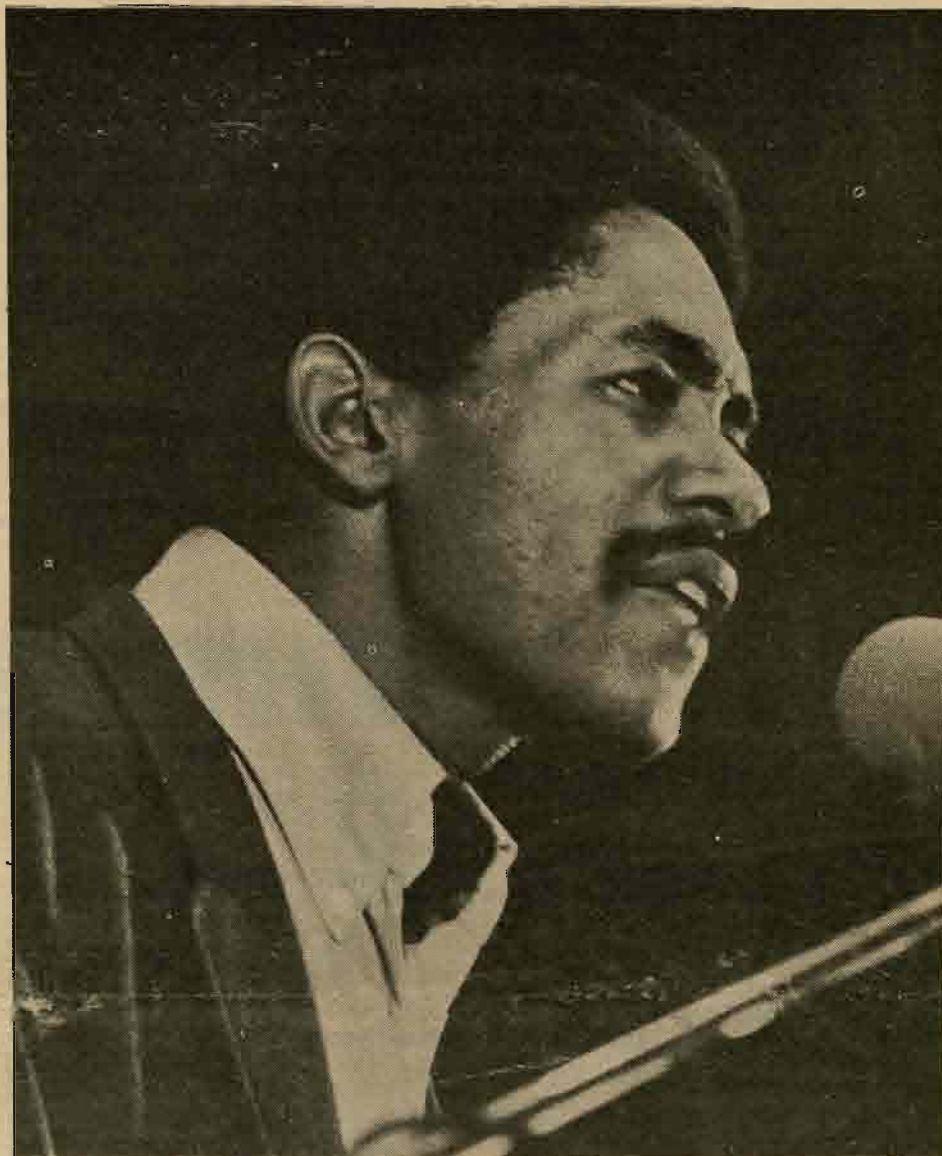
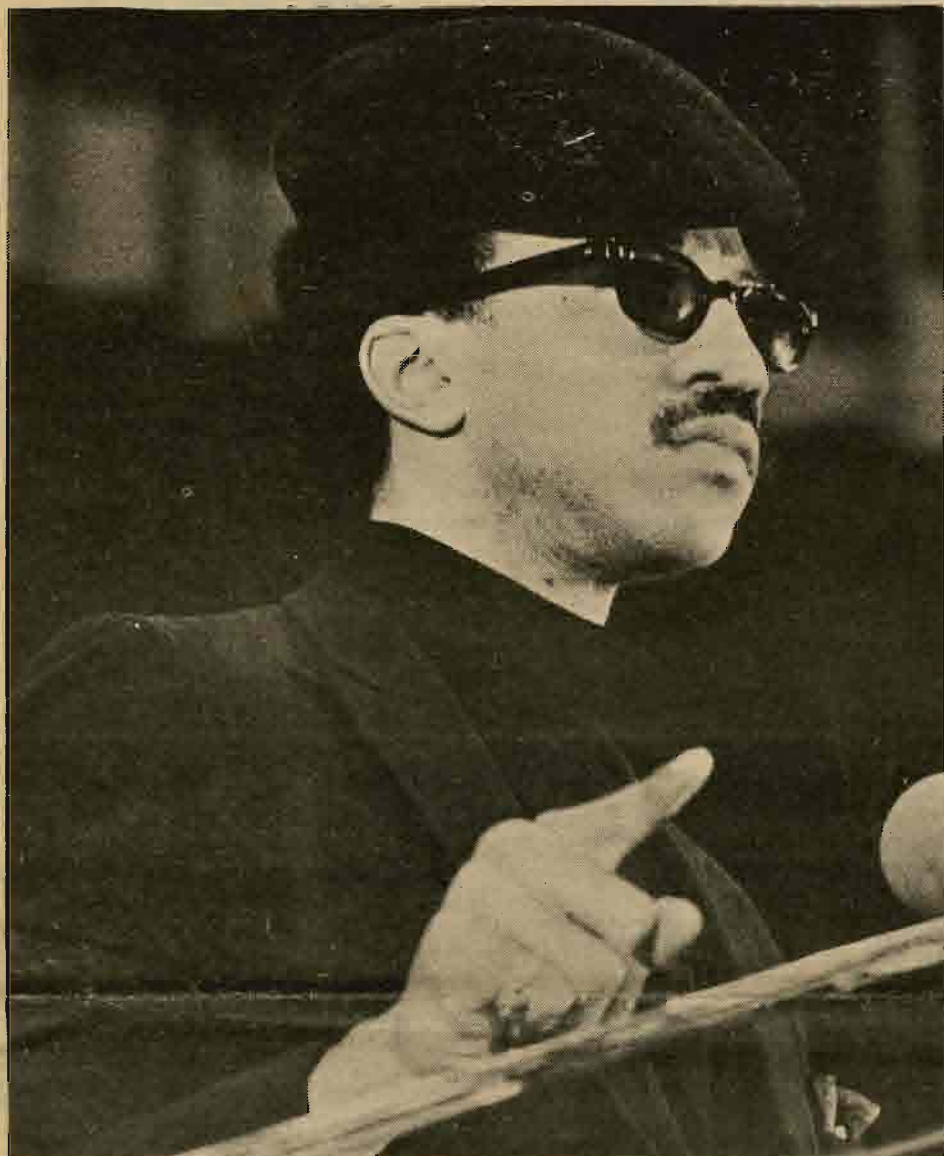


**GITLIN ON CUBA
STOP THE DRAFT WEEK II
BLACK PANTHERS
ORANGEBURG MASSACRE
LAUREL, MISS. STRIKE**

BLACK MOVEMENT:

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE



Rap Brown (left) and Bobby Seale at Huey Newton's birthday party

On Wednesday, February 21, Rap Brown was arrested and charged with violating his bail restrictions. Subsequently he was charged with threatening the life of an FBI agent. These new charges and the excessive bail totaling \$100,000 are seen as a clear signal that the government is planning to lock up black militants before next summer. Arthur Kinoy, Rap's lawyer, talked about these new developments at a meeting of the steering committee to combat repression the weekend of Feb. 24. These are the facts:

Two Bonds

Rap (was) on two bonds:

(1) Louisiana FEDERAL court: phony charge of carrying arms across state line while under indictment. Absolutely unconstitutional. Kinoy notes a conviction on this has never been sustained to our knowledge.) Bond on this charge permitted him to speak with the court's permission.

(2) Virginia FEDERAL court: he was bailed out pending an appeal of extradition from Maryland to Virginia based on charges of "inciting to riot, inciting to arson." Bond restricted him to Southern District of N.Y. except to consult with attorneys. This is now on appeal to the Supreme Court on the basis of First Amendment violation. If the restriction is sustained, preventative arrest will have been sanctioned at the highest court level.

But the government wasn't satisfied. On Wednesday, February 21, the government took a huge step. Rap had to sign an "in forma pauperus" paper for his Supreme Court appeal. Kunstler (also his lawyer) was in California, so he went there. While there, he spoke publicly. The government swore out an arrest warrant on the La. and Va. bond restrictions. Kinoy pointed out that the restriction didn't say Rap couldn't speak publicly while visiting his lawyer. On Tuesday, February 20 he was arrested in New York City. The government wanted to ship him right down to Louisiana. Rap demanded to see a lawyer. New York Federal judge refused to send Rap to La. under

a \$100,000 bond as requested by the government. The federal judge in N.Y. released him and instructed him to go to Louisiana.

In Louisiana

In Louisiana. Judge heard government's application to revoke bail Wednesday, February 21. Four FBI agents testified they heard Rap speak in California. During the hearing, as Rap's lawyer was giving his summation, the government interrupted to say they were filing charges of a high felony against Rap. THIS WAS A WHOLE NEW CHARGE. According to one of these FBI agents, Rap had threatened his life during court recess. This is not true and there are 10 witnesses to the fact that Rap said: "You are a Tom and I hope your children don't grow up like you."

His bail in La. previously had been \$15,000. At this time, \$5,000 was forfeited as a fine for violation of bail restrictions. \$40,000 was added to the remain-

ing \$10,000 making for a total of \$50,000 on the original charge.

Rap was then taken before a U.S. Commissioner on the high felony charge — threatening the life of the FBI guy. Another \$50,000 bail was set. Now the total bail is \$100,000. The federal judge told Kunstler that he did this to keep Rap from going around the country burning down cities.

Virginia

Then on Friday, Rap was taken to Virginia. Bail there was revoked completely. No new bail was set. When no bail is set, general procedure is for the prisoner to stay in that (Virginia) jail. But the judge took the position that Louisiana courts had precedence over the Va. courts. (Our interpretation is that Virginia is too close to Black D.C. and Rap was therefore shipped back to Louisiana where it is much harder for the Movement to rally support forces.)

The day the \$100,000 was set, they filed emergency application for an immediate hearing on the setting of reasonable bond pending a full hearing.

THERE IS A NEW AND QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN FEDERAL COURTS ACTIONS. The decision has been made that in response to uprisings and "fair-

er" reports of the causes (e.g., new jersey, president's commission) the government will jail militant black leaders as soon as possible. This has been made known to the courts and the courts are responding.

Note: the charges in this (and so many other cases) are so obviously untenable in trials or on various appeals, that they aren't even worrying any more about the frame ups themselves. Bail is being used instead, way before any of this comes to trial.

What We Do

Rap is fasting and seems determined to stick with it. This term of the Supreme Court (the only place where he could possibly get any relief on this bail) will be over in 2 months. Then he's in till the middle of next fall at the earliest. The chances of his dying in jail are very real, as are the chances of our losing this court fight. (Kinoy noted he's never been surer of the rightness of his case or more frightened of finding no way to win it.) SO ...

Our only chance is a massive public campaign to put some political counter-pressure on the court. This campaign is necessary to expose what's really going on, to mobilize, and to try to get him out in time.

MONEY MONEY MONEY

The same old refrain. We're sorry, but we're also desperate. We owe \$900 in back rent, close to another \$900 in printing bills. WE NEED HELP! If you want to see the Movement newspaper continue, now is the time to think seriously about sending a contribution, a generous contribution. We don't want to fold, people, but we've got to have more support. Write to us. Send \$\$ The Movement, 449 14th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103.

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THE MAN DOESN'T HAVE US OUTNUMBERED,

A birthday party was held in the Oakland Auditorium for Huey P. Newton, the imprisoned leader of the Black Panthers. On this evening of February 17, six thousand people, both Black and white, gathered to support Huey, and to hear what some of the leaders of the Black Movement had to say to them. Sitting on the stage, waiting to speak to their people about Huey and what his imprisonment meant to the Black community, were James Forman, Rap Brown, Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers, and Stokely Carmichael. Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panthers acted as moderator for the event.

Survival

The emphasis of the rally was on survival, survival through the summer, survival of the Black people in this country. The Black people must get together, to support Huey, to support and protect themselves as a community. This was the exhortation of the leaders. James Forman announced the merger of SNCC and the Black Panthers. The form of organization is to be based on that of the Panthers. Stokely Carmichael will be Prime Minis-

ter, Rap Brown will be Minister of Justice, and Forman will be Minister of Foreign Affairs. Forman also explained how the Black community must respond to the murdering of its people, especially its leaders . . . retribution and retaliation. Power plants, cops, and for Huey, "the sky's the limit!" Rap Brown emphasized the need to do more than think about survival. He talked about having to prepare the community for the upcoming battle, both mentally and physically. We can't let the Man walk over us any longer, we can't be "chumps."

Black Unity

Stokely Carmichael urged that the Black community start getting itself together, to unify itself against the Man and all his tricks. He emphasized that "every Negro is a potential Black man." there is no time to talk about artificial divisions within the community, such as talking about middle class, lower class, because there is only one class in the Black ghetto, the colonized. Black men were brought to this country and were maintained as an internal colony to serve the white man. Now, however, Stokely stressed, the white man no longer needs Black people to do his work, and there is a history of genocide in this

country.

He also stated that the Black Movement must become allied with their Third World brothers in the struggle against their common oppressor, Racism and Imperialism, the United States. In order to build and maintain that struggle the Black community would have to organize itself, by building a community of strength where the people are more important than the individual . . . "first our people, then you and me."

A Program for Whites

Bobby Seale spoke about Huey and his struggle, the struggle of all Black people (see text of his speech below). Also speaking at the Saturday night rally was Bob Avakian, a representative of the Peace and Freedom Party, and the only white person to speak extensively. He spoke about the need for the white community to begin organizing itself, because thus far there has been no organization or white movement to which the Black Movement could even talk. The Black Movement should not trust us, but it should watch us with a skeptical eye and see if the whites can organize itself to destroy that racism on which this country, ruled by white men, is based.

BOBBY SEALE SPEAKS

Brothers and sisters, I want to have the chance to tell you in a large mass something about Brother Huey P. Newton - a Black man that I've been knowing for about eight years; a Black man who first introduced me to what Black Nationalism was all about; a Black man that I've been closely associated with for the last few years.

To explain to you who Brother Huey P. Newton is, in his soul, I've got to explain to you also your soul, your needs, your political desires and needs, because that is Huey's soul. You know, I met Huey and he told me that he first learned how to

EDITORIAL

WHERE IT'S AT

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense and SNCC had a birthday party for Huey Newton, jailed minister of defense for the Panthers, in Oakland, February 17.

The 'party' was organized for the purpose of building up support for Huey Newton's defense and to publicly announce the merging of SNCC and the Panthers. Speaking that evening were Jim Forman, Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC and Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver of the Panthers.

The merger was announced by Cleaver and Forman but none of the details were discussed, leaving us with very little information on which to base a judgment about its significance. The most publicized and controversial event of the evening was Stokely's speech. This was his first public appearance in the bay area since his return from an extensive world tour and people were eager to hear what he would have to say.

Reactions

What happened that night at the Oakland auditorium when people heard the speech and what has been their reaction since? Clearly, for Black people the contents were simple and easy to deal with -- it's about where they are at and what's in their heads and guts. The initial reaction for most white radicals to the speech has been confusion, betrayal, anger and exclusion. Which, unfortunately, tells a lot about where the anti-war and student movements are at. So, let's take a look at that speech and see what it's really about.

Not Talking to Whites

The first and most basic thing that must be understood is that Stokely (and for that matter all of the speakers) were NOT talking to white people. He was talking to Black people about a problem supremely important to Black people -- their survival. The heart of the speech was the need for Black community and Black unity to defend against the attacks of the Man that will be coming down this summer. Preparations are now being made by the Government for the waging of a full scale war of genocide against Black people in this country (to complement its activities in Viet Nam), and Stokely's speech was designed to begin to prepare for the fight that must be waged this summer. Black unity was its purpose and Black unity was its result.

The most important thing to consider, then, in dealing with Stokely's speech

is its effect on Black people, and Stokely's speech moved Black people. For radicals to pick apart the speech as if it were a governmental document or part of an esoteric left-wing ideological paper is to sorely miss the point and displays an incredible lack of savvy on the part of the white radical movement.

Where Whites Can Relate

This reaction to Stokely's speech is then compounded by the lack of response to Bobby Seale's speech. Seale, chairman of the Panthers, presented what should have been, for white radicals, the most important speech of the evening (see text on page 2). He presented a concrete political program which radicals could relate to, dealing with the issues of housing, education, police control, etc. And up to this point not one of the much vaunted left and underground press has given it any play at all. Our own newspapers it seems, have yet to shake some of the basic principles that motivate the monopoly press and would rather deal in sensationalism for the purpose of selling papers than seriously dealing with the political relations between Blacks and whites in this country.

However, we do not mean to say, as a good many radicals have been saying, that there was a huge gap between the words of Bobby Seale and the words of Stokely Carmichael. For the speeches, we think, should be seen as complements to each other. One talks about the need for unity and the concept of organizing around blackness and the other lays out the concrete political program necessary to build that unity. Any other view is a gross misinterpretation of where Black people are at.

What else did Stokely say? He talked about allies; Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, other non-white minorities in this country and Black people all over the world. What, no whites? And the answer is simple: there is no white radical movement in this country that has developed enough organizational discipline to offer Blacks any reason for expecting real aid in a fight for survival. Black people are struggling for their existence and every ounce of their energy must be spent on that struggle. To play political games with radicals is suicidal.

Our Own Liberation

White radicals played an important role in the development of the civil rights movement but the consequences of that

participation politically have been extremely unhealthy. We have thought in terms of fighting other peoples' battles for so long that it has become difficult to translate our own alienation into a politics that says real revolutionary struggle is for our own liberation. There must be a realization that ultimately our own survival is at stake too, and our efforts must be toward building a liberation movement in our own community.

This has been one of the problems among radicals in trying to graft the Black movement's program onto their own. The fact of the matter is that whites are not an oppressed minority (or opposed ethnic group) in this country. A liberation movement of white people has to be a CLASS movement, one organized and developed out of a class analysis, for the purpose of overthrowing the present social system. When a movement like that exists it can then relate to the Black movement around a common goal.

Tactical Coalitions Only

In the meantime white radicals should realize that the only Black-white coalitions that are going to exist are tactical coalitions in which there is a coming together for specific, short term goals in which each organization involved has its own independent constituency and is in the coalition for the purpose of adding strengths together. One of the few coalitions of this type has been the one between the California Peace and Freedom Party and the Panthers. The PFP has organized itself around political issues and has managed to avoid the pitfalls of catering to Blacks that would undercut its own viability (as was not the case with the NCNP). When the PFP and the Panthers began to negotiate it was as independent groups, each with its own strengths and needs. A functional coalition resulted. But, there is a danger that the PFP will be drawn into the trick bag of

spending all of its time defending Huey Newton. If this happens it will cease to be independent group and useful ally and will degenerate into just another liberal support group. We are not suggesting that Huey should not be defended by as many people as possible; but that the defense should be carried on as an integrated part of an organization's program and should not be an end in itself. This is the only basis under which coalitions have real, long-term meaning for all parties of the coalition.

When Whites Get Serious

What white radicals must learn is that they must stop getting uptight everytime they think that they aren't getting enough love and attention from Blacks, they must think seriously about where their own movements are going.

This means we must stop looking at the Black movement for leadership and build strategies and programs out of our own experiences and needs.

White radicals must also begin to think in serious terms about their role this summer. Pragmatically their must be such things as efforts to: 1) build educational programs integrated into the anti-war, anti-draft and student movements to combat and neutralize racism, 2) build in areas of strength, toward providing divergences to police when the rebellions begin, 3) build a national legal, financial, propaganda apparatus to combat the increasing repression, and 4) organize as many people as possible into structured units that will be able to provide material resources (food, medical supplies, newspapers, etc.) to ghetto residents when the attacks start.

These kinds of activities can provide the basis for tactical black-white coalitions. They provide Blacks with sorely needed practical support and they provide white radicals with incentives to build themselves organizationally. ♦

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HE HAS US OUT ORGANIZED

read real good when he was about 16 or 17 when he was coming out of high school. One of his counselors at school told him he couldn't be college material. And Huey got mad. He didn't like no white man telling him what he couldn't do. And Huey learned how to read and Huey went to Oakland City College and I was right there with him and Huey got a 4.0, that's an A in Sociology, psychology, political science, law and run it on down. He got A's all the way through and he said "later for the man, I know what I can do."

Huey learned the need of Black people to develop a perspective and an understanding about certain conditions. Now when we first organized the Black Panther Party for self-defense, Huey said, "Bobby, we're going to draw up a basic platform—just basic, so that Black people can read it. He said, 'we don't want to go real elaborate with all these essays and dissertations and all this stuff that the brother's going to look at and say, 'Man, I ain't got time. I got to go and see what I can do for myself'. A basic platform that the mothers who struggle hard to raise us, that the fathers who work hard, that the young brothers in school who come out of school semi-illiterate—reading broken words. He said we want a basic platform to outline Black people's basic political desires and needs."

Basic Platform

So we sat down. Huey said we want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community. Number three, we want housing, decent housing fit to shelter human beings. Number four, we want all Black men to be exempt from military service. Number five, we want equal education for our Black people in our community, that teaches us the true nature of this decadent, racist society and to teach Black people and our young Black brothers and sisters their place in society, because if they don't know their place in society and in the world, they can't relate to anything else. Number six, we want an end to the robbery of the white, racist businessmen of Black people in their community. Number seven, we want an IMMEDIATE end to police brutality and murder of Black people. Number eight, we want all Black men held in the county, state, and federal jails and prisons to be released because they have not had a fair trial—because they've been tried by all white juries. We want Black people. Number 9, to be tried by members of their peers. Peers being ones who come from the same economic, social, religious, historical and racial background. That in fact, if the United States government and the local courts did this, they would have to choose Black people from the Black community to sit up on the jury. They would have to choose some of our mothers who have been working twenty years in Miss Anne's kitchen scrubbing floors like my momma did. They'd have to choose some of our hard-working fathers. They have to choose some of the brothers who stand on the block out there wondering when they're going to get killed. They're going to have to choose these Black people. And number 10, Huey said, "Let's just summarize: we want housing, we want clothing, we want education, we want justice and we want peace."

Of all the things that you've heard in the press; of all the derogatory statements that's been made in the press about Brother Huey P. Newton and I, of all this the whole purpose is to guide you away from seeing this basic platform that Huey was talking about for his own people. You have to learn to look through the white press. You have to learn to see what's going on. Now, out of this platform, Huey P. Newton realized that it was necessary for us to start working on these points—these 10 points—practically. Remember number 7? We want immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people. Very, very important. Huey did a year and a half of law school after he got out of Merritt College—Associate Arts degree in Social Science. Huey articulated to the brothers on the block and he articulated in a manner where they understood it, what their rights

were in law and how in fact we could exercise a position in the Black community to begin to show Black people how we would defend ourselves. The whole point of number seven.

Hoodlums and Thugs

Now, the papers call the organization hoodlums and thugs. Now, I'm going to



Stokely Carmichael and Bobby Seale

photo: Jeffery Blankfort

show you how smart Brother Huey is. He says, "Now the papers are going to call us thugs and hoodlums. A lot of people ain't going to know what's happening. He said, but the brothers on the block, who the Man's been calling thugs and hoodlums for 400 years, they're going to say that's some mighty fine thugs and hoodlums up there. The brother on the block is going to say, 'Who is these thugs

and hoodlums. In fact, them dudes look just like me. In fact I know George Dow, in fact I know Bobby Hutton, Hey man, I know that dude over there. Hey man, what you cats doing with them rods? In other words, when the man calls us nigger for 400 years, with all the derogatory connotations, Huey was smart enough to know that Black people were going to say, 'They've been calling us niggers, thugs and hoodlums for 400 years. That's no difference to me. I'm going to check out what these folks are doing. The insight that Huey had in knowing how to deal with organizing Black people and knowing how to bring Black people together

Now at the same time there's our older brothers and sisters who are going to say, 'They must really be thugs and hoodlums. BUT they're talking about police brutality and many of you have related in one way or another to a relative or member of your family, etc. to the conditions and police brutality. You would sit in your homes and say, 'Yeah we should have did it 400 years ago. We should have got out here and start defending ourselves in this fashion.

Now at the same time, many people get the notion that we were supposed to run out in the streets with 500 Black people lined up with guns and shoot it out with 1,000 police. No, this wasn't the case at all, this wasn't the case at all. To the contrary, every Black man in his home has the right

CONTINUED ON P. 11

HUEY NEWTON SPEAKS HIS MIND

Huey Newton, Minister Of Defense of the Black Panther Party, is in the Alameda County Jail awaiting trial for allegedly murdering a white cop and wounding another.

In a recent interview he told why he is filing suit against Kaiser Hospital—the hospital that treated him for the serious stomach wound he received the night the cops were shot. Huey explained, "After I was on the guerny to prepare me for an operation, police stormed in and immediately handcuffed me to the table and put me in such a position that I was arched. It was extremely painful. They beat my wrists with their hands and clubs, where I have a pinched nerve. The handcuffs were extremely tight and extremely painful. I was hit in the head and also stuck in the stomach. I was called many names such as 'nigger' and an array of other curse words. Shortly after I was stuck in the stomach with the club, I lost my consciousness."

Panther History

Huey spent most of the interview talking about the background of the Black Panther Party and how the Panthers analyzed the political situation of black people in America.

"In the first place, any black American who is conscious of the situation that black colonized people are in would be subject to the oppressive situation. I'd like to paraphrase James Baldwin when he said that to the black and conscious in America is to be in a constant stage of rage."

The Panthers are trying to translate that rage into effective political action. Huey gave us a short run down on the organization of the Panthers. "The Panthers are a party—a political organization. We have analyzed the Black political situation and we know that black people have been very ineffective in the political arena in the past. We have had black representatives who have not represented the power of blacks. And in politics an act is really not political if there's no political consequence."

"Our working definition would be that politics is war without bloodshed and war is politics with bloodshed... the peaceful characteristics of politics have been exhausted by black people."

Reconstruction

"We analyzed the Reconstruction where black people were historically deprived of political avenues in the South after the

Emancipation Proclamation. We had many representatives who had one problem, they didn't have a political power base. After the Emancipation Proclamation... Standard Oil and some other large monopolies got the land. When you have a land base, people can always make a political consequence by not cooperating. For instance, some time ago I remember the cattlemen decided to pull out their milk because they weren't getting a fair price for the milk. I remember the Delano grape situation where the grapes rotted in the fields. But black people have been excluded from this arena because we were not given the land with the promises after the Emancipation Proclamation. We've been exploited and treated like any other colonized people."

"We don't have anything to make a political consequence for people who will not cooperate with us... The Black Panther Party realized this problem and then asked the question, how can we establish a political base? A power base to build a consequence. We saw that we could compete with these monopolies that exploit us to get where they are—because they have such a headstart. And free enterprise has already been exhausted by these people who got the land and real estate. So, we don't have the money, we don't have the land but we can be a political consequence by being potentially a destructive power. So we said, how could he do this? We agreed that political power flows from the barrel of a gun... We developed a political party that will be politically effective if black people are willing to arm themselves. So that if we don't get what we want, we can deal a political consequence—like in Detroit."

Sacramento

One of the things the Panthers did that created a storm was to go to the California State Legislature with guns. Huey gave the reasoning behind this strategy. "The Panthers were going to deliver a message to the black community—to tell them about the unjust situation that is being perpetuated by the Legislature in Sacramento. The message contained an indictment that the racist military is murdering people, black people, not only in America, but also abroad—for essentially the same reasons. Because of imperialistic reasons and because of race reasons. We were

charging the Legislature with making it impossible for black people to defend themselves against the brutal force that has been used by the police, and the military. For instance, in Detroit and Newark.

"We thought Sacramento was the appropriate place because that's where the laws were made. We also knew that our grievance would be heard... We wanted to warn people that prison camps exist. As a matter of fact, the same ones that were used for the Japanese—they'll be used for black people in the near future."

"We weren't looking for a confrontation at the Capital. If we were fired upon, I had given orders to fire in return. But if we were not fired upon, we would take an arrest. We gave up the guns knowing that they would be returned. This was not an appropriate place for a confrontation and we knew this very well. Our purpose was to deliver a message and the message was delivered very effectively."

March on Washington

As for M.L. King's plan for civil disobedience in Washington, Huey had this to say, "Dr. King is working with the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, Stokely Carmichael. If the demonstration is anything like what happened in Washington on the last demonstration, (Summer 1963) it would be another clown show and very ineffective. But I feel that Stokely Carmichael and Dr. King have reviewed that situation and won't let it happen again. So I have hopes that the demonstration will be effective this time."

"I read in the papers that the Justice Department has stated that they are ready to deal with Dr. King... I will say that if the Justice Department will be the assailer, then I assure you there will be violence. Because I'm certain that Stokely Carmichael would not turn the other cheek as has been preached some years ago. I think the time for that is over."

"Again, if the situation continues as it is now, and that's the oppressive situation, if the police are as brutal as ever, I'm sure that black people will take care of themselves—defend themselves—if the establishment does not change its ways of provoking us."

COME ON NOW!

STOP THE DRAFT WEEK II

WHY GO BACK

By Morgan Spector

"we must go back"
"we must go back"

We have heard that cry many times since the October Stop The Draft Week. Some think that cry is a cry of frustration. "We gotta do something." We will take to the streets again, but not out of frustration. Rather, because there are sound political reasons for doing so. Militant street demonstrations basically serve three political purposes; they do, in fact disrupt the functioning of the draft process; they serve as a challenge to the government's notion of "law and order"; and they create yet another battlefield which America's cops must "pacify."

We have no pretensions about being able to close down any induction center permanently. Nor can we end the draft by demonstrations. The draft is a tool of America's imperialist aggression — at home and abroad — and the draft probably won't end until imperialism is destroyed.

But we can make it as difficult and as costly as possible for them to operate. And it is costly. On October 20, they required 2000 cops to process 200 inductees. Commercial activity in Oakland was seriously impaired for several hours. America also had to face the costs of patching up its international image. This is not a dollars and cents issue. Last October's wave of militant demonstrations proved to people at home and abroad that America's radicals are becoming increasingly unwilling to obey America's laws.

"Law & Order"

This gradual destruction of the concept of "law and order" as it exists in this country is the second major reason why we are preparing to return to Oakland. Law and order are illegitimate in this society. "Law and order" is only a slogan, used by the establishment, to veil repression and stagnation. As radicals we seek to make basic changes in this society. Law and order is a concept designed to block such changes.

We must be willing to disregard their laws, as we seek to challenge their order.

This is not to say that we are in a position to be "lawless" all the time. We must choose our own ground. Some situations are more strategic than others.

The tactic of a militant street demonstration, such as Oakland Stop the Draft Week, is an excellent way of exposing the hypocrisy and oppressiveness of the status quo's law and order.

Third Fronts

But perhaps the most important political reason for us to go back to Oakland is because there must be as many fronts as possible set up against America's aggressive policies. Viet Nam is the first front. The black ghettos are the second front. Johnson and his spokesmen have indicated that massive repression of ghetto rebellions is the only road that they intend to take in "curing" the problems of the ghettos. Although they admit the demands are valid and must be met, they seek to stretch the task out over another generation, and kill off the trouble-makers now. We can only understand this attitude as domestic imperialism. America wants to subdue the ghettos and govern them as colonies, just as in Viet Nam.

We must also realize that the draft feeds the armies that may well be occupying Watts and Harlem this year, as well as the armies that are "pacifying" Viet Nam. We cannot, and must not, allow ourselves to be sucked into accepting



Elaborate preparations were made by the Man to ensure a flow of cannon fodder during October Stop the Draft Week

this course of events. As we come closer to the summer, we must begin to plan our actions in relationship to the ghetto rebellions — to divert imperialist aggression. As white radicals, we must seek to open third fronts in the urban centers of America this summer. To divide the available police forces and make it as difficult as possible for the government to carry through its program of genocide.

No Illusions

We have no illusions. We are sorely unprepared for this task. We are not urban guerillas and Stop The Draft Week is not a guerilla-type action. To think of ourselves as guerillas at this point would be to give in to reckless romanticism. But Stop The Draft Week, and especially the long-term organization and prepara-

tion it requires, is excellent practice.

Of course, we don't want to gloss over the risks. Such demonstrations are serious affairs. We should only go back to Oakland after we've established a solid organization, discipline and confidence. We have learned a lot from the last Stop The Draft Week and we are working now to overcome the weaknesses we discovered last time.

We must also recognize the importance of effective timing for our actions. The new Selective Service Directive means that thousands of grads will be getting "Hershey Bars" for graduation. The draft issue has more impact now than ever before. Thousands of new people will be forced to consider the draft and face it soon. April may be their last chance to militantly register their refusal to serve as America's cops. ←

MORE ON THE OAKLAND SEVEN

Since the issuing of the conspiracy indictments against seven leaders of last October's Stop The Draft Week in Oakland six of the seven have been formally arraigned, transcripts of the testimony taken before the Alameda County Grand Jury has been made public, and there has been a rapid growth of participation in the Stop The Draft Week Defense Fund.

On February 16 six of the seven defendants appeared before Judge Staats and were formally arraigned by the Oakland Municipal Court. The six included Jeff Segal who had just returned from Chicago. The other defendant, besides Segal, who had been out of town when the indictments came down, Terry Cannon has just returned from New York. The arraignment process was all of about 15 minutes long and had been preceded by a small picket outside the court house before the court session began.

The importance of the hearing rested in the fact that it provided the defendants and their lawyers their first opportunity to see the transcript of the testimony that was taken before the Alameda County Grand Jury in January that led to the indictments.

Grand Jury Testimony

Controversy immediately surrounded the public issuance of the testimony as a result of an article containing excerpts from it that appeared in the Oakland Tribune the day before the Oakland 7 went to court. The testimony was obviously released to the Tribune, by the Oakland DA J. Frank Coakley before being officially released by the court. Barney Dreyfus, one of the lawyers in the case, attacked Coakley for trying to prejudice community feeling in the case and interfering with rights of a free and impartial trial. Which would be caused by prospective jurors reading an excerpted

version of the testimony.

The testimony is two volumes and 361 pages long and contains statements from 29 witnesses. The witnesses include two undercover agents, a number of cops, bank employees, federal employees working in the Induction Center, hotel managers from hotels around the Induction Center, the University of California's Administrative Dean of Students and the head of its security force, the clergyman in charge of the University's Wesley Foundation, and a number of movement printers and UC faculty members who were extremely unfriendly witnesses.

In spite of the bulk of the Grand Jury hearings, none of the testimony involved supplying of information that was not public. The statements provided "proof" for such acts as the opening of a bank account, the registration of a student organization, the distribution of leaflets and speaking at rallies and meetings, the renting of a hotel room, and the nefarious act of being seen in the vicinity of the Induction Center before and during Stop The Draft Week. All of these things being acts protected by rights of free speech and association.

On the defense front things have been moving fairly rapidly. An active committee has been set up in the Bay Area to raise money and build public support for the Oakland 7.

A great deal of money is needed to fight the case as well as people willing to work to bring the case and the general fight against political repression to the public. Besides direct contributions there is a need for people to set up local defense committees, arrange for speaking tours of the Oakland 7, get articles in local newspapers, magazines on radio and TV, etc. Contributions, requests for information and offers of aid should be sent to: Stop The Draft Week Defense Fund, 233 Lake Dr., Berkeley, California ←

REACHING MORE FORCES

SAN FRANCISCO -- There is a strange, determined spirit hanging over preparations for Stop the Draft Week in April. It is almost grim, depressing. And from where I sit it just doesn't make sense.

Over the last couple of months I've been talking to all kinds of community people -- from AFL-CIO unions to street gangs -- about what we want to see happen at the induction center and how they can relate to it.

Their response falls into three categories: a) a desire for direct participation in the Oakland action, b) moral or political support for our cause and our right to do it, and c) a brief word of encouragement delivered with weak half-smile.

But no one has come down hard again. STDW. It is true that those of us who have been doing this kind of work have not sought to solicit support from a true cross-section of the community. We have been selective, attempting to get ourselves together with the kind of community people who should and could be with us in some way.

ILWU Resolution

The ILWU Joint Legislative Council adopted a resolution in support of our right to demonstrate and telling the cops Hands off! The high school based United Student Movement will help mobilize kids in the context of getting set for the International Student Strike. A variety of neighborhood groups in or on the fringe of the ghettos have agreed to allow us to post informational and mobilizing displays in their headquarters.

There is already a group of longshoremen ready to participate, but we have still to fight for official ILWU guarantee of job protection in case the guys get busted. A nucleus of Mexican American farm workers in the Napa Valley are interested in coming down, but we've got to get people up there to organize for it to come to anything.

Several union locals are being approached to pass support resolutions like the ILWU's, and to call for a one hour work stoppage April 25 to discuss the draft and the war. The problem is getting enough STDW people to work with the sympathetic union men and women to strengthen their position and bring it off.

Professionals

There are also two groups of professional people working on legal defense for The Movement and police brutality. Preliminary discussion with some of the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

NCU NEEDS TRUCKS

The Travelling Field Secretaries of the National Community Union are in desperate need of at least three small van type trucks that are in good operating conditions. Although the need is great for trucks we can use cars if need be.

N.C.U. travellers will soon begin nationwide speaking engagements which will necessitate travelling with large amounts of literature plus sleeping on the road. Good trucks or at least cars will be most valuable in helping to reach potential radical community and labor organizers across the country.

If such vehicles are available please notify the N.C.U. at 630 N. Racine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, or call (312) 666-7257.

RESIST THE DRAFT FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT

INSIDE THE SERVICE:

Virginia — The letter that follows is by George Edwards, a black man in the United States Air Force stationed in Virginia. His letter represents the growing attitude among black G.I.'s that their battleground is here in the U.S.

Dear Sir:

I am presently in the United States Air Force and on Feb. 5, 1968 I refused to accept an assignment to Tachikawa, Japan on the grounds that I believe that my fight is here in the black ghettos of Detroit, Newark, Chicago, New York and any place where my black brothers and sisters are suffering from white exploitation. I feel it is ridiculous for me to pretend I am a free man in Vietnam or Korea and a second class citizen here in America. It is impossible for me to give freedom to someone three thousand miles away when I don't have freedom to live three miles outside of the nation's capital. I do not feel any obligation or trust in white America. America has promised my people freedom too long without keeping her word. My brothers and sisters have died for this country since its beginning, all of which has been in vain. I am tired of seeing my brothers kicked, lynched and mobbed by white America while their murderers go free & in many cases, receive praise. Because of my love for my people and my convictions I refuse to support the United States Government in any way until my brothers are free. By my very presence in the United States Armed Forces I have compromised too much. My people and I have given their very soul for this country — no more!

On Feb. 5 at 2:00 p.m. I refused to board an aircraft going to Tachikawa, Japan as I previously stated. On Feb. 6 I reported to Major Long and told him of my refusal to accept this or any assignment until black people are free here in America. Major Long ordered me to get my mobility paperwork, I obeyed this order. Upon returning I was instructed to see Lt. Col. Buckwalter. I also explained to him my reasons for not accepting this or any assignment. Lt. Col. Buckwalter said he was willing to forget this incident if I boarded another aircraft leaving for Tachikawa, Japan later that day. I repeated my refusal whereby I was placed under arrest and restricted to my quarters until further notice.

I am writing this letter because I know I will not get a fair court martial with a military attorney. I do not have sufficient funds to hire an attorney therefore I am asking for your help legally or any advice or recommendations you can give me. If you cannot help me, help those of my people you are able to help.

Yours truly,
George S. Edwards

Oakland, Calif. — A court ruling prevented the Army from shipping out two soldiers who wish to file for C.O. status within the Army. This is the first time that the Oakland Army Base has been ordered to restrain its orders while a soldier's personal-status application is being processed. In fact, the Army has never before allowed soldiers to file the C.O. form in Oakland, which is the point of embarkation for Viet Nam.

The soldiers are Steve Mason and John Campbell. Both had been AWOL for 30 days. (A soldier has to be AWOL for 60 days for charges to be pressed). They found out that over 2,000 soldiers are AWOL in the Bay Area alone and predict that many of them will now file for a change of status.

Elsewhere Specialist Frederick Chard, a top security clearance serviceman on leave from Okinawa, refused to return there after seeing Felix Green's movie 'Inside Vietnam' and having read articles about the Gulf of Tonkin resolution . . . After refusing the official order on January 19, he announced his refusal on T.V.

Eric Mann was inspired by Chard's T.V. performance. Mann, a draftee, was ordered to report to Fort Lewis, Washington, for transfer to Korea. He refused the transfer order and made his announcement public on several West Coast radio stations.

FROM THE OUTSIDE:

Washington, D.C. — Jan. Bailey, 25 year old SNCC organizer in Washington, became the 17th SNCC worker to refuse induction into the U.S. Army. He read this statement in front of the induction center in Baltimore Maryland:

I am historically, politically, psychologically, and morally unfit to serve in the

armed forces. I have no anticipations nor expectations of saluting flags or officers wearing uniforms, singing a national anthem or obeying orders from a supposedly superior beast. Frankly speaking, I see no place in Uncle Sam's army for this angry black man. Let me be plain. I will not support in any way such a brutal, oppressive, arrogant, hypocritical, beastly white imperialist and racist country. I am not for imperialism but against it; my allegiance with this country is to build it through change and self-determination for and by black people. We are related by blood, culture and common experiences of hardship suffered by this racist system. On the international scene there are two groups of people: the haves and the have-nots; the whites and the non-whites. The whites are the haves and the non-whites are the have-nots. The same is true for this country. Blacks have been disillusioned, frustrated, humiliated, alienated and brutalized by white people and this is the issue I speak to. Following the dictates of my black consciousness, I have no other alternative but to refuse to be inducted. I think it foolish to embrace a system that destroys laws, customs, and people of

CON'T FROM PAGE 4

REACHING OUT

individuals involved indicates we can get them to pick up the defense work for STDW and take over the watch dog operation at the center.

Now that's just the beginning. There are many organizations to be contacted, and door-to-door work has to start. Our purpose is: a) to educate the community as to what we are doing and why, b) to neutralize much of the hostility towards STDW type demonstrations, and c) to develop a vehicle for community participation in the action.

Community participation in STDW activities will apparently take place on two levels: in the newly formed STDW non-student organizing committee (set up at the Feb. 26 meeting of the Bay Area steering committee by several workers and a few Community organizers); and through direct support for STDW by Community organizers.

Easy To Do

The support we've already received was obtained by making individual contacts in unions and community groups. It didn't take much effort. People want to talk about it. Just find out from past experience who are some of the people who have gone on record against the war or the draft and talk to them first. These people helped us find out who should be approached in their group for official action -- either in terms of getting on their group's agenda or themselves introducing some kind of resolution or action proposal.

This type of community work is the easiest, but it is also just about the most important because of the necessity of building some kind of unity or mutual respect among those who oppose the war and the draft.

The hardest part is mobilizing community people as individuals to participate in the action. Here again, we've started with people we know on the docks or construction sites or in neighborhood centers and asked them to get their friends together. Then we'll be able to figure out

color for capitalistic ends. Therefore it is inconceivable that I go out like a fool and fight my non-white brothers in China, Vietnam, Africa, Latin America and South America for white devils. Your enemies are my friends . . . I support everything you oppose and oppose everything you support.

At this juncture I would like to make a plea for our brothers in Vietnam to come on home . . . Our mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers are being shot down like dogs and we earnestly need their protection and their skills. The white man has built tanks that will roll in our communities . . . The mission of those tanks is to DESTROY BLACK HUMANITY . . . Those tanks must be stopped and they will be stopped . . . by any means necessary.

— Jan Bailey

Chicago — Fred Aviles, a Puerto Rican organizer for LADO and draft counselor for Spanish-speaking people in Chicago, refused induction after being denied C.O. status. Before Federal Judge Hubert Will sentenced him to 3 years in prison, Aviles read this statement: "The Vietnam War is not a war of the people . . . and those super-patriots who do support the government in this war are undermining the basic principle on which this country was founded — a government by the people, for the people and of the people . . . I acted in the right way. If I must pay a price, I am ready to pay that price. Although I am afraid, I am not sorry because I believe I am right."

Also in Chicago, Jeremy Mott was sentenced to five years in jail for refusing to do civilian alternative service as a recognized conscientious objector. He worked for 9 months under government orders and then wrote this letter of

how best to reach those we don't know -- but first we have to get ourselves together.

This community work we are doing, and the support we have already received, is not something that has been conjured up in the last two months. In many ways, it is the result of the impact the October STDW had on the community.

Many people agreed with our position against the war and the draft from the beginning -- but found no way to participate. And other people were for the first time made aware that the Vietnam war has come home -- and that all levels of authority and police enforcement are tied to the political aims of the Administration -- not to "law and order."

Expanding Our Base

The obstacle to expanding this community work and broadening our base of support -- and thereby increasing the chance of building an on-going organization or movement -- is our own self-image and sense of purpose.

Many people around STDW seem to

resignation:

"Today I am resigning from the Selective Service System by leaving my alternative service job . . . From now on I will not co-operate with the Selective Service System in any way.

"My job, as a pacifist and as a person opposed to this war in Vietnam, is to resist our warring government, including the Selective Service System, rather than to seek special privileges from it . . . I know that my obedience to my conscience may also result in my imprisonment. But I do not believe that the dangers of imprisonment are equal to the dangers of acting without integrity and in complicity with a government dependent on wholesale violence."

New York — Vinny McGee, a student at Union Theological Seminary, Christopher Robinson, a member of the New York Resistance, and Mark Weintraub, a student at Queens College, have all refused induction.

Nashville — Gary Williams, active in the Southern Students' Organizing Committee refused induction.

New Jersey — Emmett Schaefer refused induction.

Oroville, Calif. — Fred Lonidier and Bruce Murray, both full-time Peace Corps volunteers, have refused induction. A third peace corps man, Malcolm Dundas, is now serving an 18-month sentence for refusal.

The Movement congratulates and supports all these men and their brothers all over the country who are refusing to serve.

think the only reason we're going back to the center is simply to fulfill some kind of death wish or to support the Oakland Seven. That's a whole lot of crap. The decision to go back wasn't made by the leadership, it was made by the kids who were beaten and busted, and by the thousands who couldn't or wouldn't participate in October.

This commitment to return to Oakland is based on a gut rage against the war and the draft, and to show the Administration they can't come across with indictments and storm troopers without suffering great political cost and a dislocation of American society.

To accomplish this, we have to get outside of ourselves and realize we're not the only people or section of the population who share this rage or endorse this resistance. And even if we were, we couldn't do it alone. To get the community together we have to get ourselves together. And that's what has to happen between now and that week in April. ♦

A CHANGE

For sharp-eyed readers who notice that the masthead reads April and wonder what happened to March, the change is to aid news-stand circulation where anything dated the current month is considered out of date. Subscriptions are for twelve issues so there will be no change in the number of issues subscribers receive.

A NEW NEWSPAPER

There's a new newspaper for soldiers called VIETNAM GI. Published in Chicago with an advisory board of Vietnam veterans, it's mailed first class for some semblance of privacy. Contents include a lot of interviews with vets back from Vietnam. It's free to soldiers. Sustaining subs are \$10 a year. VIETNAM GI needs people to spread the word and the paper to more GI's. Write VIETNAM GI, PO Box 9273, Chicago, Ill. 60690.

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CUBA AND THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT

By Todd Gitlin

We look to Cuba not only because of what we sense Cuba to be, but because of what the United States is not. 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. (Check out James Weinstein's *THE DECLINE OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA*, 1912-1925 (Monthly Review Press, 1967) for early — 1917 — episodes in the grim story.) Now we dig Cuba; Che's words and face are for sale everywhere, Regis Debray as a spokesman for Fidel is devoured as a missionary to the American left, and we preserve our quick optimism with fantasies of an assault on OUR barracks, a landing in OUR yacht, a fight in OUR mountains.

Then the pendulum swings. It becomes cliché on the other side to insist that to grapple with our own distinct reality we must refuse to learn lessons from the island revolution. Cuba will blind us so thoroughly, we should stay at home. Internationalism means total identification with somebody else's revolution, and an abandonment of our own calling, nothing less. Most of us in some measure have become stalled, unwillingly and uneasily, within these two ways of denying the Cuban reality. The truth may well lie "somewhere in between" — but where? The lessons must be named and explored and made precise, or they are worthless.

In *NEW LEFT NOTES* (February 12), I began to sketch my understanding of the quality of the Cuban present, centering on the ways in which the rhetoric of struggle, development, internationalism, and the new man is rooted in the ordinary lives of Cubans, and on the power of liberal and left ideologies to obscure those concrete lives. And Cuba is of course a lesson that the communal spirit is not always dependent on an active war footing, that "Communism" and "revolution" are terms that conceal complex and various realities. Here I want to look at Cuba from a different — neither higher nor lower — angle. The questions are, What do Cubans understand about America, and what do we learn from their perceptions? and, What in the Cuban experience might be valid for our own work?

"Vietnam, We Are With You"

"Every man is offended when another's face is slapped. (Jose Martí)

Sketches of Cuban internationalism, common, exemplary, more than symbolic: — One of the most powerful of the Cuban documentary films (and all in all they are technically the best I have seen), "Hanoi, Martes 13," begins and ends with a color cartoon of the history of Viet Nam. The narrative is a "Message of Solidarity with the People of Viet Nam in Their Struggle Against French Colonialism" — written by Martí, 19th-century Cuban poet and revolutionary hero, in the 1880's. (This is the man Cubans quote from and look to more than anyone but Fidel and that interloping Argentine doctor who once went to fight with a crazy little band in the Sierra Maestra and later died, murdered, in the hills of Bolivia.)

Coming from America, whose esteem for foreigners and their cultures is well known, I was staggered by the depth and commonness of Cuban internationalism. It predates the revolution; it runs so deep, though, it could not have begun only nine years ago, even nine years as the revolution measures time. (But in fact in 1956 Fidel made an exception for Che; he feared some Cubans might not take to too many foreigners.)

— At a special agricultural plan in the inland Las Villas province, I met a 17-year-old tractor driver from a nearby town.

"How long do you work?"

"Sometimes 24 hours a day." He smiled, proud without arrogance. "Today I have worked 24 hours." He showed me the headlights on his tractor. (Later I did see

tractors plowing the fields at night.)

"You don't sleep?"

"No, don't sleep." And then, matter-of-factly, without a trace of slogging: "The people in Viet Nam don't sleep, why should we? We're doing the same work."

If I have ever heard anyone mean anything, he meant that.

— A crack agricultural brigade, soldiers who had volunteered for gigantic land-clearing and planting ventures whose progress is followed in the papers like the progress of the NFL, were offered vacations in Cuban resorts, free trips to Czechoslovakia, etc. They asked instead to be sent to Viet Nam; the NLF gratefully declined their services.

— One scene in a play, *VIETNAM*, SIMPLY, acted by Cubans and Vietnamese, pitted two choruses from opposite sides of the stage. The American hawks, women with Amazon manners, chanted slogans about democracy, saving the world from Communism, etc. The "socialist camp" chanted "Peace! Peace! Negotiate!" Hawks: "What? Can't hear you," Socialists: "Negotiate! (Very mechanical-

health programs, get out the vote for the popular election of neighborhood officials, arrange for transportation of voluntary workers to the countryside, etc.)

— A worker in a bus pointed at the headline, "Yanki Officials Killed in Guatemala," and said in great excitement, "We did well today!"

— An airplane mechanic said he would give me his copy of the paper as soon as he finished reading, word by slow word, the text of Regis Debray's speech of self-defense: "it's important."

— Our guide was a medical student from a wealthy home, who had been thrown out of the Young Communists for "lack of discipline" (she had wanted to go to art school simultaneously), but is probably soon to be reinstated because those who threw her out were soon afterward thrown out themselves, for sectarianism. At the age of 14 she had been active in the 26th-of-July underground; her independence of mind, in my experience typical of large numbers of the young, might be illustrated by the fact that when I told her an American photographer had written that Fidel's eyes are hypnotic, she came right back



above: "How do you like school?" "It's good." "Why?" "We learn."

left: Four soldiers in cane field. One of these soldiers brandished his machete (a small machete): "In times of peace, we use the weapons of production."

right: Cane cutters near Bayamo in Oriente Province. They have been cutting cane a minimum of 22 years. When asked what difference the revolution had made in their working conditions, they broke into big quick smiles.

below: A Jamaica-born fisherman spending Sunday digging earth outside Havana. Volunteers shovel the earth into plastic sacks, where coffee seedlings will grow, planted on land not cultivated before. "Cuba is making a new man," he says, "a socialist man, a man who works with his fellow man."

Photos: Todd Gitlin



And there is nothing extraordinary about it, and there could be nothing more honorable for this country than for its sons to know how to fight to death, spilling even the last drops of their blood for the liberation of the peoples, which is the liberation of humanity . . . (APPLAUSE).

It will sound romantic to some, but I am quite convinced that these lines, delivered in fury and anguish, contain the core and the basis of the foreign policy of Cuba; and that this policy, its elemental force and its risk, require no "stirring up of the masses" to stand as the policy of the population. If we think it has to be implanted, like somebody else's heart, we are talking about the American experience, not the Cuban.

Nationalism

Of course the Cuban revolution was a national revolution, of course "Patria o muerte!" is no idle promise, but a felt commitment. But from our own fears and the sour fate of past generations we have learned to draw a line between nationalism and internationalism, as if one pre-

The Blurring of Color

What they have trouble understanding about America and about our movement falls in that area of tension between their experience and ours. Race is the issue of greatest confusion to them. Many Cubans have heard of Stokely and Black Power; a frequent first question from political responsibilities is, "What is the relation between the anti-war and the Black Power movements?" There is the inevitable answer. And then, "Why so far apart?" That blacks and whites no longer cross hands and sing "We Shall Overcome" causes them distress. They don't preach an abstract brotherhood, but listen attentively to the explanations, nod their heads — and never quite understand.

If there is racism in Cuba, it is not apparent. The eyes testify to a non-racial society. The range of skin shades proves a long history of intermarriage. Americans stare in wonder at the blonde chicks arms in arm with the black guys, but no one else seems to notice. In one factory in Oriente, the most intermingled province, two of three departmental super-

hire a black over a white regardless of skill and experience; the solution was this for the revolution's commitment to equal education to work itself out. What would be a liberal platitude in the U.S. was for him an act of secure faith, a tribute to the revolution's momentum.

I knew that cigar workers were traditionally the most literate and political of factory workers, but I wanted the man to go further. Did he think the racism was internalized, taken by the white workers for his own feelings, beyond his fear of being fired if he challenged the color line? Or was racism more a matter of structure, based on past slavery and maintained by the rich, to which whites conformed by necessity? The question at first made no sense to him. Getting at it from different angles, it dawned on me that the concept of felt rather than structured racism was almost entirely foreign to his experience. He knew of cases, but of no dominant, deep and bragging mood of racism among whites.

A Class-Based Racism

None of this should be taken to disparage the revolution's achievement. But clearly Cuba had a head start. (Another sign of the class origin of racism; fancy restaurants had been segregated before, but not buses.) Its advantage could be traced to the organization of slavery under the Spanish. (I take this background from Herbert S. Klein, *SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CUBA AND VIRGINIA* (University of Chicago, 1967). From the beginning of the 16th century, the Spanish reserved certain rights to slaves — including marriage, property, and a certain legal standing as persons — which, however minimal they seem, the Virginians did not tolerate. The Catholic Church intervened directly, with emissaries from Spain, to stand between master and slave, extending some religious rights to the Africans. With less economic reason for converting the slave into utter property, and under fire from domestic liberals (!), the Spanish crown asserted a tight central authority against the more brutal intentions of the colonists.

Financing most of the expeditions itself, it moved under the prestige of codes dating from the 13th century, which took slavery to be a necessary evil, not a God-given right. And white immigrants were relatively few, leaving blacks fairly well represented in skilled trades. In this very relative business of comparative slavery, the Spaniards allowed vastly more room for blacks in the middle spaces of the society, with some recourse against the harshest treatment.

By 1860-61, when 35% of the colored population of Cuba were freedmen, only 11% in Virginia had thrown off the status of slave. The Virginian colonists financed their own expeditions, organized an independent church, and took local political and military power. The English crown stood back and watched. English law deprived the slave of his least rights; the murder of a slave was no felony (in Cuba it was). The special demands of tobacco cultivation intensified an overrace prejudice which was, at the very least, less plain in the Spanish colonies. A Virginian clergyman wrote in 1680 that Virginians "for the most part do know no other GOD but MONEY, nor RELIGION but PROFIT." We bear grim witness to the consequences.

In burying the past, the revolution had to disrupt structures more than ATTITUDES. And now nine years of non-racial development have agitated Cubans to multi-colored egalitarianism, leaving them ill-equipped to think of race as a pivotal category. Their political identity is with the Third World — a matter of victims fighting executioners, as they see it, and only incidentally a matter of race. Fanon for them makes the first break from orthodox Marxism toward a new philosophy and strategy for the colonized. He has read in Party training

CONTINUED ON P. 10



vented the other. Some white radicals assume from the American past that "nationalism" must describe a single, unalterable phenomenon, then that this phenomenon is always rooted in cultural arrogance, that it cannot allow for solidarity with people across boundaries. In response, in a natural rage at this country, some whites and blacks resort to a kind of instant internationalism, inventing international allies as if these allies had some tangible ways of bearing on the daily sufferings of black people locked (for better and mostly for worse) within THE national frontiers. (In Oakland, February 17, Stokely invoked "nine hundred million black people." Was he including Cuba, where, he also said, "honkies can't go"?)

Nationalism for the Cubans is the very basis of their internationalism. They are 7-1/2 million people, on an island, ideology aside. Their tiny size they have made into a virtue, a refuge from nationalist smugness. Their culture has always been syncretic, looking for independent roots but not suspicious of foreign graftings. They have made THEIR revolution, therefore they are entitled to help others to make theirs, not in the name of Cuba but in the name of what Cuba has done. The nation is not the end of the revolution, but its beginning.

When the Cubans recommend their internationalism for the American movement, they take their own disjunct history for granted; it is part of their political life, before any strategic calculation. But despite the blatant differences between the two countries, despite what they know of gambling, whore-hunting, expeditionary Americans, they challenge us to press hard against American chauvinism.

visors I met were black. Not only were the mixed races at all levels, but no one seemed self-conscious about it.

When I tried to explore the history of racism in Cuba, sometimes I had the feeling I was asking Martians to comment on an Earthly sin. In a Havana cigar factory, the union head (black) said that before the revolution blacks were excluded from the highest-paying jobs, and were paid less than whites for the same work. Because of the wage differential, white workers tended to take the side of the bosses in union fights. Their relatives were given precedence when they retired, guaranteeing white monopolies of the best jobs. (There were also some T O M S.) Whites contesting this state of affairs were fired.

The revolution made its commitment to equality plain from the very beginning. Early, meetings were held to explain the abolition of discrimination in both work and pay. Most workers, he said, adjusted; some of the U.S., mostly older, emigrated to the U.S. (One worker asked us to thank the American people for taking these unconstructed racist off Cuban hands.) "Sophisticated" workers (mostly members of the old Communist Party) eased the transition.

I asked how many blacks were now working in the factory. He laughed: "We don't keep statistics. They don't matter for us." He said we would see — as we did — a disproportionate number of whites (including MESTIZOS, mulattoes) in the better-paid jobs, because no special measures had been taken to uproot the discriminatory heritage. (There are also relatively few blacks in the Central Committee of the Party — a sign of its student origins.) It would be unfair, he said, to

How the Man Breaks a Strike

Editor's Note: A recent strike in Laurel, Miss., between Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Masonite Corporation points up what trade-union experts in the South have been saying for some time: —that industries in the region plan to use divisions between white and black workers in a new way.

For several generations the owners of land and industry have kept political and economic control by getting white workers to believe they had an identity of interest with the owners because of the color of their skin. At the same time, black workers were pushed to the lowest rung of the ladder.

Today, because of the new strength of black people and their movement for freedom, employers can no longer keep them down. So the employers now try to convince black workers that they will do better by going along with management rather than with the white workers.

The result is the same: — a division which benefits nobody but the employer. The Laurel strike is typical because it also involves the question of automatic machines' replacing people; it also involves the continued moving of more industries into the South.

Robert Analavage, assistant editor of The Southern Patriot, tells the story from the standpoint of both the black and white workers. It is hoped that this analysis will help all of us to understand the necessity for black-white unity in the struggle for economic and political democracy in America.

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

(Reprinted from the Southern Patriot)

LAUREL, Miss. — The strike formally began in April, 1967, when a shop steward was fired by a foreman. The steward was backing two workers in their refusal to do work not included in their job descriptions.

But it began a long time before that. It began when Masonite brought in a team of efficiency experts to determine how to make the most profits with the fewest workers at the lowest cost. The experts suggested that the plant be totally reorganized, with automation the eventual goal.

Masonite calls its operation here the largest hardboard plant in the world; it produces a \$250,000 weekly payroll for the Laurel area. The company and the local, largest in Mississippi, have had bitter struggles over the years, but nothing to rival this one.

This time the local, considered the most militant in the state and possibly in the South, saw the actions of the company as the opening of an effort to destroy the local completely. It did not hesitate to strike once it felt its interest threatened.

The strikers set up mass picket lines and refused to allow anyone, including management personnel, inside the plant. Hulse Hayes, a lawyer from the firm of the late anti-union Senator Robert Taft, went to court for Masonite, seeking an injunction against the union's activities.

A lower-court judge upheld the strikers' right to picket peacefully, so Hayes appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

During the court proceedings the local argued that it had been pushed into the strike and so was unable to give the required ten days' notice before striking. The local subpoenaed documents and exposed Masonite's reorganization plan. The documents also showed that the company had hired Wackenhut guards 10 days before the strike began.

These guards come from the same private detective agency used by Governor Claude Kirk to police the state of Florida.

Still the Mississippi Supreme Court granted the injunction. The strike was ruled illegal, and it was made a crime for the international union or anyone else to support the strike. The workers carried on alone.

Wackenhut set up outposts all over the Masonite property, with shotgun-toting guards entrenched in sand-bagged bunkers. The plant looked more like a fortress than a factory.

The local had been through it all before. As recently as 1964 the men had conducted a bitter wildcat strike. They saw the 1967 walkout as just another in a series of battles between capital and labor, and described it in those terms.

As in the past, the workers felt that their union would stand firm. They had no doubt about the outcome. But one factor had changed since 1964. This was the growing number and strength of black workers and the efforts of the company to manipulate these employees.

In fact, some union officials said that Masonite had planted agents in the plant to discover ways to divide the workers. These agents seem to have decided that the long history of division between black and white people made it possible to pit them against each other.

In reality the Laurel local is two locals — one white, comprising 75 percent of the membership, the other 25 percent black. Until a few years ago the black workers were in a sub-local. Although more than 500 blacks were members of the local and felt that the 1500 white workers accepted them as fellow trade-unionists, they still did not feel they were really a part of the union.

No black people were elected to office in the local. Officials of the local now see this as a mistake. Some realize that a program of education might have brought about the unity they needed in this strike.

The Union's Position

In order to assess the whole situation better, Bob Zellner, Jack Minnis and I met with seven or eight members of the local's leadership—all white. The strike had been going on for months and the local found it difficult to get its side of the story to the public. The Laurel newspaper had even refused to sell the union space to explain its position.

Meanwhile, Masonite was recruiting strikebreakers from Georgia, Texas, and other parts of Mississippi.

"They had the whole Ole Miss football team scabbing in there," said J. D. Jolly, president of the local.

A Wackenhut guard had been slain the day we met with Jolly and other leaders of the union. The room was tense as we sat down with these men.

We were very frank about the fact that we were in the civil-rights movement. Minnis explained that at one time we had all worked for SNCC. He said we were now with SCEF and were interested in building unity between black and white working people in the South.

Minnis told the men that we wanted to help if we could, but we needed to understand the full nature of the strike. The men were silent for a moment.

Then Jolly spoke up: "We don't care who you are as long as you can help."

I think it is important to know Jolly. His life has been dedicated to the local and to the cause of trade-unionism. His name was in the headlines briefly in 1964 after a white union official was beaten by the Ku Klux Klan for backing a Negro in a grievance against the company. Jolly declared that the union would go to war with the Klan, if necessary, to stop further such acts.

He was frank about the local's history. "You have to understand the nature of the South to understand it," he said. "Because of this, we once had a sub-local. All colored, with their own officers. The different races did occasionally attend each other's meetings. There were three colored workers on the negotiating committee and they took part in contract deliberations."

"It wasn't integration; it wasn't segregation. Still... well, our international union prohibited segregation and,

to be frank, we knew all the time what we had to do. Then came the Civil Rights Act (1964) and a suit was filed by six of our brothers—one white and five colored.

"When we integrated, the whites had the numerical strength. They were 75 per cent of the union. Candidates were put up for office and everybody voted along racial lines. None of the colored candidates were elected and they never ran again."

Jolly calls that election a mistake. He says: "I, from a practical standpoint, thinking of the union first, don't want to freeze the colored out, because we need them. If some of our colored members hadn't broken this strike and gone back to work this strike would be over."

We asked what could be done to avoid similar splits in the future. "Only thing I can see is that we've got to form a coalition," Jolly went on. "White and colored in the local will have to get together and come up with some candidates from both races and everybody will have to back them. Otherwise this thing will continue to split us."

The Need for Coalition

Coalition. A magic word these days. Quite simply it means the coming together of people with similar problems to fight a common enemy. It does not mean love or brotherhood or integration, although it could mean or lead to all of these things.

But coalition does require two ingredients, and one of these is strength. The mostly white local did have strength and had shown it many times in previous strikes. The question is: Did the black minority in the union have any strength?

I believe Jolly answered that when he said, "If colored members had not gone back to work the strike would be over."

with the white union leaders to discuss an arrangement whereby the black workers would honor the strike. But, said the black workers, any such meeting would have to be on the initiative of the whites. They would make no effort to set up the meeting.

We reported this conversation to Jolly and other union leaders. We pointed out that we were not in any sense representing the black workers; that they were not our clients and we had absolutely no influence in the black community. We stressed to them that they would have to gain the trust and confidence of the black workers themselves.

Jolly and the others asked us what we thought they should do. We told them they should contact the leaders of the black strikebreakers. They asked us whom they should talk with. We told them they should know who the leaders of the black strikebreakers were, and added that we could not act as go-betweens.

When they mentioned "good friends" they had in the black community, we suggested that these "good friends" were probably not the leaders of the militant workers. We said that a new spirit was abroad in the black community, and it would be up to them to figure out how to deal with that spirit in the interest of unity.

Jolly and the other said they would consider what we had told them and that they would try to work out something. However, Jolly said that it wasn't just a simple matter of the union leadership going to the black strikebreakers and bargaining over concessions.

The union members honoring the strike had already taken the necessary steps to impose sanctions, if they chose to do so, against those who had abandoned the strike. Jolly emphasized that the black strikers had also voted for these steps.



GUN-TOTING WACKENHUT GUARDS patrolled Masonite's Laurel plant during the seven-month strike (photos by Bob Analavage).

The majority of the black workers had used their strength, but they used it against the union. They gave reasons for this, which I will go into shortly, but first we need to stress that the black unionists did not act as a unit. Although about 300 blacks helped to break the strike, about 200 supported it.

The other ingredient needed for a coalition is trust. And the black people who refused to take part in the strike simply did not trust the white members of the union.

When we talked with the black men who went back to work, they said there was a slight possibility that they and other non-striking blacks would meet

"Our local is a democracy and we have to abide by the majority will," he said.

The Strikebreakers' View

The meeting we had had with the black strikebreakers revealed how they felt about the whole business. One of their supporters was Mrs. Susie Ruffin, a veteran in the freedom movement and now a member of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

She is very militant but was opposed to the strike. She arranged for us to meet some of the black strikebreakers in her home. They agreed to talk but only on condition that their names be withheld. Their names are not important; their views are.

They had supported strikes before, including wildcats. One man who had walked the picket line for six months in 1964 said:

"What did it get us? Nothing changed; we were still treated like second-class citizens, like niggers. Ain't no Negro union officials. There's only four black shop stewards, and they don't have authority over whites."

"The union never asks us for help until something like this comes up. To put it right down, Negroes are just sick and tired of being fooled by whites. But no more. I'm so tired of my people being walked on."

We asked another man what he thought about the union. Mrs. Ruffin broke in: "It's a den of Kluxers." The man agreed with her. Yet, when we ran down a list of union officials, he and the others referred to only one of them as a Klansman. They called all the local officers "good union men."

Herbert Ishee, the financial secretary, added: "There are some Klan on the negotiating committee. They're good unionists, pretty good boys, but I don't believe in their politics."

As for the widely held belief in the black community that the Klan controls the local, Jolly said: "Sure, we have Klansmen in the local but they don't control it. I'll fight anyone—any outside group—that tries to take over this local."

We asked one of the black workers why he refused to take part in the strike. He said: "You know, after the Civil Rights Act the company integrated the facilities at the plant. Washrooms and showers. The whites kicked up a fuss."

"I don't appreciate a man using me . . . saying we're together when there's a strike and then kicking up a fuss because we're using the same facilities. Another thing, the whites didn't even consult us when this strike began. Not one word, like they figured we'd support it anyway. I didn't desert the union; the union deserted me."

None of the black workers considered themselves anti-union. They said: "A worker has to be in a union for his own security. We have good wages and job security only because of the union's work."

However, all of them were highly critical of Local 5-44 for allowing segregated job classifications. They all said they wanted to stay in the union, "if only it would change."

We asked them if they would be willing to meet with the white unionists to try to work out such differences. With the balance of power they held in this strike, there was a possibility they could win concessions they wanted from the local, since the whites had now seen the need for unity.

If an understanding was reached between the two groups, it could be guaranteed by the strength of the blacks; the white workers would know that only united action would bring gains from the company in future disputes.

Here was shown the need for a black caucus within the union. Blacks have usually mistrusted white people in similar situations because so many promises have been made and then broken when the black people were no longer considered necessary. A caucus within the union would make sure that there would be no back-sliding on promises made and agreements reached between the black and white workers.

However, this did not appear to be in the minds of the black people, as reflected by these comments:

Mrs. Ruffin—"If only those white people would come to us equal and bargain. . . ."

A worker—"I've seen something of these whites for years. They can't be trusted. I see no reason to talk with them."

Another worker—"If they would come to us and ask us like men."

Setting a Pattern

In Jackson, where we talked with Claude Ramsey, head of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, he gave us a larger perspective on the Laurel strike. He saw the Masonite strike as part of a plan to destroy trade-unions in the state. He believed the Mississippi Manufacturers' Association was involved.

"Masonite is the beginning of a pattern," he declared. "This local has always been radical and a thorn in the

company's side. They've had some bad strikes down there. If they destroy this local, unionism in Mississippi will be set back decades. Masonite laid a trap for them and they walked right into it."

What the company had done was to win many allies in the black community by upgrading a few blacks in the plant and ending segregation in the washrooms.

Minnis described how it worked in the *Patriot* last month: "Thus when management was confident that it had the loyalty of enough black workers it began upgrading black workers in a way that was certain to drive the white workers into a wildcat."

Jolly had told us that this very upgrading of blacks had caused friction with the whites, but he also admitted that the black men had previously "had the dirtiest, the filthiest, the roughest jobs."

However, Masonite is no crusader for the rights of black people. It has a plant in the Union of South Africa where its black workers are the most exploited in the world. It also needs to be pointed out that the company was simply complying with a U. S. Government order when it ended segregation in the washrooms.

Claude Ramsey arranged for us to talk with E. K. Collins, attorney for Local 5-443. Collins is also state senator from Jones County. He is most widely known to the civil-rights movement as attorney for the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi, which fought off the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in 1964. He has a reputation for being a strong trade-union supporter.

"I signed the first union card in this state," he told us proudly. "I once worked for John L. Lewis (of the United Mine Workers)." He said that as a boy "I had a job carrying water for the workers—white and colored."

Senator Collins said he had been one of the original organizers of the Laurel local and obtained its charter. "It was the first union charter in the state," he added.

The attorney said he agreed with Ramsey's charge of a conspiracy to bust all unions in Mississippi. "No doubt about it," he declared. "If they break this union, the shipbuilders in Pascagoula are next and after that the paper mills in Natchez and Moss Point."

"You see, there are all kinds of companies up North that want to bring plants down South because of cheap labor. And every Chamber of Commerce is backing them."

(We were also told that all elements of the local power structure, including the Laurel Chamber of Commerce, backed Masonite in the strike; indeed, "the city attorney represents the company in disputes with the workers.")

We asked Collins about the Klan elements in Local 5-443. He said he had evidence that there were 65 Klan members in the union, but he also pointed out that the local had published a manifesto against the Klan in the Laurel newspaper.

The Strike Continues

As the strike continued, there were bombings and at least five killings which authorities blamed on some of the strikers. However, the black workers told us that none of this was aimed at them. The violence seemed directed at whites breaking the strike.

At the height of the violence, the Mississippi Highway Patrol sent extra men to Laurel and the National Guard was placed on alert.

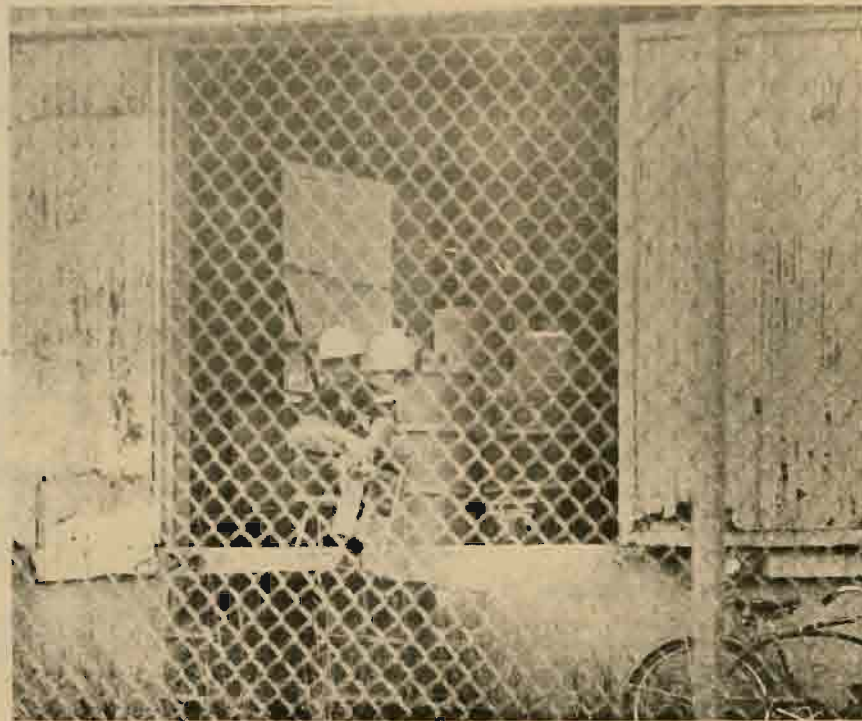
Soon there were 900 men working in the plant, which was reported working at 45 per cent of capacity. The 900 men were about equally divided among white unionists who had returned to work, strikebreakers (white) brought in from other areas, and black unionists who had refused to join the strike.

But Masonite was being hurt. A *Standard & Poor's* bulletin reported at the end of the summer that there had been a substantial decrease in Masonite earnings due in part to strikes in Ohio and in Laurel. *Standard & Poor's* also stated that Masonite had sold more than 210,000 acres of prime Mississippi timber to St. Regis Paper Co. for \$35 million.

"The colored workers (who went back to work) make up the numerical difference and give the company hope of winning the strike," Jolly said several weeks before the end of the strike.

We talked with people in SNCC, the MFDP and the Delta Ministry about the possibility of working together to build a black-white coalition to aid the local. They all saw possibilities in the situation, but were busy with other things they felt were more important.

Two weeks before the strike ended, a statement did come from the MFDP, which is made up almost wholly of black people.



It looked more like a fortress than a factory

The Strike is Broken

On December 12, 1967, after seven and a half months, the Laurel strike came to an end. In San Francisco, an agreement was reached between the international union, the Masonite Corp., and the federal mediation service.

We happened to be in the Union hall the day the agreement was announced.

"Ain't it a shame," one rank-and-file member told us, "we don't even get to vote on it."

J. D. Jolly and the rest of local 5-443's officials were removed from office and the local was placed in trusteeship, which meant that all property, finances and other assets of the local came under the complete control of the international.

A man of about 50 said, "one of these days it's all coming to a head and it's going to be settled with guns. There's going to be one final battle between capital and labor."

The agreement was explained to the *Patriot* by Ronald F. Roley, Portland, Ore., international president of the union, on the ground that "our aim was

to save as many jobs and as many benefits as possible under the circumstances. A preferential hiring list was set up for those men still out at the time of the settlement." (There were over 1,200 men, more than half of the local, still on strike when the agreement was signed.)

As for the company's reorganization plan, Roley said, "we'll try to resolve whatever we can."

Members of the local scoff at this. They described the agreement to me as "a sellout, a sweetheart contract." Sources within the local also say they have learned that the militants who led the strike will not be rehired—ever. Ad-

ditionally, all strikebreakers will keep their jobs.

What is clear is that Masonite exploited the social divisions between the unionists masterfully, like pawns in a giant chess game. Whether the same tactics will be used in other areas, as Claude Ramsey and E. K. Collins predicted, seems hardly open to question.

The burning resentments of black workers exist everywhere; the failure, even the refusal, of some white workers to cope with this also exists everywhere. If the tragedy of Laurel is not to be repeated, this situation must be corrected.

Blacks have said they will not initiate any reconciliation because they feel they have been betrayed too many times in the past. Therefore, whites will have to make the first move. Unity remains the working men's only protection; otherwise they will continue to be the victims.

Masonite can now dictate conditions and wages and, as the directors of that company can tell you, it will be a long time before the workers of Laurel will again have the strength to challenge them. ➔

The MFDP Statement

The MFDP is investigating the strike in Laurel, Mississippi by the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) local against the Masonite corporation, because this strike affects every member of the MFDP in Mississippi.

If Masonite can kill the union in Laurel, this will set back both Negro and white workers 30 years. Whatever the result of the strike, it will be copied by management and members of the Mississippi Management Association to crush union organizing in Mississippi. Without unions, working people can be fired without cause by management, they lose their right to collective bargaining, better working conditions, higher wages and decent vacations with pay.

Members of both races are working at Masonite and are also on strike. Masonite claims that the union is completely controlled by the KKK. This places Negro employees in the unfortunate position of having to choose between the KKK or Masonite. This is too simple and too frightening to be true.

It is to Masonite's advantage to emphasize the KKK element in the union. This keeps black and white workers apart. Since 1964 the union has held integrated meetings, yet it was only since the strike began in April that Masonite gave Negro workers many good jobs previously reserved for whites. But it is important to understand the history of the KKK's power in Jones County. This power affects not only the union but Masonite and every important economic and political institution in Jones County.

The FDP is and has always been on the side of FREE trade unionism. We refuse to swallow Masonite's claim of complete KKK control of the union. We have found that labels, whether Communist or KKK, prevent people from thinking and cover up the real issues.

The Klan issue should not force Negro workers to reject unionism. A man should not be deprived of his right to a job or a right to belong to a union solely because he is a member of the KKK. Only if we protect the rights of all men to freedom of association and speech, no matter how unpopular their cause, will our own rights be preserved. ➔

GITLIN ON CUBA

schools, and Cubans who have studied his work were astounded to hear that some Americans treat him as a prophet of race.

Bourgeois Legality

When they try to think back before their triumph, to gather some image of capitalism by which they might measure the internal life of the U.S., Cubans remember organized torture, a censored press, Batista's usurpation of power before the 1952 elections, and other blatant signs of oppression. They assume American capitalism to have this uniform quality. News of America in the press is news of combat — Viet Nam, counter-revolution, macropolitics, demonstrations, political arrests, the assaults on black people — and this reality is often taken to the ENTIRE American reality.

Three editors of the Young Communists' evening newspaper, circulation 70,000, asked why the U.S. government tolerated radical publications. The concept of bourgeois legality, of formal if embattled civil rights, was new to them. Never mind that these rights are coming to be more honored on paper than in practice, that their political function is to tame opposition. The point is that the very idea of Western civil liberties came as a surprise.

On the other hand, government officials and some students are less mystified. Yet even the sharpest and best informed have trouble comprehending hippies. Or they understand without understanding. However, elaborately they are told of the emptiness of middle-class life and culture and the agony of durable radical politics, they give way to MACHISMO, insisting that long hair is "sissy." What they can understand at once is that strategies for the liberation of Latin America are not designed for advanced industrialized societies. They were astonished and depressed that radical Americans were ransacking Regis Debray's *REVOLUTION IN THE REVOLUTION?*, eagerly underlining passages and inscribing marginal schemes as if Debray were speaking to THEM. To informed Cubans it was perfectly clear that Debray's proposals flowed directly from an analysis of Latin American possibilities. It was unimaginable that anyone might mistake these for American conditions, siphoning Debray into a reality he hadn't the slightest intention of beginning to describe. How could would-be revolutionaries so easily abandon their common sense — and so mechanically? Despair is the CAUSE, but in these times it is no good REASON at all. A conical mystery for them, a tragedy for us.

Lessons, But Not For Copy-Books

LESSON #1: Human beings are not everywhere and for all time prevented from building something decent. Reconstruction and moral incentives at the heart of the social process are not inescapably Utopian. This is said not to call for a transplanting of the Cuban revolution, nor to suggest that we would want to do things the Cuban way, but simply to hearten American radicals whom hard experience has made bitter. The Cubans would be first to suggest that THEY do not tread paths marked out by other countries. But we are so attuned to the need to destroy the institutions of empire and degradation — and indeed I believe these are the major orders of the day: stopping this atrocious institution,

neutralizing that one — we sometimes assume that this is everyone's eternal responsibility, and our sole METHOD of organizing. (On the need for political progress, see Staughton Lynd, "The Good Society," *THE GUARDIAN*, February 17).

Cuba also stands as a model of what it is this system wants to discredit and destroy. That sheer huge fact should not become our politics, but must never be absent from them.

LESSON #2: Vast bureaucracy is not an inevitable, uncombattable feature of economic development. The two-year Campaign Against It sent thousands of seat-warmer into productive work and into local branches of national structures. It turned out that the larger bureaucracies were not necessarily the most efficient: often the way round. And point was not simply to meet the labor shortage and to implant manual skills but to vitalize local life and multiply centers of initiative. The entire central Sugar Ministry is now run with a staff of 30; the Ministry of Interior Commerce, which supervises all stores and the distribution of goods, was cut in one year from 2000 to 80; the Ministry of Education, from 1250 to 250. The flow of paper has been eliminated where possible. Magazines are published with very small, hard-working staffs, and some enterprises (like Education) encourage their staffs to do their own typing, so that secretaries may be freed to become teachers.

Radicals have often conceded that bureaucratic top-down methods, though dehumanizing, are after all more efficient. Perhaps we give away half the game. The Cubans seem to be moving toward models of organization — fragile as they are — that begin to enact their values and still get the job done. The process is only just begun and encounters obstacles, but it is valued and emphasized at the highest and the lowest levels. Expectations are raised; people learn to be disappointed if institutions become deadened and unresponsive. (The most popular Cuban film has been *THE DIVINE BUREAUCRAT*.)

We could begin, it seems to me by scrutinizing the operations of some of our own movement offices.

LESSON #3: The productive process is perhaps not automatically opaque to workers and people in general. In factories and stage enterprises, some workers are chosen by the assembled workers for training as managers. Subsequently relations are sometimes estranged: Cuba is yet to devise vital mechanisms to maintain responsibility. Special night schools for workers and peasants teach the relations between one particular job and the factory, between the factory and the industry, between the industry and the Cuban economy, between the Cuban economy and the economy of the world. (I asked a Party administrator in one of these schools whether he used speeches of Fidel and Che in teaching this last subject. "Generally not," he said. "We use UNESCO materials.") Technical and engineering students divide their time between school and the factories, where they work alongside ordinary workers and offer technical assistance for innovations. Gradually an entire population is caught to feel competent with technique.

Clearly all this is possible largely because of the primitive state of the economy — the complex Western division of labor has not had time to develop — and because of the communal spirit of work: most people WANT to know, technical education is emphasized, they have a reason for efficiency. But how largely? Radicals should not flinch and automatically GRANT that the overdeveloped economy denies us these possibilities.

LESSON #4: Our closest brothers and sisters are not the only ones who have run the risk of burning out. The Cuban movement went through such a phase, when much work seemed hopeless, retribution was daily, and the process of building the movement was impossible to measure: from the time of the attack on Abasco Barracks (July 1953) to the landing of the GRANMA (December 1956). Despair was rather quickly cut short by deliverance, the sort of deliverance we had better not count on. (Later, just after the

triumph in 1959, many veterans of the 26th-of-July Movement suffered the paralysis and collapse which follow on overwork and unexpected victory.)

The Cubans even used the same term: QUEMARSE, literally "to burn oneself." Again, the conditions are dramatically different for us, but it might help to know that we are not the first movement in history to have felt the very personal pains of treadmill and uncertainty.

LESSON #5: Revolution has a history. Men have spread the feeling of the need, and limits of its program, without having to believe that revolution would come tomorrow, and in so doing they have raised and cleared the sights of common people, even in times of the most shrunken possibilities.

This year, one of the common billboards in Havana reads "1868-1968: 100 YEARS OF STRUGGLE." This is no glib rhetoric. The Ten Year War for Independence began in 1868, under the leadership of the black Antonio Maceo. Peasants and townspeople attacked the Spanish garrison of Bayamo, a town in Oriente (traditionally the most revolutionary province). The Spanish retreated from the city and regrouped, and the rebels knew they would have to abandon their conquest. Rather than return it to Spanish hands, they burned it to the ground.

I happened to pass through Bayamo on the centenary night of the burning (January 12). Now a city of 80,000, third largest in Oriente, Bayamo is visibly two hundred years newer, less shaken and faded, than comparable cities. Tens of thousands of people from miles around gathered that night in the Plaza de la Revolution (I was told it had been known by that name even before 1959). At the exact hour firecrackers were set off from the rooftops, symbolizing the burning. Peasants rode around the square brandishing machetes. A traditional peasant revolutionary song was played from a loudspeaker, and that was all — no political speeches were necessary. I imagine even most children knew what the celebration was all about. But even before revolutionary history had been so thoroughly absorbed into education the

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event had become part of a common heritage, passed on along the chain of generations.

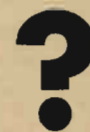
It is painfully clear that America is not blessed with the kind of continuous revolutionary history which many Cubans possess as their own, and possessed long before the revolution. Radical historians are helping us invent our history, but for now that history usually seems to come from outside ourselves. No only do the schools cheat us, not only is America imponderably huge, but too many Americans have learned to deny their history, needing to believe that they stand somehow outside the past. Radicals are seen as upstarts, new arrivals. (How many Chicagoans would attend an anniversary-remembrance of the Haymarket Riot? How many in Pittsburgh have even heard of the Homestead Strike?). History somehow stopped as America ascended to world power. This America is so frightfully modern it sometimes seems not to have a past at all. Blacks and Mexican-Americans show us differently, but voyeuristic history is no history at all.

Our own celebrations are not enough, and they are beside my point. Nor will it help to bemoan the sad and stubborn ignorance of the Americans, sad and stubborn as it is. The simple and obvious but striking point about the Cuban revolution is that its continuous history HAD TO BE MADE, over and over and over again. The Vietnamese revolution in its present phase may be dated from the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930. Years of work in these SMALL countries were needed, objective conditions aside, to sharpen a popular consciousness which could sustain a Rebel Army or a National Liberation Front, or any other organization form for that matter. The enemy cannot be relied on to make our history and spread our alternatives, and we are not simply creatures of events.

It will be said that we have no time. True enough: the responsibility for stake-out our history is everyday. But we do not eliminate time by cursing it, and we must find ways of living urgency within patience, patience within urgency. ♦

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NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS

Gey, folks; we talk about news and analysis from inside the Movement, but such stuff has to be written by people who ARE inside the Movement. We need to hear from more Movement people about what's happening around the country. Doesn't need to be elaborate, just a letter about your area. The real worth of THE MOVEMENT depends on the people who write for it. Let us hear from you. THE MOVEMENT, 449 14th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103.

SEALE ON BLACK LIBERATION

CON'T FROM PAGE 3

to defend his home. It was necessary to bring to Black people the understanding that they were going to have to stand in defense of rights of community, of the children, of your mothers, of our young, we have to defend ourselves starting with point number seven, because we don't end self-defense there. Because Huey says we still have to defend ourselves against the gross unemployment we're subjected to, against the indecent housing we're subjected to, against the indecent education we receive, against the way Black men are jacked off into military service after he fought in the Civil War (150,000); in World War I (350,000), World War II (850,000) and all the way down to the Korean conflict and now we got this jive Vietnam war and sending our Black brothers off to war at 90 miles an hour and we say uh, uh. They've been promising us things all these years and we say No. That's a very, very important point. Every Black man in his house should be against the War in Vietnam. He's got to be.

Huey brought it down to a practical level. When Huey organized his brothers, he didn't just run them out into the street with a zero understanding. Huey sat those brothers down and told them 12 basic points of law and how to exercise constitutional rights. Huey sat those brothers down and talked to them. Huey taught those brothers that it wasn't a gun that was dangerous; it's the person behind it that's dangerous. Very important. Huey taught the brothers the safety of those weapons. You haven't heard of one Black Panther shooting another Black Panther. But for information - in one appearance in court, Charles Garry, the lawyer, he said, that one cop down there shot the other cop where Huey was.

Now look, The Black Panther Party for Self Defense is a revolutionary party. Revolution means that you got to get down to the nitty gritty and change the situation that we're in but don't miss any nits or any grits. That's very, very important.

More Than Cops

We're also struggling to show you that it wasn't only the cops, that it has to do with many other things - like a street light at Market and 55th St. Three kids coming from Washington had been killed two years prior. We got us a poverty program to get a street light out here and if you don't put a street light out here, the Panthers are going to get right out there and we're going to direct traffic, and we tie up traffic, then traffic's just going to get tied up. Our kids aren't going to get killed. We shot a petition in, in conjunction with the members of the area there to the city council and they said some back talk about, oh we can't put one up until late 1968. We said, no,

we're going to have to change the situation now, we're going to put a street light up early 1968; now they don't like the Panthers messing with them nohow.

About Racism

When the Man walks up and says that we're anti-white, I scratch my head and I say listen, anti-white, what do you mean by that? He says why I mean you hate white people. I say, me? hate a white person? I say wait a minute man, let's have a look at this. That's your game. That's the Ku Klux Klan's game. I say that is the Ku Klux Klan's game to hate me, and murder me because of the color of my skin. I say I wouldn't murder a person or brutalize him because of the color of his skin; I say yeah, we hate something all right. We hate the oppression that we live in. We hate cops beating black people over the heads and murdering us. That's what we hate. So if you got enough energy to get down and hate a white person just because of the color of his skin, you're wasting a lot of energy and you better take that same energy and put it into motion out there, because you know that those oppressors mean business.

Black people, we are organizing to STOP racism, you dig it? When you stop racism, you stop brutality to murder black people by the racist occupying army in our Black community - that's what we're going to stop; what's being done to us. You dig it? Can you dig the white power structure - that racist police force - and how they've escalated the situation? That before Watts there were 1,300 cops, now there's 6,000 cops patrolling Black people; that in Oakland they had 350 cops just three and a half years ago and now they've got a thousand cops patrolling Black people. San Francisco's doubled its police force and every area of every major metropolis where

Black people live all across this country, they've doubled, tripped and quadrupled their police force, equipped them with tanks, and all that - uh-uh, we got to stop it brother, let's get together and unify.

Survival

Brother Huey was concerned about the nature of the survival of Black people. That's why tonight and your standing support we are all going to be concerned about him. I saw a picture in the paper where one sister had a sign which said "Come see about Huey." And so every court date I want everybody in this house to come see about Huey at that courthouse and bring our friends to free Huey!

We got to learn to speak to what happens out there. When we go to the court, where this brother got busted, you walk up to the municipal court, and I know a lot of young guys there, walk up in that court, do you know what you see in that court - 90% black people and the other ones who ain't black are poor whites and our Mexican brothers. Do they stop people in Piedmont brutalizing and intimidating them?

We must begin to neutralize their police force. In fact, we're in a position then to demand that they withdraw from our communities because they occupy our community just like a foreign troop occupying a territory. Very important to understand. This is a political speech for Brother Huey. And see how basic it is? It's not hard to understand at all. Every time the power structure makes a political decision upon any group of people, if the people disagree with the political decision that the power structure has made upon them, then the power structure gets guns, and force, and billy clubs, starts doubling and tripling the police force, and that is all

to make you accept those political decisions made when you try to disagree.

Power

The Vietnamese have had political decisions made in their country and they've disagreed with them. So they said no, we're going to defend ourselves right here on our own land and we want you to withdraw from our land. Now, we can parallel the situation when we see all these racist cops in our community the way they are. But remember, that's only point seven of the program. But here is the key to determine to deal with what real power is. Power starts here. When people start saying that green power is where it's at, let me hip you to something that brother Huey P. Newton knew. He said that during the Civil War there was the North and there was the South. The North had yankee money - green power, supposedly - and the South had Confederate money - green power - supposedly. He said, but when the North outnumbered the South, and the North had all the guns, they said "your money ain't no more good. You don't even have no more money. So I'm saying, that the money is just the tool by which you manipulate the power. That's all.

The real power is manifested in the police forces, the National Guardsmen, the racists who come down and occupy Black people in the community, to maintain their presence and to try to make us dupes. That we in our home, and I'm saying every black person in this house, every last one of you, put a shotgun in your home. Put a shotgun in your home. Yes sir, we must begin to deal with politics that way.

Politics

Because Huey also says that politics is war without bloodshed. But war is politics with bloodshed. Let's get down to a little nitty-gritty here and see what is happening here. You have two kinds of contradictions: Antagonistic contradictions, where there's fighting and where there's bloodshed, and you have non-antagonistic contradictions where there's arguing and debate. Now I'm pretty sure that Black people would prefer to have non-antagonistic contradictions. But what's happened here? When the Man escalates his police forces and doubles and triples them, and murders Black people in the community, and shooting them down, that isn't non-antagonistic. That's very upon us. This is very, very important to understand where the politics lie. We desire, by defending ourselves and our community, by every man having a shotgun in his home, we desire non-antagonistic contradictions. But we must defend ourselves. We must organize; we must respect the kind of fashion that it's the man behind the gun who's dangerous, and there are thousands and thousands of cops in this country who are very, very dangerous for the Black community. So let's come to the surface and think. Let's come up to the sense of the whole situation.

Black people in this country, war has been made upon you. Black people don't sit down and say, "Oh, nothing's going to happen." Don't sit down and let a spontaneous riot happen in the streets, where we get corralled and a lot of us shot up unorganized and spontaneous. Black people, organize. And, Black leaders . . . you got them up here. I want to try to contribute to the leadership. I was forced out here and it's necessary for me to do it and I'm going to do my job. I'm saying that Black leadership's here and let the political power structure know where it's at and the changes that we want and that if it doesn't happen, then YOU will cause the political consequences in an organized fashion. The Man doesn't have us outnumbered, he has us outorganized. Come on now.

Now, let's go back to our brother Huey. Concerning the situation, all right brothers and sisters, I want to say this here! Free Huey, Black power, Black power, you are the power, the Black power to free Huey. So let's stand together, let's free Huey. I want to thank you. •

A LETTER FROM RAP BROWN

Parrish Prison
New Orleans, La.
February 21, 1968

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life; one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe.

No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins.

For every day I am imprisoned I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs - that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to its fascist nature: those who cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

This can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others.

Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire freedom is not enough.

We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution.

For every Orangeburg, there must be ten Detroites. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be ten dead racist cops. And for every black death, there must be Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. We must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The law which govern us must be made by us.

May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight. Resistance is not enough; aggression is the order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA:

If it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life. BUT, MY SOUL BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE!

LASIME TUSHINDE MBILASHAKA! (Translated from Swahili:)

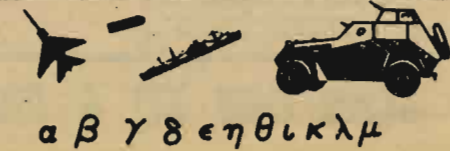
WE SHALL CONQUER
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a speech by Mike James, JOIN Community Union, given at the Chicago Coliseum, Spring '66. Now in pamphlet - 10¢. Write THE MOVEMENT. Good stuff!



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AMERICA, AMERICA

August 1964 marked the end of an era. It happened at the Democratic Convention at Atlantic City when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenged the Mississippi Democratic Party delegation and was rebuffed. It was then that the civil rights movement died. All who participated in the MFDP challenge and watched Reuther, Humphrey and the rest of the liberal establishment maneuver to get the MFDP to accept a compromise knew that the last door for a non-violent, legal redress of grievances had been closed.

August 1968 marks the end of another era. In the four years between the Augusts, the nation has been an uprising—from the ghetto, from the campuses, from the labor rank-and-file who have involved the nation in one crippling strike after another. The Democratic Convention this year will be the scene for a major confrontation around the issue of Vietnam. Just what form the confrontation will take and what the outcome of it will be are still matters of conjecture.

There is always a heightened interest in politics during an election year. Twice a decade Americans are given the opportunity to express their wishes about how this country is run. Eisenhower was voted into office on the slogan that "It's Time for a Change." Kennedy offered "The New Frontier" as an alternative to Eisenhower's "change," and Johnson offered to take us beyond the new frontiers into "The Great Society."

What we are being offered this time are not slogans, but the cries of desperate men. Nixon and Romney (until his withdrawal from the race) paint pictures of

impending doom, both from within and without. Romney offered the good old American home remedy of prayer as the solution. Nixon offers Nixon. Then there is George Wallace, whom no one should regard lightly. He offers some good, down-home Alabama-style American fascism to take care of blacks, intellectuals, "peaceniks," and "hippies." And he just might get the chance. On the Democratic side, Johnson is assured of the nomination. The only challenge to him comes from Eugene McCarthy, who is running for the nomination on his opposition to the Vietnam war.

Peace Movement & McCarthy

For many involved in the peace movement, McCarthy's opposition to the war is enough for them to actively support him. Even long-time political radicals, who should know better, are supporting McCarthy. The interest that the peace movement is taking in McCarthy tells us more about the peace movement than it does about McCarthy, for whom little positive can be said. Because his candidacy has stirred such interest, it is indicative of the fact that the peace movement, with its bourgeois and student composition, would rather follow any illusory hope rather than face the reality that a system capable of waging a war in Vietnam is incapable of reforming itself. If one were paranoid enough, he might think that McCarthy's candidacy was a deliberate maneuver calculated to subvert a good section of the peace movement, for that is the main effect of his seeking the nomination.

Even if one feels that any significant change can come through involvement in electoral politics, McCarthy is hardly an alternative to Johnson. His only virtue is his opposition to the war. When one considers the fact that to be opposed to the war is merely an indication of a modicum of common sense (and how common sense shines like heroism when everyone else is insane), then the interest in McCarthy seems out of proportion to what the man has to offer. He is a conservative Democrat (i.e., a liberal Republican turned upside down) whose voting record in the Senate is consistent with representing the State of Minnesota, a mid-western agricultural state.

The interest in McCarthy is a reflection of the desperation and frustration that many feel at this critical time. There have been countless demonstrations; the revenue of The New York Times has increased many-fold from the ads placed in it stating opposition to the war; many are coming down with a skin ailment known as picket-sign-itis. Yet, each large demonstration is countered with more troops going to Vietnam and the conflict being intensified. Although the demonstrations have been good for those who have participated in them, their effect on U.S. policy has been nil. Thus, people are frustrated, demoralized and dissatisfied. Out of despair they are attracted to Senator McCarthy, a man who has not even advocated a position on Vietnam, i.e. immediate withdrawal, gradual withdrawal, etc. He's just a man who doesn't like the war.

Short Memory

The peace movement is not only suffering from frustration, but from a short memory. In the early sixties, there was

much excitement over a Harvard professor, H. Stuart Hughes, one of the first of the intellectual community to be opposed to the war. He ran for office, with peace movement support, lost and disappeared. The war went on. Then Senator Wayne Morse became the hero. Although he didn't run for President, the peace movement tried to make him its leader and failed. For a brief few months another professor, the University of Chicago's Hans Morgenthau was the hero with his appearances at teach-ins opposing the war. He, too, disappeared and the war went on. Somewhere in between all that, Staughton Lynd assumed a leadership position of sorts, but he too faded and the war went on. Then came Dr. Spock, who has asked the courts for permission to retire to his yacht in the Caribbean, until his trial. Now along comes Senator McCarthy and hopes rise once more.

If the peace movement had any other clear position except that it doesn't like the war in Vietnam, the McCarthy candidacy would stir no interest. Because the peace movement is divided over the effectiveness of electoral politics, because its position against the war is one of vague morality, it is in the dangerous position of having its energy and limited resources drained by McCarthy. The McCarthy campaign symbolizes a dead-end street that has been gone down many times in the past four years. It should be clear by now that there is no redress of grievances through the democratic political process. This was made evident at the 1964 Democratic Convention. Yet a large number of good and well-meaning people cling to the dream that justice will come to America from a news conference on the steps of the White House. It is a dream that if indulged in any longer will become fatal for the dreamer.

Julius Lester

SLAUGHTER IN SOUTH CAROLINA

ORANGEBURG, S.C. — Eight years ago Chuck McDew, SNCC's second chairman, led student demonstrations to desegregate public accommodations in Orangeburg. The demonstrators were herded into a compound outside the city jail and hosed. Times have changed, a little. Last month students attempted to desegregate a bowling alley in Orangeburg. They were fired on by the National Guard, three young black men were killed, ten hospitalized with bullet wounds, and 30 jailed. Cleveland Sellers, a SNCC staff member who lives in Orangeburg is being held on \$20,000 bail on a trumped-up charge of inciting to riot.

The mass media have attempted to paint a picture of necessary force used against a riot. That's their new thing when black folks are shot. In fact, the shooting was an unprovoked massacre of an unarmed protest rally.

Bowling Alley

The trouble began on February 5 when students from South Carolina State College were turned away from an all-white bowling alley they were attempting to desegregate. When they returned to the bowling alley the next day 20 students were arrested. Word circulated on campus and 600 students went to the shopping center where the bowling alley is located, demanding that those arrested be released. About 150 cops were called to the scene. The jailed demonstrators were released, but as the rally broke up cops started to beat a number of women. The crowd responded by smashing windows of white owned stores. Twenty were hospitalized.

On February 7 city and state police surrounded the schools and invaded the campuses. Several students were beaten by cops. That evening local whites drove through the campus shooting. In town, whites attacked black owned stores. Governor Robert McNair used a fire in the black section of the city as a pretext to alert the National Guard. On the 8th, the morning of the massacre, state troopers cordoned off Orangeburg; all incoming traffic was rerouted around the town. Agents of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division (SLED), a semi-secret intelligence force of the state police, poured into town and onto the campus. Six SLED cars were parked in front of Cleveland Sellers' home. From the beginning of the trouble newsmen had focused on Sellers — who was recently sentenced to five years in prison for refusing induction — setting him up as the "agitator" responsible. Sellers decided it was unsafe to remain in his house alone, so he went to the campus where a series of meetings was being held by the students.

Bonfire Massacre

On Thursday night a rally was held on the campus, and a bonfire was lit. When they saw the fire, the 200 Guardsmen and 100 state and city cops poised around the campus moved in. They opened fire on the crowd, which was unarmed, and murdered three students. Two of the dead were

shot in the back. Forty to fifty more students were wounded, an unknown number beaten. Most of the wounded had to find rides out of town to be treated — the local hospital refused.

The three dead are Sam Hammon, 18, killed outright by a blast of gunfire; Delano Middleton, 17, who died an hour after he was wounded while trying to shield a friend; and Henry Smith, 18, who was shot and then beaten.

Sellers was wounded in the arm. He was arrested in the school infirmary where he had gone for treatment and charged with inciting to riot and assaulting an officer. His bail, originally set at \$50,000 dollars was lowered to \$20,000, still too high to get him out. (The desperately needed money for Sellers and the other students in jail may be sent to Cleve Sellers Defense Fund, 360 Nelson St. S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30313).

Guardsmen continue to control Orangeburg. In a message from jail, Sellers urged black student groups to send some message of support to their fellow students, since they have been completely isolated and are left alone to deal with the police of Orangeburg and the state and the National Guard.

NAACP Boycott

The NAACP has organized a boycott of white businesses in Orangeburg. Though it has been generally successful, the Afro-American News Service reports that NAACP mass meetings have been disrupted by black people and that much of the black community feels the organization's demands are not far-reaching enough and that its tactics do not match the community's anger and militancy.

Demonstrations in support of the Orangeburg students have been held at more than 20 black colleges and included an uprising in Durham, N.C. where students threw bricks and trash cans through downtown windows after police opened fire on their demonstration.

Orangeburg is only the latest in a series of police attacks on black college communities. In the spring of 1967 cops invaded Texas Southern, fired into dormitories, arrested 280 students then charged five students with murdering a policeman who had been hit by a ricocheting bullet. (Their trials started this week.) Central State, Howard, and the reign of terror in Nashville last month are other examples.

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