

THE



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SISK, McFALL BACK GROWERS, CUT FUNDS FOR POOR

By Brooks Penny
Del Rey, Calif.

The California Center for Community Development is once again under political attack. The problems that Benny Parrish is having with the local power structure in Modesto were reported in the November MOVEMENT.

The CCCD is a Del Rey based organization dedicated to organizational and training programs among low income peoples to aid them in changing political institutions. In the process of politically training the low income people the CCCD sees that social action is an integral part of the process.

The current problems that the CCCD is having, however, stem from an unintentional application of this philosophy. On December 13 about sixteen young people from the CCCD project in Watts were in Fresno. They visited a picket line that was being manned by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in front of Gottschalks Department store. The purpose of the line was in support of the Perelli Minetti boycott. The CCCD trainees from Watts were invited to join the picket line and they did.

DEMO'S ATTACK

Then the roof fell on CCCD in the forms of Congressman B. F. Sisk of Fresno and John McFall of Manteca. They announced that they were going to stop the funds that are going to Benny Parrish in Modesto and the Watts Project. The Watts project is funded by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Modesto project from the OEO.

Sisk said, "They (the CCCD) have a

perfect right to carry on their work -- to participate in labor-management disputes and the other things they are doing -- but they have no right to expect to use federal funds. That is the only issue that is involved -- their attempt to use federal funds."

GROWERS SUBSIDIZED

To this Ed Dutton, the executive director, of CCCD replied, "If he (Rep. Sisk) is not going to allow the Center to be involved with grape workers in the use of federal funds, then he must stop any federal subsidy to the growers who are being struck against. Growers are receiving, among other things, federally subsidized water, price supports and agricultural extension service."

McFALL AND SISK HYPOCRITES

A joint statement issued by, among others, Cris Hartmire, director of the Migrant Ministry, and the directors of the CCCD stated, "Sisk is attacking the Center because some of the trainees walked on a picket line in support of farm workers in Fresno. Sisk says it is not right to use federal money 'to train pickets. Sisk recently appeared on a picket line of the raisin farmers who were protesting and organizing against low raisin prices. Sisk, on the federal payroll, brought in another federal employee to help the growers."

"The picketing by the trainees," Dutton said further, "was not in breach of contract with the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare."

This isn't the first time that the CCCD has run up against McFall and Sisk. In December McFall flatly said that he had asked Sargent Shriver to silence Benny Parrish before the November elections, "I just wanted him quiet a few weeks before the election," the Fresno Bee reported McFall saying. "His activities lost me votes and helped to cost us Governor Brown." Parrish heads the Community Poverty Council which many times finds itself in direct conflict with

the Modesto power structure's controlled Community Action Commission.

In January of 1966, Sisk successfully held up the \$250,000 grant for the CCCD for three months because the Center was actually sympathetic to the cause of the grape strikers. The New York Times of March 7, 1966, directly attributed Sisk's action to grower pressure.

Sisk and McFall were invited to a CCCD Board of Directors meeting on

January 15 but at the time of this writing it looks like the chances are slim that they will show up.

The Farm Workers' Co-op in Delano badly needs a competent auto mechanic. Anyone interested please contact Agricultural Labor Support Committee 626-4577 or 626-5396. S.F.

MORE ON CDGM

By Joan Bowman

Current negotiations in Washington are deciding the future of the Child Development Group of Mississippi, an issue which most observers had thought was settled last October with Shriver's announcement that the controversial HEAD START program would not be refunded. Party to these negotiations are CDGM, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the organized churches, and various liberal and labor groups who support the program. According to the WASHINGTON POST, Vice President Humphrey is "mediating" the conflict among the various groups, presumably representing the White House.

On December 16, Shriver reversed his decision. OEO offered \$5 million to CDGM, to carry on a program in 17 Mississippi counties, including 5200 children. But there were strings attached, and CDGM said no. Executive Director John Mudd, was to be fired, and the Rev. James McCree to be removed from the Board of Directors. (OEO's practice of firing those nominally responsible for malfunctioning of a project is a stock response; it has more to do with placating enemies than

with the competence of those involved.)

CDGM and its friends stuck to their guns. The following day, Shriver announced that Mudd would not be fired after all, and that instead a "management consultant" would join his staff. Further, Rev. McCree would not be removed but must face re-election from his community. The grant had been raised to \$8 million for 12 months, a budget which will accommodate 5900 to 6100 children. The Board has been expanded to 19 members, and Mary Holmes Junior College, which administers the grant, is to have a larger policy role.

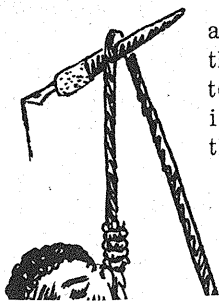
Even though some victory has been won, the contract with OEO has not yet been signed. Each day new rumors emerge from Washington about CDGM. The staff in Jackson is confident, and the morale in the communities appears to be excellent. "Mississippi Action for Progress," the rival program which was initiated by the White House and Mississippi liberals got nowhere: they picked up a slick \$3 million to run a statewide program, but due to a boycott by local CDGM committees, MAP has signed up only 30 children!

EDITORIALS

WHICH SIDE ARE THEY ON?

Recently the Sunday Ramparts demonstrated its flair for sensationalist journalism by printing an "exclusive" on the latest SNCC staff meeting.

With gleefulness worthy of the Oakland Tribune it detailed the various



assumes that the left press, unlike the establishment press, can be trusted with inside information, and so it is given inside information in order that its evaluation, analysis and criticism of the left can be accurate and useful.

We feel that Sunday Ramparts has done a grave disservice to the entire left and to the left press in particular by its provocative and simplistic headlining of the left's difficulties. We can assume that it is more interested in selling papers than in selling papers which are useful or helpful to the various groups which be-

50,000 of the enemy" were killed.

Foisie's box score (as the American press often puts it): Saigon regime soldiers dead: 27,000; NLF dead: 50,000.

But in the same issue of the TIMES William Tuohy, chief of the TIMES bureau in Saigon, writes:

"Even the facts are difficult to come by . . . The military command announces that 250 enemy soldiers were killed in a recent battle — by actual body count. But when you later talk to soldiers on the scene you learn that they only saw 18 bodies. The rest were estimates cranked into the official reports as they moved up the chain of command."

Now then, let us give the American "chain of command" a lot of benefit of the doubt. Let's assume that instead of exaggerating the NLF dead 14 TIMES they boost it by only 3 times.

Then we can revise the death count to read, American-Saigon soldiers dead: 27,000; NLF soldiers dead: 16,600.

America is losing.

And the American government is lying to its people about it. A government that lies about the safety and welfare of its people is no government at all. We think the government is desperate and insane to continue this war.

Winning or losing, the American government is responsible for the senseless murder of Americans and Vietnamese. This must stop. This must stop.

THE MOVEMENT recommends:

Earl's Auto Sales and Service
1830 San Pablo Ave, Berkeley
Th 1-5755



"You must be thrilled to have your village liberated!"
Engelhardt in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

REAGAN AND THE UNIVERSITY

One thing about our governor: he does not beat around the bush trying to pretend he's a liberal. He has drawn the lines very clearly: the Governor vs. the students of California.

We think it's time now to define a university. We think a university is the students and the faculty: the people who learn and the people who teach. They should run the universities of our state.

There has been a lot of talk about "outsiders," usually meaning students not registered in the current semester. Outsiders should not control a university. We include as outsiders:

Administrators
Regents
Legislatures
Corporations
and the Governor.

They do not teach and they do not learn and they should not tell people how to run a university. The students and teachers we know earnestly wish that these outsiders would stop interfering with the real and potentially beautiful process of learning and teaching.

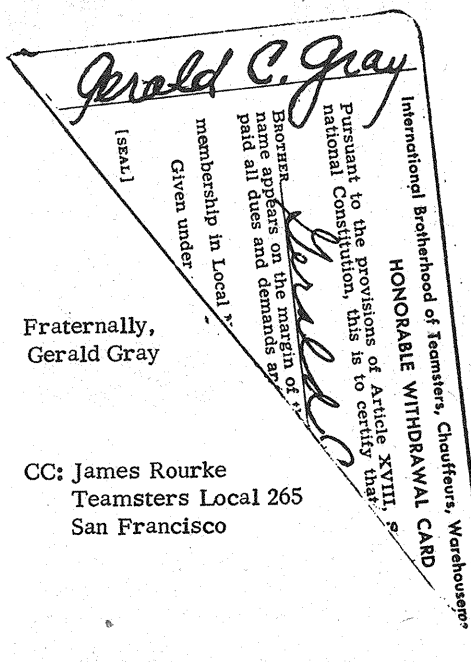
LETTERS

TEAMSTER QUILTS

To the Movement:

Enclosed is one half of a card entitling me to membership in the Teamster's Union, Local 265. The other half, with a copy of this letter to you, has been sent to the offices of Local 265 in San Francisco. I will not remain affiliated with a union which opposes the grape strikers; the Teamsters all through the strike have cooperated with the growers against the strikers, and the Teamster plan to try to break the boycott against Perelli-Minetti is only the most recent of such attempts. It is no wonder the Teamsters choose to represent the San Francisco police against city minorities, as other recent events indicate.

It cost me eighty dollars to get that card from the Teamsters. Since I cannot now give that money to the strikers and their chosen union, I am sure the Teamsters will know what they can do with it.



Fraternally,
Gerald Gray

CC: James Rourke
Teamsters Local 265
San Francisco

POLICE MALPRACTICE

The action of collecting complaints against the law enforcement agencies and personnel of this area has been undertaken on an off and on again basis by various organizations, like Community Alert Patrol and United Civil Rights Corporation.

The American Civil Liberties Union established this center in Watts in mid-summer of this year, thus setting up a permanent facility for helping people process their grievances and displeasure with the growing amount of insensitivity and brutality on the part of law officers and their department at large.

In recent weeks ACLU has opened three other offices, one in East Los Angeles, one in Pacoima (San Fernando Valley), and one in Venice. Each office, while being opened to the public at large, is situated in a ghettoed area of Negro or Mexican-American populace, or a combination of both. In these ghettoed areas abuse by the "law" is a daily reality.

We handle complaints in various ways. As complainants are often arrested on charges directly resulting from the misconduct of one or more officers, rather than the actuality of guilt of the complainant, the Malpractice Offices and

LOSING JUST

THE SAME

I found Dave Wellman's review of LOSING JUST THE SAME heavy-handed and lacking any relief from the tiresome view of some self-conscious radicals who assume they have a monopoly on ghetto life.

Unfortunately for us all, there is no one who understands how the ghetto is organized. From the highest bureaucrat in the war on poverty to the most dedicated SDS organizer, there is no one who knows what the glue is that holds these neighborhoods together. There are some insights — and I must say that I have found more useful comments about ghetto life from a Salvation Army social worker than from radical activists — but there has yet to be any coherent framework of understanding for ghetto people and the quality of their life.

The shabby effect of Mr. Wellman's review is that he is not willing to consider any new insights. To suggest that the ghetto is frankly pretty awful is to leave one vulnerable to the charge that he is a racist, or perhaps worse, a liberal. This Mr. Wellman has done, presumably warranted by his own care and concern for "organizing the poor." However, one may view LOSING JUST THE SAME, let us give some credit for the effort to say something fresh and descriptive about the ghetto.

Joan Bowman

VIETNAM

To the Editor:

Jack Minnis article on why are we in Vietnam? is an excellent article. In fact many papers which have been traditionally working class and had a working class approach have miss the basic reason why we are in Vietnam.

The Peace Movement itself has missed the point entirely. They are constantly blaming Johnson for the war. But they don't understand that Johnson is only a spokesman for the capitalist class and that this a Wall Street war.

In order to have an effective movement, you must have a working class approach because these are the people you are suppose to reach. As of now the peace movement has a middle class approach and it only reaches the middle class people.

I certainly hope THE MOVEMENT will do its part in bringing forth the fact that the Negro and the Vietnamese people have the same common interest.

Yours truly,
F. Adrian Luoma

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"VOICEPRINT" REJECTED IN WATTS ARSON CASE

By Terence Cannon

LOS ANGELES — Can a "print" of a person's voice be used the way fingerprints are used to identify a suspect? The Los Angeles District Attorney and a "self-acclaimed expert" in sound spectrograms tried very hard to prove this in the recent trial of Edward Lee King, a resident of Watts, for burglary and arson during the Watts uprising.

Shortly after the uprising, CBS-TV News, under Bill Stout, went into South Central LA with an offer: they would pay \$100 to any person who would tell what he had done during the revolt. CBS made it clear that it would not reveal the identity of the person and would not show his face on the program.

A "Pre-Interview" tape was made in which Stout asked at least two candidates for the program what they had done. To one of them he asked, "Did you burn down Thrifty Drugs?" The young man answered, "Yes."

"Did you burn down Sams Liquor?"
"Yes."

"Did you burn down the Nat Diamond Furniture Store?"
"Yes."

One of the young men then related several other incidents — how he had threatened to kill his white friends, how he had tried to run a white woman off the road on a bridge. This tape was later called the "Confession Tape" and was central in the Edward King case.

One of the youths was selected for the filming. Only the back of his head and shots of him from behind were shown. The film was carefully edited by CBS producers and editors in LA and New York to cut out anything that might identify the person. The filmed interview lasts about 10 minutes.

During the filming, Bill Stout told LA Chief of Police Parker about the section of the film with the young man. Parker reportedly got very angry. "Don't you dare show that film in my town," he told Stout. "I won't have anybody shown committing a crime in my town." Then he bet Stout he could find and arrest the young man within 30 days after the film was shown.

King Arrested

On Christmas Day, 1965, Edward Lee King, a young Watts resident, was arrested on a narcotics charge. In his wallet the police found the business card of CBS cameraman Jerry Sims. At the trial Sims testified that he gave out "hundreds" of his cards in the riot area. But that was enough to get Parker's police started. A joint investigation was begun with the police, fire department, and sheriff's office all seeking to prove that King was the CBS "mystery rioter."

Mystery of Tape

The first thing they did was to get a copy of the CBS Pre-Interview "Confession Tape." How they got it is a mystery, says Kenneth R. Thomas, King's lawyer.

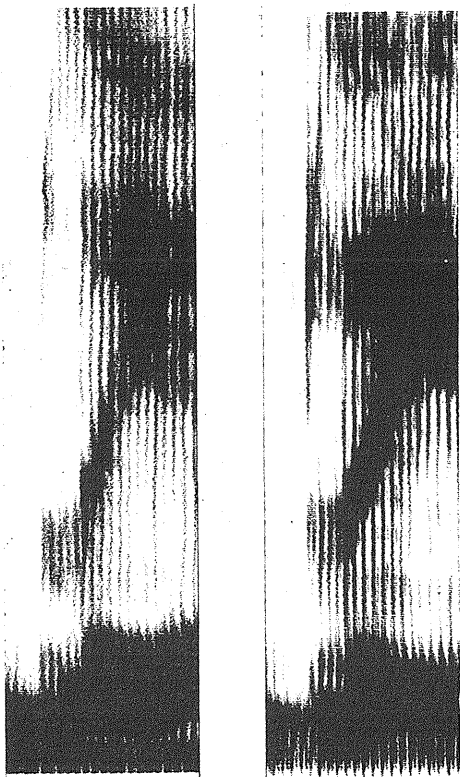
It looks as if they got it from the McCone Commission. CBS, apparently in good faith, offered the Pre-Interview tape to McCone. Stout wanted McCone to get an "insight" into the feelings of a typical person involved in the revolt. Somehow the cops got hold of it from McCone — though all testimony was supposed to be immune from use as evidence.

The Police took King into a bugged room. Two "arson investigators" went in to talk to King about arson in general. King said nothing to them that would be incriminating.

The "Expert"

All three tapes, the CBS Pre-Interview tape, the CBS film tape, and the tape from King's cell, were sent to a man named Laurence Kersta, who claims he can match voices the way police match fingerprints.

Kersta is an Electrical Engineer who



TWO VOICEPRINTS—Their patterns look alike but they are prints of the same sound spoken by two different people.

worked for the Bell Telephone Laboratories for 39 years. He is not a phonetician or a linguist. He helped develop a device called the "spectrograph" (SEE PICTURE), which gives a "picture" of the human voice. Kersta resigned from Bell Telephone Company immediately before giving evidence, and he now has his own company, the Voice Print Lab, Inc.

When I asked Kenneth Thomas what he thought Kersta's interest in this case was, Thomas replied, "money." Kersta was paid \$3000 to testify in the King case. Professor Victoria Fromkin of the UCLA Linguistics Dept. agrees. "Kersta wants to sell his equipment to all the police departments in the country," she said.

The UCLA Linguistics Department got interested in the case after the Grand Jury hearing that indicted King. Professor Peter Ladefoged, head of the Phonetics Lab and one of the most outstanding phoneticians in the country, called the DA's office. He wanted to make sure, he said, that the police were not being hoodwinked by an unscientific device. "We've got our expert," the DA cut him off. "We don't want to talk."

Prof. Ladefoged got in touch with Attorney Thomas. Thomas asked him to comment on Kersta's testimony before the Grand Jury. In a letter to Thomas, Ladefoged attacked Kersta's testimony on several points:

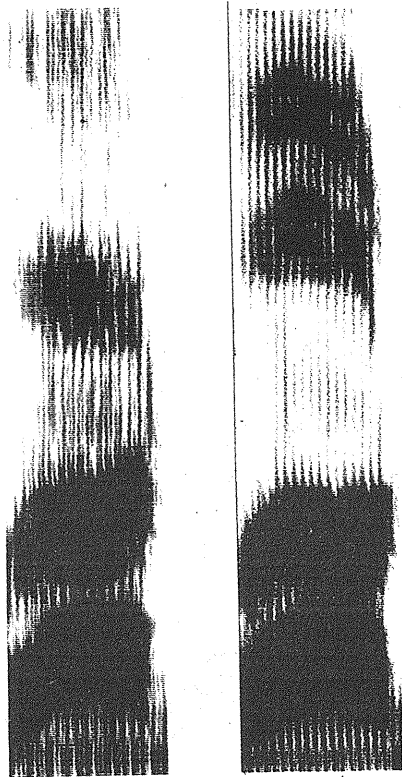
Kersta: "It works exactly the same as it does in fingerprint identification."

Ladefoged: "This is not true. Fingerprints remain relatively constant . . . but even the same words spoken by the same speaker give different patterns on different occasions . . . Mr. Kersta leaves out an important point . . . that there is evidence that different vocal cavity shapes (which may belong to different speakers) can produce the same acoustic patterns."

Ladefoged continued, "His statistics do not justify the claim that this technique can be used with reasonable scientific certainty."

"Quite frankly, much of what Mr. Kersta has said may be correct. But there is a great deal of scientific mumbo jumbo which has as much validity as evidence obtained by witchcraft, divination, or guess work."

In June, 1966 Professor Ladefoged presented a resolution to the convention of the Acoustical Society of America. It asked that the Speech Communication Committee of the society go on record as believing that spectrograms should not be used for speaker identification in trials.



TWO MORE VOICEPRINTS—Their patterns look different, but they are spoken twice by the same person.

It passed unanimously.

Kersta claimed that the voice on the "Confession Tape" and the voice of Edward Lee King were the same. The DA devoted 4-1/2 weeks of the trial to the voiceprint "evidence."

On the witness stand, Kersta admitted that he did not have enough "points of similarity" to prove that the "Confession Tape" and the voice of King were the same. But, he said, he could prove that the TV tape and King were the same, and THEREFORE the "Confession Tape" was the same.

His reasoning was clearly wrong. "I didn't care about the TV anyway," said Thomas. "It contained nothing incriminatory."

The DA seemed to give in to this. He spent only a few minutes of his summing-up on the voiceprints.

Judge Raymond Roberts was so shaky about the "scientific proof" that he instructed the jury that there were three possibilities concerning the tape: 1) that the person was making the story up to get the \$100, 2) that he was joking, and 3) that "I guess" he might be telling the truth. After King was found guilty, the judge released him on his own recognizance; amazing since before the trial King had been held under \$10,000 bail.

WHY THEN WAS KING FOUND GUILTY?

There were basically TWO trials: one of the "voiceprint" and one of King. THE JURY DISMISSED THE VOICE-PRINT EVIDENCE AND convicted King on the basis of the other evidence, mixed with, I think, considerable prejudice.

I have spent time on the voiceprints because in all the publicity it has been made to seem that King was convicted through the use of this "new scientific device." He was not. The jury even wanted to go on record as having rejected this evidence, but they were not allowed to.

The remaining evidence centered around a single eyewitness, one Terence Warren. Warren, a white man hostile to the uprising and to civil rights in general, witnessed part of the filming of the TV show. He was working across the street while an outdoor sequence was being shot and watched it for several minutes from across the street.

He had never seen King, he testified, before or after. Three months after this occurred, he was approached by the police. He cooperated fully by identifying King as the person he had seen being filmed.

That was about ALL Warren could remember. He could not remember the time

or date or day of week of the filming. He could not remember what he was wearing (though he testified closely as to what the man across the street was wearing).

Jury Heard Tapes

The judge allowed the jury to hear the "Confession" tape and to see and hear the TV film. This seems to have had a tremendous impact on them. The jury was all-white; only two had B.A. degrees. The prosecutor, Robert Imerman, used his ten challenges to eliminate the two Negroes suggested for the jury and the 8 candidates with Masters degrees or Ph.D's.

The jury then decided without proof that the voice on the "Confession Tape" was that of Edward Lee King.

A Juror's Notes

They seem to have been highly influenced by what was said by the young men on the Pre-Interview Tape. I was able to get hold of the handwritten notes of one of the jurors, a white woman. Her comments are very revealing.

At one point she writes, "If it wasn't true, then why would he have said it?" Her logic, in every case, was just that — if he (whom she assumed to be King) said it, then it must be true.

At another point in her notes she says, "Why would he say his friend had seven bullets? Why not some or many! It's truth that's why!"

She was obviously upset when the voice told about trying to run a woman off the road. "The woman on the 6th Street bridge," she wrote. "He related that incident with such reality. He thought that was so funny it really cracked him up to see something bad happen to a white woman for a change. She had to go through so many motions to keep on the road."

"How could he have enjoyed retelling this story unless what he was saying was TRUTH!"

About some other evidence, she commented, "Just another bit for our stew."

According to Thomas, another juror was heard to comment after the trial, "We had to find him guilty of SOMETHING."

Sentencing will take place on January 17. Thomas will then ask for a retrial. If that is not granted, he will appeal.

"I think we beat them on the voiceprints," Thomas told this reporter. "Voiceprints just don't have it."

The other evidence doesn't seem to have it either. And perhaps the less said about the jury and the jury system the better.

TRADING STAMPS FOR FREEDOM

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AMERICA'S PREDATORY WAR

This article is by Rudolf Augstein, editor-publisher of DER SPIEGEL. This mass-circulation newsmagazine has been described as "the TIME magazine of West Germany." It shows how strong the opposition to America's war policy is, even within this country's strongest European ally.

Our American friends avoid us and we them. We meet their glance in the mild hope of not having to discuss politics. There is no longer any agreement between us. The war in Vietnam divides us from them and probably will for a long time.

The war in Vietnam is changing an entire nation and our relations to it; it is splitting the West into two camps. De Gaulle and U Thant are as one in their rejection of what the United States is doing.

On television we see how entire regions in South Vietnam are forcibly evacuated and whole villages blown to pieces. Petrified by this incomprehensible "defense," women and old men submit to being led away from their homes, leaving behind a trail of scattered possessions which have fallen out of their hurrying carts.

Crops are destroyed by special chemical sprays. Napalm burns ten noncombatants to death, and a child is always one of them, before one Vietcong guerrilla is killed. Day by day, the number of the quarry bagged is counted up.

Seriously wounded, half-dead prisoners are interrogated by American officers. Weapons not covered by the Geneva Convention are being tested with great success. There is no longer any doubt: war crimes are being committed, not by German barbarians, not by Asian Communists (though they do too), but by the wealthiest, the most powerful and most democratic republic in the world.

In North Vietnam, dikes and irrigation canals in the thickly populated coastal delta have already been bombed. General Maxwell Taylor has said that the ring around the capital, Hanoi, is being drawn tighter and the air attacks will "raze everything that North Vietnam has built up in the last ten years."

The Americans are treating the people living in both parts of Vietnam the same way one side treats the other in a civil war. But they are not using the traditional means which were used by both sides in the civil wars of the past. They are employing methods into which they have poured all the technical strength and perfection of their enormously productive industry. The fundamental proposition: "Better dead than Red" is being written out in full by the Americans on the bodies of the Vietnamese, with relatively few casualties of their own. Asians, the yellow people, must endure what it would be difficult to demand from Europeans and North Americans. If Communism is to prove it is not a sham, the Communists in Vietnam can't give in.

The moral devastation is almost as bad as the physical. Until now Communist theory asserted that the capitalists would tolerate the luxury of their democratic and philanthropic morality just as long as their economic superiority was not threatened. The economically weaker revolutionaries should not, therefore, stoop to a morality which the capitalists would indecently abandon if the need arose.

Until now the Americans have waged but few and minor predatory wars. They have never sanctioned torture till now. They have never before engaged in military operations on behalf of a puppet regime which they, and they alone, sustain. But this is what they are doing today.

By their actions they claim the right to keep in power every feudal exploitative regime which is faced by a Communist-led revolt; political and social changes brought about by violence (with Communist participation) are forbidden; only the violence of despotic capitalist militarists is allowed. And this principle does not remain a theory but is implemented with massive power and acts of war. That is why Communist morality is justified in saying there is no morality except for revolutionary morality: capitalism must be fought with all possible means; capitalist morality consists of fighting revolution with every possible means. Therefore, the great war is unavoidable because the Americans will become the arbiters who decide which revolutions may or may not take place, and the Communist powers will not accept this situation for long.

Every moral appeal, every invocation of human rights and humanity is absurd as long as what is happening in Vietnam meets with approval. What do the fifty-nine people who have died at the Berlin Wall mean compared to the hundred thousand women and children who have been incinerated in Vietnam because of the white man's arrogance—and who will be followed by hundreds of thousands more? How presumptuous it is to ravage a country because they do not know the country and cannot bring it under their control. If the Americans have no formula for ruling Asia, if the governments they support cannot maintain themselves, they will have to leave the Asians to themselves.

Our American friends know all this or at least some of it. But they do not want to hear about it. It is not just North Vietnam, branded an aggressor by President Johnson, which is paying a high price but the entire non-Communist world.



Pox Americana

woodcut (actual size)



The Main Entrance of the University at Bancroft and Telegraph Avenues during the strike.

Photo: Jim Marx

BERKELEY STUDENT STRIKE

By Jeff Lustig

Students stumble into confrontation as if by accident on the Berkeley campus.

Coming into the Student Union late in the afternoon on November 31 one learned that discontent had again erupted. A student had been arrested; he was "guilty" of provoking an attack upon himself by sitting next to a Navy enlistment table with information on Draft alternatives.

A sit-in was in progress, protesting the arrest and the Administrative discrimination among "off-campus" groups. Protesters had asked the Administration to discuss the incidents. Instead, helmeted police forced their way through the 70-person crowd to arrest six conspicuous non-students.

"Wrong" arrests and spontaneous responses are part of the continuing conflict at Berkeley. The sit-ins were forced by immediate issues; but they were also made necessary by the deprivation of other means of political expression. The arrest of non-registered students sought to fix scapegoats; but it also attempted to maintain the doctrinaire and increasingly industrialized educational system which lies at the root of student discontent.

All these implications were not immediately apparent. It was the crack of chin-high billy clubs and the hating, hateful police faces that decided the week's activity. Surprised, uncertain, and angry, 3000 students met and after five hours forged their response, the strike.

Strike machinery was assembled out of small improvisations, FSM memories and old habits. Picket, Poster and Leaflet committees were formed at 12:30 a.m. as the interim Strike Committee adjourned to a private house to attack problems of the moment.

The Strike Committee was charged with difficult tasks. Faced with Finals and a clever bureaucracy, it had to coordinate a Strike. It attempted to meet these problems but never emerged from under the weight of the immediate: How to reply? When to negotiate? Who to send? What kind of rally to call? And beneath these decisions were the usual struggles to balance resources against goals, effectiveness against integrity.

Picketing, leafleting, speaking and recruiting all had to be done, if not by the Strike Committee, then by others. This meant that the actual protesters were cut off from political and tactical decisions. Leaders lost contact with the mood and realities of the strike.

Strikers objected. They wanted more information about the meetings. They wanted work committee chairmen seated on the Steering Committee. The leaders were charged with neglecting the work of the strike. Their reply was honest if ritualized: they lacked time. Every moment apart from public rallies, press meetings, private faculty conferences, sleeping and eating, was spent in meetings.

Their explanation evaded the real point. (Don't people make time for what they consider important?) At issue was not the leaders time-budgeting abilities, but more basically, their priorities.

The choice to spend time in internal arguments rather than picketing or training new leaders implied a belief that the important work took place inside those meetings.

Outside, the picket line revealed the fragility of student commitment. It became clear that anger was not enough. It was not enough for leaders to occasionally test their arguments in public. A new framework should have been developed and strikers should have been involved in the running of the strike.

Though most strikers knew they could not expect the Administration to give in, few went beyond this to figure out exactly what a victory would look like. This indifference to strategy has led in the past to the subtle acceptance of the Administration's framework.

The myth of Academic Freedom has disguised the relation between education and society. Radicals have involved this myth by arguing that there was too little "independence." If a little liberty has appeared comfortable, then we have demanded more. A mere increase is presumed to take care of everything: more communication, more grievance procedures, more pass-fail grades. But simple liberation is not what we fight for. If it were, we'd have been smarter to leave the campus.

This error showed itself a month before when the Administration threatened to move the free speech area and cut rally time. Activists accused the Administration of hypocrisy and of betraying the faculty's December 8, 1964 resolution in support of traditional liberties.

Those who said "Remember December 8" did not see that this cry hid the facts: the Administration acts in its own interest, the faculty usually shares those interests, and students must organize to fight the dominant forms of education.

One student leaflet protested the denial of "onethird of our free speech." It drew this reply from a Free University pamphlet:

"The point is not that a third of our Free Speech has been denied (how do you qualify freedom?), but that students continue to be excluded from control over their lives, and this exclusion is total, not fractional."

When the Administration tried to outflank students by proposing that Sproul Hall be converted into a classroom building (thus destroying the Free Speech Area, which would interfere with "normal functioning"), the radical response pointed out the "inefficiencies" involved. The real point was that students had not been consulted regarding the use of campus facilities or the determining of "normal" education. It was not a quantitative "increase" in efficiency but the qualitative rights of students that was again at issue.

This controversy over the nature of the fight led to the comprehensive set of strike demands. In addition to amnesty and control of police on campus, there were demands for student representation and for a limitation of Administration prerogatives. Many protesters also attacked the quality of the school: the new Quarter System, the large survey courses, the depersonalized methods of

teaching. The immediate issue was thereby tied to other educational problems and to the structure of University power.

This fight for what are essentially Educational Rights marks the growing student recognition of how the society affects them directly. Berkeley is one of the first places in the country where students can trace repression to their own supposedly comfortable, well-financed careers, and where they fight to change the conditions of their work without assuming false identities or interests.

Unfortunately the strikers lacked means to make this sophistication effective. Being new to political activity, they did not see their duty to influence the leadership. As a result, though everyone thought new leaders should be trained, the monopolization of political tasks deprived followers of leadership perspective and practice.

The hope that people could become politicized without actually making decisions, and that extended theories could arise spontaneously from gut reflexes should have been dispelled by the FSM. For it was the FSM's failure to consciously prepare for protracted struggle by extending its perspectives and training new leaders that cost it its victories.

From some perspectives the Strike was a failure. The Administration did not yield to Strike Demands. But there was an elation at the last night's meeting--despite the grim conditions of the

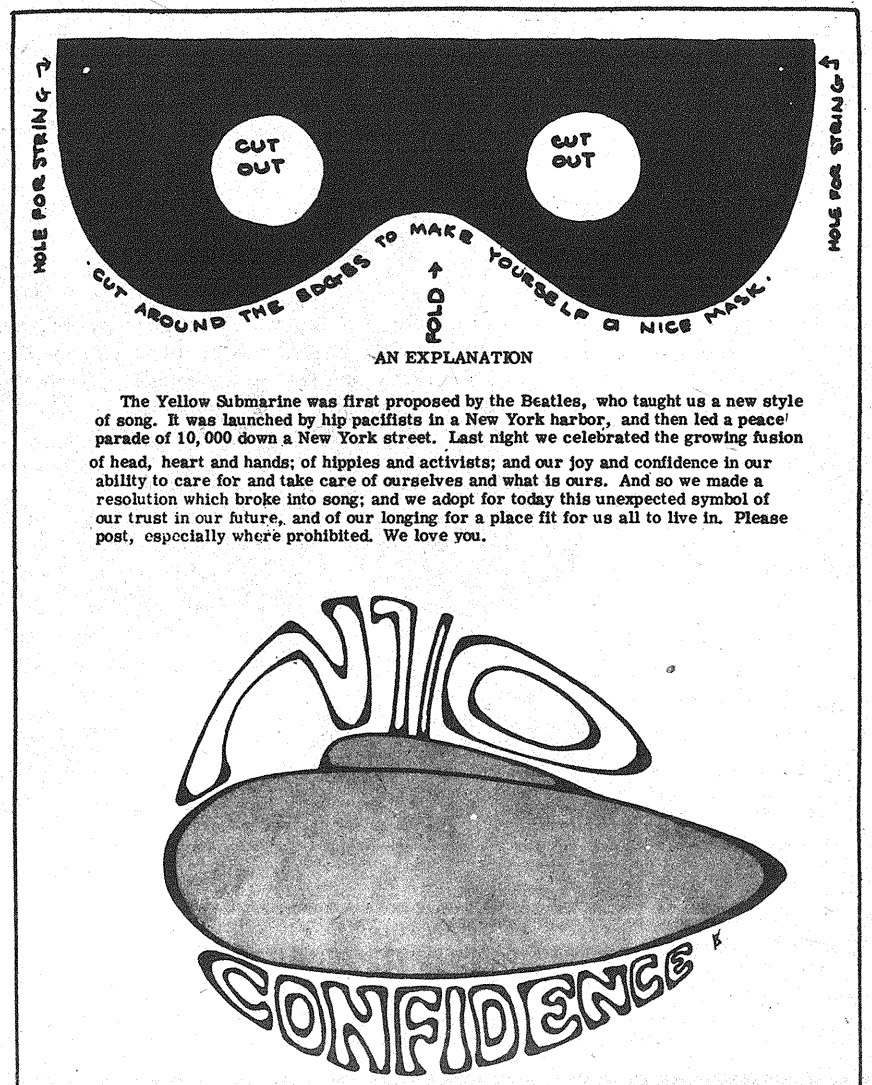
This is the **YELLOW SUBMARINE** leaflet which was handed out on the last day of the strike.

Strike; the cold and rain, the threat of Finals and the Faculty's desertion--that indicated certain victories had been achieved.

At that meeting, strikers gained the opportunity to discuss their insights and to affect the course of the Strike, through the open agenda and an "open mike". Participants attacked basic issues; and took Berkeley beyond the FSM. They began to see that if their anger were serious, their fight would be a large one, and their goals would take them beyond familiar political methods. Following the observation that this was but "the second of a fifteen rounder", was the suggestion that if we could not win immediately, we could "keep the Administration off-balance by continually blowing their minds."

Beneath these apparent flippancies were attempts to come to grips with the depths of the task. Old events were seen in a new light. The alliance with the Teaching Assistants' Union and the hippie rebellion were seen as having crucial importance. Creative tactics were suggested. A conceptual revolution was implied in the charge to "blow their minds". (One participant noted this phase carried the force of the traditional, "break your chains", and suggested, "you have nothing to lose but your minds".) The meeting marked a departure from usual

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



BERKELEY STRIKE

Continued from Page 6

political practice; people began to value principles more than immediate success.

But old habits are more difficult to change than old phrases. Independence from the Administration's frame-of-reference must not degenerate into the simple impulse to be provocative. It must stay rooted in a political context. We must understand that success in social struggles requires organizational freedom to work on the weapons and insights which develop in conflict.

Problems are more critical in Berkeley than elsewhere. Here the original tactic--to let the world know we are alive--no longer suffices. We have now gained a certain space in which our community can work; and people know Berkeley exists. Marathon parades and gala events won't gain the commitments and the concepts we need to build a movement. Last night reprieves won't always be possible. Strikes won't always express our educational demands. Cops won't always be around to point out the nature of the social structure. We are called upon to develop our perception until we can see beneath social appearances, our community until it can support us, and our skill to spread the fight.

It is important that Berkeley protesters learn that "political organization" involves more than having an organization; it implies consciously developing new support, new leaders, and new consciousness. Organization is not something people have, but something they do.

Our failures came from a misconception; that Strikes are "called" and not organized. The misconception resulted neither from lack of "time", nor energy, but of political insight. Confusion allowed our tools to define the task, our habits to pull us into old frames of reference and action. For us to continue ignoring the imperatives of political organization will be to neglect the broad picture, and to act against our own interests--that is, to participate in the false consciousness on which our society is based.

1000 MED STUDENTS AND DOCTORS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE WAR

The Committee for Independent Political Action (CIPA), the only left student organization on the University of California San Francisco Medical Center, launched an anti-war demonstration on January 5, beginning a program of monthly Vietnam rallies. This rally, attended by 1000 people, was the first student-staff demonstration of any kind to have taken place on the Medical Center campus.

The Medical Center is a small campus. It is a campus community which traditionally regards protest of any kind as very radical. Because the community is easily alienated by anti-establishment protest, and because the school administration was untested and therefore unpredictable in handling student demonstrations, CIPA anticipated many problems and tried to design the rally to avoid as many difficulties as possible. All decisions were made democratically. Both the work and the policy making were shared among the 50-odd CIPA members.

The rally was designed to appeal to both the professional and personal consciences of the practicing and future doctors, dentists, nurses and scientists who make up the Medical Center community. Aware that it was establishing precedents which would shape the future of the anti-war movement on that campus, CIPA moved carefully. It negotiated with and through sympathetic administrators and student government officials to secure time, site, P.A. equipment and the University's duplicating facilities. Four faculty members and three students were chosen to speak during the noon hour, followed by a picket line by on and off-campus health workers.

Because of the unantagonizing appearance and diplomatic manner of CIPA before and during the rally, direct uncompromising statements could be made about the war and accepted favorably by the audience.



The speakers pointed out that war is antithetical to the goals of health scientists, whose business is the preservation of life. Further, the war cuts short government grants so crucial to health research and exhausts student scholarship funds.

Dr. Oscar Rambo, one of the speakers, estimated that one day's cost of the war could finance the entire Medical Center for two years or pay every educational expense of every medical student in the U.S. for four years.

Dr. Ernest Newburn, another speaker, used the analogy of LBJ as a doctor who has made a wrong diagnosis ("spreading cancer of communism") and who now is afraid to preform the neces-

sary biopsy--a free election--for fear his error will be exposed and the correct diagnosis shown to be "a chronic case of nationalism complicated by an incompatible grasp of military dictatorship..."

The demonstration was well received by the Medical Center and by the press which, with one exception, gave sympathetic coverage. Another indication of the success of the rally was the \$140 raised through literature sales and donations. But it will take time and further demonstrations to reveal how much of the Medical Center's interest is mere curiosity in the novelty of a demonstration and how much serious concern about the war.

SMALL TOWN MAY OUST POLITICAL BOSS

By Guillermo Repollo

A recall election will be held in the town of Alviso--population 1300--on January 31, 1967. The recall petition is against City Councilman Tony Santos who has ruled the town for 25 years as either Chief of Police, Mayor or City Councilman.

Alviso is mainly a trash dump for San Jose and other nearby towns. Its population is 70% Mexican, many of whom are not citizens. Almost all the housing is substandard, owned by absentee slumlords.

Santos owns 25% of the slum dwellings, a wrecking yard, an after hours joint called Popeye's, a card room and bar, a service station, and large tracts of land for speculation. He has used city equipment like graders to level and improve his own and other slumlord's property without permission of the City Council and at tax payers' expense.

Santos has a record of harrasing anyone who opposes him. Several years ago while he was Chief of Police, he pistol whipped a man and put out the man's eye. The case was dismissed in court.

In December 1965, a petition to recall Santos was initiated by several citizens. Santos and his buddies began an intimidation campaign against the petition signers. He threatened to deport one non-citizen whose wife had signed, and told a mechanic who works on city equipment that he would get no more work if his wife's name wasn't removed.

The City Council refused to accept the petition and refused to set a date for the recall election. This is punishable by two years in jail and a \$5000 fine of each Councilman. The petitioners instructed their lawyer to go to Superior Court and get a writ of mandamus ordering the City Council to set an election date. The writ was granted, but the lawyer misled the petitioners to believe that it had not been granted.

Santos at this point filed suit against one of the petitioners for misuse of city funds. (The funds in question had been privately collected by the Volunteer Fire Department.) A deal was made that the recall petition against Santos would be dropped in exchange for Santos' dropping the suit against one of the petitioners. However, the lawyer for the

petitioners dropped the recall "with prejudice" which means that it could not be taken up again later, while the city "took to action" on the suit against the petitioner which means that it can be taken up again at the Council's discretion.

This action took place last year. Since then there has been much organizing in Alviso and new leaders have emerged. A new recall petition against Santos was recently initiated and again Santos and his friends harrassed signers. This time when the petition was presented to the City Council the Council was reminded of the jail sentence and \$5000 fine and reluctantly set January 31, 1967 as the election date.

A voter registration drive in the Mexican-American community added 40 new voters to the rolls before the registration deadline, strengthening the anti-Santos sentiment. In a move to split the Mexican-American vote, John Castro, a "good" Mexican, was convinced to run for Santos' seat the day before the filing deadline.

Mr. Castro, ex-fire chief of Alviso, is well known and liked in Alviso, but

is surely no people's candidate. He is more inclined to go along with what the power structure wants, than what the people need and want. This is evident by the fact that he was convinced to run for election by the power structure, when he knew that his candidacy would cut into the vote of the other Mexican candidate, (whose candidacy papers Castro had signed two days previously).

The other candidate is Lalo Resendez, Mr. Resendez is a true people's candidate. He has been active the last two years in many projects to improve the conditions of people's lives. He was active in ACCION last year. A group put together to bring political and social change in Alviso, but was divided and disintegrated by the power structure, and helped put together a Chapter of C.S.O. (Community Service Organization) out of the pieces of ACCION this year. He has been instrumental in establishing a Health Clinic in Alviso, and setting up citizenship classes. Lalo may be found doing anything from patching the church's roof, to providing transportation for someone in need of it. He is young, articulate, likes people and has learned his political lessons the hard way. One lady in Alviso asked Lalo if she could help on his campaign. She explained that she is tired of being made to feel ashamed to be a Mexican, and that to help him any way possible would make her proud.

With Santos promising to put on "a fight like this town has never seen before", and Castro being manipulated by the power structure to siphon off the Mexican vote and providing the anti-Santos anglos with a 'safe' alternative, and Mr. Resendez making brown people proud, the election will be one of crucial importance to the future politics of Alviso.

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REVIEW THE MURDER OF MALCOLM X

MURDERERS OF MALCOLM STILL FREE

By Terence Cannon

On Sunday afternoon, February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City. Four men were involved in this killing: two with revolvers, one with a sawed-off shotgun, and one who distracted attention with a smoke bomb.

Most people, if asked Who Killed Malcolm X? would reply - the Muslims. Hardly anyone would be able to give a name. Yet in January of 1966 three men were brought to trial for the killing and sentenced life. Two of them were probably innocent. I don't even remember reading about it in the San Francisco papers and remember holding in the back of my mind for many months the thought - I really ought to check up on what happened to Malcolm's killers.

Now Eric Norden, writing in the February, 1967 issue of the realist, has brought the issue back to life. In doing so he has raised as many frightening questions and conclusions as Mark Lane did in his examination of the assassination of President Kennedy.

The killing of Malcolm may be as important to the future of America as the killing of the President. He was, in Norden's words, "one of that rare breed of men who are truly irreplaceable. A black - or white - leader of his genius may not arise again for generations, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that his assassination has radically altered the course of American history."

The purpose of this review is to get you to read Norden's 18-page article. Back issues are available from THE REALIST, Dept. 73, Box 379, Stuyvesant Station, New York, N. Y. 10009 for 25¢. No review can do justice to Norden's research. The importance of his article is in the questions he raises. He does not prove his conclusion: that Malcolm was killed by the intelligence apparatus of the United States government. He does prove that the official explanation, as in Kennedy's case, is totally without merit, honesty or truth,

and he brings together enough evidence to implicate the New York police department and the government in Malcolm's murder. As a first step, this is a strong achievement.

The questions must be answered. Some of the most important are:

"Why, one week after the fire-bombing of his house in Queens, were there no police at the meeting where Malcolm was murdered?"

"Why was Malcolm poisoned almost fatally in Cairo the day before he was to deliver a scathing denunciation of the American Government to the Summit Conference of African prime ministers?"

"Why was Leon Ameer, Malcolm's New England representative, found strangled to death in his Boston hotel room hours after he had told a public meeting he had evidence that 'the white power structure killed Malcolm'?"



This photo of Malcolm X will soon be available as a Movement Press 22x28 poster.

Who was the mystery man arrested outside the ballroom after the shooting as he was being beaten by a mob shouting, 'He shot Malcolm!' Why did he disappear from sight immediately after being taken into custody, and why has he not been identified or heard from since?

"Why did one of the defendants at the murder trial admit his guilt, absolve his two co-defendants, and then claim he and three other men had been paid for the murder by a third party who was not a Muslim?"

* * * * *

Shortly before his death, Malcolm wrote: "In the past, yes, I have made sweeping indictments of all white people. I will never be guilty of that again - as I now know that some white people are truly sincere, that some truly are capable of being brotherly toward a black man.... It isn't the American White man who is a racist, but it's the American political,

economic and social atmosphere that automatically nourishes a racist psychology in the white man.

Malcolm was beginning to apply this new political understanding to America domestically. Internationally, he was beginning to open up the possibility of real cooperation between American negroes and the radical socialist African states.

He was pushing to bring the American racial crisis before the United Nations, a move that by placing the U.S. in the same position as South Africa, would have seriously embarrassed this country's government.

Malcolm was a dangerous man. He was seeking non-black allies in an international movement; he was moving to the left. I am afraid that we can no longer trust in nor believe our government. Some people call this a "credibility gap." What I have in mind is more like what Thomas Jefferson said when he wrote the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

If, as it seems, the Government of the United States has destroyed one of its greatest leaders, and has destroyed these rights for many millions of those it supposedly governs, if we can neither trust in nor believe it, Thomas Jefferson points the way out.

NOTES FROM CHICAGO MICHAEL JAMES

ORGANIZING HOUSING TENANTS

Chicago, Ill.

It is an understatement to say that there is a shortage of adequate housing for poor people in Chicago. Housing in the ghetto, no matter what the ethnic composition, costs far more for smaller and inferior housing than that found in middle and working class areas. There are a handful of groups currently organizing tenants' unions, seeking negotiated settlements or collective bargaining contracts between tenants and landlords. The growing tenants' movement provides a forum that brings community organizations involving poor people together, under the banner of the Tenants' Federation.

JOIN Community Union, representing poor white and Spanish tenants in a 24 unit building, signed a contract with the owner in May, calling for specific repairs, grievance procedures and binding arbitration. In July, the East Garfield Park Union to End Slums, a westside group initiated by SCLC, won a similar contract covering 40 buildings with the large slum real estate firm Condor and Costalis. The idea of tenants' unions and contracts caught on quickly; the number of organizations working for or winning contracts grew to include several more poor peoples groups and several groups composed of middle-class people inhabiting small buildings.

Our limited experience reveals a number of problems associated with organizing tenants, including the difficulty of building consciousness and the internal strength of tenants groups, as well as

legal and financial problems arising from the institution of slum housing itself.

No contract has yet to be tested in court. The few legal skirmishes to date have (on both sides) avoided the issue, either ending up in temporary injunctions based on technicalities, or addressing themselves (currently in process) to the right to picket real estate agents. The few possible test cases (due to landlord non-cooperation) are weak in terms of the organizational strength of the tenants themselves. This is true of single buildings where tenant involvement in the rent strike phase was high, as well as the large contracts covering many buildings, some having virtually no organized tenants even though efforts are being made to "fill in the structure."

The size of the landlord's holdings appears to be another factor affecting tenant union organizing efforts. Many landlords claim, perhaps correctly, that they are unable to make the repairs demanded in seriously dilapidated buildings without raising rent, or because they can't get loans for slum building repair. Given the scary shadow of urban renewal that threatens every budding movement group, many large slum firms can hold out. Tenant organizing efforts are presently too small to even seriously consider the large question of taking on the mortgage holders, enemy of both tenants and small owners.

Large slum firms appear to be able to make a profit, although it is not clear that they can do so in the face of a serious contract calling for in-depth rehabilitation. Some have threatened or actually

chosen to sell. If this were to become the pattern, it could be a serious problem, forcing community organizations to seek financing from the Federal government or through private foundations. The non-profit Presbyterian Church-connected Community Renewal Foundation which bought a large building and made an agreement with its tenants who had been on strike for two months, has proved to be no friend of the Movement. They applied for a type of Federal financing that excludes the poor after the repairs are made. Cooperative housing proposed by EGPUES and the Lawndale Union to End Slums, using Federal money secured by SCLC, threatens to absorb too much of the organizers' energies on the issue of making the project work internally; this could easily deter from the building of multi-issue community unions.

A possible alternative to this and of other complications with the contract would be to return to using housing problems solely as an organizing device rather than becoming in large measure a single issue, locally focused organizations. For example, an organizer might go into a building with no heat, talk to tenants and get them to hold back rent until the landlord provides heat. Chances are that as many people would join or become sympathetic to the organization, and the organization would not become bogged down in the difficult time consuming, single and very local issue of rehabilitating buildings and getting tenants to cooperate in "keeping them clean."

Another problem facing the tenants'

movement is the top down union orientation of the Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO), who convened the Federation. The IUD is seeking a way to become directly involved in the civil rights movement, certainly in a partial attempt to exert political control, and probably as a vehicle to reach unorganized workers in non-union shops. (It may be worth noting that IUD recently received \$75,000.00 from the Stern Family Fund for "community organizing" in Delano, Chicago, and one other city.) IUD and movement people, particularly community based, community union oriented organizers, have been at odds as to the composition of the board of directors of the proposed cooperative housing mentioned above, as well as the "class" structure of the Tenants' Federation. In both instances they have been reluctant on the issue of control by tenants (poor people).

The relationship between movement and union people, although not easy, is currently workable. Recently the Federation decided that decision making and the running of meetings would be left to tenants, each participating organization having three members on the board of directors. An educational program is now underway bringing neighborhood people together to discuss common experiences and problems. The hope of the Federation and the Movement in the city is in part an educational program that goes beyond just the issue of housing, education that seeks to build leaders knowledgeable of the multi-issue character of the system they seek to change.