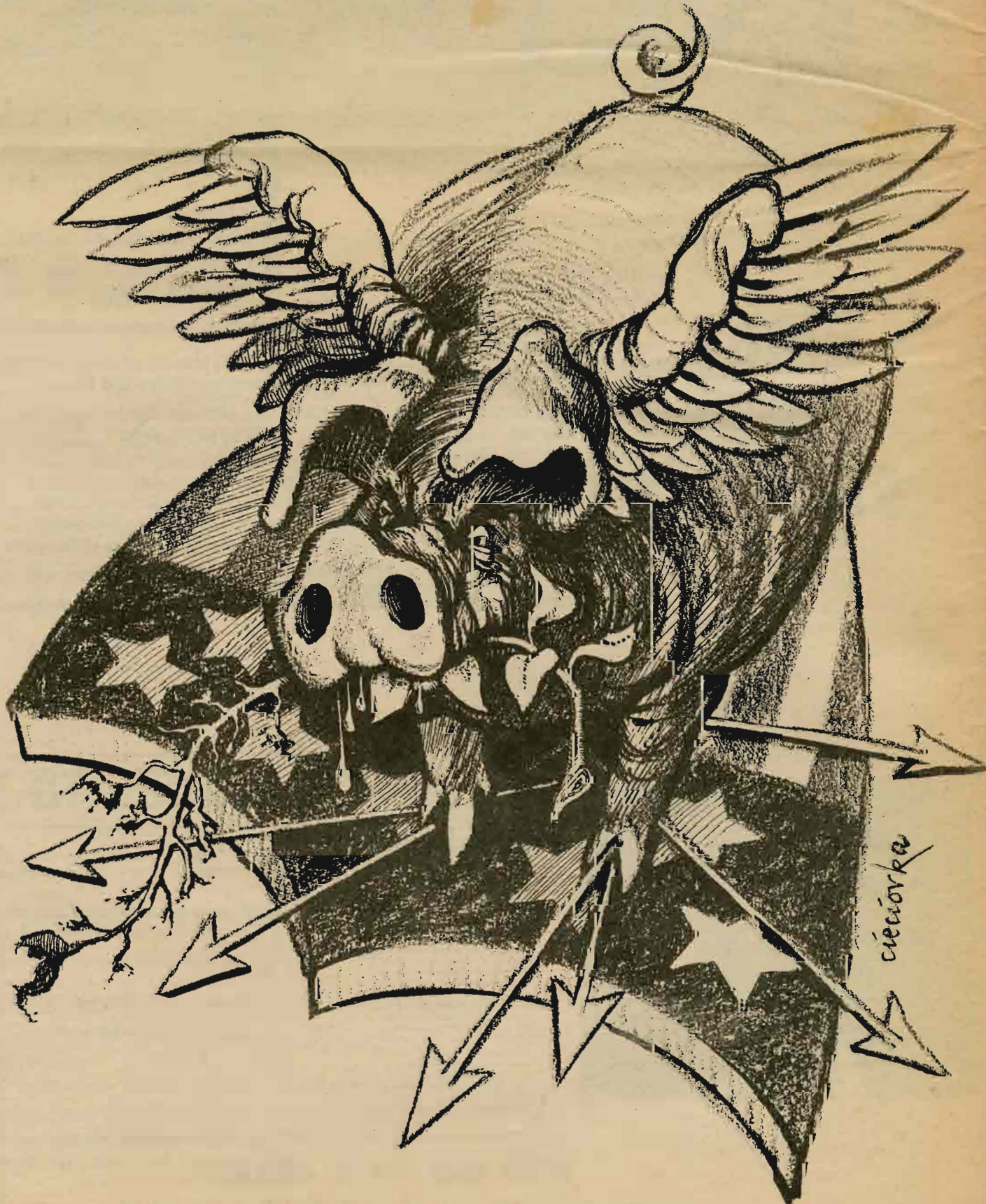
mental hospitals jammed full
jails & prisons over-flowing
submission to tyranny
compromise with poverty & ignorance
with all the years, manpower, & money
all you have produced is a celluloid
cycle of silly slogans:
paint it red, white, & blue & no matter
what it is it becomes
the noblest of aims.
this is the heritage you so proudly
hold out to us
&

are shocked because we turn away in
repulsion.
in your frustration you label us outlaws
&
enemies of the State.
yes, a thousand times yes!
we are enemies of YOUR State with
its sick
&
distorted analysis of what life is really
about
&
we are tired of your lies, half-truths,
& out-dated solutions,
we want something real & meaningful;
because in YOUR State
we read a million books & drown
in human lakes of stupidity,
we search for God & get a flaming cross.
America, take Adolf Hitler out of your
Hall of Fame.

IV

we want no more symbols or facsimilies
or words
that tell us there are no frontiers left
that fill us with hate & racism
that make murdering warriors of us
that fill us with your frustrations &
insecurities
we want no part of a world controlled
by dead men
whose theories we have to live out
&
will combat these ideas from the past
because they are not applicable with
the realities
of today.

we will combat them because our lives
are not
chained
to property or the accumulation of
property.
our minds are not anchored in yesterday.
&
we will win
because tomorrow belongs to us.
you say
we are children
yes, we are children,
the crystal children of which Jesus spoke,
out of whose mouths shall come the truth
and our goal is to take
from the ruling-class and its puppet
governments
what it has stolen from us,
because it belongs to all people, not just
a few.
America, Guevara is dead like Jesus
was dead
&
freedom is a bird with rainbow wings
that is fleeing your greedy hand
&
the people are beginning to talk
& this poem
gives you their announcement that the end
of your rein
is nearing,
oh, tyrants of this land.



the eagle (or is it a pig)