

MOVEMENT

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HUEY'S TRIAL BEGINS!

photo by Stephen Shames

by Karen Wald

Oakland, California --

Outside the Alameda County Courthouse disciplined Black Panthers, men and women, lead a demonstration of thousands. Free Huey! Set our warrior free! Inside the seventh floor courtroom sits Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, charged with first-degree murder. But even as Huey Newton sits in the courtroom, it is America on trial.

Since July 15, the first day of the trial, the Oakland Courthouse has been a scene from a police state. Armed, riot-helmeted guards stand guard at the doors, letting in only those with suitable identification and official business. On the first day twenty deputies stood in the hall outside the courtroom. Since then, between twenty and forty riot police are held in readiness in the basement.

Members of Huey Newton's family were forced to be fingerprinted and photographed before being allowed to enter the courtroom. Lately the cops have searched every person entering the courtroom. The police state atmosphere has incurred the wrath of the press and this, combined with favorable impressions of Huey Newton from interviews, has helped make the mass media coverage relatively fair up to now.

Focus On Politics

In Defense Attorney Charles Garry's opening statement, he explained to the jury the entire history of the Black Panther Party, the Party's Ten Point Program, and described their organizing in the black community.

Given the tone of the previous two weeks of pre-trial motions and jury selection, all aimed at exposing the judicial system and understanding white racism, it came as no surprise that the focus of the defense, at the outset, would be on politics.

Before the first juror was asked a question, Garry moved to quash the entire master panel from which a jury is chosen. The motion was based on the racism inherent in whites and the lack of ghetto and poor representation on a jury selected from voter registration lists.

Garry also pointed out in his motions that a jury selected by a system which allowed the exclusion of those opposed to capital punishment would necessarily result in a "hanging jury" more ready to convict a black man than to acquit

him. Garry hammered not only at the racial composition but the economic class bias of the jury panel.

Expert Testimony

Garry's pre-trial motions were based on several days of expert testimony by social scientists. Dr. Jan Dizard of U.C. cited a study he had made of Oakland and various national studies to indicate that voting lists are a discriminatory method for jury selection.

Floyd Hunter, nationally prominent sociologist who is presently engaged in a study of Oakland's power structure, tried to explain the reasons for the discouragement of black people with government and the standard political processes, and outline the differences between the West Oakland ghetto and East Oakland.

Jury Commissioner Schnarr was convinced of the method's fairness but his testimony revealed that "no response" was the chief eliminator of prospective jurors, from people who had moved or could not be located. Excuses for non-service came most often from persons who would suffer severe economic hardship; the poor are thus excluded.

Judge Monroe Freidman took a consistently myopic view of the testimony. He constantly asked that the sociologists confine themselves to only Alameda County, and voter registration. "If any black people are prevented from registering to vote in Alameda County, I want to know about it", said the Judge. He didn't want to know about much else, or he would have listened to some of the psychological and sociological factors which effectively prevent black registration.

Capital Punishment

Dr. Hans Zeisel, of the University of Chicago, has done numerous jury studies. He testified that opposition to capital punishment had been increasing among all people, but that race remains a major differentiating factor in opinions on capital punishment; black people tend to oppose it. Those who favor capital punishment are more likely to oppose open housing or move out of an integrating neighborhood.

He added that those in favor of capital punishment were more likely to vote "guilty" on the first ballot in criminal cases and would need less proof to arrive at a guilty verdict.

Laughter broke out in the courtroom at one point when Zeisel was asked by the somewhat disconcerted judge, "Do you think white jurors would wrongfully convict a Negro defendant?" Zeisel, who had been trying to avoid strong condemnations and stick to clear evidence, said, "It's been rumored to have happened."

Zeisel's testimony on capital punishment included a description of what has been termed the "authoritarian personality". His testimony was followed by Nevitt Sanford, psychologist from Stanford, an originator of the authoritarian personality test. He testified as to the linkage between pro-capital punishment and prejudice.

While the judge again ignored this testimony and it provided no immediate answers as to how to keep racists off juries, it remains an important point for appeal. Large numbers of prospective jurors were eliminated "for cause" on the basis of their opposition to capital punishment and nearly all prospective black jurors who were eliminated for "cause" were challenged because they opposed the death penalty.

White Racism

Perhaps the most penetrating and precedent-setting testimony was given by Robert Blauner, sociologist from U.C., who studies racism. Blauner's testimony, widely reported as were the others, was education in its most practical sense.

Blauner distinguished between objective and subjective racism. Objective racism is an inescapable, structural and institutional part of this society; subjective racism is a question of attitudes. "Living in this (objectively) racist society", he said, "it is not possible for white people to be free of subjective racism."

Garry asked, "How do I find a juror who is not racist to the extent that he will prejudge a black defendant?"

The most feasible way", Blauner testified, "would be not to have whitemen on the jury." (Exactly what the Panthers and Garry have argued from the beginning). If this was not done, Blauner suggested, there might be ways to eliminate the most serious racists. The judge asked, "Is there a test?"

Screen For Racists

Blauner came up with the following four points.

- (1) A white juror should have knowledge of black history and culture.
- (2) He should be aware of his own prejudices and be working to overcome them, rather than being unaware or indifferent.
- (3) He should have personal experience with black and minority people--have lived a more equalitarian than segregated life.
- (4) He should be actively concerned with changing the racist structure of society--in his job, his personal life--in some way making a commitment to change.

In response to a question from DA Lowell Jensen, Blauner stated that although theoretically racism could be found in blacks as well as whites, in reality whites in our society have a "monopoly" on it because of the objective situation.

Blauner, like Bernard Diamond, criminologist, doctor, law professor, and psychiatrist from Berkeley, responded to DA questioning that he, like everyone else, has some amount of racism in him.

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EDITORIAL

TAKING CARE OF OUR OWN

This last month a lot has happened in the Bay Area: white riots in Berkeley and the Haight, the Huey Newton trial and developments in the Black Panther Party. This month we feel we have some real questions to ask and suggestions to make.

The Oakland Seven have been forgotten by many, as have other conspiracy cases around the country. Jeff Segal, a national officer of SDS and an editor of THE MOVEMENT is in jail and may be there

for many years. Cleve Sellers of SNCC is in jail. Many other draft resisters are facing years in prison. Forty young people are in jail after being busted in the Haight; they have not been bailed out because "political" people don't consider them "political". As each new persecution occurs, the victims of the last one are easily forgotten. WE ARE ABANDONING OUR OWN.

Back in January we editorialized about repression, saying that the movement should take the offensive in the face of repression. Now we have to ask ourselves what has happened to the DEFENSIVE much less the offensive.

Repression is cutting deeply into the movement, its leadership and its ranks. This has been a selective process of picking and choosing, sometimes cutting out the most radical spokesmen, sometimes laying the groundwork by attacking more respectable elements. Not only has it taken away valuable people, it has affected many others--leading to disillusionment, fear and acts of desperation.

Repression has not caused our weakness; it has exposed it. Perhaps we must ask if a movement even exists.

The Black Panther Method

Of all political groups in the country, the Black Panther Party seems to have best countered the attacks against it. It has achieved national prominence and is expanding for far more than sensationalistic reasons. The Panthers' acts and ideas reflect strong dedication, combined with leadership, organization, organizing, discipline and program.

They have made the best of violent and deadly repression. They have not stopped educating and organizing.

What about us? White mother country revolutionaries (in name only perhaps)? Why the paralysis, demoralization and abandonment?

Black Isn't White

The underlying black strategy is to unite their own people. Blackness is an identity. Black people have a common history of oppression. When a black revolutionary says "We must defend our black brothers and sisters," a chord is struck that even bourgeois blacks imbedded in the power structure respond to on some level. Black unity is at least a theoretical possibility. Uncle Toms, no matter how bad, can always return home. They will always be black. As Malcolm pointed out: a black professor with a Ph.D. is still a "nigger" to a lot of white folks.

The strategy of the white movement is to divide our own people. We must make a distinction between white oppressors and white oppressed.

This is crucial. It is the problem of developing a common identity among oppressed whites. When we talk about protecting OUR OWN, who do we mean? Fill in the blank: "Defend our _____ brothers and sisters." "White"? Out of the question. "Movement"? But there is no movement! There are only organizations. We can say Defend our SDS brothers and sisters. Defend our (PL, YSA, Free, Yippie, etc.) brothers and sisters.

Our realist identification of ourselves is as YOUNG PEOPLE IN REVOLT. But to be in revolt against America takes on many forms. Sometimes it's pretty obvious like the Columbia fight or the riots in Berkeley. All of us knew that people at Columbia were brothers and sisters. Perhaps more important, the folks at Columbia knew they had brothers and sisters throughout America. But the struggle against America isn't always so obvious. Young people in revolt sometimes express their disaffection through the clothes they wear--or don't wear--the length of their hair, the music they listen to, their failure to follow through with middle class careers, their refusal to accept rules just because they exist. In short, many young people are refusing to accept what is considered as America. They are in revolt and a life style is emerging around that revolt. This is as close as we come today to

a revolutionary identity. But this identity has many weaknesses.

Perhaps the main weakness is that our emerging identity is expressed mainly through form and style rather than the content of revolt. The physical and cultural trappings of revolt without an understanding of why we revolt and who our enemy is will not destroy the environment which oppresses us. Forms of rebellion can be accommodated by our oppressors. Witness the mini-skirted airline hostesses, the Dodge "Rebellion", the "come alive Pepsi generation", the new top-forty rock stations. America is making money off the forms of our identity. We say fuck you, America. But until we can fill out our identity with a consciousness of who the oppressors are and why we oppose them we will help America grow rather than to destroy it. Until then we will not be able to identify our brothers and sisters--some of whom are over 30, not students, and very "straight" looking. We will not be able to take care of our own.

From Crisis to Crisis

Another handicap is the process by which the young are expressing their

revolt. We move from crisis to crisis.

A brother who is perfectly willing to save your life during a street action or a riot may well have forgotten you or lost interest in the year between your arrest and your trial. This is one of the problems of the Oakland Seven. They are individuals who called for a demonstration a year ago. The ten thousand people who took the streets of Oakland were NOT members of an organization of which the Seven were the leaders. Many young people going to Berkeley this year do not even know who the Seven are. Most of the Seven are not campus figures. They are individuals who assumed leadership for the moment. Now they are paying the dues for the entire Stop the Draft Week. They are on trial for what the ten thousand did.

Don't Follow Leaders

The anti-leadership, anti-hero strain in the white youth movement is generally healthy. It is a response to corrupt leadership and manipulation in the past. It does not want a cult of personality.

Other revolutionary groups are not as bashful. Oppressed nations are more willing to project "heroes" -- Malcolm,

Stokely, Rap, Mao, Che, Fidel, Huey, Eldridge. Though they too work to avoid a cult of the personality they recognize the need to project an image. The Cubans see Che as a person to EMULATE, as a positive model.

Compare the attitude of SDS members toward their national officers and that of Black Panther members toward theirs. No banners with Jeff Segal's photo are raised, no attempts to run him for Senator or President. The attitude is almost that it's Jeff's fault he got it in the neck. We haven't been able to come up with forms of organization that reject current social forms and avoid past left atrocities yet protect us from repression and project our visions of organization.

Who's Got It Worse?

Many whites have flocked to the defense of blacks. We have no argument with this. But often whites refuse to defend victims from among their own number, arguing that after all the repression is greater against the blacks. And it is.

We have heard people say, "Huey may be put to death but the Oakland Seven only face three years." This is true but it avoids the real question:

PEOPLE WILL NOT, IN FACT THEY SHOULD NOT, TAKE RISKS IF THEY ARE NOT BACKED UP. If the white movement does not protect its own, it will soon find that no one is willing to take any more risks. Spokesmen will start toning down their criticisms of America, people will retire from the movement, drop back into the system, make their adjustments, quiet down. And they will do so out of real fear, for nothing is worse than being abandoned by your own.

Taking Care

In the long run the answer lies in the development of a political and social identity. Then abandonment will not be the price of leadership, and a greater trust will arise among young people. This may not occur until the movement as a whole is threatened more than it already is.

In the short run we have two suggestions. (1) It is a fact that even if a person is a member of an organization, those who work hardest in his defense when he's in danger are his FRIENDS. The rise of friendship or affinity groups and gangs reflects this. The Berkeley Commune, the 18th and Castro Gang, the Motherfuckers, the Free City Families are natural groupings of people who have been through struggles together, who are friends and comrades. These will become important political forms in the future.

Whether or not these new kinds of groupings will be successful--whether or not we will succeed--depends on how well the groups can tie in with each other. We are dependent on each other. We must cement that dependence organizationally. The affinity groups, gangs and families must be linked by local and national networks. And perhaps our developing families--like true families--must divide work and responsibility and more consciously organize ourselves. We can no longer operate as if ready or not here we come. We've got to be ready.

(2) A national defense organization similar to the Los Angeles Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights is in the process of being formed. This committee should have chapters in major cities which will raise a general bail fund, have lawyers on call, and take the job of defending everybody's own. In a way this is a professional equivalent for what should be a popular sentiment. When a movement does come into being, the defense committee should be its legal defense arm.

In the long run, we'd suggest everyone follow sister Aretha's advice:

People walkin' around everyday
Playin' games
Takin' scores
Trying to make other people lose their minds
Well,
Be careful you don't lose yours.

Oh think
Think about what you're tryin' to do to me.
Think
Let your mind go
Let yourself be free.

You need me
And I need you
Without each other
There ain't nothing either can do.
Think
Think about it baby.
Think about it right now.

Right now.

for those pacifist poets

ruling guru greybeard bards
having new fun in yr. rolling rock renaissance.
have you passed thru the Haight
have you seen yr. turned on kids?

u promised them Visions & Love & Sharing
clap, hepatitis, fleas, begging and the gang bang

sure you didn't want to see the scene go that way
but that's how the shit went down.
& i do not hear yr. howl.
i do not hear exorcising demons.

u told the congress that yr acid
had taught us how to luv
that finally bloodsoaked thieving swine of a cowboy
the Others call their president.
is there nothing left over for the kids
sleeping on sidewalks
waiting to be carried off by the bikes?
has yr. acid & cannabis power wilted like yr. daffodils?
is there no compassion left over for the broken bodies
of yr. children's crusade?

yr. disciples are dying in the streets, gurus.
u have been among the philistines too long.
u have become their Spectacle.
heal the sores upon thine own bodies, prophet!

yr. word has brought them as far as the Haight.
can you not carry them to the seashore?
or is it your power and not theirs which has failed?

can it be we warrior poets were right all along?
can it be all the buddhas r hollow
& like the Dalai Lama
u have been sipping butter tea upon a peacock throne
as Tibetans perished in the snow?

is it not time to admit that Hate as well as love redeems the world?
there is no outside w/out inside
no revolution w/out blood.

--- ARES

Editor's Note: This poem was taken from a billboard near the Berkeley Commune table on Telegraph Avenue. We don't know the author but we like the poem.

3 Panthers Killed

Los Angeles -- Three members of the Black Panther Party were killed and two cops wounded in a shootout near Watts August 5th.

At this moment there is little detail. From police reports it looks like the fight began when police pulled over four men in a car and jacked them up. One of the Panthers escaped and is still free. Black "community leaders" are urging him to give himself up to the police. Many blacks are afraid that if caught he will be executed by the police.

The three men killed were Stephen Bartholomew, 21, Robert Lawrence, 22, and Thomas Lewis, 18. The man who escaped is Anthony Reno Bartholomew, 19.

Lieutenant Governor Finch, on hearing of the shooting, flew back to California to "assess" the situation. On learning the everything was "under control" and that no "virulent racial situation" existed he returned to the comfort of the Republican Convention. There, Republicans fiddle while Miami burns, and the pigs killed three black brothers.

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HAIGHT STREET BLUES

by Jerry Densch

A week after its second overt rebellion, Haight Street is all but back to normal. Not much noticeable difference from two weeks before except for the plywood hastily tacked up across many of the store fronts; some over broken glass, but more, perhaps, as a preventive measure. The Bank of America building, the second biggest target -- a target because of some political understanding of what the Bank of America is about but a target also because of the Bank of America's outstanding ability to treat people like dirt -- now permanently equipped with sheets of hardboard in place of the smashed windows; portending, perhaps, the look of the future for Bank of America buildings all over the city.

Some difference in the appearance of the street itself, as a series of excavations which had dragged on for months was finished up in one day following the first night of fighting. This, part of a search-and-destroy mission undertaken by the cops in which streets, rooftops, and garbage cans were surveyed in order to find and carry away or destroy anything which might have been used as ammunition by the people. Some city folks were treated for the first time to the sight of pigs rooting in garbage as any empty bottles which might have been thrown away were sought out and broken.

Also missing is the primary target of the rebellion; an outhouse used by the workers from the street job. After it was tipped over the first night ("Boy, the shit really hit the street tonight.") it became the object of a tug-of-war between the people and the cops. First the people; jubilantly dragging it into the intersection and trying with minor success to get it on fire. Then the cops: rushing up, busting a few heads, dragging it off the street, standing around wondering what else to do for a while, then leaving. Then the people . . .

Paranoid Pigs

Some difference, perhaps, in the cops themselves as they walk two, three, half a dozen at a time, looking even more paranoid than before. Cops taking it all out on bottles, smashing them into slivers with their clubs -- skulls not being

open game as long as nothing is happening -- making sure the bottles won't be heaved at them as they pass, or hidden away for future use. Really hitting the jackpot as they find half-a-dozen bottles left by winoes on the steps of the Haight Ashbury Medical Clinic, and half-a-dozen piles of broken glass are left on the steps.

Some difference, too, in the people, though one only knows this if he is aware that some are still in jail, held by the pigs for ransoms -- which few could raise, even if they hadn't been set especially high for the occasion. (City attorneys arguing: "Once they get out on bail, that's the last we'll ever see of them.") Few beyond personal friends knowing or caring, as people are again too busy hustling or trying to avoid being the victim of any of a thousand kinds of hustles.

What Is The Haight?

The Haight-Ashbury District is sandwiched between a Black ghetto and stretches of white middle-class nothingness. It exists as a transitional area; a buffer between the two as it is transformed from one to the other. The particular stage of transition in which the neighborhood found itself a few years ago no doubt had much to do with its becoming a center of the country's emergent youth-cultural "revolution". Here was an area with relatively tolerant people, moderate rents, adjacent to one of the



photo: S.F. Newsreel--Mark Hardesty

most beautiful city parks in the country, and near the center of a city made famous by such folk-heroes as Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg.

Here was a place where people fed up with American society could experiment with new life styles with a minimum of harassment, in an area where others were doing the same. Then the mass media somehow discovered something happening. Not knowing what it was, they created a stereotype, the Hippie; something tangible to generalize about. They made the Haight famous and defined the new self-image of hundreds of thousands of alienated kids across the country; many

of them anxious to visit the Mecca from which their new self was revealed to them.

Image Not Reality

Along with them came an increase in dope trade; dealers of every sort, some anxious only to turn other people on to some good weed, others out to sell whatever garbage people would pay for, in the best capitalist tradition. And cops all over -- making sweeps, hiding under long hair, making raids, dealing, busting heads, where's-your-ID-into-the-

CANNON'S TALE.. or How They Beat My Ass

BY Terry Cannon

On July 18 of this year I agreed with a cop for the first time in my life. His name was Fortenberry and he had just dashed into a crowd on Haight Street, grabbed me and pushed me into his prowl car.

As he moved in next to me and closed the door he said, "You shouldn't have been in the Haight, Terry."

"Oh, you know who I am?" I said, with a funny sinking feeling in my stomach.

He answered my question by slamming his fist in my face. As I covered my face with my arms I silently agreed with him. But the worst was yet to come.



TERRY CANNON, one of the Oakland Seven, after getting clobbered by cops during last October's Stop The Draft Week.

I had been arrested for protesting the arrest of a guy standing next to me, who turned out to be an S.F. State student, Rick Epstein. Epstein and I were put in the back seat between two Tactical Squad Cops. Two more sat in the front.

They were hysterical and kept shouting "So you wanted to throw molotov cocktails!" and punching us, taking the long route to nearby Park Precinct Station. I was doing my best to assume the good old non-violent foetal position with my arms in front of my face. This frustrated Fortenberry, who stopped slugging me and grabbed the back of my neck, trying to press the arteries and black me out. We spent five minutes in silent struggle, me trying to stay conscious. I won that one: I was still awake when we got to Park Station.

In the Back Room

They pushed and dragged us through a crowd of about 30 cops in the main room; several swung at us as we staggered through. Then they got us in a small back room and went to work.

For about fifteen minutes they worked us over. I couldn't see much as I was crouched over trying to protect my face and balls. At one point they knocked me to the floor and stomped on me. That's when they must have cracked my rib. I could hear Epstein screaming, "I can't breathe, I can't breathe!"

They told Epstein to put his right hand on top of a filing cabinet and then bashed it again and again with a blackjack. They made a mess of his face -- this was explained in the police report: "The suspect, on leaving the police car, fell and hit his head on an iron pipe." Pigs never lie, of course, so that must have been one fine iron pipe to black both eyes, bust up his nose and give him a swollen right hand.

More Beatings

After they finished we were booked. I was charged with four misdemeanors: inciting to riot, interfering with an officer, resisting arrest, and profanity. We were then locked up in the cells behind the back room.

For two more hours we could hear prisoners screaming in the next room. They were brought in one at a time and beaten for 15-20 minutes. Six or seven were brought in to the cells afterward, all in pretty rough shape. Some of them are still in jail two and a half weeks later as I write this. One has been

in solitary for two weeks.

Some were Haight residents, some had just come into the area or into town. One prisoner had been in San Francisco twenty minutes and was walking down the street to the home of a friend when he was arrested. Their attitude was anger and defiance; they were not Flower Children. I doubt that there are any Flower Children anymore, except perhaps the weekenders from the suburbs. They have not been able to escape America and are determined to resist it. I speak now only of those who I met in jail.

The Haight, like all populations, has its Toms and Quislings. We saw them out on the street, sweeping up broken glass, urging people to Cool It, putting out trash fires and blaming "outside Berkeley agitators" for the riot. Actually the Haight is happily free of uptight "political" organizers.

It would be easier to raise bail and get lawyers to help if the Haight riots were "political". The liberal and left-liberal lawyers and money people are reluctant to help "hippies". It will be while before they accept white riots as political acts.

Weaving a Pig Suit

Meanwhile, several of us who were beaten Thursday night at Park Station are suing the city and police department. We're aware that few brutality suits are respected by the courts, but our documentation and first-person witnesses have put the cops uptight. Chief Cahill has ordered a complete "investigation". Cahill has his own problems inside the Police Department right now around a patronage squabble with Mayor Alioto.

Also, four of his Tactical Squad were suspended recently for beating up some young men while off-duty. When told about this case, Alioto said, "I would be very, very sad if the charges were true -- I never heard of any charges substantiating police brutality." He may be getting a lot of substantiation in the near future.

Not to Sound Naive. . .

Not to sound naive but I was really surprised by these events. I've been clubbed by cops before, but that was on the streets during Stop The Draft Week and that was "normal" police action. Methodically beating up white kids inside the police station after arrest is a new escalation on the part of the pigs. All the more reason to judge our actions carefully and to plan ways of taking care of our own. ■

INDICTED FOR MURDER

CHICAGO COMMUNITY CATCHES COP

About twenty people were at the hot dog stand the night Richard Nuccio, cop, shot Ron Nelson, 19, in the back, coldly, deliberately, from about 60 feet, on June 4, in Chicago. Ron was running down an alley, running because he had been harassed by Nuccio before and was afraid of what could happen that night. The owner of the stand had called the police because he hates the kids and wanted to get them off his place. No fight, no looting, no disturbance, nothing had provoked the shooting.

After Nelson fell the cop walked to him, stood him up, dragged him, kicked him. He was heard to laugh and say "I shot the punk in the ass". Fifteen minutes after the shooting, Ron was thrown in a paddy wagon, and taken to the hospital, dead from loss of blood. The cops later said Ron threw a knife as he ran (from 60 feet, on the dead run, without turning around.) The twenty people present say he threw nothing.

Witnesses

The twenty people were Ron's friends, an informal group of young people. Some are in high school, or drop outs, some in the service, a couple hippies, some in college; all are white. Friends with some cops, enemies of others, none expected a murder, even though Ron and the other guys had been threatened before by the cops. "I have seen him (Nuccio) put a loaded gun to Ron's head to scare him, and take a knife and cut down Ron's arm, both times in the police station". For the past couple of years, the cops have beaten them, pushed them around, and taken them in on some real, some trumped up charges.

But these kids have guts. They're responsible for the first indictment of a Chicago cop for murder in the last fifteen years.

They did it by building the shooting into an event which stirred and concerned the whole community (because of a long history of very bad police action in this neighborhood), and by using this grass roots pressure to force established community organizations to take a stand. It was the kids' collective action which moved the others to act.

The night after the shooting, a group picketed the drive-in where it had occurred. Their signs included one saying "Kill, Nuccio, Kill". Several were arrested and beaten. Still, nobody seemed much interested in their protest, or in hearing their side of the story.

This made them realize the need for broader political action. They met, collected signed testimony in the presence of a lawyer, and called a press conference with both local and city-wide papers. With this publicity as a base, they approached community groups. First, they met with a group of liberals representing various churches, and the Human Relations Committee of the Lake View Citizens Council (LVCC), the local community council. This committee agreed to disseminate their testimony, and to raise the issue at the next board of directors meeting of the LVCC.

Demanding Action

With only five days to prepare, the youth formulated their demands, put out a leaflet, and through word of mouth

and leafletting, drew two hundred angry people, including parents and representatives from Anglo and Latin gangs, to the board meeting. The board members present, including the Commander of the Town Hall police district, Captain Fahey, did all they could to duck the discussion, or confine it to members of the board. However, shouting from the floor forced them to find out what the community wanted. The people spoke out, denouncing the police treatment of youth in the community, and demanding that the board act to pass the youth's proposals. These were (1) that Nuccio be removed from active duty pending investigations (he was still patrolling, flashing the same gun that killed Nelson), and (2) that the LVCC sponsor an open hearing to give full publicity to the facts of the case, before the coroner's inquest. Only in this way would there be a chance of that being anything more than a police controlled whitewash of the whole thing. The LVCC, scared at seeing "the people" for the first time, accepted the demands.

Cops Harrass

Meanwhile, the police were doing their own organizing by continually harassing the "ringleaders". They stopped them for no reason, arrested them on fabricated charges, threatened their lives, and warned them to "lay off the Nelson thing". Some cases are outstanding. One guy was picked up on a warrant a year old, under which someone else had already been charged. Another was stopped at a red light. When it turned green, he was pulled over, and arrested for going through a red light. He spent the weekend in jail, without being allowed a phone call. This same youth was pulled over, for no reason, on his way to the LVCC board meeting. On seeing the leaflets about the meeting in his car, the cop said, "In my book, that's illegal. You better not say anything tonight about the Nelson thing. If I find you alone one night, your'e going to be dead in an alley too." The youth was charged with driving without a license. The cop who arrested him was Nuccio's cousin. The night after the board meeting, the cops descended on the group's new hang-out, surrounded the guys, and started beating them. Later charged with disorderly, battery, and resisting arrest, they told of more threats in the jail. One of the cops involved was again Nuccio's cousin, and those inside the station included his two brothers-in-law.

Intimidation served only to increase the groups determination. A defense group was established, with lawyers willing to accept cases on an ability-to-pay scale. They began contacting the press immediately after being arrested. Support for them mounted.



COP

Hearing

The promised Open Hearing was held two days before the inquest in spite of great pressure and attempts from various sources to have it delayed. A room holding five hundred was overflowing. It was a mixed crowd, including workers, professionals, Southern whites, Puerto Ricans, and Blacks. The statement from a representative of the youth got a standing ovation. Commander Fahey of the 19th Police district was jeered and shouted down when he said, "Right or wrong, you obey the police".

People cheered for those calling for Nuccio's arrest, and for disarming the police. At the end of the meeting, a resolution was presented calling for a civilian review board having the power to suspend and fire policemen. Youth were to have one third representation on the board. This so worried the sponsors of the hearing that they panicked, turned off the mikes, and told everyone to go home.

They left behind a confused and angry crowd. People had come to get something done, not to just blow off steam. Many left with a far more clear idea of what

teenagers have to face in our society. The long range results of this agitation have yet to be seen. Nuccio has been indicted for murder by a grand jury called by the State's Attorney. Yet, he is out of jail on his personal recognition, and is busting kids in the neighborhood on "civilian arrests". He continues to work for the police department, only now downtown.

While the LVCC is rethinking its position, and wondering how it got into all this in the first place, community pressure for a real civilian review board is growing. Local control of the police can clearly be a very powerful issue in a community like this. And the youth have decided to get together as a more organized body, to protect themselves and exert their considerable power.

A real defense committee against police harassment is a possibility. Work is being done on a coffee house kind of place where they could go to escape the ever present police.

Specific directions for this work are not yet clear, though many people see the need to tie the demands for community control of the police closely to those of the youth, namely that they be given power in the community which most directly affects their lives. ■



COMMUNITY

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COPS AND COPTERS

.... At Home

New York -- Three off-duty pigs shot it out on a city expressway on the night of July 9th. The shoot-out began as an argument over a stalled car. One was killed, one seriously wounded.

A car driven by patrolman John Dalton, 41, stalled on the heavily crowded Bronx expressway. Rookie pig Nicolo Danisi, 21, who is training at the police academy, was caught in the traffic jam. He of course got out to investigate.

During an argument with Dalton, Danisi apparently reached into his pocket for his identification badge. But Dalton, uptight and fearing an attack, pulled out his service revolver and shot Danisi in the head.

Detective Frederick Gibson, 28, of the Police Special Services then arrived on the scene. He ordered Dalton to drop his gun. When Dalton refused he shot him in the stomach.

"None of the officers knew each other was a police officer", said the acting chief of detectives. Danisi was killed. Will there be a trial for murder? Guess.

.... And Abroad

Saigon -- Nineteen American and nineteen Thai soldiers were killed in five helicopter crashes around Saigon, as "allied forces" intensified their drive to thwart another attack on the capital.

According to the U.S. command, four of the crashes were accidental.

The worst crash took place as U.S. copters were ferrying Thai troops. Flying in poor weather, two copters collided in the air. The resulting explosion knocked down a third one flying close by.

All twelve American crewmen and their nineteen Thai passengers were killed and the three copters were destroyed.

The "intensified combat sweep" was suspended as more copters and recovery teams were rushed into the area.

The top-heavy Goliath had tripped over its own toes again. And then David picked off a few more whirly birds.



GETTING OFF THE INTERSTATE : or, Back Home in Heartbreak, USA

By Mike James, National Community Union

Country and Western music (C&W) is American; it reflects America, both the good and the bad. "Pure" or modified by pop stars on radio, T.V. or in the movies, the juke boxes of bars and truckstops, C&W is everywhere. It's been around a long time and been listened to by millions, yet most American radicals--who "seek to change America"--have listened only cynically, BECAUSE THEY ARE CYNICAL ABOUT THE PEOPLE. They haven't dealt with what the music means to millions of Americans, nor with what the music says to radicals. For example, in a recent issue of THE GUARDIAN (May 18, 1968) cultural buff columnist Pandora spewed forth a bitter and absurd criticism of C&W. Pandora stated that C&W barely qualified as music, and described it as "a saccharine concoction of neurotic self-pity, hand-on-the-heart patriotism, Simon-pure religious fundamentalism and know-nothing machismo . . . Big city sophisticates tend to dig it as some kind of high camp, but poor dumb slob who find their way into White Citizens Councils in the South in some desparate search for identity take it straight."

Very simply, it's important for movement people to understand that C&W tells us much about the impact of social, political and economic forces as they have arisen out of and shaped the lives of most white working people in this country. No revolution will happen in America unless these people are a part of it. No revolution will happen if radicals reject these people, if they accept the words of spokesmen of the cultural wing of the bourgeois left such as Pandora. Too many are living on the edges of this country, justifying their isolation by saying America is all crap. Too many of us don't understand much about what is America, defining too much of America as the enemy.

Too many on the left, sunk in the bead-culture ghettos of mass media and so-called "cultural centers" on the coasts, even scattered on campuses and a few cities in between, have never gotten off the interstate. They don't understand the people of America, for they have refused to break with the mechanisms that keep them from looking and feeling. That means that many of us with an important task fail to understand the RADICAL POTENTIAL OF YOUNG WORKING PEOPLE who can and must be integral to that task.

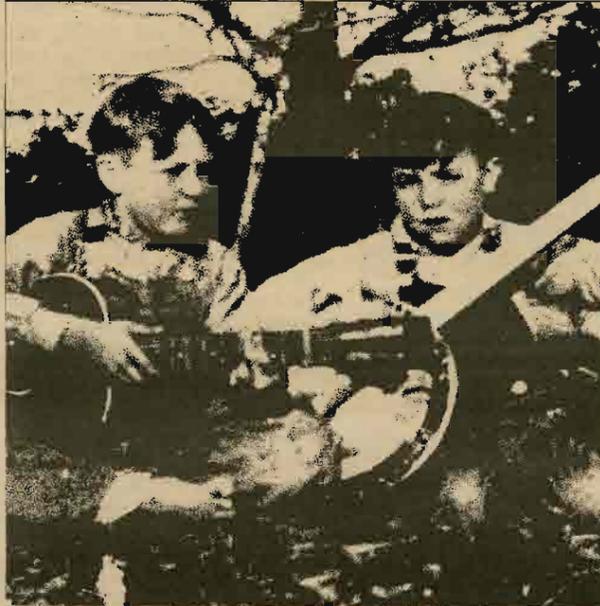
The Potential

C&W tells us of what capitalism has done to millions of working whites, WHETHER OR NOT THEY LISTEN TO THE MUSIC. The major segment of that body possesses a background that might be called "basically rural, country and western American culture". It's probably the largest sub-culture in the nation. Like Black people, they have agrarian roots, and are NOW COMING TO BE CONCENTRATED IN AND AROUND URBAN CENTERS. They're not an ethnic group as are Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans or Indians, but they are a distinguishable sub-culture, having similar child-rearing and life-style patterns, interests and occupationally based class delineations. Their lives have a similarity forged by the structural forces of capitalism. People whose lives are rooted in the historical experiences of this background aren't just "Southerners" or "Appalachian whites". Instead, they're present among the population in large numbers everywhere in America.

They're much of the blue-collar work force in most cities. They're among the rank and file, wildcatting labor insurgents, overlooked by too many radicals who call workers (monolithically) "reactionary", who fail to distinguish between different segments of the working class, as well as between workers and labor bureaucrats. We're talking of students in community, junior and state colleges, contributing heavily to what some call the "new working class" (teachers, technicians, low-level white collar employees, etc.) Some, whose parents work in factories, become teachers; others, whose parents are white collar workers, become factory and construction workers. Many become soldiers for a time. And some are already in the movement, among the ranks of student activists in most parts of the country.

Where radicals have been present and organized, they are the people in neighborhoods and factories helping build consciousness, planting the seeds of radical organization. If radicals will move among them, WHICH SOMETIMES MEANS GOING BACK HOME, they will be people articulating past, present and possible future for their people as the U.S. attempts to control the World falter and domestic conditions continue to change. "Hillbillies", "Arkies", "Oakies", "hicks", "shit kickers", "ridge runners", "red-necks", and "white trash" are a people--a whole bunch of 'em. More radicals (not all radicals) must organize in neighborhoods and factories, either on the street or line, or using some University acquired skill such as "teacher". Without a sense of movement among the working class, the movement won't move

that it has, from a radical point of view, many negative aspects. But these problems are true in different degrees of all forms of "people's music" in America. A review of Black, Mexican or Puerto Rican music (and Italian, Irish, . . .) would also reveal alot of "bad shit". For example, take "soul-king" James Brown's "I Am An American, America is my Home". Like where else can you shine shoes in front of the radio station and then own it--and have nice clothes too-and if you don't like it here why don't you go someplace else, Ohhh, Ohhh, Ohhh. . . The song was



Earl Scruggs, playing the banjo, and his brother, Horace Scruggs, with the guitar. This photo was taken in the community where they lived--Flint Hill near Shelby, North Carolina. Earl started playing the banjo when he was five years old.

much. Too many people will be left out; there won't be the necessary power, and our hopes and efforts will be wracked and plagued by the ploy of the ruling class--class obfuscation and racial division. Failing to have moved among and with the people, but pretending we could change them only issuing cultural and political pronouncements and slurs in small circulation newspapers and journals from hip-political student "communities", or by passing resolutions at conferences, we'll have no one to blame but ourselves.

Realize that there's a potential for a new and radical America. Realize that Malcolm X DIDN'T write a book that Blacks read who then rebelled, but rather he ARTICULATED A THRUST, something that was coming to be among his people after years of oppression and exploitation. The roots of the Black movement go deep; remember Nat Turner, DuBois, Marcus Garvey and Malcolm. Look now at the Black Panthers. Malcolm's works, his life, were rooted in that history of exploitation and resistance; he worked out some contradictions, as many others were doing; he helped give his people's struggle shape at the time it was becoming manifest.

Understand that there is potential among young white working people. It hasn't taken a visible form yet; it's developing as people become organized and urbanization fails to make asphalt grass any greener. For whites, hostility and rebellion haven't taken collective form. While Black kids loot stores that have raped them, white kids in groups of two and three jack-roll victims in alleys, or strip cars, and continue to fight each other instead of their class enemy. But militant labor actions of young white workers and the commitment of numbers of "hillbilly" kids who've marched on cops and politically resisted the draft in places where radical organizers have worked, are not isolated instances or freaks. Young working class radical kids are tied to their people; they're of their people, acting in advance of their people. They wouldn't have moved if they weren't. Their actions and commitment ARTICULATE A POTENTIAL THRUST. That thrust can be a strong part of a radical force in American. It will only happen if the movement takes steps HELP MAKE IT HAPPEN.

About C&W,

the Media and Today

It doesn't take much cultural or political savvy to realize that music is manipulated by the Establishment, or

released just before Brown's benefit in Chicago, but after his public endorsement of Hubert Humphrey, whom he ran cover for in Watts after HHH was booted out on his first attempt to "get-in" and speak.

But the negative is only half the point: we're about changing America, and changing it means understanding it and using it. C&W shows us good and bad in a big part of America. Listen to it, couple it with experience, and you'll learn a lot of things you never learned (and they never taught) in school.

There is paradox in C&W, the paradox of most of white America. C&W has its version of America's Horatio Alger myth, but beyond that individualism there is a strong and real class consciousness. Most C&W albums have some songs characterized by SUBJECTIVE INDIVIDUALISM, and others characterized by OBJECTIVE REALITY. Most popular music in this country has a lot of subjective individualism; what's important about the objective reality of C&W is that it makes clear a lot of what America is--hard and ruthless, messing over some (classes of) people a whole lot more than others. The music tells us that. Just as there is paradox and contradiction in the lives of the people who write, sing and listen to C&W, there is paradox and contradiction in the songs. We're not talking about political people, but rather people who've been worked over politically. Many reject politics; they know it's dirty business because they've lived in America and they've been done to. Stonewall Jackson sings songs about little people, but also about Minute Men rolling over in their graves in response to draft card burning. The same is true of the truck driving songs of Dave Dudley. Paradox, contradiction, inconsistency--America. Don't hide, deal with it!

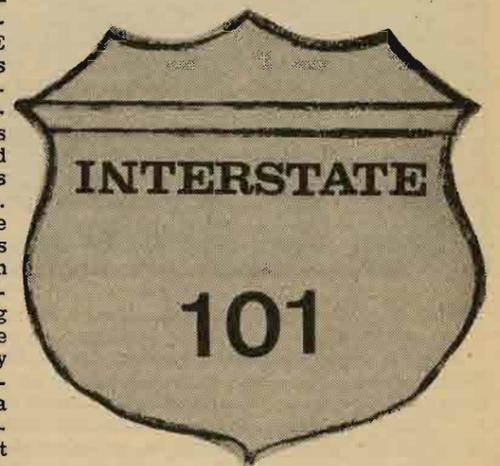
Listen To The Music

The conditions, grievances and demands--telling of the potential for radical organization--are conveyed in the music. Listen to Merle Haggard's jail songs ("Branded Man"--"I payed the debt I owed, but they won't let my story go untold . . ."); Waylon Jennings' "Living in the Love of the Common People"; Johnny Cash's "All Gods Children Aren't Free" and "Roll Call"; Roger Miller's "King of the Road"; Dave Rich's "Peace Starts Today"; Dollie Parton's "my mistakes are no worse then yours 'Just Because I'm A Woman'"; George Jones' "Small Time Laboring Man!"; Bobby Bare's "Detroit City"; Jerry Lee Lewis' "What Made Milwaukee Famous has made a fool out of me"; and Hanson Cargill's

"Skippa-Rope". Most aren't novelty songs, but typical of much of the music. Openings on race, the war, the job, male chauvinism, economic exploitation, and cultural and political alienation are there. Americans of basically rural country and western background, like most Americans, ARE WAITING ON THE MOVEMENT

There's bad stuff in C&W: let's start to think about why. Basically, Nashville (and New York) kept the music static for a time, reflecting and reinforcing what was happening to millions of whites as a result of the workings of the political economy. Because people weren't organized, didn't have power and control over what happened to them, their ability to shape their own cultural expression was limited. (This was at a time when Black people were undergoing a far more intensive urbanization process, and it shows in their music--C&W today makes much more reference to rural or "back home" life, even when describing life situations in an urban setting, than does Black music.) Another consideration is that the media (radio, t.v., movies and records) weren't exposing people to a barrage of cross-cultural (class, ethnic, racial) musical influences, so people didn't get told about what was happening to lots of people in the country. And let's not forget that segregation was a fact. There is also a possibility that certain elites hindered changes in the music. What did it mean to the music, and its influence on the people, that C&W big-shot Roy Acuff (of Rose-Acuff publishers in Nashville) was a Governor of Tennessee, and that another C&W big-name, Jimmy Davis, was Governor of Louisiana? Somebody should dig deep into the manipulation of almost all musical forms in this country by "Tin Pan Alley" and its intrinsic relationship to Wall Street.

Maybe it's not fast enough, but things are changing. Musicians are often hipper on social and political questions than are those they sing for, and musicians in different fields are picking up on each other. C&W has its "love" songs--some original, some new versions of recordings in the rock and folk fields. Juke boxes are filled with C&W renditions of songs by Black Rhythm and Blues musicians (Jim and Jesse have an entire album, "Berry Pickin'", of Chuck Berry songs.) Don Rich, lead guitar for C&W big-star Buck Owens, states that his favorite album is the Beatles' "Rubber Soul". Otis Redding's band had two white musicians, out of the C&W bag; the C&W influence is obvious in his music and the entire "Memphis Sound". The "Grand Old Opry" has in recent years produced Black artists like Bobby Hebb ("Sunny") and Country Charlie Pride. There's something happening.



Cultural Open Doors

The times are changing, and the media of today does open up some possibilities. People hear different things, different styles and messages, different experiences. Don't write off cross-cultural fertilization. Dylan, in a cultural way, has done an awful lot to open the door for radicals who might work with young working class kids. They hear him and they pick up and dig a lot of messages; pop rock groups and C&W artists do his songs as well as Tom Paxton's, and the message gets out, MORE THAN BEFORE

And some white middle-class musical kids, picking up on C&W, might help generate an INTEREST IN THE PEOPLE BEYOND THE MUSIC in the same way that Bloomfield, Butterfield, Bishop, Goldberg, Miller, Gravenitis and Hammond (and others) did for the early civil rights movement picking up on Black country,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

WILDCATS IN CHICAGO

by Noel Ignatin

Chicago, July 7 -- An "unauthorized" strike of transit workers, which began here Tuesday morning, July 1 and which crippled the city's public transportation, appears to have ended, at least for the time being.

After a seven and one-half hour meeting of the strikers with representatives of the Chicago Transit Authority and Mayor Daley, it was announced that the strikers would resume work immediately. The terms of the settlement were not clear, but strike leader Waymon Benson said that the men got "everything we asked for". Officials of Local 241, Amalgamated Transit Workers, which covers the bus drivers, were not present at the meeting, but the Chicago Federation of Labor was represented. Union president James J. Hill had vowed not to talk with the strikers until they had returned to work. Negotiations between the strikers and Hill are to begin on Monday.

The walkout began after a union meeting last Monday night at which Hill declared defeated, by voice vote, a motion to eliminate the right of pensioned employees to vote for union officials. When leaders of the rebel caucus, called the Concerned Transit Workers, demanded a standing vote or a secret ballot, Hill adjourned the meeting.

On Tuesday morning 900 workers refused to take their buses out, and the number of strikers grew each day. Some elevated motormen, represented by a different local, joined the strike in solidarity.

It is difficult to gauge the effectiveness of the strike because of the holiday weekend, when service is normally slow, but estimates ranged from 25% to 50% shut down, with the CTA admitting a fare loss of \$1,000,000 and loop businesses suffering heavily. About 50 bus lines were shut down entirely and 40 others reduced to partial operation.

Growing Pattern

The issues behind the strike are a reflection of a growing pattern of labor disputes in which the fight of the whole rank-and-file for union militancy is linked with the fight for black workers to be fairly represented in union leadership. In this case, the fight was spearheaded by the black drivers, who make up the overwhelming majority of the Concerned Transit Workers, and the totality of its leadership. But the Concerned leaders made it clear that they are fighting for all the transit workers, and a number of white drivers, particularly the younger men, joined in the strike. As Benson said, "This is one time that black men are leading white men. They know that what benefits us benefits them. The union isn't representing them any better than it is representing us."

The conflict, which had been brewing

for almost a year, was brought to a head around the issue of pensioners' voting rights. A majority of the 8,340 active, working drivers are black. Yet the votes of 3,600 pensioners, nearly all white, have kept the black workers out of union leadership and maintained in office the do-nothing, conservative administration of Hill and his cronies, a continuation of the McNamara clique that ruled the local for decades. None of the local officers are black, and there are only four black workers on the twenty-six member executive board. Referring to the pensioner's voting power, Benson declared, "This is at the heart of the problem. As long as this continues, the black man won't have a chance to gain any positions of leadership in the union for years to come." Hill has answered the demand that only active workers be allowed to vote for union officials with an argument that the pensioner's right to vote is protected by the Landrum-Griffin Act.

Strikers' Demands

The strikers put forward four key demands, to the company and the union officials:

- (1) An end to the system of split shifts, whereby a driver may have to be out as long as 13 hours to get 8 hours pay.
- (2) The elimination of all unsafe and unhealthy facilities on the buses, such as bald tires, broken heaters, etc.
- (3) No reprisals against striking drivers, and full pay for days lost in the strike.
- (4) The elimination of pensioners' voting for union officials.

From the beginning of the strike the press portrayed it as a blow at the "public interest" and a "black power" plot. Cops were assigned to ride the busses and "protect" scabs from the strikers. On Thursday a number of arrests were made when strikers sat down

at one of the barns to prevent scabs from taking the busses out. In spite of this, strikers were able to board some busses and persuade drivers to return to the barn and join the strike.

Community Support

Various churches and organizations in the black community moved immediately to support the strike. Big rallies were held, and Rev. Jesse Jackson of SCLC, the head of Operation Breadbasket, threatened a city-wide bus boycott if the strike were not settled. The offices of Operation Breadbasket became the strike headquarters, and the situation was rapidly acquiring the attributes of another Memphis, with the civil rights movement mobilized behind a labor dispute.

However there was another side to this. When Benson, obviously under the influence of the SCLC, called upon the striking drivers at a rally not to go to the stations to stop the busses, but to "stay at home with your families", rumblings of displeasure could be heard, especially from younger black militants. It is quite likely that if the strike were prolonged and the CTA continued its attempt to operate the busses with scabs, the drivers would not have heeded SCLC instructions. A situation could very quickly develop of soldiers riding the busses, a boycott in the black community, and other actions tending to disturb the "peace" which Mayor Daley treasures so highly this summer.

Under these circumstances, with the Democratic Convention only six weeks away, already being threatened by an IBEW strike, with a Shriners' convention in town (8,000 hotel reservations for the Shriners' convention were canceled), the Mayor was moved by the urgent need to settle this dispute, the implications of which could not be foreseen. For the time being he seems to have succeeded, although there is no doubt that if the real issues are not involved, the struggle will break out again.

Railway Express Walks Out

Soon after, in the third week of July, drivers for the Railway Express Agency walked off the job in a wild-cat strike. According to the TRIBUNE of July 20, 2000 strikers stopped ALL express deliveries in the city.

The strike was directly inspired by the wild-cat of the CTA bus drivers.

The REA strike was initiated by a group of black workers, and quickly won support from the rest of the workers. Negroes make up approximately 10% of the work force. As in the CTA strike, this one was directed at both the company and the union officialdom, in this case the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. The strikers put forward a list of twenty-two demands, relating to wages, arbitrary firings and disciplinary procedures, working conditions, union democracy and supervisory positions for black workers. The general feeling of most of the strikers was a desire to get out of the BRC and into another union; Teamsters was most often mentioned.

Almost immediately the company secured an injunction to stop the strikers from picketing the depots. At this point, a number of radical students working in industry for the summer went to the strikers and offered to picket in their place. The offer was gratefully accepted, and Saturday, July 20, students were on the line. This led to some good contacts with a number of strikers.

Lesson Seems Clear

However, difficulties developed. For one thing, because of the Landrum-Griffin law and other legislation designed to "protect the democratic rights of union members" the workers found it nearly impossible to get out of the BRC in just one or two work units, where the strike was centered. Secondly, the president of the union, Dennis, promised to consider the strikers' grievances and made a number of promises in response to their twenty-two demands.

At a meeting on Monday, July 22, the strike leaders, basically an informal ad hoc group, recommended that the men go back to work. This proposal was accepted unenthusiastically and, for the time being, the strike has ended.

For labor militants, the lesson seems clear that the greatest re-vitalizing force in the labor movement today is coming from the black liberation struggle, and that any fight for union militancy must involve a fight for union democracy against white supremacy, which has become the chief buttress of both the companies and the reactionary union bosses.

DEATH OF RESUR



by Michael Hill

A solid line of white-helmeted police lined the streets and sidewalks surrounding Resurrection City. Canvas bags of tear gas grenades hung at their sides, next to their guns and the long riot clubs. Some wore face shields. None smiled. There were over a thousand of them, there to evict less than a hundred poor people from their shanties alongside the reflecting pool in the capital of the United States.

Perhaps a dozen people, mostly black, gathered on the grass facing the police lines, the Washington Monument rising through a light, early morning haze behind them.

Goddam! A black youth with a stocking cap protecting his conked hair spat on the grass.

Cool it, man. A straw-hatted Resurrection City Ranger gently urged him back. An elderly black man with a belly distended from war wounds stepped closer to the police lines. My wife and kids is in there, goddammit, and everything I own. You hit them, there'll be two celebrations tomorrow--my going to the penitentiary and your funeral!

A motorcycle cop started his engine and moved his machine across the grass, forcing the onlookers back. This thing weighs 1100 pounds, he shouted, you wanna fuck with it go right ahead. He turned, wheels digging into the turf, and stopped. He picked up a tear gas grenade as the crowd came closer, shouting their anger. The policeman tossed the round metal ball from hand to hand and smiled. The crowd moved away.

In the distance, behind the double line of police, the brown-vested eviction force moved into the campsite, riot guns held

ready. The closing of Resurrection City had begun.

Sheeit! spat a black youth, standing near a news car listening to the radio reports of the arrests at the Capitol. A white mother and daughter, medical bands on their wrists, wondered aloud if another daughter was among those arrested. The black youth danced his way under a tree. All these cops here, he said, you could rob a bank. I'm going shopping, he declared. A half-dozen others joined him. Hey! cried out a young woman who had salvaged only the clothes on her back and her cigarette lighter, get some feminine-type stuff, will you? Size 14.

An elderly woman stared at the police, shaking her head. Ain't it a shame? They won't let us alone. Ain't it a damn shame?

A quiet young Negro said to no one and to everyone through tight lips: This is the end. This is the end of non-violence.

That night the police, with the help of the National Guard, occupied 14th Street and 1600 federal riot troops were moved into the city for potential use. The police moved in quickly to enforce a hastily-declared curfew, lobbing tear gas ahead of them as they moved up the crowded street. A white SCLC worker and a black folk-singer moved in front of the police, trying to move the ever-angrier crowd away from a disastrous confrontation. The singer turned and caught an exploding tear gas grenade full in the face. The Poor People's Campaign headquarters at 14th and U Streets, N.W., was repeatedly filled with gas.

That afternoon Rev. Andy Young announced phase two of the campaign -- mass arrests followed by a consumer boycott in an effort to pressure the financial establishment into pressuring their congressmen. The plans were vague and some of the campaigners felt that the leaderless leadership was just groping for a program. Many now feel that there can be no program that works, and are increasingly critical of SCLC ideas. I'm willing to get arrested, one campaigner said. I've been busted 28 times, but while doing something that counts. But just to march up and say arrest me, that ain't my style.

The fix was in, says another, SCLC didn't know what to do next so they get us in jail and let the cops close Resurrection City for them. I'm going home and organize. And anything goes from here on in.

The defections began when the permit expired. A local trade union official, touring the campsite several weeks before its demise, asked: But if you stay when the permit expires, won't that be breaking the law?

White liberal support -- food, lodgings and money -- began falling off as the voices in Congress who had clamored for the expulsion of the poor from the capital cheered the fulfillment of their demands. A young white campaigner told a labor support committee: You are the leaders now. It's up to you, in your unions, in your communities, to lead the fight against hunger and poverty. Because if you don't if the unions and the churches and all don't do it, there's a lot of desperate people going to destroy this country. A local labor leader responded: But what can WE do?

People are fed up, said an aide to a liberal Congressman. They aren't going to stand for demonstrations and riots any more. The whole campaign was a

ANARCHO-CYNICISTS ON THE THIN FINE LINE

The battle of Berkely has sparked some new forms of political activity. At the same time a systematic repression has begun.

The Berkeley cops have lost their reputation as "better cops", and have begun an all out effort to clean up the Telegraph Avenue area south of campus.

Wayne Greene, a black Resistance organizer, has been framed in the fire-bombing of the cop which took place on the first night of revolt in Berkeley. He faces charges of attempted murder. It is well-known that he did not do it.

On July 24 Tim Conely, white and 21, was murdered by the cops on Telegraph Avenue, trying to escape from arrest after a set-up heroin deal.

There have been many busts for a variety of lesser charges: blowing a whistle on the street to warn others of the pigs' presence; illegally putting up posters; sleeping in a house that had been condemned by the University (landlord). Several mass busts have been made, complete with beatings and assault charges. One leaflet spoke of a girl who had been beaten in an arrest growing out of a plainclothes cop being spotted-- "Gail Carter (she is an epileptic) had a fit and pigs didn't know what to do so one of them started kicking her to bring her out of it."

A few weeks ago the Berkeley Barb headlined a group called the Berkely Commune. But when one turned to the story there was little indication of what the Berkeley Commune was all about.

The commune seems to be many things to many people. There are visible signs of this activity: tables on Telegraph, crash pads, free food, bail funds for people busted on the Avenue. There is a wall-poster newspaper entitled BARRICADE, and leaflets called Barricade Bullets. There are a number of affinity groups (similar in conception to the New York Up Against the Wall/Motherfuckers) some of whose names change every week. There are coordinating committees making contact with other political groups. A small group of people have begun to talk to workers, in the university and at local factories.

Boycott

In addition to these activities a boycott has begun of all Telegraph Avenue merchants who are unsympathetic to the people of the street--opposed to a mall, hostile during the disorders. Near the Commune table is a large poster with a list of the stores to be boycotted. On the sidewalk in front of every unfriendly store is a large white X.

The Berkeley Commune is both a loose group of people as well as a projection of the future. While some have talked of working toward a "disaffiliated Berk-

keley" many others view the idea of a Berkeley secession as utopian and impossible in the context of the United States. These latter speak of "dual authority"-- the existence of reactionary government along with a legitimized movement aimed at eventual control. They relate a community struggle to a vision of struggles for community control all over the United States.

It is too soon to evaluate the forces growing out of the Berkeley Commune. It is difficult to say whether the various groups will develop or dissipate. What is clear is that they have grown out of an alienation from elitist political groups, and speak of a humanization of politics. Many people on the street have been reached.

Says the BARRICADE, "defense is a broad topic, and everybody's business. Those most able are gathering information on possibilities involving every thing from legal defense, counter-intelligence, street tactics, to survival materials and self-sufficiency on the streets."

Defense is a broad topic. For while the somewhat amorphous nature of recent activity in Berkeley makes it difficult for the city to pinpoint or infiltrate, this only serves to make them more uptight.

In addition, the university, which owns everything in the area, is expanding and wants the area cleaned out.

The Reaction

The reaction in the conservative sections of the Berkeley community has been laid on thick. A coalition of about 400 representatives of 14 merchant and professional organizations is taking steps to protect the city from "anarchy knocking at the door." Mayor Wallace Johnson spoke to the group, quoting from BARRICADE. He said he considered the criticism of the police all part of a racial's plot because "these anarchists syndicalists" know that "the police are the thin fine line between Western Civilization and anarchy." ■

CHICAGO CHICANOS

BY Alba Sanchez of OLAS

In the summer of 1966 the large Puerto Rican ghetto on Division Street went up in rebellion, the first in the country. Chicago's Latin American population is growing. Latin American students, growing in numbers in certain Junior colleges, have begun to develop an organization, The Organization of Latin American Students, that will fight for the political and cultural interests of Latin American students. OLAS was founded in April of this year by five students, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, at Chicago's Loop Junior College.

The founders, Omar Lopez, Frank Quinones, Carlos Heredia, Rey Lugo, and Lupe Villarreal, have made it clear that one of the specific aims of the organization is to get Latin American students to understand the importance of returning to the communities. Lopez stated that "one of OLAS' main concerns is the rotten urban problems facing the overwhelming majority of Latin Americans in this city. Our problems are many; they include discrimination, both economic and social; overly-competitive American culture; the language barriers; and the attempts by Anglos to rob the Spanish speaking people of their heritage. Quinones made clearer Lopez' position on the community: "We shouldn't forget that we live in Chicago just because we are students. Or the USA, and that we belong with our people in the communities where they work and suffer, where many of us will be unless we forget who we are."

OLAS' position on culture is stated in their first newsletter: "Assuming our responsibilities as a minority group whose culture is threatened by destruction, we undertake a task geared to all Latin American students of rediscovery, preserving, and developing of our common historical heritage. Knowledge and understanding of our culture is for us, as all men, necessary to the understanding of our own selves." Heredia adds: "We need to rediscover our cultures, find ourselves and be able to relate our struggle here in the United States with the struggle of those fighting for self-affirmation and freedom around the world."

A relatively new organization, OLAS active membership now numbers 25. The organization's growth corresponds with awareness of exploitation and growth of cultural and political consciousness of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago's ghettos as a whole.

To date, a considerable portion of the group's activity has been to encourage the re-affirmation of their culture; "as

that happens we will grow in political consciousness too."

They have held lectures and discussions and shown a number of films, all drawing in new members. "We are encouraged by the great interest our brothers and sisters have shown".

Politically, OLAS is establishing contacts with such other student groups as SDS, Vanguardia (another Latin American student group at Chicago's Circle Campus of the University of Illinois), The Black Tambwa, and the Loop's Afro American Club. This summer a number of OLAS members have been working with LADO (The Latin American Defense Organization), a community organization that had its birth in the Division Street rebellions.

OLAS' plans for the fall include expanding to other colleges and organizing in the High Schools. Arrangements for a federation of Latin American students is presently pending organizational formation at Chicago's Crane, Wilson and Wright City Colleges and the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Lopez said that "the biggest job that faces us is to be able to create a social and political consciousness in the Latin American students and to be effective with our actions in the Latin American community as a whole. Venceremos."

LATINOS AMERICANOS
Hablen con estudiantes Latinos en Chicago
este Agosto Llame a LADO 384-3323

MARBLE AND HAMMER

men fall before the bullets
cities melt before the fires
education
politics
religion
all knowledge
must stand before a critical questioning
&
that standing is filled with pain.
youth dead, dying, or waiting to die in Nam
jails filling up with honest men
rifles
laws
bombs
all war
must be left behind
&
that separation is filled with pain.

thus begins the Revolution
a nation in pain
and we cannot remake ourselves
without the pain
for we are both
the Marble & Hammer. Youngblood

RECTION CITY



flasco. There's no more sympathy for them anymore, in Congress or among the constituents.

Meanwhile, during all the confusion, all the anger, all the recriminations, babies are dying of starvation in the Southwest. Men are replaced by machines in the cotton fields of Mississippi. Shotgun-carrying deputies are driving grape strikers off the roads in California. Rats are chewing off the fingers of children in New York.

Denied recourse through the legally established means, the poor, in their total desperation, will again explode in gasoline flames for another summer. And another. And the fear of genocide will be reinforced as racist cops move in for the annual slaughter.

Isn't it terrible, a white suburban housewife said, isn't it terrible that those people have guns? And Anthony Imperiale, boasting of his Newark North Ward Citizen's Committee's arsenal, appears on television with his city's mayor.

Isn't it terrible, a citizen says of the latest assassination, isn't it just terrible? Where is this country going? We need law and order. We can't let those people burn down our cities.

A young man, watching as the protectors

of the people began the leveling of Resurrection City, said: This is the end. They wouldn't listen. ■

LETTER FROM YOUNGBLOOD

You asked for my impressions on the Poor People's Campaign so I'll tell you what I think. I think that what is going on in D.C. is one of the most important events to happen in a long time. I don't mean the petitioning of the government to address themselves to the problems of the deprived of this country but what is happening to the people (poor) who are there and are learning what is going on.

What I mean is that people out of Marks, Mississippi (poorest county in America) are having all of the things

they've never had before (food, clothes, medicine, all which is free) and they're redefining themselves as to what their lives should be about. They're not gonna want to go back to Mississippi where they won't have these things and even if they do go back I believe that they will begin working to secure these essential necessities. Their attitudes are changing and that change is for the better.

It isn't important (only in the sense that it will show that the government can't REALLY address itself to the problems that beset the poor) if the government does make a gesture at solving some of our demands because the important thing that is happening is going on around the campfires, culture tent, and chow tent. What I mean is that poor from all over this land are sitting down together and talking about their lives and some of the things they've done and want to do about changing them for the better. I am aware what a liberal reformist bunch of shit the whole Campaign is, but let me emphasize again the changes that the poor people are going through.

A lot of "radicals" are damning the PPC and SCLC and are standing on the outside looking in and I say to that "I wonder who the radicals are"-- those who stand

theorizing about the PPC and laughing about how liberal it is or those who make a radical break with the whole way they've been programmed. One thing a good organizer learns is not to get ahead of the people you are working with and that's what most "radicals" are doing. Black, White, Mexican, Puerto Ricans, Indians, the entire spectrum of poverty is there talking and learning and it may not be radical enough for some but to me it is one of the most radical events I've ever been a part of.

The PPC isn't going to end when the big march is over and all the speeches are orated, it isn't going to end when we have to move out of the wooden city, it isn't going to end until the masters and rulers stand before the Tribunal of The People and be judged for their crimes against humanity.

I firmly believe that what is taking place in Resurrection City will someday result in change of power that we are all working so hard for; and because I have faith in people I am willing to walk, work, sleep, fight, and even die at the pace they set.

youngblood

THIRD WORLD EXHIBIT: HAVANA, CUBA

IT'S ALL RIGHT

It's all right that you sing when you cry, black brother,
crucified black man of the South;
All right your spirituals,
your banners,
your marches, and the allegations
of your lawyers.
It's all fine.

It's all right that you skate in pursuit of justice,
--Oh that innocent skater
swallowing the wind from Washington to Chicago!
Fine your protests in the newspapers,
fine your clenched fists
and Lincoln in his portrait.
It's all fine.

Fine your sermons in the dynamited temples,
fine your heroic insistence
in mixing with the whites
because the law -- law? -- proclaims
the equality of all Americans.

It's all right.

Fine.

Just great,
crucified black brother of the South.
But remember John Brown,
who wasn't black and who defended you with a gun in his hands.

Gun: a portable firearm
(is what the dictionary says)
with which the soldiers shoot.
It must be added: Gun:
was also the firearm
with which the slaves responded.

But if it happens, brother,
if it should be the case
that you don't have a gun,
we'll then, in that case;
say -- I don't know
find something
-- a hammer, a stick
a brick -- something
that hurts
something sharp that wounds
strikes,
draws blood
something.

Nicolas Guillen
Cuba 1959

CHE

Che, you know everything,
each nook and cranny of the Sierra,
asthma over the cold grass,
the speaker's rostrum
night tides
and even how
fruit grows, how oxen are yoked.

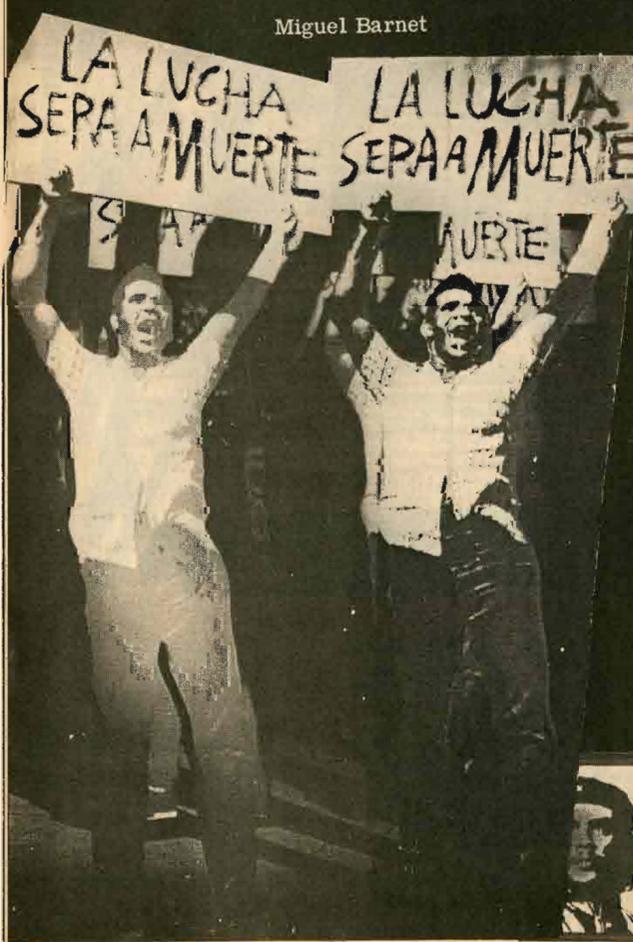
I would not give you
pen in place of gun
but it is you who are the poet.

Miguel Barnet

IT TURNS OUT THAT WE

It turns out that we
It turns out that we inhabit this world and this island
that we recommend highly
It turns out that my parents my grandparents that all my
ancestors who walked this land
It turns out that we reached this point just a moment ago
and shall have to proceed
It turns out that everyone knows us by the name of this
island
and by the speeches and the phrases and the longest
headlines
It turns out that we are responsible for the most just crimes
for the loveliest lies
and it turns out that it has cost us much to guard what
we have made
to see if they will leave us in peace one of these days.

Victor Casaus



Photos: S.F. Newsreel
Todd Gitlin and Mark Hardesty
Translations:
Terry Cannon, Todd Gitlin, Karen Wald

Editor's Note: The following article is by Ken Cloke, an attorney who spent last year organizing for the National Lawyer's Guild.

Some of our best friends have told us that reading the Movement can sometimes be a beneficial chore. Some articles have been pretty heavy. We urge our readers to read this article carefully, for we feel it raises some of the central theoretical and practical problems facing the movement today.

It has become commonplace today to speak of growing repression, and to hint forebodingly at the future of fascism in this country. No program or strategic discussion is held without reference to the subject, no movement newspaper is without continual reference to it, and few movement activists are without concern over it. But it has become imperative that we have an understanding of the effects, both in consciousness and in program, of several different analyses of repression. Ramifications of these attitudes are beginning to be seen, and political consequences are starting to emerge which necessitate close scrutiny.

To begin with, all existing analyses of the repression of the movement are both definitionally and functionally unsound. They fail not only to make distinctions between repression in the black and white communities, which results in part from a failure to understand the dynamic of coalition and the purposes of dis-unity (struggle), but they also fail to recognize a fundamental truth: that concern with and organization around repression is a function of one's political position. Primary, therefore, in any critique of a theory of repression ought to be the inadequacies of present definitions. Both action and failure to act have significance in political movements.

There are, however, several objective criteria for any functional definition of repression. Any minimal definition of repression must include the element of attack, by sections of the state apparatus, formal and informal, on a government or part of the movement for the purpose of destroying its ability to operate offensively. Repression is the use of the coercive apparatus of state power, which is class power, to crush what appears to it to be threatening, regardless of whether it is in fact threatening. It is characterized by affirmative use of the law and legal institutions to provoke and to channel the alternatives available to the movement. The symbol to which we attach the name repression may be fascism in one context and repression in another. This judgement depends on a broader analysis of total social direction, however, and is not simply made. Furthermore, repression is not just attack, it is also co-optation. Repression is not just jail, as some sections of the movement hold; it is also jobs.

Hangman and Priest

The fundamental purpose of ANY system of class power is to determine, by law, the alternatives that are available, to limit and co-opt, to buy off and destroy, but at all costs to moderate conflict to the advantage of the ruling class, to reconcile irreconcilables by making it "profitable" for people to cooperate. All of social and private law operates this way. The Selective Service System exists not only to channel those who recognize its authority, but also to determine the alternatives even for those who are in absolute and fundamental opposition to it. The same is true of the university, and of every social institution. Lenin, in his "Collapse of the Second International" wrote that all oppressive classes and societies require two primary functions to safeguard their power: those of hangman and priest. This formulation may be re-written, in modern society, as the functions of law and order, of co-optation and repression, terror and justification, force and rationalization, reality and official myth. The more sophisticated and technical the exploitation, the more complex are the expressions of hangman and priest.

At the same time, we must understand that a system does not function at only one level. Repression is not simple attack, but consists of a complex series of planned and unplanned assaults which take place at all levels. Because it is a SYSTEM, its actions may be and frequently are, contradictory to one another. Furthermore, as a class system, internal contradiction is its consistency, its reason for existence. It is also its nemesis, and the only way we can destroy it. The internal contradiction between the tendency to corporate liberalism and the tendency to fascism is illustrated in current splits in the ruling class over the war in Vietnam and is expressed as an external contradiction between the tendency to buy off opposition and the tendency to destroy it. Analysis of these tendencies must begin with a fuller analysis of monopoly capitalism.

Liberal-Radical-Revolutionary

The most essential aspect of a definition of repression is that consciousness of repression and understanding of the treatment of this question within the movement as a whole is always a function of the level of political consciousness. What is repression to a liberal may hardly be an attack in the eyes of a radical, and the agitational responses to repression by a radical may differ drastically from the way in which a revolutionary would approach the question, because both radicalism and analyses of repression are related to one's understanding of the state.

There are three fundamental periods of differentiation in the development of mass political consciousness and understanding of the state: liberal radical and revolutionary. The first stage in this development of consciousness is adoption, as a child adopts the social attitudes of those around him. The second period, the point of real differentiation, is one of opposition (negation), of a radical antagonism against liberalism, but which, in reality only the external expression of an internal antagonism against what one once believed. Having adopted the views of others, the real opposition is to the expression of these views internally, thus the need for self-definition is greatest among those people who are confronted with beliefs which most closely resemble their own, which force them to define themselves through struggle in opposition to their logical underpinnings. The most violent conflict and the worst enemy is therefore always the one who is closest, who appears to say the same things, but is in fact saying something quite different. A revolutionary (read negation of the negation) understands not only the pattern of social oppression, and recognizes the evil, but also has defined more carefully the way to overcome it. The revolutionary is characterized by an analysis of the state, which differs from the radical's view of the "power structure", which differs from the liberal's notion of the "power elite", and posits the seizure and maintenance of that power as necessary to destroy it. There is a fundamental difference in conception between an "elite", a "structure" and an entire social fabric expressed in class terms as the enemy, and consequently, there is a difference in expectation of response. A liberal will be shocked and outraged by the use of mace. A revolutionary will not be surprised at it. This does not mean that he does not oppose it, but that his opposition takes a different form because of his understanding of it.

Electoral Politics

This differentiation of consciousness is fundamental to every political question we face. For example, the question of whether or not to participate in electoral politics is a question which must be differentiated at these same three levels. The first response, that of liberalism on first seeing social evils, is to participate in

THERE MUST BE SOME WAY OUT OF HERE:

electoral activity to change society, to make reforms. Because all that is being sought is reform, there is no contradiction in electoral participation. The second level, however, corresponding to radicalism, by negation, where evils are seen in relation to one another, involves the refusal to participate in elections out of a recognition of the impossibility of reform. Radicalism does not yet say what is possible, however, and therefore rejects all possibilities. The third period of revolutionary consciousness involves, by further negation, participation in electoral struggle; first, because it can best be demonstrated to people that the process is futile, through the process itself; and second, that it is a useful forum and a place where people gather and can be spoken to, and, since it is no longer believed in, it cannot compromise effectiveness. Where a radical sees the system's strength and totality (one-dimensionally) the revolutionary sees its internal contradictions and weaknesses.

Coercion and Cooptation

This same striation of political understanding is true when we begin to speak of repression, except that the importance attached to repression, the force carried with it, is in inverse ratio to the radicalism of the movement. In addition, our degree of effective use of repression as a means of agitation is directly affected by the way in which we see it. A revolutionary will understand that retaliation increases revolutionary sentiment in a situation of decay, that history not only makes leaders, but prevents them from being effective, and that a system which is falling apart will, at the same time, the destruction and multiplication of its enemies. A system on the decline fails more rapidly in its attempts to defend itself, and by see-sawing between coercion and co-optation only exposes its bankruptcy all the sooner. Its self-defense becomes self-destructive, and it becomes

progressively less capable of mounting an all out attack. It does not understand where revolution has come from, since it cannot recognize itself as the progenitor, and hence, is always just a little too late. That margin is what we rely on. It is the margin between fascism and repression. The use of mace at one point in the movement might crush it whereas at another time it only bolsters resistance, and that socially determined over-reaction is fascism.

Additionally, it is important for us to understand that the decision that we are the enemy is made finally by the system, and not by us. The Tzar, in 1905, decided that the people were revolutionaries, and by his inability to negate himself and rid the country of feudalism, by his unwillingness to relinquish power, in short, by his reaction to their petition, they became revolutionaries. But the 1905 Revolution was neither fascism nor repression, but a weak system defending itself and, at the same time, converting its own weakness into the strength of its enemies.

Disillusionment in the orderly processes of social change constituted an experience wherein the system divided revolutionaries from reformists by deciding that all reformists who would be effective were revolutionaries. The same can be said of the evolution of SNCC from a civil rights organization to advocacy of black power, since SNCC did not suspect, when it raised the slogan of Black Power, that the government would react as it did.

There appear, during repressive periods, two tendencies; the tendency to over-estimate the power of the opposition, or alarmism, which frightens people needlessly, and reduces their capacity for struggle, and the tendency to underestimate the repressive abilities of class power, or adventurism, which is provocative, dangerous, and likewise reduces the capacity of people to engage in prolonged struggle. Neither tendency uses such events to uncover the class nature of repression, or organizes around defense for political purposes, but both are confusing in their INDIVIDUAL approach to defense.

Both of these tendencies make current analysis of repression harmful, and prevent us from effectively organizing around questions of defense. The first way in which both of these analyses are harmful is that they concentrate too much attention on the legal struggle, failing to recognize that the best legal defense, in cases of REAL repression, is made by political organizing. Both tendencies concentrate too heavily on raising legal justifications in the trial. The second mistake made in these analyses is their resultant plea for unity in the face of danger, particularly in the case of the alarmist tendency, and the failure to relate politically to those who are profoundly disturbed by their first realization of hidden brutality primarily on the part of the adventurists, by merely dismissing them as "inexperience". The plea for unity is incorrect because it overestimates the real danger and does not form coalitions based on real self-interest, but only out of a false sense of danger. It means pulling the covered wagons into a circle, and losing valuable time, when we should be moving out and expanding; it means concern with self-defense as primary, rather than concern with building the movement. It is additionally wrong, however, not to recognize that because peoples emotions are high, their grappling for new answers should not be ignored, but responded to in a responsible political way. There should be constantly projected the necessity for class analysis, and for building a revolutionary movement. Events should be interpreted and re-interpreted, making analogies to revolutionary struggles in other countries and other times, linking the issues of racism and imperialism, and demonstrating the connections between repression and monopoly capitalism. We cannot merely assume that sensible people will reach these conclusions on their own. Third, political priorities tend to be



LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY REPRESSION: HAYMARKET

determined by where the government moves to protect itself, rather than where it is necessary for us to build our movement. Both of the tendencies mentioned mistakenly assume that repression occurs when you are being effective. From this flows the preposterous conclusion that in order to be effective, we have to do whatever the government will repress.

In fact, it is not OUR effectiveness, but THEIR fear which triggers repressive action, and while the two are often the same, they are not necessarily synonymous. Merely because Dr. Spock and others are indicted does not mean that they are the most effective part of the

ferent kinds of repression. It is also true that they fail to see that the interests of blacks and whites, at this point, are different. The logic of colonial liberation always involves the formation of cross-class political organizations, where the logic of revolution involves the intensive and bitter struggle of one class or section of a class against all others, forming alliances with other classes for expediency and not out of an eventual self-interest. The Panthers are clearly representatives of the development of revolutionary sentiment out of the black liberation struggle, and they neither unequivocally support nor do they inflexibly refuse to partici-

SAID THE HANGMAN TO THE PRIEST

anti-war movement, or that others ought to do what they are doing. Moreover, repression does not occur at the very apex of the movement, but somewhere further back from its tip, because the government does not fully understand the dialectic of our development, and is always, except in a period of fascism, hesitant to attack. Therefore, our organizing priorities should not be determined by the government, or by its understanding of what we are up to, but out of an objective assessment of real needs.

Law and Class

Moreover, these two approaches to repression tend to give lawyers and legal concerns too great a scope in the crucial decisions which are made on a day to day basis, to the detriment of political concerns. They tend to emphasize a test-case approach to mass arrest situations, and to promote the efficacy of legal struggle over political considerations. We have seen numerous movements destroyed in their "legal" phases, and in concentration on courtroom battles over the battles which first brought the movement to trial, the same class society has evolved extensive legal techniques for obfuscating and diluting political struggle. Law is a "tyranny of definition", and exists not only to define the offense, but the defense as well. We should therefore relate to courtroom battles, exactly as we do to repression itself, and convert a struggle with the legal system into an exposure of its connections with racism and imperialism, with capitalism. We must move people to an understanding of class justice and to a realization of the necessity for destroying the ENTIRE system of capitalism, and not just its superficially most repressive parts. Lawyers tend to be motivated primarily by what will work in court, and are less able than the movement to demonstrate that the courts are part of the repressive apparatus. The law must be seen to exist, not simply wherever there is conflict, but wherever that conflict is irreconcilable. Landlord-tenant courts, for example, exist when, where, and to the extent that the interests of landlords and tenants are irreconcilable, to reconcile those interests in the name of a "neutral, third party" entirely on the side of the landlord. For tenants to do battle in, rather than with this court is to have lost before the battle has even begun.

In the same way, we have come to see through the student power movement that the administration exists when, where and to the extent that the interests of the students and the ruling class, as expressed through the Regents or Trustees, are irreconcilable. Through struggle, we saw that the administration was not the primary enemy, and that its pretensions to being neutral are only a guise for serving the interests of the "business community". It is also important to recognize the differences between the black and white movements, in their rate of development, as well as in the substance of their development. A reverse analysis of black power leads us to a recognition of the importance of organizing around our own oppression, but does not and should not prevent organizing around someone else's repression. The extra oppressive fact of racism makes the charge of repression a qualitatively different one in the black and white communities. But both the views mentioned fail to distinguish between these two dif-

pate in, the current spate of enthusiasm and support for black capitalism. Their repression, therefore, must be dealt with differently from the repression of whites, and even the repression of non-revolutionary blacks.

A Political Offensive

A further problem with both of the analyses of repression mentioned, is that they are seldom used affirmatively. None of the defense motions around the Spock, ET AL case contributed much to the effective organizing of draft resistance, whereas the Panther's handling of the Huey Newton case was a major factor in their organizing efforts and was integrated fully into the elaboration of a political line. Finally, both analyses are incorrect in that they tend to emphasize confrontation over organization and education. They tend to point toward cops as the enemy, rather than a system which expressed its will through cops. We are in a period of development of consciousness, organization, and forms of action, which necessitate definition through struggle. Social movements and political tendencies understand themselves and define their objectives, strategy and tactics always through struggle. This struggle, however, proceeds not just externally, but internally as well. It is found not only in confrontation with the cops, but in inter-organizational battles as well. Recognizing that only a revolutionary movement can effectively confront a system, we attempt to use confrontation to build a revolutionary movement.

Recognizing these mistakes is only part of the remedy. We must also begin to formulate an approach to repression which is expressly political, and which is organizationally continuous, not depending for its existence on the erratic behavior



of a state in decay, which sees enemies where none exist, and fails to recognize real danger where it exists. A time comes in the growth of every revolution, when even the most staid of reformist ideas are outlawed, when everyone who is concerned with social justice is branded a criminal, and when everything done to produce change is a crime. But a declaration that a given act is criminal already, by negation, constitutes a recognition that there is a SOCIAL need to do that which is prohibited. Laws against prostitution are an implicit recognition that the society has created a need which cannot be met EXCEPT by prostitution. The same is true of repression, and the crime of revolution. Repression analysis, therefore, should lead people to revolutionary understanding, it should point back into the streets, rather than into the courts, and should politicize.

National Defense

What is needed is a national organization for movement defense, which would attempt to use the courtroom as a classroom, and turn legal controversy into political education. There is no need to form another test case legal defense organization, since a number exist, including the Law Center for Constitutional Rights and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), which are quite good. What is needed primarily is concentration on mass defense and self-defense; i.e. defense of large numbers of students, rioters, draft resisters, etc., and understanding that not everyone can be represented, and that there are towns where there are no adequate lawyers; the second function of an organization concerned with repression ought to be to train people in legal self-defense. In many cases, the rules of evidence are less strict where defendants represent themselves, and the level of political material introduced at the trial rises markedly.

From Defense to Organizing

But the main function of such an organization ought to be political education; of clients, attorneys, and the public as a whole. Since it is possible to state political objectives through methodology, and to make political conclusions flow from forms of organization, there should be a conscious linking of the defenses of students, blacks, and anti-imperialist, anti-war activists, at this stage. Furthermore, efforts should be made to express solidarity with persecuted revolutionaries in other countries, as a way of linking the objectives of those struggles, and contributing to the raising of "international" consciousness. International as well as national movement defense would

necessitate a decision-making triumvirate of political leadership, lawyers, and clients, with political considerations always being primary.

A further series of purposes of such an organization also revolve around political education and the use of interpretation and exposure. Literature could be produced explaining peoples rights and lack of rights at the same time, an organizers newsletter could be produced which would explain, both politically and legally, current cases, laws etc.; local committees could be formed on particular cases, or for the defense of particular individuals; legal and medical teams of "observers" could be organized for demonstrations; those in jail could be assisted in their organizing efforts inside, and in their political understanding of current events; political strategy could be developed around trials (whether or not to pack courtrooms, disrupt, etc.); and law students and lawyers can themselves form organizations around such an attempt.

Movement defense, regardless of organization, must, if it is to be effective, project a political analysis of the reasons to a response which furthers the political battle in question. Only a coherent and differentiated understanding of the class nature of law as not only neutral, but as part of what we consider to be the enemy, can present repression in such a fashion as to move people to an understanding of what caused the repression, to an understanding of its social base. Unfortunately, the organization outlined above awaits that understanding. We are beginning to consciously direct our strategy and to realize what must objectively be done to convert movement defense to movement organizing. We must sooner or later begin to consciously direct our history, rather than reacting to the brutalities of the moment. Now is the time to build the movement. ■

SPLINTERING the BIG STICK

A dialogue between the National Office of The Resistance and Draft-Resistance-Seattle, published in the latter's recent newsletter, raised questions concerning strategy which are of importance to all groups doing draft-resistance work.

Different types of actions undertaken by the two groups arise from what is evidently an old-line pacifist-reformist stance of 5 Beekman Street's New York office, as opposed to the attack on the entire system of American imperialism and injustice taken by the new-leftists of Draft Resistance-Seattle.

The New York office, in a recent letter to Seattle, expressed concern that what they consider to be the most important aspect of the draft resistance movement -- non-cooperation -- was being played down. Their position is that "The Resistance . . . is a nationwide movement built around the simple tactic of absolute refusal to acquiesce in any way to the rule of Selective Service. For the young man turning eighteen, this means open non-registration. For the rest of us, this means terminating all of our ties to the draft. We carry no draft cards, accept no deferments, and refuse to be inducted or -- if we were one of the fortunate few who hold the coveted I-0 -- refuse to perform alternate civilian service.

"Our non-cooperation comes from a realization that deferments and exemptions are tools used by the military establishment to divide us, silence us, and prevent the growth of united resistance to them . . .

"By its own admission, Selective Service uses deferments to create a technological economic-social base most conducive to the neo-imperialist designs of the administration . . .

"Non-cooperation, on the other hand, is one thing the government cannot tolerate. This has been especially true since every act of repression has been met by further resistance . . . What a strong position for the movement: Punishment cannot deter us. And, of course, the Justice Department simply cannot ignore massive civil disobedience against the draft.

"Non-cooperation has made itself felt elsewhere. All non-cooperators face jail, and suddenly the oppressiveness of the draft is felt by their friends and families . . . Being taken to jail is one thing, but being taken there from a community of concerned friends and relatives has a radicalizing effect on that community.

"Critics of The Resistance often argue that being in jail is being politically ineffective . . . Not all Resistance people are going to jail at once. And if for some reason there were a mass round-up, the movement would probably gain ground from the political polarization following such a great act of repression. Furthermore, we should see our imprisonment as a radicalizing and humanizing experience. Much of the leadership of the old

civil rights movement got its training in federal prison during World War II. At that time, imprisoned CO's led work strikes and boycotts against segregated prison facilities. In light of these conditions, we should also ask ourselves how effective can we be speaking to lower class kids if they know we have a II-S. How effective would the movement be at all if the public knew we faked 4-F's?"

Seattle Replies

Roger Lippman of DR-S is less optimistic concerning the effect on the general population of a mass crack-down on the movement, and sees a necessity to demonstrate the connections between the draft and other aspects of American imperialism. His reply states that "there is no easy way out of the draft. Our only hope is to fight the draft collectively. We advocate resistance to the draft but we realize that we will not be able to end the draft before fundamentally changing the United States.

"Either the draft is essential to American imperialism, or it isn't. If it is, then we can expect the full repressive force of the enemy to come down upon us if we seriously challenge the draft. And at this point we are certainly not capable of surviving such repression. On the other hand, if the draft is not necessary to imperialism, the liberals will respond to our movement by replacing the draft with a well-paid volunteer army which can better conduct the business of maintaining the empire.

"In either case, it is clear that to define ourselves merely as an anti-draft movement is insufficient . . .

"He who refused to cooperate with the draft, therefore, only makes a beginning. He does not speak to the many other institutions of imperialism. Indeed, in his highly moralistic stand, he implicitly DENIES THEIR EXISTENCE.

"Making the moral or political decision of non-cooperation with the draft does not automatically lead to anti-imperialist consciousness. The function of organizers is to move people from their gut-level feelings of oppression and alienation to a broader understanding of society.

"Thus, in addition to the above criticisms, we question the effectiveness of

HUEY, Continued from Page 1

In the end, the 73 year old Judge Friedman, without pausing to deliberate, ruled against all of Garry's motions on jury selection.

So far Garry's motions to expunge or reduce to a misdemeanor the prior felony conviction of Huey Newton have also failed. This motion is important--a felon who takes the stand in defense of himself can have his testimony impeached. A prior felony make also make a difference in sentencing.

Questioning of Jurors.

Political education continued with the questioning of prospective jurors. Questions focused on the nature of white racism, on the concept of black power, on attitudes toward open housing and black-white relations. Garry also sought out attitudes toward cops and the Establishment.

Both Garry and the DA were allowed twenty peremptory challenges as well as an unlimited number who could be excused for "cause". After more than a week of questioning prospective jurors a jury was chosen. Motions made by Garry as to the unrepresentative nature of the finally jury were denied.

With some jury panelists Garry was warm, friendly, curious, reassuring. With others he was openly hostile and aggressive. At first some observers became uptight watching Garry bait a panelist. But his actions were far from purposeless. Over and over carefully controlled tight-lipped establishment-type racists broke their cool in response to Garry's probing--finally getting themselves excused for cause by the judge.

Every racist Garry could get eliminated this way meant one more peremptory challenge left to get rid of those who maintained their cool or lied consistently. In this way, Garry finally eliminated a woman who maintained her "impartiality". She had a longtime friend, a police officer, who, she eventually let out, had visited Heanes, the wounded officer, in the hospital.

Garry also elicited the comment from an "unbiased" man that he had moved out of a neighborhood because "too many blacks were moving in". He believed that "everybody feels that way". Significantly, as the trial proceeded, fewer whites denied they had heard of white racism, but many said they had first heard or thought about it when Garry asked questions of previous jurors.

Prosecutor Jensen wound up using fewer peremptory challenges than Garry (who used all he had). One black man was left on the jury, a former Army officer and now a lending officer at the Bank of America. There is also one Japanese man, and two persons of Spanish descent. Jensen eliminated all other black people, many on peremptory challenges.

Put Politics in Command

The decisions in running the defense have been entirely political--even where they called for actions contrary to those a "smart" criminal lawyer might make. Primarily, this is because all final decisions are made by Huey himself. When one course of action seems to offer the best hope for a strong defense, but another is clearly the action which should, for political reasons, be taken, Huey invariably makes the political choice.

It took a week and a half to select 12 jurors and 4 alternates because Garry could not, as in a normal trial, settle for the "best available" jury. For months the defenses had worked to produce evidence that the jury selection system prevented a black man, of lower economic status, from getting tried by a jury of his peers. With a primarily white, middle class, middle-aged jury, containing not one single member of the West Oakland ghetto which is Huey's home, sitting on the jury box before him, Garry had no choice but to challenge all those he could before his challenges ran out. He could not rest with what was merely the best possible panel under the system. He had to try for a truly equitable panel including a cross-section of the entire Oakland and West Oakland community, to show the court what it should be providing.

Offensive Defense

If Garry's opening statement after the pre-trial testimony is any indication, the trial will continue to be more, and not less political. This stress is tied with the total dedication to prevent the State from legally assassinating Huey, and to deal with the evidence and legal points. Politics is seen as primary, informing the more strictly legal defense, and thus strengthening it.

Garry traced the Party's history to show why the Alameda and Oakland police are so uptight about the Panther's educating black people to their rights. He outlined the result--systematic police

persecution of the Panthers and their leader. "The Black Panthers became a symbol to the police, and the word was out--Get Huey Newton."

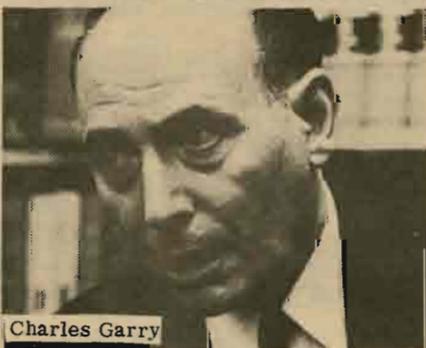
Movement lawyers have been talking about taking the offensive in court cases, mounting a political defense. The Oakland Seven made a beginning in this direction, but the Huey Newton case is a milestone: the first to put theory into practice on a large scale.

Within the legal defense itself this position is still maintained. Garry's first words in cross-examining Officer Heanes, who was wounded in the October 28 incident were, "Did you shoot and kill Officer Frey?" He never only DEFENDED against the prosecution witnesses, always refocused the blame, turning the basic issues into political ones at the same time as shaking up the witnesses' testimony.

Outside The Courtroom

One of the most serious impediments to previous attempts to make court appearances into offensive, political, and educational actions has been the separation of street action from court action. Months later some people appear in court, accompanied by their attorney and a few friends. The only real organizing that is done is a few headlines in the left press, or perhaps in a big case, some local rallies and fund-raising.

The reverse has been true of the Huey



Charles Garry

Photo: Jeff Blankfort

Newton case. A mass political organizing effort was built from the time of his arrest, through his many months in jail, to the present. Many people in the Bay Area were first politicized in regard to the black liberation struggle through exposure to the case. In rallying support the Panthers and Peace and Freedom have educated and organized people around black liberation as well. The coalition itself was first formed around the issue of Huey's defense.

Mass Actions

The opening of the trial was met by mass rallies in the part of West Oakland (re-named Bobby Hutton Memorial Park) and at the courthouse. Thousands demanded that Huey be set free. These rallies were stirring: the depth of feeling exhibited by many blacks and whites, the beauty, dignity, and discipline of the Panthers.

But the Panthers have not gotten hung up on large demonstrations. Within the first week, they switched from picketing and chanting to holding their political education classes on the courthouse lawn. By the second week the major emphasis was being channelled into the community. Panthers travelled with sound trucks, passed out leaflets and rang door bells in the black community. They also spoke to numerous groups of whites, aided by the Peace and Freedom Party. Several white defense committees have sprung up, one putting out a mass circulation newspaper entitled OAKLAND TRIBUNAL, and then planning large demonstrations and door to door work in the white communities of Alameda County and San Francisco.

Electoral Campaigns

At the same time the Black Panthers have utilized other approaches. They are running numerous political campaigns with freeing their leader as a main political focus. Eldridge Cleaver is running for President of the US on the P&F ticket in New York and California, and is a candidate for the national P&F nomination (See stroy, p.3). Melvin Newton, Huey's brother, is beginning a year-long campaign for Mayor of Oakland. Bobby Seale and Kathleen Cleaver are running for assembly in their districts and Huey himself is being run for Congress in the Berkeley-Oakland 7th Congressional district. All P&F candidates have "Free Huey" as a major plank. While there are many other political focusses of all of these campaigns (they all, of course, seek to spread and implement the ten point program), all stress educating the public to the need and desirability of freeing Huey Newton.

At the same time, the defense and publicity has catalyzed a national formation of Black Panther Parties in several key areas of the country, and the growth

COP WAR IN CLEVELAND

by Tim Hall

Cleveland--"Black people have assumed the right to kill the oppressors." On the evening of July 23 an unknown number of black nationalists engaged the Cleveland Police Department in a gunfight, killing three cops and wounding fifteen. Two nationalists were killed and one wounded. A leader of a nationalist group, Ahmed Evans, gave himself up on the scene, reportedly saying he organized the whole thing.

After the gun battle and on the next two nights some burning and looting took place. The National Guard was called up the night of the 23rd, but the following night white police and Guard were removed from the riot area to let "community leaders" police the ghetto. Looting reached such a level that the cops and the Guard were called back in the following night and a curfew established, apparently at the request of local businessmen.

A huge political battle between right and center has erupted since, with the police attacking the Stokes administration from the fight for allegedly providing money for Ahmed's guns through the Cleveland Now buy-off program and for removing the troops and cops from the ghetto.

Murder and Payoffs

That's the outline of a pivotal event in the black movement. Now some background.

Since the civil rights movement, organized activity in the Cleveland ghetto has been centered around public and private agencies and around several groupings of cultural nationalists. During the spring of 1967, fires and looting were very

of the Panthers in Oakland itself has been remarkable.

To The United Nations

The Panthers took the struggle to an international level by attempting to bring the case before sympathetic members of the United Nations in July. Cuban, Tanzanian and other delegates met with uniformed flag bearing Panthers following a Panther press conference in the Church of the United Nations. They have assured the Party members of their interest and support.

The Black Panthers are seeking Non-Governing Organization (NGO) status at this time, so that they may more fully bring their position before the UN. As they approached the UN Eldridge Cleaver explained that since Huey is being accused of running a "military" organization his case belongs in a military tribunal. There he should be tried by his peers--the revolutionary generals of the world: Jomo Kenyatta, Mao Tse-Tung, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh. The proper people to choose this jury, he said, would be the revolutionary students of the world. The first juror would be chosen by the students of France.

While the battle inside the courtroom has been focused on trying to impanel a jury of Huey's civilian peers, the Panthers do not at all recognize the jurisdiction of the reactionary civil courts to try Huey--nor the legitimacy of racist-imperialist "law and order".

Free Huey!

It will be some time before the full impact of this trial is felt and understood. How successful it has been as a program of political education remains to be seen.

Here are already some indications of its success. Press and spectators have benefitted a great deal. Through the press, who have reported much of what Garry and the pre-trial expert witnesses have said, a large segment of the public has been opened to new concepts and information concerning the judicial system, capital punishment, and racism. If the left press is as successful in disseminating the information, and most importantly in projecting and analyzing the methods of defense and organization used by the Panthers, the trial can have a tremendous impact upon the future.

Free Huey. To understand what that has come to mean for many, one would have to understand the love of one man for another, the love of a man fighting for liberation for his leader, the love of revolutionaries for a fellow revolutionary. Cleaver has said, "We would rather be witnesses AGAINST the execution of Huey Newton than witnesses OF it. If you try to kill Huey, you will have to kill all of us first." The numbers of black and white revolutionaries who love and respect Huey Newton has grown, as has their depth of feeling. As will their anger and revolt should Huey Newton be taken from them.

The trial has begun. ■

heavy and it looked like the city was headed for a major rebellion. Ahmed himself predicted mystically that May 9 was the day, but it didn't happen. The candidacy of Stokes, a liberal Negro Democrat, for Mayor cooled things for the rest of the summer and up until a week ago. Ahmed and other nationalists even joined the Stokes campaign.

Incidents took place that forbode what was to come. Earlier in the Spring of 1967, a young black man who had been involved in one of the first nationalist groups, the Jomo Kenyatta Freedom House, allegedly shot and killed a white cop. He has been convicted and is headed for the chair.

Ahmed's black culture shop was raided several times and on the night of May 9 a high official of CORE and an NBC camerawoman, both from New York, were arrested there for a housing violation. Harassment of the nationalists continued under the Stokes administration, and early this spring two defenseless kids were killed while running from the cops, one black on the East Side and one white on the West Side.

Meanwhile Stokes set up a whole series of buy-off programs in both black and white areas of town and many militants went to work for them. The Hough Area Development Corp. this summer channeled funds to three nationalist groups, Ahmed's among them.

How the guns were purchased and who was in the group is not generally known, but other militants say that Ahmed's group had decided "to plan to do something" and were ready to die. The city government and FBI claim that they had advance word that something was planned but they didn't know what.

OEO And Cops

As one story goes, Walter Beach, Stokes' black Youth Opportunities director and former Browns defensive back, was sent to Ahmed's early in the evening of the 23rd to settle a dispute over the eviction the day before of Ahmed's cultural shop from its storefront. As Beach left, it is said, he stationed two black cops to watch Ahmed's. These cops were then ordered away from the area by the white cops and the shooting began.

According to Ahmed, he and his brothers had just visited the nationalist shop in Akron, where during recent visits the cops had barricaded the shop with men, women and children inside, and had fired volleys of tear gas inside. Ahmed says he was lying on his bed at 6 P.M. the 23rd when someone came in and said, "The beast is on the scene." He looked outside and saw the cops shoot down a black man who was running away from them. Ahmed says he took his gun into the bushes and began shooting. He kept firing until his gun jammed. He took the rifle apart, re-assembled it, and when it still jammed, he offered to give himself up.

In the cops' version, they were never told of any plans or arms caches, and on that evening one of their two trucks was innocently called to tow a car on Ahmed's street, driven by two unarmed civilians in police uniform. When the truck arrived the driver was supposedly shot from an apartment house. His partner called for help. Car after car of cops arrived, without heavy weapons, the cops claim, and cop after cop stepped into the line of fire and went down.

At a recent hearing yet another version of how it started came out. Late in the afternoon of the 23rd, a police task force of plainclothesmen were stationed at each end of Ahmed's block. These cops testified that they saw some Nationalists come out carrying guns and wearing bandoliers of ammunition; the cops then ran away. They did not report this to the 5th District police station, but only called other task force cops. So when the tow trucks arrived, the drivers did not know there were people with heavy guns there.

At the same hearing a black cop testified that he was next to one of the white cops when the white cop was killed. He was allowed by the Nationalists to retrieve the body and was not shot at. Later, in return, the black cop flushed the nationalists from the building with tear gas and killed two of them.

Things reached such a state that cops were refusing to respond to calls over the police radio and the central station broadcast a warning to them to examine their cars for boobytraps if they had left them alone. One police car was stolen and the driver fired at the cops as he drove away. Nearly all squad cars in the city were sent to the area, leaving only one in each other district. The Guard was alerted before the gunfight was over. At one point, Ahmed called out that he would surrender to a black, but none could be found to arrest him, so he finally surrendered to a white.

The cops finally killed two of the

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NEW WIND IN BABYLON

Cleaver for President?

These days, in martini-filled ruins, with principle swept under the wall to wall bullshit carpet, bald-headed racist-imperialists are making the decisions which affect our lives.

Among these decisions: who is the best salesman at home and abroad? Buy American democracy--it contains a special secret ingredient: exploitation.

As the Republican Convention platform shenanigans were taking place, as millionaire candidates tried to line up their horses in readiness for the opportunist horserace we call electoral politics, something else was happening in Babylon.

A man from the black ghetto, a man who has received his education in the prisons of California (so that he has what he calls a "higher uneducation"), the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, has been nominated for President by the Peace and Freedom Parties of both New York and California.

Eldridge Cleaver for President?

Into The Breach

It's obvious that the controllers of the United States are sweating this election much more than usual. The ghetto revolts. Dissatisfaction rampant. Contempt for property and spreading hatred of the enforcers of law and order. A losing war in Vietnam. Youth in uproar. There are differences among the controllers as to which is the best method of control--and the best candidate.

And don't think for a minute that any major candidate doesn't fit into this scheme. Powerful and reactionary business and government forces may well support a man like McCarthy as the best controller, the smoothest salesman. The man to keep imperialism alive and well.

At the same time the movement has not taken advantage of the state of the nation or the divisions among its rulers. We are UNORGANIZED. The ideological and financial offensive that has begun in behalf of soft-sell imperialists who wish to cool the internal and external colonies has cut into our ranks. Repression has proceeded.

The Cleaver campaign sees itself within this context. It is focused on education and organization--an effort to sharpen the movement in a more united and coherent fashion than has been the case. It seeks to expose the realities of America, present a positive and radical program, clear the way for the tasks ahead.

The campaign began when Cleaver was in jail. Since then it has built up a substantial following. Cleaver has been released for the time being--though he faces charges of attempted murder in the incident which led to the murder of Bobby Hutton.

The campaign has set forth the following goals and concrete programs.

The Goals

1. ON THE AMERICAN EMPIRE: The US must be forced to withdraw troops from Vietnam and throughout the world; dismantle foreign bases; cancel all military and other AID programs which serve to maintain American political-economic dominance. With withdrawal of US troops, bases, and military aid, the peoples of the world will wrest control of their own resources from the stranglehold of US corporations. When this occurs, the US should extend no-strings-attached aid to people's governments (not reactionary oligarchies) in the underdeveloped world--not to build markets for US goods, not to maintain cheap raw material sources for US industry, but to enable these peoples to industrialize, mechanize agriculture and generally satisfy their OWN needs. These principles apply also to the internal colonies of black people and other minorities in the United States. Without justice, there can be no peace. Without disarming the world's Number One warmaker, there can be no justice.

2. ON BLACK LIBERATION, CHICANO LIBERATION, AMERICAN INDIAN LIBERATION: Our goal is political and economic self-determination for our people. Over the years, the ruling elite has proved unwilling to relinquish its power over our lives, unwilling to stop brutalizing us, incapable of reforming its rule in any fundamental way. Our liberation will require a root change in the political and economic structures of this country, taking power from the hands of the ruling elite and placing it in the hands of the people. While this is our ultimate goal, OUR IMMEDIATE AIM IS COMMUNITY CONTROL--control of local schools, police forces, and all public agencies operating in our communities. The demand for community control builds a strong local base, and is the logical first step toward self-determination in the larger society. Community control includes, of course, the people's right of self-defense against attacks by agents of the power structure.

3. ON THE U.S. ECONOMY: The US must be forced to dismantle the war machine, and put the enormous savings to work to meet the desperate human needs of millions of Americans--for jobs, quality schools, free transportation,

decent housing and public health facilities. Although the demand for federal spending on people instead of munitions is reformist and falls far short of our objective of people's control of all resources, it is a good interim demand--PROVIDED THE ADMINISTRATION OF FEDERAL MONEY IS ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF GRASS ROOTS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. We must continue to expose government AID programs controlled by bureaucrats in Washington or state capitals (or by local city halls and courthouse gangs) as ruses to dupe the people--ruses, in fact, to increase the government's control over our lives.

Community Action Programs

The broad programmatic outlines of the Cleaver campaign are tied to more specific community action programs. The campaign hopes to function as a tool to actively support local struggles, as well as beginning to relate local struggles and groups to each other.

1. JOBS: Guarantee jobs to every adult American able to work--useful jobs, which build liveable communities on sound ecological principles, create schools and hospitals on a human scale. (Demand job programs under community control, with jobs for the unemployed, especially black unemployed.)

2. HOUSING: a. Protect tenants and small homeowners victimized by exorbitant rents and taxes (while the Bank of America gets a \$2.5 million tax break on its San Francisco headquarters), by setting up community-controlled Rent and Tax Control Boards. (Support actions like the San Francisco rent control/tax relief petition drive, and the Los Angeles housing marches against evictions.)

b. End all "urban renewal" and "model cities" programs, designed for corporate profit, which force poor and working people out of their communities. (Support struggles against local "redevelopment" boards.)

c. Build decent low-cost housing, for use not for profit, in such a way that existing communities are not leveled or disrupted. (Demand community control of all projects, tenant control of public housing.)

3. SCHOOLS: Quality education has priority, not gimmicks like bussing schemes. (Demand neighborhood control of schools; small classes; TEACHERS, not classroom cops; bilingual instruction; curriculum changes to include history of the black and Mexican-American peoples; labor history, replacing the history of rulers with the history of peoples. Support actions like the high school students' revolt in Los Angeles.)

4. POLICE CONTROL: Disarm and disband police forces of the present type. Replace them with public safety guardians, living in the communities where they work and serving the people not propertied interests. (Demand civilian review boards in the cities; abolition of "tactical squad"; and end to police use of Mace gas. Organize immediately community police control boards to observe police and collectively protest abuses. Support actions like the "Recall District Attorney Coakley" and "Free Huey Newton" campaigns in Alameda County.)

5. GUN CONTROL: Take the guns from the cops and the Army, not from the people. Unless there is total disarmament, the people would be defenseless against attacks by what is becoming an increasingly repressive police state. The Vietnamese would be enslaved today if they had disarmed while the US war machine kept its weapons. (Organize to defend the Second Amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing the citizen's right to bear arms--one of our few remaining defenses against tyranny.)

6. LABOR: Build a new labor movement representing workers, not union bureaucracies which make deals with management and sell out the workers. (Join rank-and-file struggles to end discrimination in the unions; to obtain amnesty for James R. Hoffa; to oust corrupt

union leaders; to fight the speed-ups in factories; to organize agricultural workers; to improve wages and job conditions; to win decent job tenure and security against lay-offs. Join the fight against government strike-breaking and "wage-guidelines", and against the prohibition on strikes by government employees. Support struggles like that of the Rheem workers in Richmond, viciously attacked by strike-breaking police.

7. TAXES: Remove the tax load from ordinary people and put it on the corporations, which benefit from the "help business" spending policy of the government. (Join the fight against sales and gasoline taxes, which hit us hardest; against the 10 per cent war tax surcharge; against the telephone war tax.)

8. HEALTH: Guarantee free medical care for every man, woman and child. (Fight

arguments. It makes clear that radical change can never come through electoral struggle, but only through a people's movement. Yet the campaign believes that, at the present time, a straightforward campaign can be a catalyst for more widespread struggle in the future.

It will seek, through speeches, educational materials and participation in local issues, to present to a broader section of America a systematic and concrete program for radical action.

It hopes to begin to tie together movement networks and isolated groups while projecting the eventual alliance of black, brown and white in a principled coalition. Cleaver is one of the men most responsible for the alliance in California between the militant Chicanos, the Peace and Freedom Party, and the Black Panther Party. The alliance has proved to be not only workable, but advantageous to all concerned.

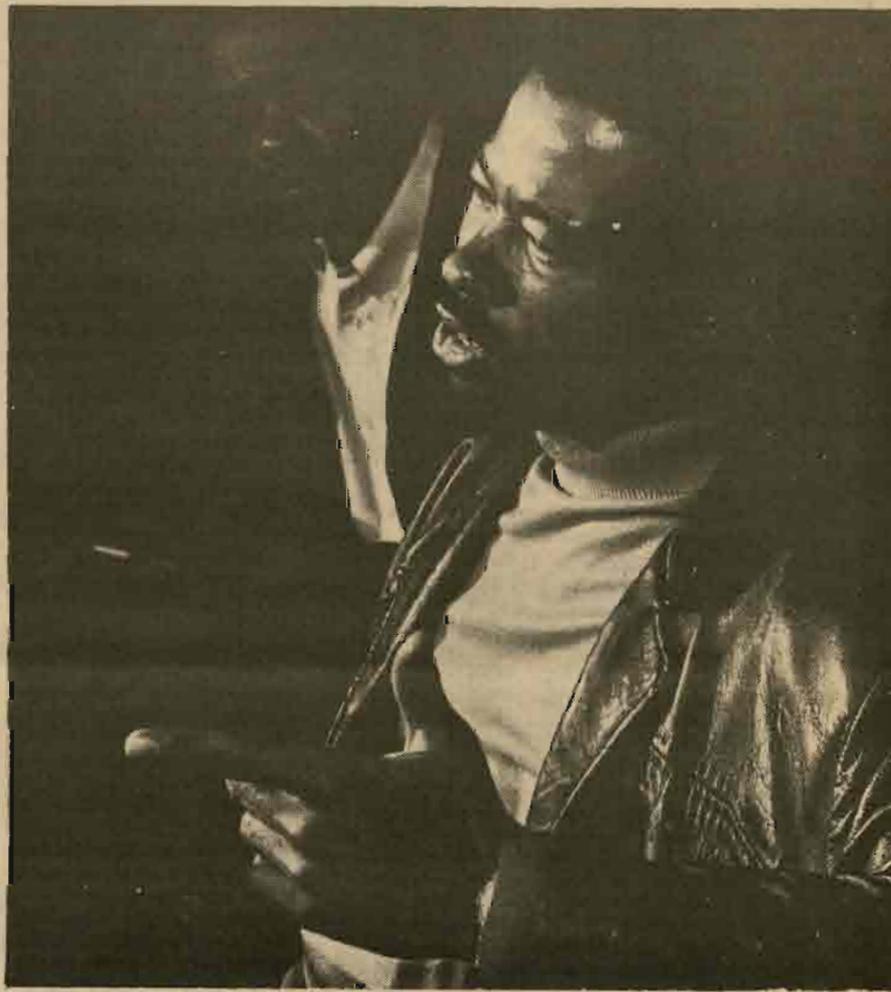


Photo: Jeff Blankfort

to expand and modernize the scandalously crowded public health and mental facilities, where adequate care is impossible. Fight to end government complicity with drug companies, which results in price fixing, exorbitant profits and inflated drug prices the poor cannot afford. Fight for a National Health Program.)

9. PUBLIC TRANSPORT: Establish free fares on city buses, trams and subways. (Support the San Francisco fight for free MUNI and BART fares, to be financed by taxing downtown corporations, not working people.)

10. PRISONS: Abolish the archaic, inhumane prison system and replace it with centers for real rehabilitation of those who commit crimes against persons. (Join the fight against capital punishment; against political imprisonment; for the prisoner's minimum wage. Assist prisoners in organizing for drastic reform of the penal system.)

11. CORPORATE EXPLOITATION: Organize people's resistance to the corporations and banks that control and exploit their communities. (Support actions like the Oakland economic boycott, the boycott of Lucky Stores, the boycott of scab grapes from Delano, and the coming P&F boycott of the Bank of America.)

12. THE DRAFT: Abolish the Selective Slavery system. (Support local actions of draft resistance and organizing within the Armed Forces.)

Electoral Politics

There have been many movement arguments about the best way to relate to electoral politics. Some argue the whole process of running candidates, regardless of why or how, can only lead to contamination--playing in THEIR ballpark by THEIR rules. Others, who stress community organizing, see electoral organizing as superficial, aimed at votes or certain to end with the elections. The Cleaver campaign recognizes these

Allied to this projection of program and coalition is a vision--a positive picture of what America might become were the politics of the campaign to spark a movement toward power.

The campaign hopes to build wider support than has already taken place for Huey Newton. The importance of this facet of the campaign cannot be underestimated. It speaks to the question of racism. It speaks to the confrontation between the most politically advanced group in the country and the power structure. It speaks to the injustice and racism of the courts, the treatment of political prisoners and the oppression of the prison system. It speaks to the recognition of Huey Newton as a brother and leader.

Finally, the Cleaver campaign believes that a radical campaign with these goals, within the present context of major candidates with no answers, will help to expose the present electoral system for the closed-circuit slave of imperialism that it is.

The Real Nitty-Gritty

At the core of the campaign is an analysis of American society. The major facets of this analysis should be familiar to MOVEMENT readers--last month's interview with Huey Newton added new dimensions to its meaning. The analysis is beginning to test its strength and accuracy in practice.

The analysis contains two central features. First, it relates the movement for national liberation in the black colony of the United States to the class struggle in the mother country. The goal is revolution in the mother country and liberation in the colony. Working coalitions can and must be made with white revolutionaries, to link the two struggles whose character is different but whose common and necessary goal is the same--the destruction of American imperialism.

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ANTI-DRAFT NEWS, Continued from Page 11

your tactics in developing political consciousness. Draft card turn-ins have brought and continue to bring publicity to the resistance movement, but otherwise their value has been small. Many people make the decision to turn in their cards without a great deal of understanding of their relationship to the political order. And for whatever reason, that understanding has not been developed after non-cooperation ceremonies. The SSS has returned cards to many young men, who become frightened, keep their cards, and drift away from the movement. Furthermore, we have found that family and friends have NOT rallied to the support of non-cooperation, nor have they begun to become a radical force.

"Draft Resistance-Seattle is working with high school students, at the University of Washington, and in two Seattle neighborhoods. Instead of engaging in a program of non-cooperation, we are organizing around issues of imperialism, both foreign and domestic. We relate the draft to Vietnam (and other counter-insurgency operations); to the Black liberation struggle and the military response; and to the oppressiveness of such institutions as the high school and the university. We look toward building a strong radical youth movement which can be a part of a radical movement of adults and youth strong enough to thoroughly restructure America."

New DR-S Project

The following description by Roger Lippman of a project getting underway in Seattle is also reprinted from the DR-S Newsletter (4126 Roosevelt Way N.E., Seattle, Washington 98105):

Draft Resistance-Seattle is about to

begin a new organizing project, based in the Greenlake area. The immediate aims of the project are twofold. First we must begin to reach out systematically to young people affected by the draft. Work in a particular neighborhood, as I will describe below, seems to be a trouble putting our own people to work. People come into the office and offer to help, and we don't know what to say. The Greenlake project should create meaningful and educational work in which many people can be involved.

To get the project started we will be opening a store-front office which will serve as a focal point for the project. From there we have in mind several different approaches to reaching people, which I will briefly outline below.

- 1) With the help of the draft board, we can obtain the names and addresses of people who are I-A. Then we approach the I-A's by mail, phone, or in person, to talk about their relationship to the draft and the war.
- 2) Leafletting about the draft in the community in general.
- 3) Spending time where neighborhood kids hang around, such as beaches, bowling alleys, and drive-ins, to get to know them and talk to them.
- 4) After extensive research into the composition of the local boards, we should have plenty of ammunition to aim at the draft system. For instance, none of the members of board #1, Greenlake-Ballard, lives within the boards's boundaries. Perhaps we could call for demonstrations at the homes or businesses of board members.
- 5) Offering draft counselling and using it to build political consciousness.
- 6) Leafletting and talking at the induction center, especially on days when

people we know have physicals or inductions.

7) Following up the high school contacts we have in the area, with an eye towards working intensively at several schools in the Fall.

8) Guerrilla theater and music activities.

9) Organizing adults (particularly parents) around draft related issues.

10) Raising money, printing literature, typing, arranging for publicity, and many other essential tasks.

Quitman, Mississippi -- Mississippi Justice and the Selective Service System are working hand-in-hand to put away another Black activist.

John Sumrall, who has been in the movement there since 1963 and was arrested many times in various counties for his activities, has had the draft board on his trail since 1965. Until May of 1967, pending court cases kept him safe from the draft, but he then found all his cases dropped and an induction notice in his mailbox.

Of his refusal to take that final step forward at the induction center, Sumrall says: "Because Black people are systematically excluded from not only Mississippi draft boards, but most draft boards in the country. Also, the reason for my induction in the first place was to get me out of the area where I was working because I was active in the Black Movement. Also, I do not believe in U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam."

After his being sentenced to five years and fined \$2500 by the Kennedy-appointed Judge Cox, Sumrall appealed to the 5th Circuit Court, where the conviction was upheld. He is now appealing to the Supreme Court, and while he expects to lose, wants to give the case maximum publicity.

He will be travelling outside the state speaking and trying to gain as widespread support as possible. Support or inquiries may be sent to John Sumrall, P.O. Box 398, Quitman, Mississippi 39355.

Draft Board Research

Boston (LNS) -- The Boston Draft Resistance Group has prepared a seven-page brochure on draft board research. The Group says that such research is "absolutely necessary, first as an invaluable aid to counselling, and second as a means of understanding the bureaucracy against which you are fighting." The brochure is available from the BDRG at 102 Columbia St., Cambridge, Mass.

Science Against Man

San Francisco -- Strong evidence indicates that the government has had its coterie of mad scientists and mindless technicians working overtime in yet another fiendish plot to suppress just and necessary dissent. The latest in their seemingly endless succession of diabolical schemes is a draft card which, after careful testing by our own liberated scientists, appears without doubt to be almost non-flammable!

The first evidence of this latest outrage was noticed at a Resistance rally here in support of Dr. Spock and others of the Boston Five on July 10, when it was discovered that the ten cards to be burned took nearly an hour to burn to an average of medium-rare.

Our chemists are working on the problem. In the meantime, it is suggested that a large number of the cards, when properly fastened together, will make a more than adequate hand protector for picking up hot tear-gas grenades.

HAIGHT, Continued from Page 3

wagon.

All the while, the original people becoming disillusioned with the Haight and educated by the cops and hustlers, finding out first-hand now what America is about. Some leaving, others moving in, they too moving on, always becoming educated. Some dropping further out, deciding to go into the mountains; others vowing not to be driven out; a few deciding to defend themselves if necessary. All the while, the new kids discovering that the mass media image is little more than that.

The First Confrontation

The major confrontation with the pigs occurred last February. Then, late one Sunday afternoon, one of the gawking tourists ("Oh, look at that one over there . . .") "How very cute . . . how much did it cost you, dearie?" "Well, I never!!!! And right in public!!!" hit someone's dog. A group of people, deciding that dogs were nicer than cars, sat down in the street. More people, deciding that people were nicer than cars too, joined. The riot squad, already convinced that Law and Order is nicest of all, started busting heads.

A few people, having read about Joan Baez and flower power and things, sat down in the street. Others, seeing the results of that, started to defend themselves the best way they could. Bottles rained down on the pigs, and the people retreated as the pigs kept coming. Macing, clubbing and grabbing people too slow or naive to get out of the way. People back in the streets, throwing bottles. On the roofs, throwing bottles. And just being there. Another sweep, sporadically the pigs beginning to fire tear gas at the people standing out of their reach. The people somehow not terrified at the gas, another surprise for the pigs.

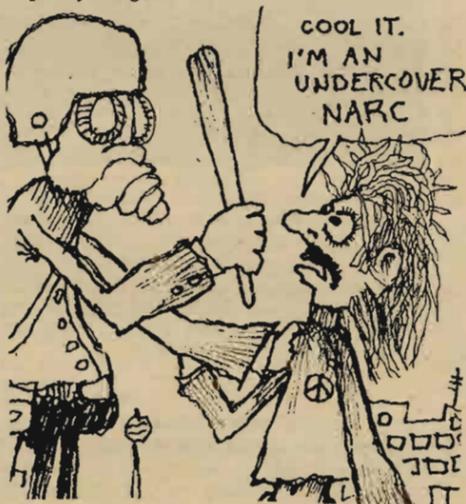
Police Whistles

The pigs finally managed to force the people off the street with clubs, chemical MACE, motorcycles, boots, a few bullets through windows from which people dared to gaze upon their countenance, plenty of arrests, and finally a massive gas attack. But somehow they had failed to win the hearts and minds of the people, and for days after, the people made sure no pig's presence went unnoticed. "Police whistles" were passed out and shrill warnings were heard up and down the street every time a load of pigs would cruise by (especially embarrassing to the "plainclothesmen"), the pigs stopping every half block, looking frantically for the people with the whistles, unable to spot them.

Whatever more the rebellion may have been than simply a demand for a "free street", it wasn't articulated as any more by the "leaders" with whom the city chose to deal. Setting a pattern later to be followed in Berkeley. The issue of control over one's own life was reduced to having a street fair on Sunday and

resolved by a Mayor's proclamation which allowed this for two weeks while the people forgot.

During the following months the Haight has steadily taken on more and more the looks of a slum -- with winoes and speed freaks becoming more in evidence and with many of the earlier residents leaving. Word gets around; not to everyone, but to enough people that most of the expected summer influx of kids hasn't occurred. But resistance to the pigs has continued, with occasional bottles and rocks heaved at the cruising cars and paddy wagons.



Rumours fly as people speculate as to why a particular incident has developed into a riot when things have cooled off any number of times when the pigs have left and not pushed a bad situation. Are they just practicing for when the Black ghettos go? Were they trying to divert attention from the Huey Newton trial? Does the riot squad have to keep busy in order to justify its existence? Whether or not that was their purpose, the pigs' inept handling of a tense situation following a narcotics bust touched off the rebellion which had been building for months.

People on the street are, from appearances, much less together now than following the February action. There were no leaders to articulate demands, or even channel energy into a street fair as then. There are no "police whistles" this time and people seem to have already forgotten about the riot itself, not to mention doing anything for the people still in jail. If anything is happening, it is in the communes and "families", off the street.

People may not be talking about "affinity groups" as centers of resistance, like they are in Berkeley, but the groups are there, and the potential for them to act in a politically meaningful way is certainly there too. Small groups of people, often living under the same roof, in which there is a feeling of trust and brotherhood not found on the street, may soon become the source of action in the Haight.

CLEVELAND, Continued from Page 12

nationalists in the backyard of the apartment house and literally burned and blasted the house and the one next door to the ground. (Two days later they were digging up the rubble with a steam shovel looking for the remains of other nationalists.)

Early the next morning the Guard came into the city. By that time fires were burning on 10-15 blocks of Superior Ave. including some of the Muslim businesses), and several black people had been shot and killed in other parts of the ghetto, one as a looter, another by white civilians. Altogether nine black people died.

Guardsmen were deployed in small numbers in the ghetto that day while black "community leaders" demanded to be allowed to police the area themselves that night. Stokes agreed to this, and Guardsmen patrolled the perimeter of the area while black members of the administration, black cops, ministers, Cleveland Now program leaders and a few nationalists policed the community.

Cops Protest

No one was killed or injured that night (as far as we know) but looting reportedly mounted up, and the protest of the cops and the Guard officials the next day was loud. That night, the 25th, a 9 o'clock curfew was set and the Guard went into the area. The action was over. There were Guardsmen or armored personnel carriers on nearly every street corner.

The cops, the Guard and military intelligence meanwhile opened their attack on Stokes with grandiose conspiracy claims. Major disturbances, it was said, were to take place in Detroit, Chicago, and other places, and would conclude in disruption of the Democratic Convention. Assassination plans were reported against Stokes and Negro councilman from the gunfight area, Leo Jackson. Then followed attacks for pulling out the Guard and cops, and for allowing Ahmed to get Cleveland Now funds. At one point Safety Director McManamon, a Stokes man, refused to meet with the head of the Guard.

The papers interviewed cop after cop about how they were ill-armed and not forewarned, while the TV stations interviewed various black leaders about how the money got to Ahmed. Then two NBC cameramen announced that they had been beaten by the cops while filming an arrest. One has been charged with assault on a cop (he's in the hospital with a ruptured spleen and a broken tailbone). The story gave strength to Stokes and the center. CWRU president Robert Morse spoke for the University Circle complex (big business and government research) and backed Stokes. The head of the NAACP attacked the cops for racist profanity over the police radio during the rioting. The edge in the battle was retaken by Stokes.

Last week, 600 cops met and unanimously demanded the resignation of McManamon, but Stokes supported him. The political situation is still in great flux, with Stokes bowing to the police demand for guerrilla warfare training, increased manpower and added weaponry including shields and heavy guns.

White Response

As for white response, Movement for a Democratic Society and the Cleveland Draft Resistance Union held a fifty-person demonstration at City Hall the 25th supporting the revolutionary acts. The Guard was leafletted intermittently with a fairly good response. White people in working-class neighborhoods seemed both scared and impressed by the nationalists' actions.

As a general conclusion, the actions opened up new possibilities for motion. As in Detroit last year, a model city blew its cool, only this time it was the most advanced model, complete with a rags-to-riches Negro mayor. Serious black organizing is now far more possible than it was, though a wide fear reaction in the ghetto against the nationalists will probably require that that organizing be based primarily on a political program like that of the Panthers. On the other side of the color line, it is now easier to talk to whites about class unity with the blacks (that blacks, even the nationalists, are after the oppressor, not the white per se), although the immediate consequence is a rise in Wallace sentiment.

A story in the city edition of the Press, the more right-wing of the two daily papers, is a weird indication. It prints an interview with Ahmed followed by a written statement in which he asserts that he "killed no one". "The guilty party," he says, "in case you missed the old gent, was at home in his easy chair, smoking a twenty-dollar cigar and contemplating the means to make more . . ." The story didn't make the suburban edition.

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COUNTRY AND WESTERN, Continued from Page 5

and learned stuff about Black people while seeing Butterfield play at Southside Chicago's Blue Flame at 39th and Drexel with Howlin' Wolf's old group. As the movement spread and developed on campuses in the sixties, a lot of those kids were part of what was happening.

The media ties into the development of a youth culture in this country. That youth culture crosses class lines. It's not more important than basic considerations of class, but it's an opening through which some activists of middle-class background can come to know and work with a particular people, leading to organization on the basis of class interest.

On Hating America

Many movement kids have grown up with a general dislike for their surroundings. TOO OFTEN IT'S BEEN "THE PEOPLE" AND NOT THE "RULING CLASS". America is not only "fascist", but "unintellectual". The University has a funny way of reinforcing a dislike for poor and working people. After all, that's one of its major functions. For many of those from working class backgrounds who go through it, the university does often castrate their desire and ability to talk with people where they came from. Many of different "generations of the left" just don't dig America. Even the hip-political student cultural scene where most are now situated becomes a drag.

The cynical, "do your own thing", "where do you go-search for identity thing", characteristic of too many, lies in part with what Todd Gitlin in "Cuba and the American Movement" (THE MOVEMENT, April 1968) calls "externalized good": "Generations on the American left have externalized good; we needed to tie our fates to someone, somewhere in the World, who was seizing the chances for a humane society; or WE NEEDED AN EASY DIVERSION FROM THE HARD BUSINESS OF CRACKING AMERICA." It used to be Russia, now it's the obviously important Third World Revolutionary scene (Cuba, Vietnam, China . . .) Overcoming its failure to deal with the rest of the world has been important for the New Left in America, but we might just tend to be overdoing it given our task at home.

Hating people is a mistake; every time we make mistakes in building our movement, we hinder the struggles of revolutionary brothers and sisters throughout the world. Building an isolated, ineffective and irrelevant movement will damage our hope for winning, for those who will follow us, and the hope of people struggling everywhere. Grasp the lesson learned by one of us while visiting Cuba during the Cultural Congress: while Irwin Silber of SING OUT magazine was publicly condemning virtually all American cultural forms (some will also recall his earlier vicious attack on the electrification of Dylan), Carl Davidson was getting worked over by a guide, a young fighter in the revolution. She responded to his put down of Americans with "who do you think you are? You can never win

if you hate the people." We can't forget that love of people is a helluva a lot of what being radical is all about.

An American revolution can only come when we have lived in America, reflected it and come to understand its essence.

Attack The System, Not The People

People put down the music because they put down the people. But if you're human, Radicals, you don't reject a people whose kin survived going west with Grapes of Wrath, were always present in the battles of the CIO, WHO PROVIDED A GOOD SHARE OF THE BACKS AMERICA WAS BUILT ON. You shouldn't slander these people you shouldn't reject them. Instead you ask "what happened, why, what is it that we must understand so that we can work better and change it?" It's a good and strong people, wracked by tragedy injected into people by "the system", yet possessed of as much or more radical potential as any other group of people in the society. THE PROBLEM ISN'T IN THE PEOPLE, BUT IN THE CAUSES, THE ROOTS OF OPPRESSION.

We're talking about Capitalism. The forces influencing the growth, development and spread of C&W are the same as those forces that have kept too many Americans of many backgrounds poor, exploited, oppressed and robbed of their human potential.

Capitalism's educational and communication arms have deprived working whites of an awareness, knowledge and understanding of positive parts of their history. It's a history of a running battle against oppression and exploitation, just to "keep on truckin'". A Southern woman in Chicago makes it clear: "The only thing I knew about my people's past was that we lynched niggers; in school they never told us that we were a part of one of the most militant labor movements in the history of the world." The denial of discovering history is blatant; in Kentucky High School History books John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America is described as "a labor leader famous for his bushy eyebrows!"

Too many radicals must start to take steps to understand what Capitalism has done to them in making them contemptuous of C&W and, far more importantly, working people as a whole. Just why is it that most middle class radicals today have failed to deal seriously with poor and working white people? On the surface, for many, it's because in contrast to movement among middle class youth, there hasn't been radical motion among very many young white workers--the movement has failed to reach them, largely because it hasn't tried. That significant motion hasn't occurred among young workers lies largely in Capitalism's ability to CONCEAL FROM WORKING PEOPLE AN INTELLECTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE RULING CLASS. But don't forget that Capitalism HASN'T BEEN ABLE TO CONCEAL AN EXPERIENTIAL AWARENESS OF THAT CLASS. That experiential awareness has yet to become manifest, and a lot of that is because radicals haven't helped to make it happen.

In contrast to this situation of intellectual and experiential awareness of the ruling class on the part of young workers, let's get it straight that for the overwhelming majority of the middle class, Capitalism has hidden the visibility and awareness of the ruling class, both in terms of intellectual understanding and actual life experiences. Oppression for the middle class, including most movement people, hasn't been in the form of cops on the street, desperate economic situations (including constantly being strung-out on all kinds of payments,) working conditions, rotten educational, medical and social services, etc., etc. Instead, it's pretty much been in people's heads. Sure, there's been THE THREAT of the draft, alienating universities, some cop action on campus and hip-political community riots. What the student movement has done is important, but it could become like a bee-hive--it can be dealt with, unless it can build alternatives. The student movement must begin to realize that its most important ally is everywhere.

Basing nascent theory only ON CURRENT motion and experience, most of the movement actually lacks an analysis, and tends to reject poor and working whites. Some "new-left ideologues" attempt instead to create a class of their own, planning a movement based on alienation, age and what the society hasn't provided for OTHER people. These things, certainly not utilized in organizing to the extent they could, have allowed us to move kids on campuses. They're damn important, but we can't forget there's a lot of other people out there and they possess much of the power to stop the machine. Remember that many of them are young, alienated, anti-authoritarian, anti-military, anti-cop and THEY'RE SHORT-CHANGED A WHOLE LOT MORE ON THE MATERIAL END.

Learn The Real Enemy

The system runs deep, and it's prevented too many movement people from getting into and understanding people that have got to be dealt with. It's a tragedy that even when the activist from the middle-class possesses the foundations of a radical analysis, it too often plays second fiddle to an emotional rejection of non-middle-class whites. This response, characteristic of many whites who were pushed out of the Black movement, results from a constant exposure to an extensive mis-education system, with its ever-reinforcing liberal-mass-media.

That media has in the past constantly blamed poor and working whites for racism, not racism's institutional causes.

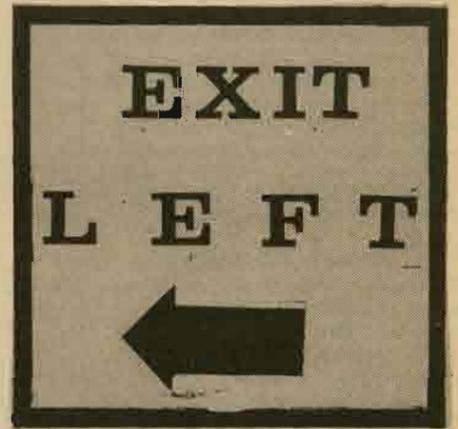
The media works the other way too. Just as Blacks were told for years that they were inferior (and too many of them were forced for too long to believe it and live it in their lives,) the media and educational system has shaped working and poor whites' perception of themselves. "I'm a racist". It took Blacks and a lot more whites a long time to get over the Amos and Andy bull shit. It will take a lot of work and consciousness

building to purge the news, stories, movies, Beverly Hillbillies, etc. that have twisted minds of working whites too long.

The detrimental influence of the media on both classes (and radicals coming from both) flows from Capitalism, the enemy. That system is responsible for class fear and prejudice running much deeper in the middle class than most middle-class rooted activists--former acceptors now-rejectors of melting pot-classless-Capitalist-ideology-- could ever have imagined or been aware. Vocational vs. college preparatory classes segregate working and middle class children well. The middle class learns to fear physical violence (except on the demonstration) and stays clear of the big (working class) worlds where it's reality--for survival. All this while their own comfort and class-based opportunity is rooted in oppressive violence--once-removed--they don't have to see what gives them their small privilege. Much of the movement is afraid, afraid to come to know, live with, work with, and understand our potentially revolutionary brothers and sisters. Possessing a deep rooted sense of material security that compensates for and conceals the middle class variety of class-based personal insecurities, MANY ANXIETIES THAT PREVENT MOVING INTO A FRIENDSHIP AND ORGANIZING SITUATION WITH YOUNG WORKING PEOPLE ARE REINFORCED. Unless the potential of young working people is understood, and some changes in where some radicals work are made, the movement in the long-run could become little more than an incestuous mutual admiration society.

Pandora's last words in THE GUARDIAN on C&W were: "The pop music of tomorrow? . . . Could be. Sometimes the punishment fits the crime." Let's get it straight: too many so-called radicals commit a crime, an inhuman crime of hating millions of people, and the punishment may well be detrimentally contributing to the building of an isolated, irrelevant movement, a punishment of failing to make of our lives and our movement, what they could be.

Get it straight: America IS a heartache, a heartbreak. It's a giant broken promise. But if we're going to make it, we had better understand that and deal with it. We can't deal with America from its fringes; we can only deal with it by getting off the interstate and getting into Kitty Well's (and a lot of other people's) corny "Back Home in Heartbreak, U.S.A." ■



CLEAVER, Continued from Page 13

Second, the analysis links the struggle for black liberation with the struggle of colonized people around the globe for

national liberation. It sees as its allies peoples under the rule of imperialism and peoples who have already liberated themselves. This link is an important one for it relates not only to the war in Vietnam but to the system which called the war into being, and sees the common goal as destruction of the system, not merely to end the war.

The campaign seeks to project this analysis and its potentialities for a unified movement throughout the country.

Objections Raised

The Cleaver campaign has been criticized from two main directions.

On one hand there are those inside Peace and Freedom and those on the periphery of the Democratic Party who see the campaign as "too radical". Those in Peace and Freedom argue for a more moderate candidate, in order to draw into the party people who become disillusioned with the McCarthy candidacy after the Convention.

Those outside P&F find the image of Peace and Freedom Party itself as "too radical" and want to build a "fourth party" tentatively the "New Party". This New Party, planned in part by Raskin and Waskow, seeks to draw in dissident Democrats and build a mass base. It has no candidates as yet (both McCarthy and Hatfield have refused) but wants a "credible candidate" by which it means one with national status and one over 35 (Cleaver is 33). It also seeks "inde-

pendent Republicans". The New Party looks forward to the "moral radical influence of Peace and Freedom". It is uncertain about the "Free Huey" position.

On the other hand the Cleaver campaign has been criticized by those who think that all-electoral politics is illusory and divisive. While many of these people, such as national SDS, give full support to the Panthers program and per perspectives on coalition, they feel that the Peace and Freedom Party is not a possible vehicle for social change and that, at best, the combination of a Cleaver campaign with Peace and Freedom can only lend radical credibility to a party which, in part, is composed of persons seeking to make political mileage on the left, in order to lead it down a co-optable path.

Objections Countered

The campaign argues that electoral politics tend to gravitate toward the center. Often the hope of uniting more people behind a more moderate platform has led to a dissolution of potential for real change. It feels that only a candidate and program who represents a straightforward and well-articulated radical position has the chance of preventing this shift toward the center, of advancing the movement, and laying groundwork for a more organized struggle after November.

Further, the campaign argues that the radical position need not be alienating to large sections of the American people (40% of whom do not vote already). It compares the Cleaver candidacy to the early demand for IMMEDIATE WITH-

DRAWAL which many said would destroy the movement but which strengthened it. It compares the experience around the Huey Newton trial, where debates raged on Fair Trial vs. Free Huey. Many have now come around to the FREE Huey position because of its inherent logic and proven necessity.

Finally, the campaign argues that the Panther program and Cleaver's articulation have in fact drawn people into the movement, not alienated them. The Panthers and Cleaver manage to put into forceful and understandable language many of the most complex issues and relationships in this society, and have proven their ability to relate to people usually not touched by radical mouthings.

In regard to those who take a hands-off position on electoral politics and find even the conflicts in Peace and Freedom over candidates a reflection of the evils of American society, the campaign takes a different position. It does not want to blow itself up out of proportion, and stresses that electoral politics is not the name of the revolutionary game.

It does feel, however, that it would be wrong not to assert the voice and build the power of the movement through utilizing the campaign. Given this position, it is felt that only by projecting a program and candidate that is uncompromisingly revolutionary can a movement be built. Otherwise they feel the movement will be sapped by less coherent, less political or more moderate leaders. The best way to fight those who wish to twist the Peace and Freedom Party movement to the right is by supporting a candidate whose influence will counter them--

Cleaver for President

The movement prides itself on its disdain of personalities--and it is clear that the candidacy of Eldridge Cleaver is not based on mass media coverage and artificial image. Yet the movement should also recognize its leaders, examine their thought and abilities. In this respect Eldridge Cleaver stands as an articulate, dedicated, and often instrumental spokesman.

The jail of the ghetto, the bars of this nation, the prison itself, the political thinking and organization of the Black Panther Party present a language and an experience, a rage and a humanity, that cannot help but speak eloquently to the need for a broad movement toward revolution in this nation.

The national convention of the Peace and Freedom Party will take place in Ann Arbor Michigan on Aug. 17-18. Sure to be present there are many of the arguments raised in this article, as well as new ones in a fast-changing political context. As yet there seems no one clear-cut candidate for the Vice Presidency.

It is perhaps easier than many of us suspected to get caught up in various forms of that vile disease--election fever--but it is also important that at a crucial turning point in the history of our country and our movement that we seek ways to reach out, clarify, and strengthen the loose alliances and groups which we call the movement.

The campaign of Eldridge Cleaver has its eyes on that prize. ■

From A Digger Poem

I. The recent death of capitalism has everybody fucked around and confused. Private enterprise laissez faire legally murderous piracy GONE already buried to be replaced by what? If it doesn't have a name, how can you talk about it? And what about the garbage? WHO'S GOING TO COLLECT THE GARBAGE? Now there's something you can talk about . . .

II. America 1968 so incredibly wealthy that the local spiritual crisis is what're we going to do about the garbage. the economic crisis how to distribute the garbage, the political crisis who's going to collect the garbage and why should anyone want the job, while in the oblivious streets attention has suddenly exploded into flesh bodies and the various ways of rubbing them together. The Evolutionary Credit & Loan Association has terminated our contract, stamped it PAID IN FULL, and the planet is ours at last. Sudden flashes that maybe those five thousand years of time payments

-all those payments ON THE DOT- all those food wars and social cipher contracts were gestures of empty anxiety. Now that it's ours and we can take a casual look around, well there's so much GARBAGE. 4 billion people camped in the planetary wilderness and somehow WE FORGOT ABOUT THE GARBAGE. Our wilderness is turning sour. IT STINKS! No place in the cosmology of planetary physics for garbage. What? What an astounding oversight! What were our ancestors THINKING about?

III. America a nation in 1968 so incredibly wealthy that all morality is based on the problems of EXCESS: fantasy executives and governmental spies running wild-eyed down the corridors of control: "There's too fucking much of it!" "It's completely out of control!" "power leak! Power leak!" The cells of power grow wild: un-disciplined freedom cancer. Sudden flashes that the future of bureaucracy spy systems lies in garbage control. People are USING it, picking it up FREE on the streets, living on it, they no longer respond to the seduction of the state, there's no way to get a HOLD on them. Pomposity suicided and rigidity machines put to work at a furious clip: all this garbage must be catalogued and filed, garbage destruction teams trained, parking lots on the tillable land, thousands of well-programmed garbage experts march to work each day to GET IT DOWN ON PAPER, enormous factories hastily tooled for garbage conversion. "By God, we'll make napalm out of it." Youngsters who don't understand it's all been paid for already. are given guns! given napalm! and shipped to parts of the planet where there MAY be people who MIGHT be hip to OUR garbage and MIGHT WANT SOME OF IT FOR THEMSELVES. The situation complicates itself incredibly. Computer engineers make it worse: the machines don't UNDERSTAND power, sex, and control: the machines program useable garbage and forbidden fantasies of FREE. The Secretary of Garbage Control considers dropping acid and getting it over with. Systems of control grow schizophrenic . . . they writhe and contort in involute paranoia. SYSTEMICIDE MAKES HEADLINES.

GARBAGE OR NOTHING



IV. America a nation so incredibly wealthy in 1968 that all morality is based on EXCESS: true American career counselors now ask only one question. "Do you want to produce garbage or do you want to collect garbage?" Industrialist or politician? Fishfarm or junkyard? The young people want no part of it, of course, what with garbage their natural matrix and medium. Produce it? Collect it? They want to fuck in it! The career counselors build marvelous constructions of seduction and mystery, they tran-substantiate symbol money into sex into power into death insurance into pleasure. But it's just THINGS, it's garbage, it's overflow and the young people know it. They throw the career counselor out the window. Who's going to collect the garbage? who knows? who cares? Let's use it to act out our fantasies, use it for unimaginable gratification. A cellophane bag represents 5000 years of machine history, inventors suicided by their inventions, aeons of garbage dedication, paid for in cancer wombs, in fallen cocks, in the crazy waste of our fathers. Generations dead of lacklove sold for 29 cents. Your birth certificate is your final credit card.

Footnotes .

The straight world is really serious about this. They are scared. In one week in the San Francisco Chronicle we get the following information: San Francisco produces 1500 tons of garbage a day. American makes 440,000 tons of garbage a day. It costs more than \$3 billion a year to get rid of it. There is a man named Richard D. Vaughan who is chief of the Health, Education and Welfare Department's SOLID WASTES PROGRAM (There IS a Secretary of Garbage Control, see stanza III). He wants to make ski slopes out of garbage. He says: "Hills with ski slopes, amphitheaters and soap box derby runs can be built on mounds of solid waste in pancake-flat areas of the country providing the citizenry with unique experiences." But there is another man in Japan who wants to build cities out of it. The ultimate anal-retentive act! We quote from the Travel Editor: "If an inventive Japanese businessman named Kunitoshi Tezuka has his way, you may someday be driving on garbage, living atop garbage, or working in a building made of garbage. "Cities may be reclaiming land with garbage and using blocks of waste to keep back seas and rivers. "Refuse", says Tezuka, "is treasure." He has invented a press that squeezes garbage into a block, wraps it with chicken wire and dips it in hot asphalt. The entire plant is automated. No one has to touch the garbage. Mayor Daley of Chicago flew to Japan to discuss the Garbage Crisis with Tezuka. He's scared. We at THE MOVEMENT feel that the problem is even more serious than it first appears. The definition of garbage by the power structure is too narrow. They are only worried about commodities that HAVE BEEN USED. But what of the garbage before it is used? Most of the Gross National Product is garbage! What about the garbage cars, the garbage dining room sets for \$299.95, the garbage hair straighteners, encyclopedias, newspapers, detergents? What about the garbage fashions, clock radios, books? They have to be SOLD first! THEN they get to be carted away, squashed into blocks, burned, buried, sunk at sea, reconverted, melted. After the Revolution -- think of all the things we won't produce, because nobody wants to . . .

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