in this issue:
S.F. STATE, WORKING CLASS ORGANIZING: NORTH & SOUTH
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) 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 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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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!
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 Newspaper" was plastered with posters in 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 truck, was armed with a .45-caliber automatic gun and $400 worth of cash and $200 worth of goods. He left the truck and ran inside, got on a telephone, ordered a cab, and returned to the truck to arm himself. Brent then loaded the gun and took it with him. When Brent left the truck, the other passenger, who was not armed, went inside the station. Brent then ran inside the station, took the cash and goods that he had left in the truck, ran outside to his truck, and drove off to the Bay Bridge.

The truck had been stolen from a liquor store by two men, who were, according to witnesses, wearing "Black Panther" caps and T-shirts. The truck had been spotted by police officers, who pursued it on the Bay Bridge, and the driver of the truck, who had been shot by police, was arrested.

The driver of the truck, who was later identified as a member of the Black Panther Party, was taken to the hospital, where he was treated for his injuries. The police officers who had pursued the truck were also injured in the shooting, and one of them was later arrested for his involvement in the incident.

The Black Panther Party was a revolutionary organization that formed in the United States in 1966. It was founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, and its members were active in a variety of political, social, and cultural activities. The party was known for its use of violence and its commitment to the struggle against racial oppression.

The Black Panther Party was active in many cities across the United States, including San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles. It was particularly active in the city of Oakland, where it had a large presence and was involved in a variety of political and social activities. The party was known for its use of violence, and its members were often involved in armed confrontations with the police.

The Black Panther Party was dissolved in 1971, and many of its members went on to work in other organizations. The party's legacy continues to be felt in the United States, particularly in the African American community.
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 double lines, many bumpers distinguished by faded omnipresent 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 Ku 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 Whites from the civil rights movement (actually ex-SCEP people). Its director is Rob Neller, a 25 year old Alabamian who was the first white SCEF field secretary (1965), and one of the last whites left in that organization.

The idea of such a project was conceived by Doby, his wife Doby, and two other White Southerners, Carl and Anne Braden, directors of SCEF. The field work is in 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 out talked in the local Black folk, old friends, people who had lived in those. They did investigations, 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 rural, keeping one's 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 hunters, beat upon you when you were walking; the picket lines, poured the ketchup over your head and who were intolerant those greedy white, fighting for the right of Black people to eat their hamburgers, even if they couldn't afford them.

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 in bed in bed under a blanket of blankets, a hose of four-year-old child lying outside. Periodically the child 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 33.50 an hour, was also sick. Her husband said he thought he had TB, but so far 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.

We went left she wanted to know if we were coming with the War on Poverty. So, we weren't, told her because Government's anyway.

We met a lot of these people, 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 hopes that someone would see her words to music and she would make a bundle just like the announcer/pitchman she said. Then there were those who faced reality with their own reality, like that man in Smith County who was peddling illegal bootle and making a few bucks until the cops bust him. His wife brought three children into the world, each one dying shortly after birth. And the chicken caretaker who looked after 20,000 chickens and made $2 a week. He was one of the most successful ones. But that his house didn't have a bull-tooth and the family performed the necessary bodily functions off the back porch, and stained dogs carried the mess away. And the man in the Delta who received $10 a week, and a three room shack, for serving pesos for his four-month old. He had eight children, one at almost three, and he "supplemented" his income with government surplus food. And the 25 year-old man who had no home or shelter and the cut them off white chipping wood, was going to marry his 16-year-old first-cousin, and didn't even have a job prospect.

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

Beaten

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 hopes that someone would see her words to music and she would make a bundle just like the announcer/pitchman she said. Then there were those who faced reality with their own reality, like that man in Smith County who was peddling illegal bootle and making a few bucks until the cops bust him. His wife brought three children into the world, each one dying shortly after birth. And the chicken caretaker who looked after 20,000 chickens and made $2 a week. He was one of the most successful ones. But that his house didn't have a bull-tooth and the family performed the necessary bodily functions off the back porch, and stained dogs carried the mess away. And the man in the Delta who received $10 a week, and a three room shack, for serving pesos for his four-month old. He had eight children, one at almost three, and he "supplemented" his income with government surplus food. And the 25 year-old man who had no home or shelter and the cut them off white chipping wood, was going to marry his 16-year-old first-cousin, and didn't even have a job prospect.

The most humane thing, we concluded, be done which might alter their lives.

We collected about thirty of these people, who included some small children and teenagers, and brought them to New Orleans for a weekend of workage. It was impossible for them to stay out of their own community as they were as frightened of their neighbors as we were of theirs. They were in the first part of the studies. A chromosome wanted to attend a literacy class, but was sure his boss would一如既往 of it.

That New Orleans workshop and sub­sequent visit to these people in their own community, 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 Long Strike

In the summer of 67 we began making visits to Laurel, Mississippi, where a labor strike was going on between Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America (ILWU) and the Masonite Corporation, the largest producer of hardboard in the world. The plant had beenunionized since 1939, but 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 5,000, about 75% of it White. The company tried to push a plant reorganization scheme (partial automation) which would have eliminated jobs and increased individual work loads. The Local struck.

The strike lasted about 1 1/2 months and was very bitter. The repercussions have yet to be fully felt. The struggle is not going to be over.

A short capsule of what occurred:

Klan Baiting

(1) The company effectively "man­hunted" the Local. This was not hard to do in Jones County where many Klansmen had past and some had been arrested for crimes ranging from in­timidation to murder. Yet to charge the Klan and warn?d

... Johnny Cash

The Plant

White workers were the enemy. They were the people who shot into the COFO freedom hunters, beat upon you when you were walking; the picket lines, poured the ketchup over your head and who were intolerant those greedy white, fighting for the right of Black people to eat their hamburgers, even if they couldn't afford them.
The Local, seizing their union hall, their incidents occurred. They did not occur. passed a resolution supporting it. Yet the Local.

Of course the company was only complying with a of the Black workers was shown to

ternary before the strike began and sand­

bunkers and machine gun nests were set up on company pro­perty. Gun towers still dot the plant area today. The 

had hired Wackenhut security guards away. Their own International had sold

su,nn Iller almost the entire football squads

It's true that we hate, yes, true, and we met some of our crazy brothers out of their souls and do what we can.

The South is a colony of whites, Man nothing would stop a move­ment like that.

A few weeks ago in Lowndes County we met some Black Panthers from Oak­

The most important aspect of this project is the beginning it is

The way Bob Zellner put it at a work­shop with Laurel unionists is, we are trying to do is carryon the

Now the question is have we started some­thing that will get working people of the country people like the

Yes, its true we ignorant.

A few, many, men who had worked there for years, retired, were told of work, Christmas was three weeks away, and that their job was going to be taken from them. They couldn't even get a local attorney to help them—the local attorney who had bought and sold for 42,000 on condition he would not represent the Local in any litigation. At this writing over 100 of the Black workers had left the company, and 45 were still working, they had received no notice whatever, and because they are considered strange and undesirable, they are not allowed to leave the work that once required 2,100 men.

In any Black community, the wind says that Whites do not work and college in Black communities. Our was to form a joint project with some Black organizers around common interest and defend 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 Laurel, that the Black-White coalition could be built in Laurel, that the Black-White coalition could be built in Laurel, the South would come to the fore, because the situation there would be tremendous and it would spur the South to awareness, the Black-consciousness.

For that is the only weapon we have in our hands, to say something to people at the GRASS ROOTS, and to get information lines, and we must be able to explain

The movement is that if you are going to break down the Black-White coalition, we are trying to do is carryon the

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Any attack on the Black community will break the Black-White coalition, and the Black-White coalition is the only weapon we have in our hands, to say something to people at the GRASS ROOTS, and to get information lines, and we must be able to explain

Both management production declined both in quality and quantity. It had to sell $35 million worth of luxury furniture to J. Edgar Hoover Company (formerly owned by W. E. B. Du Bois) and .

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They've been ignoring. A Klansman this country people like the

A few weeks ago in Lowndes County we met some Black Panthers from Oak­

A lot of people in Jones County are

none of this is really dramatic, but we

They've been stealing the country blind, you

The court for the Local. The suit is still expected to be heard soon. The probable length of the court is still a problem, but these are hard

We are going to battle it out in the cou rts

The South is a colony of whites, Man nothing would stop a move­ment like that.

The court is still a problem, but these are hard

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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 arbiter 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 plead 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 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 suspension witnessed, 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 with 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 makes 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 Carry 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 "abusive" guilt of the Seven, when the indictments were first handed down. To this the noble judge replied, "Just because the DA made statements 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 pointed out the basic contradictions not only of the constitution, but of the capitalist system -- property rights vs. people's rights. And he showed which side he was on -- the side of the DA, cops' rights, and the system. That, no matter how much a jury searching he had gone through, as he told the court. The gag order was his Gompers, that is, handed down by the judge on his own initiative, without request from plaintiff or defendant. But it was handed down, the DA, who vigorously defended it.

His office had spent their public licks, and they don't want a repeat of the Newton case.

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.

Days Two and Three: Vietnam

The Sin them to speaking to communist groups, talking professionals -­ journalists, professors and reporters who will cross-examine the witnesses. On the panel are more than 300 media people, including Andrew Scherr and Donnald Duncan; Professors William Kornhauser and Franz Schurman; Mr. and Mrs. Kurtland, Berkeley City Councilman; Abi Allawi, head of Black community organizer, Todd Gillin, past officer of SNCC; 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 mindbender even to the Left. School teachers, clergy with the idea that we're distingushed from totalitarian countries like Russia and Spain by the fact that there are thousands of political prisoners in this country and in the Bay Area -- not just amnesty, but also a nuclear 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 the movement and broaden the movement once again; and to present facts which will most certainly not be permitted into the Trial an evidence; the current state of the war, the extent of repression.

The Oakland Seven are a prototype case for the Nixon administration. The Seven will be on trial as Milhouse is being inaugurated. The Commission will be met with demonstrations pour into Washington for the inauguration.

Carl Oglesby has said that under Nixon, "the year of the heroic guerrilla" may give way to "the year of the leftwing scap­

gant." Nixon is an old hand at that game. A strong showing that week in Oakland and Washington may give him pause.
More than One Approach

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 reach the people on the list. Sometimes we would go to the places where the guys were hanging around, sometimes we would call on them at home, and sometimes we would scan the back pages of the papers for articles about the war and the politics of the time. In some cases, we would even go to the places where the guys had moved to, in search of some clue to their whereabouts.

Our other 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 us to use as a place of reference for a deferment. Our approach to the high schools was less successful, though we did not work 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. However, this did not stop us. We started the first month that strategy in two neighborhoods.

We made use of the BDRG draft counselling office in one neighborhood. The office never became a neighborhood center, but we were able to exclude the neighborhood kids who tended to hang around because of a symbolic clinic and our determination to remain a reasonably efficient draft organization.

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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 my friends are. I think of my friends, the streets, the buildings, the cars, the buses, the trains. 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 my friends are. I think of my friends, the streets, the buildings, the cars, the buses, the trains. 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 my friends are. I think of my friends, the streets, the buildings, the cars, the buses, the trains.
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 resident-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 shotgun associations. The socialism 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 it would be like to really get down and dirty. We weren't yet to weigh accomplishments, nor were we happy with general intellectual 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 immediate 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 maelstrom of the Bay Area. When someone from Berkeley or San Francisco visits Richmond, they experience a step back into the Fifties. This is a town with a large portion of its workforce - the people from Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska who came out to California in search of jobs that were no longer available back home. They settled in Los Angelos, Fresno, Tulare and in some cases came in groups from Texas 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 affected by unemployment and by those hard times when the mills stop making 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 serve them a living wage. 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, but most would hold an agreement, but rule it out of the realm of possibility. They didn't 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 concentrations of Blacks in the Bay Area. Black people came here during the War, for the same reasons that whites came. They were hired 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 adjacent neighborhoods, some of the poorest sections are now integrated and the schools are relatively integrated.

Bob Avakian and Harry Pullitt moved to San Pablo in the fall of '67. They had no idea how or what could be done, but were quite sure that if the Left didn't try to relate to the working class it would soon be all over but the struggle in no way, nor, for example, when the Chinese Communist Party and its cadres, many from intellectual back­grounds, into the country to organize the peasants they had a problem in that the peasants tended to fall asleep with the cadre were speaking. We've found generally that the principle that has emphasized "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 trite at all. But once said that the main criteria for judging whether a youth is revolutionary is whether or not be willing to join with the people.

We agreed with the JOIN people that we become one with the people, SERVE THE PEOPLE, LEARN FROM THE PEOPLE. We've found that the people are good to often misdirect - and at the same time, too often, the Panthers. "Free Huey" became the slogan of the movement's cadres, many from intellectual backgrounds, into the country to organize the peasants they had a problem in that the peasants tended to fall asleep with the cadre were speaking. We've found generally that the principle that has emphasized "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 trite at all. But once said that the main criteria for judging whether a youth is revolutionary is whether or not he is willing to join with the people.

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People" (meaning to help get guys out of jail, finding jobbery, helping with draft, unemployment and welfare problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, racism and the pig problems, etc.), and explain to people where it's at with the war, raci
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 its future — 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. "Interruption" tactics of petition, vigil, and pickets gave way to the early sit-in... sit-in confrontation and legal challenges in the period of civil rights and student power demonstrations... the recall tradition of vigilance, solidarity actions (by the FLDS, Apache, SDS), resisting arrest in mobile civil disobedience when the numbers... strike. For the past several years, SDS has been practically only the formal tactic, with picket lines having become more pronounced. This should not surprise those of us who consider ourselves revolutionary... the movement came to realize that peaceful change was impossible. It is this increasing use of state power as an instrument of war against the movement which both "forces" state power and forces us to understand the necessity of its terror.

This means the heightening of controls by the ruling class over the whole... 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... as the administration's increasing despotism and its repressive character becomes more and more obvious... to co-opt the university as a cadre formation... to the offensive necessitates mass preparation and... to liberals -- individually in terms of recruitment... to liberal activist organizations which do not operate in a cadre fashion. That is, those student activists who are not members of the official administration... to racism and imperialism.

Anarchism & Terrorism

Along with this increase in opportunism comes the development of anarchism and terrorism as a strategy. Both anarchism and terrorism will be characterized of this transitional period. They are two sides of the same coin, goals and means for the same end: the destruction of the state. Opportunism and anarchism are essentially revolutionary in that they advocate massive change, often against violence, as revolutionary action; class contradictions and political... becomes more obvious, these liberal activist organizations... a genuine revolutionary movement... to racism and imperialism.

A larger group of reclusives, petit-bourgeois advocates of order and peace would tend to see the situation as being more pluralistic and pluralist.

Which Direction

All old organizations endeavor to point to or in a particular direction. They point toward the creation of different organizational forms than we now employ. Only a cadre organization with a mass base can understand the increased severity of terror... in this period... to a cadre formation which... only the mobilization of the masses... of energy toward the development of that line. Now, without such an organization we shall be rapidly... anarchism and terrorism will... and anarchism and terrorism will... as the administration's increasing despotism and its repressive character becomes more and more obvious... to racism and imperialism.

The Movement Itself

For the past several years, SDS has been practically the only active group on campuses across the country which did not make its own destruction and must act in its own class interest.

This does not mean, however, that they will always act "stupidly" (in their own interest) on the same issue. They learn after the fact, not in doubt they learn... "stupidly" in this sense... to frustrate the intentions of the movement.

The two responses of administrators to confrontation tactics are,.... The state power assumed more... to the offensive... the students into action... and political action... which can be used to move students into action... But this can only be understood when seen in combination with the administration's... power. The administration begins to understand student power tactics, students begin... of students toward the university, to organize... Which Direction

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The Song Of Hayakakawa
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 reagans
With the rushing 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 his 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
By the shores of Golden Gateway
And behind him rose the trusties
By the rotting BART construction
Who provided piggish sinews
Aided by an Alioto
To the tune of corporations.

In the winds of change that's coming
Rose the rantings of the gov'ner
With their fists upraised in Anger?
Who are these who fill the campus
Nursed his puppet Hayakawa
But the'ail's weren't that is blowing
Tried to still his sweat by saying
"Yes the arm of force will save thee.
On strike, let's shut it down!
"On strike, let's shut it down!

Whence these protests and repressions
Should you ask me, whence this story
With the brawn of men in power...
With the swine approach your marches,
And the song of Hayakakawa
Where they send their thievin armies
We have gained one in these hours
And the masters behind curtains
Sought in this their time of sunset
Said the issues must be answered
Ends - Farewell O Hayakakawa.
As students black-brown-white in color
Chant - Farewell O Hayakakawa.

But the lips of revolution
Answered back, "no Hayakakawa".
Answered back with strength of numbers
Echoed past the armored legions
With their pistols drawn and pointed.
Answered back to Hayakakawa
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 Hayakakawa".
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
Hayakakawa 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
Hayakakawa 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 Hayakakawa
Who seems strong but whose repressions
Only mean that he is failing
Then the song of Hayakakawa
Ends - Farewell O Hayakakawa,
As students black-brown-white in color
Crush his fiery puppet pratings
And the winds announce their message
Sing - Farewell O Hayakakawa.
As students black-brown-white in color
Chant - Farewell O Hayakakawa.

Thus departed Hayakakawa
Hayakakawa'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 Hayakakawa
Every note a lesson learned.

Lincoln Bergman
We want to give it the support we can and also use it as an opportunity to talk about the issue of black liberation.

Why Racism

Much of our community propagandizes has dealt with racism— but because this is the best issue to approach people on, because, it is an issue that relates to white people. We don’t do some fast talking most whites are enlightened, they can struggle for black liberation sharpened, even without having any guilt. It is sufficient base its possible, to create political understanding in a while community over a period of time, we can’t always create the time and place, and even when we can, there is no way to avoid the other issues. We have to win over any radical base we build in the white community to support for the revolution.

...but we can’t always put forward by blacks and neutralize the great majority in much the same way... the first step is to find ways of neutralizing the people to the point that the revolutionary program of the Vietnamese people will be able to get the oppressors off their backs...

People were won over on the basis that they would have more say in their own work, more in their own self-interest than in the self-interest of the Vietnamese people. We try both oppressed by the same enemy, the same is true about the war on the black community and the same urgency to radicalize.

Style and methods of organizing must always be adapted to the situation and strategy. If we don’t keep that clearly in mind, we’ll be led to reformist or more...

As backward as most people are on some questions, particularly on getting the consciousness of working people, to reflect on objective situation—life is getting much harder; prices are going up, wages are not keeping up with profits, and at the same time, increases are not necessary. If these are the taxes to be paid, and the taxes are not in favor of...

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 doomsday election at factor. The most important tax to the largest, the most powerful corporate interests. We can focus on the... producers—those who control the political process...

It’s a commonplace of history, but often forgotten, that while students and intellectuals develop a critical consciousness over moral concern with questions, working class people do when they are alienated from the basic economic life. Often workers cannot see that of... the idea for... the idea for students... We need to find ways of relating to the rest of society in a way that makes final victory seem a possibility.

Perspective

Now FEI returns, in conclusion, to the question of what role the Left can relate to the working class because, as the work we do in Richmond, amounts to questions of ideology, strategy and class identification for the entire movement, not just for community organizers or 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 labor in a community and how to relate to the Left, and will continue to learn. We are not yet 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 newspaper, and some local high school and junior college students, we will be organized on the basis of a highly open radical political perspective and

SERVE THE PEOPLE

continued from p. 9

We grant that their condition will have...

service the people, of class power and how to...

service the people, of class power and how to...

Serve the People

The organizational vehicle for the implementation of this kind of program could be the formations of radical students that exist— that have existed heretofore on the campus of electoral politics. It might be good for organizations that are issued in the public mind with support for... that they should have that view that their own academic work, as well as political involvement, should be united in that service of... The dynamic of the campus movement is now in a struggle to make it happen to serve the interests of Third World people. That view that its function might be expanded to include working class students when the Left begins to act on some of the issues that relate to the

Research could be done on the reasons behind policy decisions in Washington, on taxes etc. The content of courses and... We were often ourselves and studied and offered so few lessons or perspectives for... It is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.

Let us not be so limited.
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 Señor,
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,
what I had
To have.

From I, JUAN NEGRO
by Nicolás Guillén

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 racist.

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 were black; simply doesn’t have the same significance as it did here. Or, after walking through the streets during carnival—where huge black face masks adorn many dancers, 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 matter of people in Cuba who do (or they want to) 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 were many revolts and conspiracies, usually involving several thousands of slaves and originating in Oriente Province. This phenomenon has the highest percentage of black people and is the traditional birthplace of all Cuban rebellions, including the current revolutionary.

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 lion, was one of the most important independence leaders and is a national hero today—second in stature only to José Martí.

The last Afro-Cuban uprising in 1912 was only significant after U.S. Marines intervened and 1000 Afro-Cubans lost their lives.

Away From Separation

After 1912, the African political tradition merged into the general currents of Cuban society, although the religious cults and 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 Anglo’s, recognised 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 declined: “Mmm, do they insist on a white outsider?” My 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 racist. But most Cubans insist that racial 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-introduced racism and promulgated the Jim Crow laws that lasted in Cuba until 1959.

Discrimination

Until the revolution black Cubans were badly discriminated against. Many black people were unemployed. The lucky ones can earn a few months of the year or worked on the farms or in other manual positions (bean pickers, shoe-shiners 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 in the grounds of class, not color.

Most black people lived in substandard 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 area. 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 got first track at the new buildings, we saw a relatively high percentage of black people in the modern housing projects that were 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 Altagracias, for example, these groups were almost exclusively black and their secrets were exclusively black and their secrets were exclusively black. Although a few white people were believers, the great majority of white people were ignorant and condoning toward the societies.

Socially, the natural offspring of mixed marriages
The Revolution, his parents' prejudice remained un­
the son of an Arab father and a mulatto mother, who
his parents disowned him. While he was a child of
during the 19th century, that is, to the slave society
the doom of a potential marriage. I knew one Cuban,
forget that this comic theater had much in common
in the majority of works served to perpetuate the
coquettish mullatto women and the brutish black stud
in which they had originated.

vidious and a small difference in shade might mean
prejudiced mentality of i.hat epoch. We shouldn't
contemporary black Cuban p1aywrite.)
were chosen on the basis of their competency as
hatred for the Batista tyranny and imperialism, not
would not follow revolutionary discipline.

The Guerrilleros Take Power

There is a slogan in Cuba today, "Yesterday's
The people who gave orders in the Guerrilla struggle
that some with dollars "had it easy" and that others with
their findings. The institute publishes various pam­
study this heritage in Africa. Most of the researchers
also provides resource material for the National
folklore and traditions. He felt that his work was a
brotherhoods, slave rebellions and art. The Institute
schools' and farms giving seminars on Afro-Cuban
step towards eliminating white supremiclst attitudes

No, 1 have never been insulted on account of
"No there isn't much inter-marriage in Cuba, but
dyne black and white, but that's an individual psychological problem that
isn't nice." (white chauffeur)

I said, "No, why?", and
"We were starving at the time. We had no
I spoke to about race relations, black and white,
the custom". (white chauffeur)

More Revolution

The personalities of the lumpen black boy, the
In the popular arts, black Cubans also suffered. "In
were black •. They later became members of the
"There isn't nice." (white chauffeur)

"No there isn't much inter-marriage in Cuba, but
that's a no no that we don't talk about Cuba in a
domestic, especially on the cultural level. If you look through BOHEMIA, the weekly
image of the revolution is a small island 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
The revolution moved swiftly against racism.
and enforced equal opportunity and access to all
institutions (all of which were finally closed in the spring
power the revolution moved swiftly against racism. It
will shine the way towards the Negro's integration" (white
prejudice in Cuba, he's either crazy or a counter-revolutionary".
(Tall Diego, founder of the movement of Community Youth, white)

"No, you can't call prejudice a social problem in
Cuba." (black guide)

We shouldn't forget that this comic theater had much in common
in the majority of works served to perpetuate the
coquettish mullatto women and the brutish black stud
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will shine the way towards the Negro's integration" (white
prejudice in Cuba, he's either crazy or a counter-revolutionary".
(Tall Diego, founder of the movement of Community Youth, white)

"No, you can't call prejudice a social problem in
Cuba. I spoke to about race relations, black and white,
the custom". (white chauffeur)

"No there isn't much inter-marriage in Cuba, but
dyne black and white, but that's an individual psychological problem that
isn't nice." (white chauffeur)
VENCEREMOS

nor practiced any form of racism. Others ignored racist hangovers because they are convinced it is a transnational problem that is rooted in dangerously some associated racism and prejudice only with the most black intellectual who followed the international negritude movement in Cuba. Finally, I think, some communists simply could not understand how prejudice, unopposed 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 bait for black Cuban women to wear their hair natural. The bait 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 American women tell their mothers explaining how 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 intellectuals 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 JDCs 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 structure 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 sub-ordination of African culture but the culture of the island is Afro-Cuban.

Their position is a complicated one, often contradictory. Neither the group nor their political ideas are formally articulated. They are simply a group of friends and co-workers (mostly in the national black studies program) who opened a lot of talk discussing racial issues, have parties together, etc. The group is fairly heterogeneous politically, some members are 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 Stokely's statement that communism isn't relevant to black people was furious. "To say that communism isn't relevant to black people was unforgivable. To say that communism isn't relevant to black people is to say that black people aren'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 white often feel when talking to each other here. I went to several "black power" parties in Cuba. There were always some white—always a small minority—but no animation 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 so vividly 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 were "Free Huey" buttons everywhere. When we first arrived, July 24, people would ask—What does that mean? Who is Huey? Black Panther?" 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 ask me in the street, "Oh, you're a Black Panther! How brave! You are destroying the monsters from the inside." They've got to explain that white people weren't Panthers, but 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 perspicacious 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—his name is that 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 States 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. Gulliver'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 the 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.

Cuban Advocates of Black Power

There is a group of black intellectuals in Havana today who identify with the Black Power/Negro Movement. They are black revolutionaries 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.
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.

The natural result of all our talking with people who oppose the war is a substantial increase in the number of people who identify strongly with the movement and feel that our energies can be radicalized. More specifically, M.I.A. proposes the following kinds of work:

1. Commercial or technical work that can contribute to an advancement of the field and raise the level of the technical sophistication of the people involved, in the company; for example, the development of better computer techniques to facilitate economic and social information retrieval systems. M.I.A. is engaged in research and development of scale information retrieval systems.

2. Production and distribution of material on the nature and purpose of the company; for example, the production of software manuals for organizing a large group of oppressed workers in critical areas of the American economy.

3. Production and distribution of material that can contribute to an advancement of the movement organizations like REACH, COMMUNITY ACTION COUNCILS, and who are computer people, especially those who are technical people, who are putting their creativity working with computers, to enhanced the potential (bad) uses by the customer.

Our legitimacy as revolutionaries need not depend on the creation of a new customer base outside of the empire. We have to create close-knit organizational institutions which can reach out to new individuals and create new centers of activity which would not depend on their ability to form a trade union, company or community.

For example, the BDRG, a group of radical teachers, or a G organizing committee of the union, or a company -- a propaganda group -- all these centers of activity should; we can recruit them to create close-knit organizational institutions which can reach out to new individuals and create new centers of activity which would not depend on their ability to form a trade union, company or community.

The inevitable result of all our talking with people who oppose the war and our constant return to students, from the black revolutionary youth of the Bay Area to the white kids in the Midwest, is that the bureaucratic draft system is that is currently used by the military to train and stuff our soldiers is that the bureaucratic draft system is that is currently used by the military to train and stuff our soldiers.

The BDRG continues to create situations in which people in the physical sciences and mathematics and engineering can the primary purpose of their work about the creation of social values.

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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 24th, 600 black high school students walked out of their schools 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 New York City High School Coalition, a group which worked with black high schools and later developed ties with the local black Panthers. Within a month, the Coalition sponsored several militant demonstrations. At Martin Luther King High School in the Upper West Side of Manhattan, students demanded that Rap Brown be allowed to speak at their school, and students take over their dilapidated cafeteria, and that the school start a Black history course. When this principal refused, a mini-riot broke out, students walked out of the school to protest outside and cops beat up and arrested Coalition leaders. The same day the principal gave in to most of the students' demands, at a school in Harlem, where several hundred students protesting black students' entrance into the school, and the English classes required by the principal were attacked by the local police. The ensuing skirmishes resulted in injuries to nine police and four students.

In October the High School Union called a one-day strike at Manhattan College, protesting the use of the schools as polling places for the presidential election. While Nick Frenzen and a new contribution of the school to the one-day strike (schools 冨 students of the Coalition had planned to disrupt the school and arrest political activity).

**Trends and Problems**

The above events show three related political events: 1) the New York City high school movement, 2) the black students' movement, and 3) the local black militant movement in New York. These movements have been unable to mount any actions in New York, and have failed to transmit their demands to the country. Furthermore, these movements have been unable to mobilize large numbers of high school students around political issues. As the local black militant movement in New York City has grown bigger and tougher, and as the students' movement grows stronger, it is clear that the two ends of the three way union will be more apart from white students than now and the ties between working class neighborhoods would be even more apart from white students than now. As the local black militant movement has grown, the black students' movement can be developed into a real plan for community control. The failure of the union to mount any actions in New York City has led to the formation of local black militant groups in New York City, which does not have large numbers of middle-class black people, such as New York City. However, these groups have been able to take over high schools in New York City and maintain their control, as the local black militant movement has grown.

**Community Control**

The election program offers an opportunity to begin to develop the links between the high school movement and the movement in the country. The election day strike called by the New York City National Council at Boulder would be an opportunity to begin to develop the links between the high school movement and the movement in the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike would also have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country. The election day strike could have the effect of transmitting the political activity of the local black militant groups in New York City to the country.
BRONX SCIENCE REVISITED

The Board of Education added more on New York high schools. "The settlement" of the teachers' strike reveals the strengths and weaknesses of the state truancy laws. That night was added not to make up for time that kids threw bottles and rocks and "bashed the cops" in a battle between cops and kids in New York. High school students stayed out of school, leadership of the SCCS was arrested and a student-faculty discipline board was created and the FBI had been asking about "James' whereabouts on numerous occasions. The right to leave the school at lunchtime with parental permission. The right to join the police in guarding the campus. The right to attend classes in protest at the schools and join them. Often the marches included people going from one high school to another and some proposals were more fundamental: the right to be arrested or suspended. Tactics and strategies varied from school to school. In Brooklyn groups of several hundred high school students marched down the streets and 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: "They have written off their futures in this school."

Mike James, a member of the MOVE's Chicago editorial group and a national officer of SDS, was busted in Chicago on Nov. 11 and charged with criminal damage and theft. Police Station, target of JOIN's march on 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. The vote was contested and a comic opera revealed the current incompetence of this institution, most by margins of five to one. The 14-to-15 year sentence means that Nuccio will be eligible for parole in less than six years. The 14-to-15 year sentence means that Nuccio will be eligible for parole in less than six years.

Sid Hammer

DON'T MESS WITH MIKE

On November 18 Chicago patrolman Richard Nuccio was sentenced to a term of 14 to 15 years for the murder of 19-year-old Ronald Nelson. Nelson's family, about twenty friends who had been at the hot dog stand and witnessed the shooting, approached the police and said, "Hey, we saw Nelson being shot, we want to testify." The police refused to allow the family to get police to join them in Queens and a small battle broke out at the public school. The teacher was suspended. The same sentiment was expressed less formally 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"乖流 procedure occurred a come-on. It involved the clash between a small group of students and the police, who, knowing that basic reforms will not take place without the referendum notwithstanding, have begun to take the rights they consider inalienable.

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

At this writing, it is not clear whether students have been actually suspended at Bronx High School of Science. When the referendum was approved the morning of November 22, "The right to leave the school at lunchtime with parental permission. The right to join the police in guarding the campus. The right to attend classes in protest at the schools and join them. Often the marches included people going from one high school to another and some proposals were more fundamental: the right to be arrested or suspended. Tactics and strategies varied from school to school. In Brooklyn groups of several hundred high school students marched down the streets and 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: "They have written off their futures in this school."

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Panthers Can't from page

But many people, especially white people, think that serious problems of discipline among the Panthers should go back and dig into and were both plagued by exactly the same problems of discipline are unique to the Panthers can't from page

Panthers Can't from page

but it is bound to attract large numbers of opportunists, individuals aggrandized, and other kinds of unstable and unreliable elements. These people can only be weeded out through the practical struggle of building a revolutionary movement. Anyone who thinks that serious problems of discipline among the Panthers should go back and dig into and were both plagued by exactly the same problems of discipline are unique to the Panthers can't from page

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by Seth

Columbia, S.C. (LNS) -- A federal grand jury in the heart of Strom Thurmond country refused to indict nine South Carolina highway patrolmen for the murders of the five people who were killed when the Panthers set fire to the Orangeburg Massacre. The students were murdered to break a demonstration by students at South Carolina State College who were trying to desegregate a bowling alley.

WHITEASH

The 23 member grand jury, composed of South Carolina residents, returned "no bills" after hearing evidence from 3,000 black students and law enforcement men who were present during the riot on Feb. 8, when the patrolmen fired on a crowd of black students, killing three and wounding 20. In addition, the U.S. Justice Dept. has presented evidence to the grand jury of civil rights violations of the black student's civil rights.

U.S. District Judge J. Robert Martin refused to allow disclosure of the exact charges against the police. Judge Martin was besieged by black students and law enforcement man who were present during the riot on Feb. 8, when the patrolmen fired on a crowd of black students, killing three and wounding 20. In addition, the U.S. Justice Dept. has presented evidence to the grand jury of civil rights violations of the black student's civil rights.

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THE FATE OF 27 GI'S CHARGED WITH MUTINY FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN A SIT-DOWN PROTEST ON OCTOBER 14 REMAINS HANGING. THE PREVIOUS FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11, RICHARD BUNCH HAD BEEN KILLED BY A GUARD. THE PREVIOUS MONDAY, OCTOBER 14, THEY ACTED. MOST OF THEM ARE SERVING TIME AS MALCONTENTS, BECAUSE AS PRISONER RICHARD GENTILE, "THE ARMY IS A BIG BUMMER AND I DON'T WANT TO BE PART OF A MACHINE THAT RUNS PEOPLE." 

The previous Friday, October 11, a minor riot resulted in sentences of 50 years hard labor for 27 men who 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, California, 94129.

Available from NOC Time to Fight Poster 13 point program Educational pamphlets on Urban Renewal and the Press, Send at least $1.50 to Room 204, 162 N. Clinton Chicago, Illinois 60606

COMING FEBRUARY 1 FROM NEW YORK & SAN FRANCISCO LEVIATHAN A NEW LEFT MONTHLY OF ANALYSIS AND THEORY.
III

we heard the cries of our black brothers & marched southward to liberate them only to find our own bodies manacled with the chains what it is to be a capitalist & we began to understand a little more about the nature of fascism. we began to understand hypocrisy, exploitation & the frontierless world the plastic leaders are constructing. maltreatment in Mississippi hungry & jobless miners in Kentucky & Tennessee empty fields in Kansas storage bins standing full billions of dollars spent to produce carcage & rubble napoleonic rifles & tanks in the streets of America shouting "never!" to those who have stepped outside your arguments & definitions, calling for the clearing winds of revolution. mental hospitals jammed full jails & princes over-flowing submission to tyranny compromize with poverty & ignorance with all the years, manpower, & money all you have produced is a callous cycle of evil things paint it red, white, & blue & no matter what it is to be plastic the nobility of aims, this is the heritage you so proudly hold out to us are shocked because we turn away in repudiation. 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 flashing 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 contest these ideas from the past because they are not compatible with the realities of today.

we will contest them because our lives are not chained to property or the accumulation of property. our minds are not shackled to 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-claas & its puppet governments what it has stolen from us, because it belongs to all people, not just a few, America, Cheever is dead like Jesus was dead.

6

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 reign is nearing, oh, tyrants of this land.

EPISTLE TO MY COUNTRY

by Doug Youngblood

the eagle (or is it a pig)