in this issue:
S.F. STATE, WORKING CLASS ORGANIZING: NORTH & SOUTH
Dear Friends:

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

We would hope to do is cut down this period of limbo and save them several hungry weeks. If any such people happen to get in touch with you, tell them that they will need the following in Canada:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Groups who plan educational activities on Cuba for that week should contact the National Office of SDS and send for the November issue of the MOVEMENT which features several articles on Cuba and an interview with Haydee Santamaria, member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. (It's also got some good stuff on the U.S.)

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panther shootout
WHO GAME WAS IT?
by Robert Avakian

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

When the truck pulled into the gas station, William Lee Brent, a Panther captain and one of the passengers in the truck, jumped out, ran up to the station, and demanded $300 worth of gas from an attendant. Then, according to Henry George, another attendant at the station, Brent walked over to George and asked him for change for a quarter. Brent and George walked over to the cash box, scouted the area, and away, and George opened the box and started to change the money for Brent.

At that point, according to George — a testimony that had to be considered seriously — he said, "I want all of it (the money) in the cash box." George told me he was terrified but managed to mumble something unintelligible in response. Brent then turned back并向 George, demanding to know if he would reveal a pistol and demanded "I want all of it, and if you don't give it to me, I'm not mine to give," whereupon Brent pulled aside an attendant at the station, George, of course, complied with this request and then Brent, who, according to George, was very calms during the entire episode, took the money, returned his gun to his belt, fastened his coat back over the gun, walked back to the truck and joined the other attendant two dollars, out of the $80 dollars that he had just taken.

Brent got back in the truck and it pulled out of the gas station. Though the other attendant coughed down his license plate number. In response to my request to release this information, it was entirely possible that the other people were in the truck. They had not had the guts pull off by Brent. In fact, according to George, of course, there was no doubt that Brent was ridding the cash box, one of the passengers in the truck got out and went into the restroom. You would hardly expect someone to be caught with his pants down, if he were involved in a robbery and quick getaway.

Near the Pig Station

From the gas station, the truck proceeded along Third Street into the freeway, which leads to the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. For some reason, however, instead of continuing onto the Bay Bridge, the driver of the truck, Wilford Holiday, known as "Captain Crutch," because of his rank in the Panther Party, decided to take the last San Francisco exit off the freeway. A few minutes later, the driver, only a few blocks from the San Francisco Police Station, where the police description was by now broadcast over the radio, and in the police car in a robbery, was almost immediately recognized by plainclothes piggies, who were driving, their puppy dogs barking on the radio.

They pulled the Panther truck over and one of the pigs, Robert Flynn, drew his gun and ordered everyone off the truck. Flynn had Holiday spread over the truck, with his gun drawn, and fired into the truck. When Brent apparently leaped out of the truck, with his gun drawn, he was stopped at Flynn, who crumbled to the ground, seriously wounded. At this point, the other piggies, Lieutenant Raymond Creedon, jumped from the prow car with his gun and he was immediately struck by several bullets from Brent's gun. Creedon, too, was critically wounded. At this point "Crutch," Brent and the third Panther in the front seat of the truck, 19 year old Hill, took off running.

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

They were captured without another shot being fired. In the meantime, pigs had surrounded the Panther truck and arrested five Panthers, including Ray- mond Lewdus, editor of the Panther newspaper. Trapp, the police, who were trapped inside, none of these five had any weapons and no guns were found in the back of the truck. In fact, only one gun was confiscated by police, the .9 millimeter pistol fired by Brent and found on his possession. Hill, Hill, and Hill, the three who were in the front seat of the truck at the time of the robbery and the shootout.

Police Agent?

Those who have worked with the Pan­ ters with Bill, in particular, found it difficult to accept the notion that he is a police agent, but it is even more difficult to believe that he is a cop who went berserk. It is true that Brent seemed very politically uptight, stable, and generally possessed of attributes of a solid revolutionary. Brent would hardly be mentioning that these are also the attributes of a good police agent, who, -- as everyone who has participated in an organization that is infiltrated by finks knows, -- almost always answers the questions of the most dedicated people around, and who are completely out in suspension. And should we remember that Robert Lewdus, chairman of the Panther Central Committee contained an agent for many years, even until October 1971? Brent's very seriousness and seeming solidity make it even harder to believe that he suddenly went amuck. He was an experienced armed robber, -- who was almost always in the area. Some time ago, but mysteriously got blown up. So, on reporting this to the pigs, he pulled off the half-assed "robbery" that he committed murder?

"Big Al"

As if this whole incident did not already amaze enough, Mayor Benito "Big Al" Alioto of San Francisco immediately called a press conference. He announced that he formally requesting the San Francisco Grand Jury to conduct an investigation of the leaders of the Black Panther Party. The agents were guilty of conspiracy to murder policemen — whether, as Alioto framed it, there were concrete Panther plans to shoot at any policeman that stopped them. This action by Alioto was coupled with the fact that the new, by independent just 8 days before Eldridge Cleaver was to be sentenced to the Cali­ fornia Adult Authority. It was also in the context of the beginning struggle at San Francisco State, in which Panther students were cut some figure. This note made the entire episode more significant.

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

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

The answer of Giant Hog Alioto and the San Francisco Grand Jury to conduct an investigation of the leaders of the Black Panther Party is the answer of a police agent, who, course, could not be the case. But of course, could not be the case. But it is almost evident that Brent was actually a police agent, whom the authorities discovered the day before, and perhaps even before, they were police agents and that an investigation that put Panthers up against the leaders.

But whether Brent is in fact a police agent or not, and why, if he is a police agent, his charges against five Panthers are sud­ denly dropped. Especially since one was a mountain man, Lewis who is on parole, with the presence of the word, why, for that matter, the Grand Jury and particularly the District Attorney's office dropped charges against five Panthers. The only reason to explain this is that the Panthers are the only political organization that has the facts to the authorities discovered the truth — and perhaps even before, they were police agents and that an investigation that put Panthers up against the leaders.

Charges Dropped

This is common sense. But the problem of explaining why Brent, if he is a police agent, has his charges against five Panthers suddenly dropped. Especially since one was a police agent, without feeling any allegiance to all the high-ups or to the rats, he might well have acted as a police agent, without feeling any allegiance to all the high-ups or to the rats.

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There is no doubt that this kind of breach of discipline will hurt the Pan­ hers, in the short run, in the black community. Many black people, who hold down jobs and have a family to support, but are still politically con­ scious, feel that the black liberation movement, will not stand up for them. Hence, it means that they might get trapped in situations similar to the No­ mead murder.

Continued on pg. 22
Rallies are held every Saturday in a cow pasture. The crowds vary in size from 55 (one cold, rainy day) to over 800 on a nice sunny one. Cars stand in dual lines, many bumperstickers distinguished by faded omnipresent WALLACE stickers. There are some Blacks in the crowd, but the vast majority is White. A flat bed truck is situated in the middle of the pasture and the speakers are talking about the working class struggle and the need for Black-White unity. The speakers are members of something called the GROW project which wants to build a mass movement across the White South. A movement which would link up with others to change the system under which we live. This is all taking place in Laurel, Mississippi, said to be headquarters for the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It is a beginning.

GROW stands for Grass Roots Organizing Work. It is a project of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and is headquartered in New Orleans. The project is staffed by White refugees from the civil rights movement (usually ex-SNCC people). Its director is Bob Zellner, a 28 year old Alabamian who was the first white SCEF field secretary (1964), and one of the last willing to leave that organization. The idea of such a project was considerated by Delmar, his wife Doris, and two other White Southerners, Carl and Anne Braden directors of SCEF. The field work is a little over a year old and has made some modest but important gains.

How To Reach Southern Whites?

How to begin is "what's the white lower south in the south? This was the first question. The GROW staff, having worked in the Black communities of the Mississippi Delta and having credibility there, went out talked in the local Black folk, old friends, people who had lived in these areas for generations, and knew all there was to know about how people lived and worked and died.

We got some names of some poor white people and directions (there are no addresses in the rural "sleeping a mile" and went visiting.

We don't quite know what we were, perhaps movement propagandists, but we were afraid of approaching these people. After all, in the innocence of the '64 Summer Project, we were told these people were the enemy. They were the ones who shot into the CCR freedom hooters, beat upon you when you were walking; the picket lines, poured the ketchup over your head and for were intolerant those green-eyed, fighting for the right of Black people to eat lousy hamburgers, even if they didn't afford them.

Until a critical mass was found.

White Poverty

The woman was obvious; the kind of obesity that comes from eating that big greasy, fatty cows you just ate to fill your belly, she was thin in bed under a sackcloth blanket, a house of four-year-old child lying beside her, periodically the child, whose only clothing was a shirt, would get up and walk outside. The child was the what the medical profession calls a mongoloid. It was 20 degrees outside and there were puddles of ice in the yard.

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

Before we left she wanted to know if we were connected with the War on Poverty. No, we weren't, told her somebody in government's anyway.

We met a lot of these people, some dealt with the wretchedness of their lives with dreams and illusions like the woman who was writing songs and sending them to a radio station (along with $2). In the hopes that someone would see her words to music and she would make a bundle just like the announcer/playsms she said would.

Then there were those who faced reality with their own reality, like that man in Smith County who was peddling illegal brooms and making a few bucks until the cops busted him. His wife brought three children into the world, each one dying shortly after birth, and the chicken caretaker who looked after 20,000 chickens and made $45 a week, he was one of the most successful ones. But then his house didn't have a kitchen, and the family performed the necessary bodily function off the back lorch, and WHEAESURS dog carried the measly food. And the man in the Delta who received 350 a week, and a three room shack, for serving cops for his four-song, he had eight children, one small infant, and the "confederation" his income with government surplus food. And the 24 year-old man who had no legs on either foot (he cut them off white chopping wood, was going to marry his 18 year-old-first cousins, and didn't even have a job prospect.

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

Beaten

We collected about thirty of these people who lived in some small child and teenagers, and brought them to New Orleans for a weekend of work. It was important to get them in their own community as they are as frightened as the local folk who were in the first part of the studies, a sharecropper wanted to attend a literacy class, but was sure his boss was going to kick him out, and he didn't even have a job prospect.

That New Orleans workshop and subsequent meetings to those who live in their own community, all this increasing our knowledge about them, led us to conclude that they were thoroughly beaten! Unlike poor Blacks, they lacked spirit and hope that something could be done which might alter their lives. The most humane thing, we concluded, would be for some intervention soon to provide them with welfare, housing, medicine, a diet, knowledge of sanitation and hygiene, and they just might make it past the age of forty. While they could be part of a movement, they were not the sort with whom you could build an effective spearhead.

The Long Strike

In the summer of '67 we began making visits to Laurel, Mississippi, where a labor struggle was going on between Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA), and the Masonite Corporation, the largest producer of hardboard in the world. The plant had been organized since 1946, and the labor and management agreement that Local 5-443 has been the most militant union on economic issues. In '67 the Local had a membership of 2,000, about 95% of it White. The company tried to push through a plant reorganization scheme (partial automation) which would have eliminated jobs and increased individual work loads. The Local struck.

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

A short capsule of what occurred.

Klan Baiting

(1) The company effectively "excommunicated" the Local. This was not hard to do in Jones county where many Blacks are registered to vote and had been arrested for crimes ranging from insubordination to murder. The Local with being Klan controlled has been looted and has lost its life in the South economic issues. In '67 the Local had a membership of 2,000, about 95% of it White. The company tried to push through a plant reorganization scheme (partial automation) which would have eliminated jobs and increased individual work loads. The Local struck.

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A short capsule of what occurred:

Johnny Cash

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

Johnny Cash

The MOVEMENT  JANUARY, 1968
... to serious about building a movement to the south would do well to recognize what was at stake for us and what a powerful movement we have had. We must assume the power and resources available to us. We know that if we are victorious in one area, we can win anywhere else. If we want to get our hands off the South, we must get our hands off the movement for the liberation of Black people.
Inside Court With The Oakland 7

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

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

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

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

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

In theory this is meant to cut down with news publicity which would prejudice a jury against, for example, a person on trial for murder. Like the conspiracy law, it has been used more frequently in political cases in California. It muffles the defendants and their lawyers and keeps them from building the kind of political support that was organised around the Huey Newton case, Huey's lawyer Charles Carry frequently went on TV after the court sessions and described who was lying and why.

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

Judge Phillips is a liberal judge -- perhaps one of the best in the Oakland court system. Unwittingly, he pointed out the basic contradiction not only of the constitution, but of the capitalist system -- property rights vs. people's rights. And he showed which side he was on -- the side of the DA, cops', rights, and the system. That's why he cannot "look searching" he had gone through, as he told the court.

The gag order was SUA SPONTE, that is, handed down by the judge on his own initiative, without request from the defense. But it was treason, the DA, who vigorously defended it. His office has spent their public funds in, and they don't want a repeat of the Newton case.

Outside Court With The Oakland 7

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

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

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

Four days of testimony by movement people before a panel of local activists, professors and reporters who will re-examine the witnesses. On the panel are six movement activists: Andrew Scher, Richard Peel, and Donald Duncan; Professors William Kornhauser and Franz Schurman of UC Berkeley; Ron Lellama, Berkeley City Councilman and former black community organizer; Todd Gilliam, past officer of SNCC, and a member of the Black Panther Party.

The first day's testimony will prove the facts that there are thousands of political prisoners in this country -- a mindbanger even to the Left, School teaches our peoples with the idea that we're distinguished from totalitarian countries like Russia and Spain by the fact that there are no political prisoners here. But the Left has no idea of the number. The staff of the Commission is gathering, this information, it will be backed up by testimony from Dennis Mark of the Fort Hood Three, Dr. Spock and others.

Days Two and Three: Vietnam

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

But many things are still unclear: Are we in Vietnam to contain China, or to get tin and tungsten? Or is Vietnam meant as an object lesson for revolutionaries in the world? Are we in Vietnam to contain China, or to get tin and tungsten? Or is Vietnam meant as an object lesson for revolutionaries in the world? But many things are still unclear.

Days Four and Five: Women

Women's work in the movement is incredibly important, yet women are often not prominent in the movement. The Commission will focus on this issue. We hope it will give us a broader understanding of the role of women in the movement.

Days Six and Seven: Education

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

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

Carl Oglesby has said that under Nixon, "the year of the heroic guerilla" may give way to "the year of the leftwing scapegoat." Nixon is an old hand at that game. A strong showing that week in Oakland and Washington may give him pause.
The strategy of community-based draft resistance was first proposed systematically a year ago. (See "We've Got to Reach Our Own People," THE MOVEMENT, Nov. 1968.) This is an evaluation of an attempt to implement that strategy in two neighborhoods.

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

We wanted to move to solid organization and mass confrontation on the issue of the War. We felt the need to make our anti-war activity relate to the development of a movement with a base in poor and working communities. We chose the draft as the issue for the most important and tangible manifestation of the war in people's lives.

After considering several different communities in the Boston area, the Boston Draft Resistance Group (BDRG) chose two adjacent areas of Cambridge as our neighborhood base. We called the two neighborhoods "Cambridge and MIT" because they are a tight ethnic community -- each has a unique stability. Each area has a large public housing project, a significant proportion of working-homeowners. Students from nearby Harvard, MIT and M.I.T. have for some time been on the edges of these neighborhoods. In short, we saw the draft as a neighborhood issue that was socially, economically, and politically "open" to us and our ideas for organization.

More than One Approach

We worked with people in many ways. First, we asked the BDRG draft counseling office in one neighborhood. The office never became an issue of the neighborhood center. People made a serious decision to remain centered on the draft issue and to work to exclude the neighborhood kids who tended to hang around the office. We also contacted ministers, social workers and other friendly adults. Though these contacts were sometimes frustrating, we found most people friendly and cooperative. A few were extremely helpful, offering their church for our meetings or their homes for reference for a\.

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

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

We Had a Little List

We also used the draft system itself as a means of meeting young men. Each month we got the list of men classified I-A and professionally classified I-D. We tried to meet and talk with them. This was perhaps the least successful method of outreach. We made a lot of time with the telephone, maps, and waiting from Black to black only to find that the men we were looking for had moved with no forwarding address. Often the person was at school or work, or had a girlfriend and we didn't make it difficult for us to see their son.

Our other scheme to use the draft system for our work was extremely effective. We began to go down to the local draft board on the one day each month when guys are ordered to report for a pre-induction physical. Sometimes more than a hundred guys would report for the hour long wait before they boarded buses for the examining stations at the Boston Army Base. The physical is humilitating as well as threatening and we found in this situation we were able to tap quiet, often, and evenhandle local board authorities, always gaining the support of most men. We began to ride the buses into the Army Base with the guys whenever we could get on (which was often). (The nightmare that "lost souls" can find in a draft office, contains a section which describes this work.)

The "Horror Show."

What we came to call "the early morning show" led naturally into the draft. Some BDRG members would go into the examining station with guys who were physical and together they would pass out leaflets, speak out, or question the authorites in front of the buses. These confrontations led to physical attacks by Army Base personnel and BDRG members have defended themselves rather than going through the normal, routine procedure. At present there are 24 local boards in the Boston area which are sat with "the morning show" and sometimes a "horror show."

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

No Union

No community-based draft resistance union, or anything resembling it, emerged from our work. Our approach to the high schools was the only one that we felt had any collective form of action around.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19.
At least since the time that Stokely Carmichael told white SNCC workers to "go and organize THEIR people", the movement has been vaguely burdened by the realization that it should be relating to poor and working class whites. That however, was the last thing that movement people were either inclined, or thought themselves capable to do. The more active politically today are resident-intellecutals and a majority of these are from petty-bourgeois, usually professional families. Many are appalled that the working class people, even its youth, have not learned the things about American society that they have learned in the last few years. In any event, the intellectual student community suspects that it would be difficult to communicate politically with these people. Much theorizing has been done on the backwardness of the blue collar working class, based on negligible experience. Drawing the conclusion that much more must be known before the Left can BEGIN to move in that direction, they believe the greenest pastures are, after all, just where they are at--joined together with other radicals in T-groups and shot gun associations. The racism is directed at a tendency of the Left, not at affinity groups, per se.

About a year ago several of us moved to a working class community to see what it would be like to live in an area to which some attempt has been made to relate to the working class. People, even its youth, have not learned the things about American society that they have learned in the last few years. In any event, the intellectual student community suspects that it would be difficult to communicate politically with these people. Much theorizing has been done on the backwardness of the blue collar working class, based on negligible experience. Drawing the conclusion that much more must be known before the Left can BEGIN to move in that direction, they believe the greenest pastures are, after all, just where they are at--joined together with other radicals in T-groups and shot gun associations. The racism is directed at a tendency of the Left, not at affinity groups, per se.

Richmond, California is an industrial city with a population of 85,000. Located just ten miles north of Berkeley, it is in a large part inhabited by Blacks. There is only one theater in Richmond and it shows only girlie movies. On weekday afternoons, dozens of young people, most of them Black, crowd the theater to see the shows. The movie is not particularly appealing, and many of the people who go see it are just there to see the other people. The theater is located on an unincorporated Black area. This is one of the largest and poorest concentration of Blacks in the Bay Area. Black people came here during the War, for the same reasons that whites came. They were hired out of the south by industrial and government recruiters with promises of prosperity. The blacks who were able to get steady work usually worked in the same places and at the same skill level as the whites from the north. By the time the war is over, most of the poorest sections are now integrated and the schools are relatively segregated.

People who vaguely identify with the Brown Berets or the Greens may not realize it, but Richmond is part of a larger community. The city is a part of the Bay Area, a region with a population of about 2.5 million people. The Bay Area is a region that has been growing rapidly in recent years, and it is one of the most dynamic parts of the country. The Bay Area is a region that has been growing rapidly in recent years, and it is one of the most dynamic parts of the country. The Bay Area is a region that has been growing rapidly in recent years, and it is one of the most dynamic parts of the country. The Bay Area is a region that has been growing rapidly in recent years, and it is one of the most dynamic parts of the country. The Bay Area is a region that has been growing rapidly in recent years, and it is one of the most dynamic parts of the country.
Generation Gap

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

Older people have had to fight hard enough to get a decent living in their time and regardless of how they feel toward the invaders, the government and local civil rights, they feel fortunate if they now have a steady job. A job is always important for working man’s self identity, unless he feels strongly about being a drop out or a student. Many young people feel the same way that the black guys they’re working with feel toward their jobs. It’s a “slave”.

Black friends, an occasional contact with middle class youth, pot, soul music—all serve to create some sympathy with blacks and students in rebellion. But then, just as the blacks, middle class youth are only interested in radical revolutionaries, and we can’t hope to win a majority of workers on most political issues at this point. We can relate to workers to listen much better to an independent movement, even though groups like Peace and Freedom, if the right approach is taken.

Our best weapon was in a union struggle. I was working at the Rheem plant for a few weeks when the contract with the Machinists Local 248 expired. Wages were relatively low, the company word was passed around that everyone was as chicken shit as any other when dealing with grievances, and the men were roused for a strike. The older guys were more cautious to strike than the younger ones, and I found the same thing to be true at another place I worked that went on strike. The older workers had been there three, four, five years and to them was there in the future. A week previous to the contract date, the union planned a meeting at the plant to discuss the contract issues and grievances. It was intrusive for the strike. When one young guy who was a union member asked to speak in a meeting, an old line said, “Yeah, I used to smoke myself to get ahead when I was young.” They went out and stayed out for six weeks.

Bobitch had begun working with us, particularly in the area of research. Bob wrote up, and we printed, a leaflet picturing a head meeting of the First National City Bank of New York, with one of the board members circled and rhyming, “Who is this Man?” The man was R. W. Dowling, owner of a controlling interest in the Black community. The leaflet noted Dowling and Rheem’s massive worldwide interests, increased profits and Rheem’s partnership with Charles W. Englehardt, the real life model for “Goldfinger”, who as head of the “Witwaterstrand Native Labor Association” impressed blacks from the backlands of South Africa to work in mines and factories for practically nothing. It was a leaflet on monopoly capitalism and imperialism and everybody dug it. The business agent of the Local passed it out to the guys as they came in to sign up for picket duty.

The company decided to start bringing trucks in. Management drove the trucks, led by a young guy with a cop, the union members retaliated by chaining the gates during the night.

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

Linking Up Issues

We put out another flyer divided down the middle, On one side, with a picture of the Rheem plant, was the story of the Black youth being attacked on the production line, at other factories and at shopping centers. On the other side the story of the shooting with a picture of cops with shotguns standing guard on a street corner. We called for a rally before the next City Council meeting with two aims of demands:

1) that the Black community pass a resolution calling strike-breaking, breaking the use of race, drop the charges against the Machinists, and free the police who attacked the workers, and
2) that the City Council pass a resolution requiring cops to remain out of the Black community.

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

Exposing The Real Enemy

The following week the Richmond merchants organized a campaign to repeal the resolution. Two thousand people attended the next City Council meeting to “defend the cops”, with the merchants being the most vocal and the most racist. The resolution was repealed. Following this a black boycott of Richmond merchants was launched by the community. We put out a leaflet aimed at whites explaining that racist actions, like those of the merchants, were attempts by the people who profited from the ghetto—merchants, landlords, and factory owners—to maintain their profits, at gunpoint if necessary, that these people were being more interested in the long and that it was in the interest of white people to support justice for blacks. We passed the leaflet out in front of the stores under the auspices of Peace and Freedom, which created even more discussion because most people knew someone who worked at that store.

We put out an article in the paper about the meeting and its alliance with the Panthers, Peace and Freedom, and the Black community. It said there was a need for the people who were educated in Richmond who had worked with the Black community to help the Black community. The Panthers brought up the issue of help to the Black community, not being worked on equal rights, the Pan-
There are times when the only protection available to a nascent revolutionary movement is the ability to stay one step ahead of its class enemy — through its understanding of the dialectics of its own development to foresee and thus hasten the transition to new forms of action.

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

The history of our movement can be seen, in outline form, as a history of tactics. "Reformist" tactics of petition, sit-in, and teach-ins in the early 1960s... against the draft, against war, against racism, against imperialism... Another Transition... Revolutionary movement is the transition from defensive to offensive tactics. This form is also the only one capable of relating to racism and imperialism... Anarchism and Terrorism... Anarchism is the transition from defensive to offensive use of a tactic... The Movement Itself... This does not mean, however, that they will always act "stupidly" (in their own interest) on the same issue. They learn from the fact that there is a doubt that, together with the new generation of students, they are able to take on the challenge of the old, and to attack the system that exists in order to turn it into the system the students want.

This is the transition from defensive to offensive use of a tactic. This change in the form and direction of tactics to the offensive necessitates mass preparation and education for its use. The leap in consciousness is the essential prerequisite for both.

The function of a revolutionary is to understand the historical process and place the student movement in that process... The movement... Ken Cloke

Anarchism & Terrorism... Along with this increase in opportunism comes the development of anarchism and terrorism as a strategy... Both anarchism and terrorism will be characteristics of this transitional period... These two tactics of the same coin, with the same root, the same causes and the same misunderstanding of the nature of the state... Anarchists and anarchists are essentially rejectionists of political mass struggle, but they advocate personally changing the existing situation... Both are unable to understand that the two things must be done simultaneously... A similar division marks another aspect of the transition... One group advocates the notion of the critical university... Another group is the organization of students toward the university to organize around research centers, study groups, and theory as a pre-revolutionary period... Odd Bodkins... Ken Cloke
The strike in San Francisco State, which began on November 3, is the largest, most prolonged student struggle of this era. Thousands of students have been actively involved in confrontations that have drawn attention from the police for the first time on a white state college campus. In order to understand the dynamic of the actions, one must understand the background of the forces involved.

The Black Student Union

The BSU became formally organized in 1968, when the students took over the administration of the campus as the Black Panther University (BPU). The BSU was formed to express the demands of the Black community for equality and self-determination. The BSU has been at the forefront of the struggle for Black power on the campus, and its leaders have been arrested numerous times for their activities.

The MOOD OF S.F. STATE

The other major force in the strike is the black community. The black community is active in all areas of the strike, from the classrooms to the streets. The black community is demanding an end to the police brutality that has been directed at black students and faculty on the campus. The black community is also demanding an end to the discrimination that has been directed at black students and faculty on the campus.

The Strike

The full-scale battle began with the occupation of the Student Union on November 9. The Student Union is the center of student life on the campus. The occupation was sparked by the black students' demands for a black-only English instructor and the refusal of the administration to grant the demand. The BSU, along with the support of other black students, began to mobilize for a full-scale strike.

The Movement

The movement is not only an expression of the struggle for black power and equality, but it is also a reflection of the broader struggle for justice and equality. The movement is not only a struggle for the black students on the campus, but it is also a struggle for all students on the campus, and for all students in the country.

Community Needs

The strike in San Francisco State is not only a struggle for the black students on the campus, but it is also a struggle for all students on the campus, and for all students in the country. The movement is not only a struggle for the black students on the campus, but it is also a struggle for all students on the campus, and for all students in the country.
The
Song Of Hayakawa
OR
UP AGAINST THE WALL MOTHER COUNTRY

Should you ask me, whence this story
Whence these protests and repressions
With the chantings of the students
With the blow and blood of nightsticks,
With the hard lines of the trusties.
With the lying tongues of reagans
With the rubish of great meanings
With their power found in action
And their world reverberations
As of wounds within the monster?
I should answer, I should tell thee
"From the past and from the present
From the slavery in Southland
From his partner in the Northland
From the fire in the cities
From the poor, the lost, the cursed ones
Where the youth, on plastic campus
Is taught with lies of men in power...
I repeat it as I heard it
"From the lips of revolution
That musician, that sweet singer."

By the shores of Golden Gateway
By the rotting BART construction
Stood a campus of Glenn Dumke
Son of a dollar Dumke
And behind him rose the trusties
Who provided piggish sinews
Aided by an Alioto
To the tune of corporations.

In the winds of change that's coming
Rose the rantings of the gov'ner
With their fists upraised in Anger?
Who are these who fill the campus
Nursed his puppet Hayakawa
Rocked him in his crooked cradle
But the'ailsweren't that is blowing
Tried to still his sweat by saying
"Yes the arm of force will save thee."
But no lullaby the chanting
"On strike lets shut it down!"
Who are these who fill the campus
With their fists uppursed in Anger?
"On strike, let's shut it down!"

Many things his masters taught him
After Summerskill had fallen
Down the hole to Ethiopia
After Smith of lacking lustre
Found the burden too disturbing.
Many things his masters taught him
Of the ways to handle protest
And protect the status quo.
Trained him in the hard line holler
In the Death Dance of their Order...
And the sight made him excited
In the time of his tenth birthday,
On the tubes of their mass media
Taught him how to be flambouyant
How to represent the racism
That had placed his own strong people
In war camps in California.

And they pumped him full of letters
Word, syllabics, call it hot air...
But they called the stuff semantics.

As students black-brown-white in color
Sing - "Farewell O Hayakawa" •
Chant - "Farewell O Hayakawa!"

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

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

Forth upon the Golden Gateway
By the rotting BART construction
With the purse strings of his masters
Fastened to his head and shoulders
Hayakawa launched new efforts
To subdue the rising rebels
After watching from his window
All those beaten and arrested
He talked with an Alioto
And announced a "new" position
To preserve his falling campus
To divide the chanting students
But the pigs still root on campus
And the students hold more rallies
As their struggle is continued
From a new and stronger level.
Maybe ups and downs of struggle
And new twistings of the trusties
May discourage and new methods
Will be needed, still the song of
Hayakawa and the dirges of his masters
Can have only one conclusion,
As the struggle always deepens
As the people see deceptions
And increase their ways of protest
As they organize their numbers.

Then the song of Hayakawa
Who seems strong but whose repressions
Only mean that he is failing
Then the song of Hayakawa
Ends - "Farewell O Hayakawa",
As students black-brown-white in color
Crush his fiery puppet pratings
And the winds announce their message
Sing - "Farewell O Hayakawa."
As students black-brown-white in color
Chant - "Farewell O Hayakawa."

Thus departed Hayakawa
Hayakawa's strings left dangling
And the masters behind curtains
Sought in this their time of sunset
Still to still the rising protest.

But their time's not long in coming
And their sunset is our sunrise
Sunrise too in other nations
As their struggle is continued
In other nations like the campus
And whose people are as students
Men of self-determination.

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

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

Why Racism

Much of our community propagandas have dealt with racism—not because this is the best issue to approach people on, but because it is an issue that relates to white people as well as to black people. We don't see some fast talking making whites aware of the struggle for black liberation sharper. Even without having built up a sufficient base it is possible to create political understanding in a white community over a period of time. We can't always create the timing and means and even when we can, there is no way to avoid the issue completely.

We have to win over any radical base we build in the white community to support for the revolutionaries. We have to win the hearts and minds of our friends and allies. This is made possible by a constant struggle for black liberation sharpened.

Our friends and allies who have been involved in the revolutionary program of the Vietnamese people have begun to get the appearance off their backs.

Many people, including many Wallacetown workers, read the entire leaflet and expressed enthusiastic agreement. Some were somewhat surprised to find something saying, in such a direct way that they already felt—that American politics, the political machinery and the system are corrupt. Most had never even suspected that capitalism was involved.

Many people, involving many Wallacetown workers, read the entire leaflet and expressed enthusiastic agreement. We believe that if we can get the people who think like this involved in a revolutionary program of the Vietnamese people that we can get the appearance off their backs.

We distributed the leaflet for several days after it had been released and since doing so we have received comments that indicate the momentum that the left had to find ways of neutralizing the Vietnam War was no more necessary than in the self-interest than in the self-interest of those who are fighting the Vietnamese War. We believe that the left had to find ways of neutralizing the Vietnam War was no more necessary than in the self-interest than in the self-interest of those who are fighting the Vietnamese War. We believe that the left had to find ways of neutralizing the Vietnam War was no more necessary than in the self-interest than in the self-interest of those who are fighting the Vietnamese War.

If they were to do this, they would have to try hard to win over the Vietnamese people in the sense of relating to the interests of people and the problems they face. The analysis must be made in the process of combating against such issues as safety, legislation for factories, etc. The content of courses that benefit big business, etc. The content of courses that benefit big business should be expanded to include white workers that benefit big business, etc.
By Arlene Eisen Bergman

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

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

At first I was too quick to label some of the white Cubans I met as racist, until I learned that some of my best friends are black. I simply haven't had the same significance as it does here. Or, after walking through the streets during carnival—where huge black face mask adorn many thousands, I started thinking: "The same racist stereotypes as in the U.S."

But some of my black Cuban friends assured me that the masks were traditional and offered no insult.

**A Bit of History**

The history of people in Cuba who (if they wanted to) could claim to be pure white is relatively small. No reliable statistics are available and a lot depends on who one defines black or white. Perhaps a majority of Cubans are mulatto, and are considered such in Cuba, but would be labelled 'Negro' in American society. Most Cubans estimate that there are between 80 and 180 black people.

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

**Rebellion**

The political expression of this African identity was a tradition of continuous insurgency and rebellion which lasted until the early 20th centuries. The first slave revolts in the islands occurred in 1512. During the 19th century there were many revolts and conspiracies, usually involving several hundred slaves and originating in Daiquirí Province. This tradition has the highest percentage of black people and is the traditional birthplace of all Cuban rebellions, including the current revolutionary movement.

After 1912, the African political tradition merged with the general currents of Cuban radicalism, all of which eventually contributed to the independence fighters, "mambises", was of African origin. Antonio Maceo, a black man called the bronze titan, was one of the most important independence leaders and is a national hero today—second in stature only to José Martí.

The first Afro-Cuban uprising in 1812 was only suppressed after U.S. Marines intervened and 900 Afro-Cubans lost their lives.

**Away From Separation**

After 1812, the African political tradition merged into the general currents of Cuban society, although the religious cults and blood brotherhoods persisted. This merger was, perhaps, facilitated by the limited nature of racism in Cuban society. Spanish adventurers usually did not bring their wives to Cuba and were forced to take African wives. Spanish law, unlike the Anglo's, recognized these marriages and thus a tradition of inter-marriage was established in Cuba as early as the 16th century. Ethnographers say that whites began to join some of the African cults in the 1880's. (Once when a black friend invited me to go to one of the rituals regularly held in private homes, I hesitated: "Must they paint you white outsiders?" I was surprised. "Of course not, they'll probably think you're a believer.")

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

**Discrimination**

Until the revolution black Cubans were badly discriminated against. Most black people were uneducated. The lucky ones can name a few months of the year or worked on the farms or in small manual positions (tankboys, shanty-toters etc). Black people were paid less for the same work. Jim Crow laws barred black Cubans from restaurants, hotels, beaches, institutions of higher education, etc. White Cubans were also discriminated against, but on the grounds of class, not color.

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

**Pre-Revolutionary Culture**

Until the revolution the vast majority of black Cubans identified with one of the many tribal religious brotherhoods. Many of these groups were secret societies. Among the Albaqua, for example, these secret groups were organized, although a few white people were believers, the great majority of white people were ignorant and condescending toward the societies.

Socially, the matingsting of mixed marriages
the revoLution, his parents' prejudice remained un­
herited. Son of an Arab father and a mulatto mother, who
his parents disowned him. While he was a child of
States... The form caricatured the reality of the black
motive episode in history. We shouldn't
start. Those who struggled were defined by their
by their race.

More Revolution
There is a slogan in Cuba--"More Revolution", be­
cause there is always a need to deepen and broaden the
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in Cuba, he's either crazy or a counter-revolutionary".

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

Alienation or Assimilation?

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

A few months before, these women began straightening their hair again. “Straight hair is prettier.” (All Cuban women seem to see her hair? These women felt no need to reaffirm their blackness in Cuban society. During the two months I was in Cuba I saw two black women with natural hair—one had a Haitian background and the other was an extremely sophisticated, intellectual who followed the international negritude movement very closely.

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

Other people interpreted the same phenomenon in an entirely different light. They said it was a sign of success in achieving assimilation and a racially harmonious society. I asked one mutilo psychologist who worked at an examining center for juvenile delinquents, what percentage of the JDs were black? She responded, “I don’t know, I never noticed.” I have a feeling that the correct interpretation lies somewhere between these two extremes and that as time goes on, the latter will become more true. The tasks and structures of the revolution can’t help but bring people together and the “National Black Studies Program” (which is constantly being expanded) seem bound to create a truly assimilated society. Assimilation in this case will not mean subordination of African culture. The culture of the Island is Afro-Cuban.

Cuban Advocates of Black Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

Support Our Black North American Brothers

It was always very easy to talk about race in Cuba because the black struggle in the U.S. is usually the first topic Cubans questioned us about. Nobody’s name is as familiar as Ho Chi Minh’s, (I met several Cuban girls, black and white, who carry his picture in their wallets). “Huey” is one of the most popular songs. Newer songs about black struggles in the States are shown regularly in all movie theaters and the press carries stories of the struggle nearly every day.

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

All Cubans think of black liberation fighters in the states as their comrades. But whenever I started speaking to Cubans in a mixed group black Cubans were always much more persistent in their questions about the black movement than were the whites. (This was true only on this topic)

One told me that he had named his newborn son Malcolm— but it was not because he thought his son would have to struggle like Malcolm X. No, he just thought Malcolm was a great revolutionary. Many Cubans, but especially black Cubans, were glad to hear that the black struggle in the U.S. was no longer non-violent. They could never understand marches and legalistic battles. A young black modern dancer I knew spent most of his time telling me how he wished he could go to the States with his machine gun and kill every racist in sight. Gulliver’s poem’s, “It’s All Right” probably expresses this feeling best.

It’s all right that you sing when you cry, black brother It’s all right that you preach in dynamited temples... But, my crucified Southern brother, Remember, John Brown Who wasn’t a black man, but defended you with a gun ...But in case, my brother, Should it be the case that you Don’t have a gun, you can Then Don’t know- Get Something A hammer, a stick, A stone, something that hurts, Something sharp that wounds, Hits, draws blood, Something.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17
**Computers in Revolt**

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

A Good Work: a product that the people want, based on radical political and technological values. Work that the scientist would have radical political and technological self-limiting features which void the product, and often no access to it after it was destroyed.

American society traps people in a consumer work cycle. The primary purpose of their work should be to break the consumption cycle, thus promoting a savings movement which trains them to be wealthy capitalists. The scientist who works this way is used, based on radical political and technological values, and often no access to it after it was destroyed.

A new computer software company, if it is successful, will be formed to begin the development on the consumer computer field. M.I.A. is structured as a workers union. It will have three basic categories of work:

1. Commercial programming and contract work. This work which will be as limited and as non-productive as possible -- work done solely in order to support the institutions and individuals who control it in this society.

2. Research and development work can be radicalized if he can be brought to a workers union in this society, or another, older people in the neighborhood who can give him advice and tell him what to do.

3. Self-limiting features which void the product, and often no access to it after it was destroyed.

In any work situation an individual will usually think of his work as a part of the decision-making apparatus: a way that putting in money or buying goods can be used. People can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live, just as they can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live.

The criterion of the self-limiting features which void the product, and often no access to it after it was destroyed, is the criterion of self-limiting features which void the product, and often no access to it after it was destroyed.

**continued from page 7**

**ANTI-CHRISTIAN OBScenity Crusade**

From: [Ewing Farwell](mailto:ewingf@freenet.earthlink.net)

Subject: [Draft Resistance] [Christian Eaby]

Date: 1970-01-26

To: [Anti-War Movement List](mailto:awml@freenet.earthlink.net)

The rhetoric of collective self-defense against the American empire is a thing of the past. The American empire is a military-industrial complex: a thing of the future. The American empire is a thing that will grow.

We were able to keep some guys from the neighborhood who had not met them. Also, the teachers, a GI organizing committee or strike support networks, a student movement, BDRG, I believe, indicates the potential (bad) uses by the customer, and although we approach it as a thing which we can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live, just as we can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live, just as we can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live, just as we can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live, just as we can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live, just as we can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live.

The legislative initiative is a thing which we can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live, just as we can use money otherwise paid for rent to create a decent place to live.
In the last six months, the New York City high school student movement has grown from a handful of disparate peace and civil rights groups into a radical movement which aims to make high school students a political force in New York.

The current period of development began with the intense political activity of late April. On April 26th, 200 high school students stayed out of school to present demands that would be foolish to minimize the reality of the battle for community control.\\n
...
BRONX SCIENCE VISITED

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

The people from the community filled the courtroom of the Circuit Court in Chicago to support the family. The same sentiment was expressed less formally by the Afro-American Student Union, fearful of losing its "newly won" status.

Michael James, a member of the MOVE-71 Chicago repressive group and a student officer of SDS, was released in June from his $150 fine charged with criminal damage to property.

The arrest warrant had been issued on September 28, 1965, for an alleged traffic violation and a "thinly veiled charge" of criminal damage to property.

On November 18, 1968, Chicago's red squad, the Police Intelligence Unit, for an attack on the Newsstand, was ordered to disband and New York's red squad and the FBI had been asked about the case.

The struggle of the police against the people continues, as the stockyards and the Bronx Science are revisited.
Paragraphs...
The fate of 27 GIs charged with mutiny for their participation in a sit-down demonstration last October 14 remains hanging. The 27 men, prisoners in San Francisco's Presidio army stockade sat down, according to prisoner Richard Gentile, "to protest the Bunch killing and to get the paranoid atmosphere in prison changed." The previous Friday, October 11, Richard Bunch had been killed by a guard. The prisoners staged a minor riot that Friday and on Monday, October 14, they acted. Most of them are serving time as malcontents, because as prisoner Linden Blake puts it, "the army is a big bummer and I don't want to be part of a machine that runs people." The decision to prosecute fully has been under consideration by the military since pre-trial hearings ended November 26th. If they proceed, the future is grim. The 27 men face a possible death penalty.

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EPISTLE TO MY COUNTRY

by Doug Youngblood

III

we heard the cries of our black brothers
& marched southward to liberate them only to find
our own bodies manacled with the chains
what it is to be an African Capitolism
we begin to understand a little more about
the nature of man, we began to understand
by his nature he is a lover of man, we begin to understand
the nature of man.
the frontierless world the world leaders
are constructing, we begin to understand
the nature of the world. we began to understand a little more about
the nature of man.
shouting "never!" to those who have stepped outside your
arguments &
definitions, calling for the cleaning winds of Rava­tion,
mental hospitals jammed full
jails & prisons over-flowing
submission to tyranny, We begin to understand
compromise with poverty & ignorance
all you have produced is a colossal
cycle of silly slogans
paint it red, white, & blue & no matter
what it is in plastic
the noblest of aims.
this is the heritage you so proudly
held out to us
we are shocked because we turn away in
repudiation.
In your frustration you label us outlaws
Enemies of the State.
Yes, a thousand times yes! we are enemies of your State and
its sick
we are enemies of your State and
its sick.
III

we will combat them because our lives
are not
claimed to property or the accumulation of property.
our minds are not shackled to yesterday.
we will win because tomorrow belongs to us, we say.
we are children, now, we are children, the crystal children of which Jesus spoke,
out of whose mouths shall come the truth
and our goal is to take
from the ruling-clans and its puppet governments,
what it has stolen from us,
because it belongs to all people, not just
a few.
America, Chevara is dead like Jesus was dead

freedom is a bird with rainbow wings
that is teasing your greedy hand
the people are beginning to talk
the poem gives you your announcement that the end of your reign
is nearing, the tyrants of this land.

by dead men

we too are plastic
plastic to be molded by the state
into whatever it wishes
&
we are plastic
plastic to be molded by the state
into whatever it wishes
7

the eagle (or is it a pig)