



# THE MOVEMENT

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## Movement Exclusive

# THE POLICE LOBBY: COPS IN CONGRESS

One of the more pleasant - sounding euphemisms of our society is that the police are public servants; they just carry out the law we make. In stark contrast is what actually happens at the California legislature. There a busy, aggressive and militant police lobby is helping to make the law we obey.

The lobby is an (at times loose) coalition of police organizations. The key members of the coalition are the California Peace Officers Association and the California District Attorneys Association. They operate through a joint law and legislative committee which is jointly chaired by Alameda County District Attorney Frank Coakley. LA Chief of Police William Parker is Vice-Chairman of the Peace Officers Association. The coalition is sometimes joined by the Attorney General and such powerful groups as the County Supervisors Association.

The police lobby engages in most of the typical activities of lobbyists; proposing and opposing legislation, entertaining legislators, and whipping up political support in local communities. The DAs and the peace officers groups maintain full-time lobbyists and are often aided by dozens of DAs and policemen who travel to the legislature.

The DAs are represented by a lobbyist on the payroll of the Alameda County District Attorneys Office and maintain a room at the El Mirador Hotel, a popular watering hole for legislators. On the fringe of the police lobby are such right-wing organizations as the Los Angeles Police and Fire Research Association (called FIPO) which enjoy throwing communist-labeled mud at civil liberties groups. Let me add, however, that the chief members of the police lobby maintain a formal distance from the fringe groups.

### Strengthens Police Power

All of this adds up to a considerable impact on the legislature. As might be suspected, the police lobby is anything but liberal. It espouses the "get tough" school of thinking and likes to think of itself as engaged in a "war on crime," with all of the no-holds-barred, the-Constitution-be-damned overtones that the phrase suggests.

It generally proposes laws to increase police powers, relax protections against unreasonable searches and seizures, and toughen penalties for various crimes. It supports a punitive approach to welfare laws. It likes the death penalty, hates pornography and other "dirty" things like homosexuality, prostitution and narcotic addiction, and craves respectability.

The police lobby seems peculiarly repelled by crimes of vice: narcotic addiction, gambling, homosexuality, pornography and the like, an interesting emphasis since these crimes are, in a sense, victim-less crimes. Such crimes are characterized by an emphasis on moral repulsion rather than danger to the public (as compared with crimes of violence and theft, for example). It has been suggested, half in jest, that the underlying police objection to narcotic addiction is its quality of escape from our earthly chains of coercion and conformity.

### We Pay For It

In any event, the police lobby is a force to be reckoned with. It has the cumulative

resources of dozens of public agencies. In one sense, we are paying the cost of being lobbied. It can generally count on the Governor to sign such legislation as gets to his desk. It has the capacity to reach the public through the public positions of its members and through influence in a host of organizations. And it gets help, whether it wants it or not, from the "Support Your Local Police" program of the John Birch Society.

### Hurts The Poor

The police lobby is of particular importance to the civil rights movement. The great weight of law enforcement bears down on the poor and the disadvantaged. While it is true that the ghetto spawns high rates of ordinary crime (like theft), more emphasis is given to crimes of the poor than to such white collar crimes as consumer fraud. It is not an accident that DAs spend large sums prosecuting welfare crimes such as fraud and absent fathers. This gives rise to the suspicion that the police are not representative of the entire community.



Police in Selma -- During the Watts riots, the Alabama police head wired Chief Parker "Now you know what we've been going through in Alabama."

## The Free Student Union: Grass Roots In The University "THE RIGHT TO GOVERN OUR OWN INTERNAL AFFAIRS"

The upsurge of the Negro people in the United States has created a new and vibrant movement in America, involving tens of thousands of people, young and old. Every recent struggle has been related (at least tangentially) to the civil rights movement. The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley was no exception.

The involvement of the Berkeley students in the civil rights movement both in the north and in the south was decisive in their commitment to the FSM. The vast majority of the U.C. students, even if not actively involved in civil rights, were sympathetic with the Movement. When the administration chose to enforce its regulations banning political activity in the Fall of 1964 the students saw the ban as an attempt to deliver a serious blow to the civil rights movement.

The conditions of University life and the

The number of illegally entered Mexican nationals -- "wetbacks" -- picked up by the U.S. Border Patrol this year is more than double the number picked up over the same period of time last year.

Chief Inspector John R. Williams of the Border Patrol's 48 county area north of the Kern County line reported that for the first seven months of 1965 through July 31, his men had picked up 3,320 illegal Mexican aliens while during the same period last year the total was 1,649.

### Fear Review Boards

This problem lies at the heart of the dispute over police review boards. The police review board is less a technical suggestion for police administration than a demand by the minority community for equality of treatment. It is the demand that the minority community be given a real say in the policies and conduct which affect them.

It is thus a fundamental challenge to the role of the police in a segregated society. And it is therefore understandable that the police lobby fears the police review board above all other legislative issues.

It has frequently been observed that the police help "make" the law both through choosing which laws to apply and through their daily contact with the public. What most people don't know is that the police help create the laws they administer; the law which we are forced to obey. Lets put meaning back into the term "public servant."

COLEMAN BLEASE

Just as the California farm worker is beginning a desperate struggle to secure a beachhead in 20th century America the skyrocketing traffic in illegal aliens indicated by these figures poses another threat as real and as discouraging as the legalized semi-slave bracero system which is being revived piecemeal by the Johnson administration. Under the threat of arrest, for instance, the wetback must acquiesce to all the growers' indignities.

### Smuggling

Wetbacks fall into two classifications: those who cross the border illegally and those who enter with visitors' permits and overstay the 72 hour limit. According to Williams, though, the mounting evidence indicates an increase in organized smuggling of workers rather than just individual efforts by Mexican workers to enter the U.S. He said that many of the aliens pay smugglers from \$50 to \$150 for passage and jobs.

In one instance 51 illegal aliens were transported in a U-Haul rental truck from the Mexican border to Huron, a "town" in west Fresno County surrounded by large land holdings.

The largest single Border Patrol haul, Williams said was made on the Zukerman Ranch in the Stockton Delta area where about six weeks ago 53 illegal aliens were taken in. The indications are that the people were recruited in Tijuana, made their own way across the border, and met at a Los Angeles address. From there they were hauled to Stockton in a chartered Greyhound bus. Williams declared that they paid nothing for the smuggling job and that the smuggler was to be reimbursed \$1.50 per person by Zukerman for every day the wetbacks worked.

### Ranchers Clam Up

The Border Patrol caught up with them the second day on the Zukerman Ranch. Williams said that the ranchers never admit any knowledge of or connection with, smuggling operations. The Zukerman incident is now in the hands of the U.S. attorney's office in San Francisco and the Mexican nationals have been returned to Mexico.

District Director Charles Fullilove of the Immigration Service's San Francisco office would make no estimate of the number of wetbacks who stay in the country undetected, but he did claim that he had adequate personnel to do the job.

"Whenever I've asked for more help, I get it," he said.

Obviously, however, detection is difficult in the sparsely settled inaccessible farm areas especially the large ranches on the west side of the Central Valley. This difficulty has been admitted by the state department of housing, for instance, which has confessed to not even knowing the location of all farm labor camps -- let alone being able to police the conditions of the housing.

GEORGE BALLIS

### Fought the Terror

The FSM was a convulsive effort by an enraged student body to break down the terror that has gripped the academic community for two decades. It was a rebellion of the young against the killing, the racism, the hypocrisy of this system. Specifically, the students rejected the multiversity -- a monstrosity passing for an institution of higher learning -- an institution they enter as raw materials, and exit as robots to build the bombs, manage the factories and apologize for the genocidal policies of the United States.

The Movement made possible the dra-

matic exposure of the men and women who control the university. The Board of Regents is lily-white, racist and reactionary to the core. It is composed of non-academicians who represent the major industrial, agricultural and banking interests of the State. They have no understanding of the nature and needs of an academic institution. The FSM confronted this corporate elite, intimately intertwined with the ultra-right of the state, which used Establishment liberals as "front-men" to carry out policies so anti-democratic and so contrary to scholarship that only rebellion could change them.

To continue to win substantial, fundamental and necessary changes at Cal will take the combined, unified efforts of the entire university community. It will also take the efforts of the people of California

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Mississippi school officials, with the full cooperation of President Johnson and the nation's press, have completely subverted the Civil Rights Act's ban on school segregation. Despite Congress' overwhelming approval of cutting off federal aid to school systems which discriminate, Mississippi schools for the most part will continue to be segregated and they will also get almost \$70 million in federal money to help them pay the bill for operating two schools in place of one.

Here's how the Civil Rights Act has been subverted so far. First, enforcement was delayed six full months after it became law until December, 1964, allowing schools a full year free of worrying about the law. In January, the office of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Frank Keppel, announced that local school boards would by March 4 have to sign agreements to integrate, either gradually or all at once. Many boards didn't do anything, so on April 29 Keppel announced school districts would have to integrate at least four grades a year, except in "extreme cases", to get federal aid.

The national press has led us to believe all along that federal aid would force the most reluctant racists to desegregate. But Vice President Humphrey had already come up with the joker in the deck on February 5, when he said that "your government wants to walk the extra mile" by cutting off funds only "as a last resort." The same day, the U.S. Commissioner of Education announced through an interview in the Memphis Commercial Appeal some new regulations: (1) Instead of flatly refusing aid to segregated systems, the Office would continue aid until it reviewed a district's compliance plan. (Later the Office complained that it was under staffed and couldn't review plans promptly.) (2) Before federal money was cut off, the Commissioner would wait on the state board of education to notify him of a board's failure to comply, contact local officials to see what the trouble was, arrange a hearing with local officials, wait on the Secretary of Health, Education

## Subversion In Mississippi

and Welfare to approve a cutoff of funds and notify the Senate and House Committee on Education and Labor of that fact, and then wait for thirty days. Then and only then would aid be stopped.

Each one of these steps in effect represents an opportunity for powerful southern Congressmen and local officials to delay the procedure indefinitely. Finally, if a school board agreed to desegregate and then did not do so, penalties would be imposed on the school officials only under the following conditions: "It would depend on the precise facts of the case. The Office of Education would report the situation to the Department of Justice, which would investigate and determine if any action could or should be taken." This whole procedure is laughable to anyone who has seen the federal government sit on its hands and utter endless excuses for racists even in the most urgent situations. It is cannot find its way to jail the killers of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman and all the other victims of recent lynchings, can the Justice Department be expected to prosecute school officials?

The key to federal aid and desegregation in Mississippi, however, is this: Almost all school aid from Washington is distributed by state boards of education, which must merely agree to handle funds without discrimination. The Mississippi State Board of Education signed a plan of compliance which was accepted on May 17. Since funds are sent out from July 1 to July 1, it is reasonable to assume that the Mississippi board already has the more than \$70 million allotted to it.

With no fear of prosecution, what is to prevent the state board (composed of Secretary of State Heber Ladner, Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson and State Superintendent of Education Jack Tubb) from giving out money to segregated school systems, with-

out regard to the Civil Rights Act?

In any case, the Office of Education has said schools which don't comply this year will still get whatever federal money they would have gotten, only later.

The U.S. Office of Education and the leadership of Mississippi in their quiet attempt to get around the Civil Rights Act, have more jokers in the deck than just Hubert Humphrey. Just in case things did not work out, the Dept. of Agriculture (presumably under the influence of Mississippi Delta Congressman Jamie Whitten) had during the spring announced it would not require school districts to desegregate to receive school lunch aid, which in Mississippi amounts to more than \$10 million. The state's newspapers, expecting this aid

to be cut off, had calculated that the price of school lunches would rise from thirty cents to forty-five. Such a move would probably have aroused the public in the state to the point where it would demand desegregation.

And the state's Citizens Councils have so far set up 22 private (white) schools, after having extracted from the legislature a commitment to pay \$185 per pupil to support parents who want to escape the Civil Rights Act.

So far the Civil Rights Act has brought to Mississippi a bit of desegregation, a flood of misleading statements from politicians, and a steady collaboration between the President's man in Education and the defenders of divided education in Mississippi.

JOHN PERDEW, SNCC RESEARCH

## REVOLUTION AGAINST THE HOUSING COMMISSION

The Housing Commission of Kings County was flattened last week in its first attempt to destroy a neighborhood in a section of Hanford, California.

EL MALCRIADO investigated and found that the commission's plans to build 150 houses in Hanford are unreasonable. Nothing was said to the residents whose houses were going to be snatched from them.

When they finally noticed what was going on, the people, many of them farm workers of Mexican origin, became very angry. The director of the Housing Commission William Piden was strongly attacked by the leaders of CSO for his actions.

CSO (Community Service Organization) which represents and fights for the people of this area demanded that the commission change its plans. "We are fed up with authoritarian government which steals people's homes at the slightest pretext, be it to construct stupid freeways or any other obnoxious plan that gets the people out of their homes," said a CSO leader. "We will not allow this to happen again."

For years and years, they have done what they wanted with the Mexican people and the colored people, they have destroyed their neighborhoods with a simple excuse. A bunch of idiots in Sacramento as well as Washington have caused much suffering, have destroyed neighborhoods, have taken poor people away from their homes, and by force have ruined hundreds and hundreds of neighborhoods in California. The curious thing is that they have only hit the Mexican and Negro neighborhoods. We cannot allow that this happen in Hanford.

Reprinted from El Malcriado, news paper of the Farm Workers Association. Delano, California. Translated by Maria Vargas.

# Man Who Led A Mexican-American Revolt In Texas

## JUAN CORNEJO: AN INTERVIEW

A short drive through a ghetto-industrial section of San Jose, Workers standing in clumps of twenty-five and fifty, waiting at the hiring gate of the cannery. Inside the busy clatter of the forklifts and the larger machinery. Across the street from the factory, in its shadow and murmur is a small house which dates back to the turn of the century. The interior is sparsely furnished. Among the inhabitants is a small, muscular and intense man of thirty-five, Juan Cornejo, former Mayor of Crystal City, Texas. It takes very little to start him talking. A simple expression of interest and he proceeds with a genuine smile to relate the past and tell of what may be in the future.

"I'm just here to work. The cannery is hiring, and a man must work to live."

### They were Beaten

"I am no longer the Mayor of Crystal City because we could not hold out against all the lawyers and all the tricks of the Texas political bosses. They used everything they could to stop us. They tried in the courts, but they could never prove that we did anything wrong -- because we didn't. They kept me from functioning as Mayor with all sorts of injunctions, until finally the people got tired. No small city can stand by itself for long, and we could not get any help from outside. We couldn't even get lawyers when we needed them. In the last election the old clique made it back into power by a small majority. I am sure that there were many illegalities in the way the voting went, but we have not been able to do anything about it. The clique has a few Latinos to dress up their slate, but the poor people, the working people no longer have any representation. They take a man and offer him a steady job at twenty or thirty dollars a week, and they make a Latino puppet, while they pull the strings.

"The people in my town have very little. The average wage is low, maybe two thousand dollars a year if a man is lucky, but not many are so lucky. For a few weeks there are onions to pick. Usually they pay twenty-five cents a sack. They go as high as fifty cents for a few days, if there is a danger of rain. Many of my

people follow the harvests. They start out in the spring and return to Texas in the fall. We are becoming more and more hungry for the children to get an education. Many people are cutting the work season short so they may come home and let the kids go to school at the beginning of the year.

"Out of almost ten thousand people in the town about a hundred work in the canneries and packing sheds all year. They make a low wage, but more than most of the Mexicanos.



### Tired of Anglo Rule

"Our slate was elected because the people were tired of thirty eight years of Anglo rule and having nothing. Only about twenty percent of the population is Anglo yet they kept solid control of the government for all that time. The people were tired, and in 1963 we ended that control.

"We had never bothered to register and vote. The poll tax was a hardship, but more than that, the people were without hope. If they couldn't use the ballot to gain real representation, they wouldn't try. I was made the chairman of the Teamster Union's political arm, D.R.I.V.E. (Demo-

cratic Republican Independent Voter Education) and we started. We held a few rallies and the people liked what we were doing so the movement grew. There was very little outside help. The Teamsters gave us a few hundred dollars worth of printed material, and lots of others claimed they were raising funds, but we never saw any of the money.

"We held a lot of rallies out of doors. The people started to register and we went around and in some cases paid the poll tax. What we did was to get them together and instill in them a hope for a better future. They responded with the energy and force that had been latent in them through the years.

"The union sent in a stranger to the community, Carlos Moore. He helped us greatly. His detailed knowledge of the election code was very useful. Moore was unknown to the city officials who feared that he might be a Federal man. He was therefore able to get all the information and figures which we were denied and which were needed for the campaign. His presence also limited the usual election "fixing" shenanigans we expected.

### 95 % Voted

"There was plenty of trouble with the police, harrasing us at every turn. We continued with our rallies which grew all the time. At one rally we had three thousand people, almost one third of the city. We showed people how to fill in their ballots, and on election day we picked up people and brought them down to the polls. Ninety five percent of those eligible voted. All the while we kept our poll watchers busy with their eyes wide open for a 'fix'.

"We are out of office now, but we are a long way from being beaten. We have set a political example for poor people all over, and we will move again in a larger and more effective way.

"We are now starting work on a four state Spanish speaking political organization which will cover Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California.

"We must be successful. The working people have been lied to and used for so long that they are tired and ready for a change. We know that we can get political power, we have the majority. We elect

liberals and they act like conservatives. We have enough laws to guarantee all our rights, but the laws are not enforced. They lie in the law books just to fool the workingpeople.

"They throw us crumbs of political appointments which are meaningless. But they can no longer buy us into apathy and divide us by appointing people who fail to represent the majority. We're so tired that we are willing to take the chances that are needed. We will work and work hard.

"Money will be needed to send out organizers into all the towns of the southwest. We will hold rallies to wake the people up. Perhaps from the rallies we will get enough to carry the organizers from town to town building the organization. We cannot pay people. They will have to work simply because they see the need for the work. They will have to be people who want to see the tree of democracy bear fruit.

"We don't want money that comes to us wrapped in strings. We can make our own decisions and work as an independent force, not Democratic, and not Republican. If money comes to us from the unions, fine, but we will be our own men, and owned by no group.

### "Talk to the People"

"In West Texas we have many Latinos, while in East Texas, many Negroes. Our needs are the same. Our conditions of life are deprived. Together we can really advance politically, socially, and in an economic way. There is no reason why our "political" work should not help to organize migrant workers and others into unions. I am no expert, I can't say exactly how it will work, but we need to organize in every direction.

"Our organizers must go out among the people and talk their language. If Spanish is needed, fine, but whatever the tongue, they must talk the language of the working people. There is no question in my mind that we can do the job. The working people are interested enough to work and gain their rights as working people. We just have to organize, success is inevitable."

His hand was hard and his handshake firm with confidence.

FRED HIRSCH



# EDITORIAL: WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED FROM WATTS?

Many of our friends have argued in the past weeks that the civil rights movement is dead. Lyndon Johnson, they say signed it out of existence with an ordinance called the Voting Rights Bill.

It took an uprising in Los Angeles to prove that this is not so. The civil rights movement has hardly begun: in Watts it was nowhere to be seen. The sorties taken by the Movement into the ghetto are few. When the fighting is over, we bring food into the area, defend the arrested, start up the Freedom school again. In short, we clean up. When we asked Mark Comfort, head of the Oakland Direct Action Committee (see OAKLAND IS A POWDER KEG this issue), what he would do in the case of a riot, he said "Would you run in front of a train?"

So where does this leave us? What have we learned from Watts?

We've learned that no absentee leadership or authority can claim to speak for an oppressed people. The Governor of California had to come under armed guard

to visit the people he supposedly represents. With few exceptions (Assemblyman Mervyn Dymally may now be moving in the right direction) no preacher, no appointee or politician, no entertainer, commanded the respect of the people of Watts.

Watts is not, nor is any ghetto, 'unorganized.' It has its natural leaders, its actual spokesmen. The job of the Movement is to find these leaders and help them, not manufacture spokesmen in their own image. These leaders may be barbers, shoe salesmen, union members, gang members, Muslims. Without their support Watts will remain in fever, the Poverty Program will continue to be domestic colonialism, the Voting Rights Bill a sham, and the civil rights movement a Southern fairy tale.

The Negroes in Watts are at Ground Zero and they know it. You might say that by burning their town they dramatized the question of equality in its most brutal way. 'Why should I be unemployed?' they asked "and that White store owner

making a profit? Now a store that's burned to the ground makes just as much as I do."

And their answer was -- Burn, baby, burn. Let's get everybody down to Ground Zero.

What needs to be done?

There are some obvious answers: End Negro-removing urban renewal. Create programs that actually deal with the needs of people who have low incomes, poor housing, ill health, and bad schools. Remove Police Chief Parker from office. Regulate the credit and loan racketeers. Put an end to the practices of the high-price, poor quality stores, and the chain stores that charge higher in the ghetto than in the rest of the city.

But there's something more important and less obvious, involving the power of ordinary people. We suggest that we work toward a day when ghetto neighborhoods democratically elect neighborhood boards or councils; these councils to be the forum for all public grievances. They would administer the Poverty Program in that area,

serve as a public review board, watching over the behavior not only of the police, but of the public and private welfare agencies, urban renewal, the highway department, and all other agencies with services in the ghetto.

And we further suggest that the members of that Council not be the "leaders" who futilely tried to stem the flood last month, or who issued statements deploring the 'irrational' activity of their black brothers. They must be those who are listened to in the ghetto, a world tragically isolated from the rest of America.

Maybe Lyndon Johnson wrote the Movement into existence with the Voting Rights Bill. The spade work, begun with the Freedom Rides, has been done. The early, primitive connections between students, organizers, and the people have been made.

Now we can plant the seeds of political action and help them grow: tough, wiry, resilient, wider than Watts, wider than the South.

We're just beginning to get the hang of Freedom.

## WATTS IS BURNING.. A MOVEMENT SUPPLEMENT

### THE MOOD IN THE FILLMORE

Watts: A Conversation

### "IF I GO, I'LL TAKE WHITEY WITH ME."

The scene:

Four of us: a civil rights organizer; his friend, a young man from Watts; a reporter; and the editor of THE MOVEMENT, sitting in an apartment in San Francisco. The organizer, his friend, and the reporter spent the days of the riots in Watts talking to friends and residents. All three are black. I have tried to reconstruct the conversation faithfully from notes.

The conversation:

The organizer was talking about his first impressions. "The greatest thing you felt was the unity. We came in on the Santa Monica Freeway. Cars of bloods driving down, smile to you, smile back. Everyone was going to Watts. And when I was walking on the street, people I didn't even know would offer me rides, drive up alongside, 'What's up, brother? Can we take you anywhere?'"

"You talk about fear and pride. The most beautiful thing I saw was two kids being frisked against a wall. This cop had a billy club on his belt, a black jack in one pocket, a revolver on his hip, and a shotgun in the car. He's trying to search these kids and he's shaking, scared to death. And the kids are jiving him -- 'hey man don't tickle me, hey man don't shoot nobody now. GET UP AGAINST THAT WALL! Hey man, don't shout so loud, . . .'"

"And it's not over," his friend cut in. "The people they captured weren't the ones doing the damage. What did they arrest -- three on arson? and 3000 fires. Now I saw. . . you're not going to use no names now?"

"No names," I said.

"I saw, two days after the riot, in this pad of a friend of mine. . . ." He got up and paced off an area about 10 feet square. "This much space filled with Molotov cocktails. That many, in one pad. You know there's 100 times that many all over Watts."

"What they were saying," said the organizer, "is -- The National Guard can't stay here forever. Keep cool. It's costing them \$250,000 a day. You know they'll leave. Then we'll be back."

"What we need is psychological warfare," said the reporter.

"It was psychological warfare. People would drive right up to a cops feet, just necking and pecking. The reason they couldn't win was there was no organization. Some talk about going into a right-wing bookstore and finding how to make plastic bombs, but nobody did."

"Could it happen here -- the burning?" I asked the organizer.

"No. Take for example down on the corner, there's a cat in the liquor store I could hit him in his head. He's a bigot,

But if I burned his store the whole block would go. There's no space like in Watts, and there's homes above the stores. I'll tell you, the prettiest sight I ever saw was a whole block burning and one Negro store setting untouched in the middle. Man they burned the crap out of White Front, first the annex, then the whole damn place."

"They work on the assumption that you have to force Negroes down," said the reporter, "and that's not going to change. You'd have to get rid of Parker and every white cop in LA. It ain't gonna happen. Now the cops are going around showing the kids how the siren works and being 'friendly.' Maybe it could have worked 20 years ago. Now nothing will fix it."

They began to trade incidents and the conversation was hot and tense. The friend

"The white man's crazy!" said the organizer, "They'll haul me down for nothing, lock up my ass for a week, kick my old lady, then then tell me man, this is your country, and send me overseas. Tell me to be non-violent in Mississippi and violent in Vietnam!"

The conversation went back to the alleged sniping. There was disagreement between the reporter and the friend. The reporter thought the police used the sniping issue as an excuse for shooting looters and on lookers.

"I don't know," said the friend, "If you can't get to sleep blocks away for the gunfire, there must be somebody besides cops shooting."

"Look," said the reporter, "how do you snipe?" You fire 3, 4 rounds and then run. You're not going to shoot from a resi-

What's the feeling in the streets?

Tension. Tension in the air. Hell, I was even offered a gun. The people in the streets are braver. They pick at the police. If they're standing with a bottle in a sack, and the cops go by, they take the sack off.

And the Police?

Walking on eggshells. If they were to beat on a Negro, it could blow up, and they know it.

How do you get to the people in the Fillmore? What will they listen to?

The folk will listen to anybody who defies the White man. Working in an urban area you can't take a non-violent attitude. You have to take an out-and-out revolutionary stand. I tell people to protect themselves. There are a lot of people who'd join the movement if it wasn't non-violent.

What about out - and - out Socialists?

They won't listen to them. They will listen to a democratic argument -- that the city and state government have to be revised. They want democracy to be a fact.

Are the Muslims active here?

They have no real base here. They claim to have a lot of things going, but they don't. Somewhere along the line, the two poles, Nationalism and Civil Rights, have bypassed these people.

Is there anti-Semitism in the ghetto?

This may seem funny, but in the ghetto the Jew and the Chinese are looked on as the enemy. Actually, it's the system, but they don't see it that way. They own the stores where we get the rotten meat, the bad groceries.

Is the area going to blow up?

The cops will tread water for at least a month. They keep most of the white cops out of the area at night, and the Negro cops come on with "What's happening, brother?" The arrest rate has dropped down.

Oakland's more likely to blow up. It's much worse over there.



demonstrated how a National Guardsman held a bayonet to the back of a prostrate Negro's neck, saying -- How does that feel, huh, how does that feel?"

"To hell with it," he said after he finished the story, "If I go I'll take on of them with me. It might not happen again this summer, but it'll happen again."

"They'll come out of the ghetto next time," said the organizer.

"I don't care if they kill me," his friend said. "I'd rather die here than in Vietnam. Listen, there's lots of Negroes who don't show up for induction; the longest list of delinquents you ever saw is in the recruiting station in the ghetto."

"I'd go to Mexico, no way in the world you could get me," said the reporter. "In the Korean War Negroes were trying to prove themselves. Now they don't have to. How a cat from Mississippi whose mother is getting knocked in the head can go to Vietnam is beyond me."

dential building because you don't want it shot up. And all the commercial buildings were on fire. So where did it come from? I never met a single newsman there who ever saw a sniper himself."

I asked about the Muslim mosque. The reporter had been there:

"It was riddled, I mean riddled. The cops must have been planning it, because they had a complete floor plan when they arrived, they knew where every light switch was. There wasn't a weapon in the place, but the cops seized the files -- that's what they were after. It was psychological too, to show the Negroes that the mosque wasn't sacred. I talked to a prostitute who told me 'The riots ruined my business and I didn't care, until they wrecked my mosque.' And you know she wasn't a Muslim!"

The friend broke in, "Even my old Uncle Tom mother said, man, breaking down the mosque was wrong."

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## "THIS IS WAR"

Governor Brown



# "Oakland Is A Powder Keg"

An interview with Mark Comfort, director of the East Oakland Direct Action Committee (ODAC).

ODAC is housed in a two room building at 8512 East 14th Street in Oakland, California. The kids with whom Mark works belong to juvenile gangs in the area. Several sat in the room with us. One left to go to Richmond to work with other young people there. It was a hot, airless afternoon. The phone rang several times during our conversation.

## What's your reaction to Watts?

The people in Watts have been catching hell for 20 years. I used to live there. I saw a guy knocked down a flight of stairs by a cop and through a plateglass window. He was lying there in a pool of blood and started to have convulsions, you know, kicking his feet in the air. What was the cop's response? To kick him back, right out on the street. Here in Oakland they do their kicking in the alleys.

It was a small revolution against the power structure.

## And here?

The same thing's happening here as happened in Watts. The only power that can stop it is the government by improving the living conditions. People are too despairing even to picket -- they say why should we go picket, they ain't gonna give us nothing.

Things are tense here and always have been. We're sitting on a powderkeg. What's

changed, for now, is the police. Last Saturday there wasn't a cop to be seen on the boulevard out here -- ordinarily it's swarming with them. The cops are scared, they know how it starts -- they start it.

## What are the kids on the street saying?

Right now, mostly -- Why should we go to Vietnam and kill colored people when we can stay here and fight and die?

"Everybody feels that," broke in Amado, Comfort's 15 year old field secretary. (See Amado's story on ODAC this page.)

I have a story, said Mark, that never gets in the papers: how many American soldiers do they say have been killed in the war altogether? 600? 700? Well I have a friend who works for the Navy hauling the corpses off the ships when they bring them in. He says he hauls away 72 bodies a day. Figure it out for yourself. It's way more than they say. Don't believe what they say in the papers.

There was a girl came out here from the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee. I told her to go knock on doors. She was surprised -- it turned out that people really wanted to talk about it. Negroes from the community even came out for their rally. They'd get more if they held rallies in the ghetto.

## Aren't you a little afraid of government money?

Sure. They buy people off right and left. Don McCullin of the NAACP here promised the people a school boycott every year for four years. Never came off. Then the Mayor appointed him to a \$18,000 a year job. Same in LA. CORE has been bought off by the

Poverty Program. They do this, and then they ask why the civil rights groups didn't head off the riots. They were too busy working for the government. They'll never get me. I don't want it.

## How do you get to people here?

People want to know what's going to happen here -- now -- for us. They're leery about everyone. They been lied to so long by their own people. They don't picket, but that don't mean they don't know what's happening.

You have to stay with them like the SNCC workers in the South. You live in the houses; people respect this. You don't run in and run out, and then say you got arrested for the Negro people.

People need a chance. You don't tear down their houses and build houses for \$100 a month like in the Acorn Project -- that's Negro Removal -- it doesn't solve any problems. In Hunter's Point they pay kids \$1.25 an hour to tear down their own houses.

I talked to one woman here who said "How will things change? We'll have to get a new government, that's how."

## What difficulties do you have?

Money, man. You know how people think? They think the town they live in is great. SNCC knows this. People send thousands South, but we can't get \$25 to pay the rent here. They think it won't happen here. It will.

All over the world its the young people who are pushing and pushing. On the streets, in the universities. When change comes, they're the ones.

## Gang Member Speaks "NEGROES SHOULD STOP FIGHTING"

The Oakland Direct Action Committee is located at the Freedom Now headquarters, 8512 East 14th St., is an effort that began in the last months. O.D.A.C. has been dealing in Civil Rights.

Mark Comfort, the chairman of O.D.A.C., his goal is trying to get our people to stand up and work together to bring Real Freedom and True Democracy to our people.

There are four more people that work with O.D.A.C. These people are Melvin Soriano, Gloria Comfort, "wife of Mark", Norman Chastain and Karen Chastain, "wife of Norman."

I work with Mark as a Field Secretary of O.D.A.C. My goal is trying to get all these youth gangs in Oakland to organize and to stop fighting among themselves. I say "the Negroes should stop fighting. We won't and can't get no place like that. The gang say -- We goin' to make it -- but the only way is to stick together. How are we going to get our Freedom unless we stick together?"

This summer we have been going house to house dealing with people, finding out what problems they have and see what can be done about them. The question is something should be done about guys on the street. I would like to tell you we are working on that problem. We been going to parks to see about better recreation for the teenagers and throwing parties and sponsoring gangs to keep these guys out of trouble.

This and much more is happening in O.D.A.C. The police still give us problems as always. Long time ago they stopped guys that come out of the headquarters and tell them not to talk to Mark Comfort. Now they put them in jail for little reasons. We try to get them out when they go to jail for something. But the only reason the cops don't want them at O.D.A.C. is because they tell the people the truth.

MELVIN "AMADO" SORIANO  
age 15  
Field Secretary for O.D.A.C.,  
member of Alm Boy Dukes

## "I Will Serve With Pride Your 30-Day Sentence"

This is the statement read before the Court of Martin Pulich, Municipal Judge of Oakland, California by Norman Chastain.

Mr. Chastain was one of seven defendants convicted for their part in a demonstration at the Oakland Tribune building in November, 1964.

The other six were: Willie Hart Jr., Frank Gasperik, Anthony Wilde, Philip Davis, Arthur Goldberg, and Mark Comfort.

I want to say at the beginning that this is not a statement in defense of myself. Rather, it is a statement of facts, and of the social consciousness necessary to interpret the American reality for what it really is.

To begin with, I do not agree that the seven people who were tried and convicted are guilty of the crime charged. We did not trespass on private property. The seven of us, I will freely confess, and proudly so, did on the day of November 21, 1964, at the Oakland Tribune, trespass upon the person known as 'JIM CROW.'

Judge Pulich, on the day of our sentencing, reminded us that when we break the law, no matter how noble our purpose, we must be willing to face the consequences and should accept our just punishment. Let me remind his Honor that it is he who must face the consequences of what took place here in this courtroom. The future will judge who is right or wrong in this criminal charge against our group; and the future, your Honor, is with the seven of us.

It was not seven individuals who were found guilty of trespass and punished with sentences ranging from 7 to 30 days in Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center. On the contrary, the Civil Rights movement was judged to be a threat to the white status quo, and the reaction was -- Stop the movement! This order was faithfully carried out by an all white jury.

Some will dispute this assertion. They feel that though there exists injustice in the streets of Oakland, that there is justice in the courts; that in the person of his Honor, Judge Pulich, a liberal and honest man, one will receive an unprejudiced rendering of Justice. To the fair person I will give but two of the more glaring examples of what I charge:

Witness the fact that of the seven defendants, three were singled out as leaders

of the demonstrations, while the other four were looked upon by Judge Pulich as mere followers. One of the seven, Willie B. Hart, was given 30 days. John George, our attorney, pleaded for mercy of the court, and inquired why his Honor gave this youth, who was not one of the leaders (except in a moral sense) the harsh sentence of 30 days while the three others whom the judge felt were led astray were given but 7 days. This question proved somewhat embarrassing to the Court, for the Court's reply was a reduction in sentence to 20 days. Mr. Hart is a young Negro 18 years of age. The three youths given 7 days are white.

Witness the fact that after the sentences were handed down, appeal bail was set at \$1,650 per person. That comes to a grand total of \$11,550 necessary for seven people to remain out of jail while they appeal this court's decision. I might add here that we seven were set at liberty prior to sentencing with no bail required. Now, when this excessive bail was brought to the attention of the Court by John George, our attorney, the Court's reply was that the 7 of us needed to see the inside of a jail for more than a few hours.

I would like to bring to the attention of his Honor that convictions handed down in the lower courts do not necessarily mean that a final decision has been made in the matter. The desire of Judge Pulich to see the seven of us do some time may not be shared by the higher courts. There is wisdom in Article Eight of our country's Bill of Rights, which states: "Excessive bail shall not be required. . . ." This is why there exists the legal machinery for appeals to a higher court level. I believe, however, that this Court fully realizes that it does not have the ultimate say in judgement upon this case, and for that reason set the excessive sum of \$1650 per person as bail,

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## "We've Been Playing Games With These Kids Long Enough"

Deputy Police Chief Roger Murdock



SOME REMARKS BY BOB PARRIS OF SNCC

# Non-Violence In The Ghetto

In January of this year, civil rights workers Bob Parris and Dennis Sweeney were asked some questions about nonviolence and the ghetto. Their answers, reprinted here, directly bear on the riot in Watts and the possibility of violence in many Northern cities.

What are the chances of violence by Negroes in the South?

BOB PARRIS: Where you will get organized terror will be in the North in the big cities, because when you look at it those are our jungles. It's in the ghettos in the North where the Negroes have room to hide so one can run out and bomb and run back. It's very hard for them to do that in the South. They're more exposed.

In Talahatchee County last winter a Negro shot a policeman. The policeman was messing with him and he shot him. Now he went home, and immediately they organized a vigilante group, maybe 100 people or more. They had machine guns, rifles, automatics. . . They went to this guy's house and they shot it up plank by plank and they dismembered him. They started at the bottom plank and they went all the way up. You have to ask yourself -- what happens to Negroes who know what would happen to a Negro who considers arming himself to do violence against whites?

We've come close to rioting in the South, but we don't have as yet the same conditions that exist in Northern cities that would lead to that kind of violence.

I think here you get into the basic question of non-violence: Is it possible to build some sense of community that moves in such a way as to attack the people who are oppressing them so that they don't have to resort to rioting, which is despair to them. Non-violence is the building of community. You try to get together groups of people who can move with some sense of meaning and do something about their lives.

I was talking to people last night about some gangs in San Francisco. What's the approach to them? Do they form a kind of community? It's a community organized around more or less senseless violence; it ends in, I think, their own destruction. What's going to happen to them? It seems to me that the program which society has for them is really a program of violence, because that's where it leads. In the end, the program of the social worker, where he takes two or three of them and tries to put them in jobs is meaningless; they can't all get jobs, and they're back in the streets soon.

In the end, say four, five years from now the harvest of that is violence; riots and everything, because they don't have anything and they don't get anything from that program.

The non-violent program, it seems to me, for that group would be not to break them up, but to find some way to keep them together, to find some way to get them to attack the institutions that have them in that box.

Nobody's doing that, as far as I know. It's not being done anywhere in the North; none of the organizing agencies are addressing themselves to the ghetto and these kinds of problems.

## Chief William Parker: The Man On Top

A man is best judged by his words and his actions. The actions of Parker's police force are written in blood in Watts. We record here for history some of his words.

### ON RACE RELATIONS IN LOS ANGELES:

Frankly I am amazed at the relative lack of friction among the groups here and at the ability of Los Angeles to assimilate all groups. We certainly do not have some of the problems other large cities have. . . From all I have been able to see, Los Angeles is the most progressive city in the nation as far as the assimilation of its minorities is concerned.

### ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT:

Malcontents have dragged ghosts here with reports about Bogalusa, Louisiana and Americus, Georgia, which is not the situation here. But these impressionable youngsters don't believe it... You can't create discontent among people with nothing to do without creating trouble.

### ON MEXICAN-AMERICANS

The Latin population that came in here. . . presented a great problem because I worked over on the East Side when men had to work in pairs. . . and it's because some of those people being not too far removed from the wild tribes of the district of the inner mountains of Mexico. I don't think you can throw the genes out of the question when you discuss behavior patterns of people.

### ON THE FUTURE

The next time it happens they will take the whole city.

I think I have to conclude that this civilization will destroy itself, as others have before it. That leaves, then, only one question -- when?

What do you think about organizations for self-defense?

Organizing self-defense societies is a negative way of organizing community. What you want is to organize the community around things they can do to change their lives.

DENNIS SWEENEY: You have to look at the kinds of people who organize for self-defense. Take for instance the people in McComb who came to us this summer when we first got there and said "One shot in the air and you'll have 50 guns at your house immediately."

They were organized to protect themselves and after the bombs started going off they became even better organized. But these people who stand watch at night (not the ones who stand watch in their homes; just about everybody in McComb this

summer and fall was staying up all night watching out the window), I'm talking about the organized people -- these are not the people who would come to FDP Precinct meetings. They're not the people who send their children to Freedom Schools. They're not the people who come to meetings where we organize community centers. They're not the people who will go down to the courthouse. It's much easier for some of these people, and this is a very difficult thing to understand, to carry a gun and say they'll shoot a white man; but it's very difficult for them to overcome the fear of going down to the courthouse and trying to register.

BOB PARRIS: There's a distinction to be made between a city situation, like Dennis is describing, and a rural area. In the rural areas the people who are in the struggle are also the people who organize for self-defense.



## MOONMAKER

DON'T pity me  
because my skin  
is black

i weaved the  
moon  
and taught it  
how to fly

and lit the  
sun  
and hung it  
in the sky

to pity you

WORTH LONG

## CONVERSATION

# IF I GO

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The organizer confirmed the respect that residents had for the mosque. "Attacking the mosque brought out real sympathy for the Muslims. I don't think Whitey understands that yet."

The conversation changed to the courts, the jails, and whether the police could break down any possibility of another riot. The reporter said, "They wouldn't let me in the prison, but from where I was all you could hear was men screaming. They were beating them for days to get names. And they got names. Anyway, if you're on probation, you're stuck. They've got you."

"They can't break it," said the organizer. "How many of those kids gave gone through the same thing for years?"

"Like me, man," said his friend, "when they called my mother from the police station and said -- come get your son, he just fell down a flight of stairs."

The organizer stuck firm, "They'll never break it. It wasn't an army with a general. There was never more than 100 people in one place at one time -- over 42 square miles. The Negro is the toughest race in the country as far as survival. These kids ain't gonna break."

"They ain't gonna kill either," said the reporter.

"Not this time. But those kids in jail getting their ass whipped for nothing, they won't get caught so easy next time. They learn."

"What did they learn?" I asked.

"To burn everywhere at once. Burn here, then over on the other side, then on the other side. Spread it out."

"But don't just die," burst in the reporter, "any damn fool can die. What's your life worth -- 5 cops and 5 buildings?"

"A whole damn office building full of whites," said the organizer.

"That's what I mean. At some time, people decide they're going to die. Then it goes up."

"We're going to war, man," said the friend. "We're not the strongest, so we got to be the shrewdest."

"I'm sitting here thinking," said the organizer. "I'm going to go someday. LA wasn't it. Someday I'm going to take as many with me as I can. And you know, it isn't racial. . ."

"No?" I said.

"No. I know it's economic. And I know a coalition of poor whites and Negroes could tear this country up, but the poor whites are so brainwashed it ain't gonna happen. They been kicking Negroes so long you can't remember. I think it's gonna happen. I'm as Anglofied as any Negro. I like whites. But someday it'll be too much."

Then the mood quieted down. "What's going to happen?" asked the friend, holding his beer can and looking at the floor.

"I'll tell you," said the reporter. "Nothing's going to happen. A cat on probation can't do nothing."

"But the guys with records weren't in it," said the friend.

"What about a cat with a job? He'll be afraid to lose it."

"None of them had jobs."

"Or afraid they'll get their welfare checks cut off."

"Most checks go to the broads anyway."

"But everything is cut off during a riot. Nothing came in. That's where you get the family pressure. Or they'll give the leaders jobs and buy them off."

"There's so many million, how can they buy them off?"

"I'll tell you -- do they know who to give welfare checks to?"

"Yes."

"And who to cut them off from?"

"Yes."

"Then the broad says to her man -- don't mess with them, they'll cut off the ADC check. They can cut off your gas, water, everything."

"What do you think's gonna happen?" asked the friend again.

"Someday," said the reporter, "someday we all lose our cool and it all goes up. And then you make it count just as much as you can."

TERENCE CANNON

# "The Military Has Brought Peace And Tranquility To The Riot Area"

High Ranking National Guard Officer



# SNCC FIELD SECRETARY'S REPORT THE NEGRO REVOLT IN L A --FROM THE INSIDE

On Wednesday, August 11 in the Watts area of the Negro ghetto, an ordinary and minor altercation took place between two young men (one a drunk driving suspect), their mother and the Highway Patrol, which touched off what could, at least for Wednesday, Thursday, and part of Friday, be called a major riot -- a traditional riot -- and which turned into a very untraditional civil revolt against authority and an expression of some of the deepest feelings of one group of people about this country.

From what I could gather, the police accosted the brothers for drunk driving in front of their house. They protested. Their mother ran out to protect her sons (how many mothers reading this article would not try to protect their sons from what they felt was impending danger, and in the black community the police mean danger.) The mother was choked and beaten for her protests. (I remember in 1960 my mother sitting in a corner of our house yelling and cursing at the police who were roughly arresting me for gang fighting. I wonder what would have happened had she physically protested those cops kneeling me in the sides and twisting my arms so hard behind me that the pain blinded me.)

## The Riot Begins

People began to throw bricks and bottles at the police. The police called for help. The burning of cars, breaking windows, brawling with police, beating white people ensued. A riot!

By Friday afternoon though, the action took what I consider to be a different turn -- what I call a civil revolt. This was before the air became putrid with burned-out buildings and blown-off heads. Negroes began to spot those businesses which had traditionally exploited them and they began to loot and burn their buildings, shops and stores.

By Friday night the National Guard had moved in and the police murders took a spurt. People were killed while standing and watching, walking down streets, while looting, throwing bricks and bottles or, particularly Saturday night, while shooting at the police. Fires were started all over the south central area. 103rd Street between Compton and Wilmington Boulevards was almost completely burned out. It looked like a western ghost town by the time National Guardsmen captured it on Saturday. All the Armed Forces recruiting offices in the area were burned. One Marine recruiting office was burned down though it was between two Negro businesses which had signs of "Negro" and "Colored" and "Brother". Few Negro businesses were burned or looted.

## Interlude:

### Saturday Afternoon

A YOUNG MAN TALKING:

"You know I make forty-two dollars a week after taxes working on garment row. I got off early Friday to pay a traffic ticket and buy some clothes. When I got to the traffic court everybody was talking about a riot and how cops were running up and down the street just beating people. And how kids were throwing bricks and beating up white folks. So I pay my \$15, that leaves me \$27. I drive down to Rom's on Vermont, buy two pairs of pants \$11.95 each. That don't leave me enough for a half pint of Scotch. I drive home to my mother's house. I'm driving down 103rd and I see people going in and out of stores like it was Christmas eve. One cat had so many coats and suits till he couldn't even walk. What'd you think of that, man? The man took nearly every dime I had today. I got that ticket for doing the same thing they wouldn't even stop a white man for. My third ticket. I bought pants from them Jews that probably their brothers make on 12th and Los Angeles Street for a dollar a pair -- maybe less the way they jive them Mexican women. Then I come home and cats like me were having Christmas in August. And them cats can't even get jobs. I was so disgusted I came home and cried."

PHILOSOPHIC 15 YEAR OLD after seeing a friend's head blown off by police:

"Man I know that some of us have to get it. When cops are around somebody

has to get it. I've seen it happen too many times to get too bugged by it."

His friend was shot while looting a department store of commodities which, through television and movies, this country says everyone in this country should have.

During Saturday the police were traveling in three and four car convoys shooting and beating people wherever they congregated. Saturday afternoon was perhaps the most vicious period of that week.

## Saturday Night

I had the eerie feeling Saturday night of being inside a combat zone. My parents' apartment is in the middle of the riot area on Vernon between Central and Broadway. Saturday night was the first of the 8 P.M. curfew nights. There were no lights anywhere within a ten block radius. It was hot. The darkness blanketed everything except the red flares at each intersection both east and west of our front porch. Occasionally a civilian car passed. Fire trucks, police cars and military jeeps passed. The jeeps were equipped with machine guns. I sat on the porch in the darkness listening to the news reports by transistor radio.

## They Tried To Kill Me

At 11:00 firing began to the west near Vernon and Broadway. Machine gun fire in quick short bursts, then shots which seemed to come from a small caliber gun, then machine gun fire. Silence.

The radio newscast reported snipers being killed by police and National Guardsmen. I looked down the streets and seeing a police car driving toward me turned the radio low. As they approached and passed a cop yelled "Get your black ass back into your house!" I scooted back into the shadows and kicked my door open with my foot. They drove back. I saw the shot gun being lifted as I stood to enter the house. Three quick thunderous bursts as I scampered up the stairs slamming the door behind me. I dropped the radio in mid-flight and left it to bounce down the stairs. I ran to my parents empty bedroom and lay shaking on my back for the rest of the night.

The killing was done to protect property, not to save lives. This is how the country is set up. Most people are subordinate to property. The only people who will be protected at all costs are those who control the property. It is significant that the first buildings protected by police and National Guard were not stores or pawn shops (where guns were plentiful) or even the police stations (one was set afire). The banks were the first buildings to have guards surrounding them.

If one says in public that Negroes in America live under Fascism and are constantly in a state of siege, he is either called crazy because no one in this country has the right to call the greatest, most democratic country in the world fascist. And if one is specific -- I'm not speaking of the 1920's or 1930's, I'm speaking of the last five years, of today, of the Harlem, Rochester and Philadelphia riots, of Birmingham and Selma and Jackson, Mississippi, and, today, of Los Angeles -- then he is called bitter. For the bulk of the American people bitterness is synonymous with truth, if the truth is clear.

## It's Always Like This

I was reared from my thirteenth year in the south central area. I went to Carver Junior High and Jefferson High School here. I have walked, played, and fought on many of the streets which are now littered with glass and soot and blood.

The police were then and still are the direct enemy. Children at ten can sense their presence. By instinct they can discern a policeman, black or white, by the way he walks, and talks, the car he drives, his shoes. Most children have seen police beat or harass their friends, relatives, or neighbors.

One of the great contradictions of my life in the Los Angeles ghetto school was beginning the morning by saluting the flag of this country, then spending the remainder of the day being taught that I played no part in its development, that I was a slave -- a parasite, a blight of blackness -- that

my only contribution to this society would be by turning white or venting rage. There is no middle ground.

The "turning" white means both physically and psychologically accepting the standards set by the majority of the people in this society -- a society that is lingering this side of death.

Psychological acceptance comes first, imposed by schools in which standards of education are set on the other side of town. Negro children who don't fit into those standards are called culturally deprived. Of course the "culture" is that of the middle class, and anyone who accuses teachers of being culturally deprived is called "radical". Those who fit into the standards are projected as better than the others.

Physical acceptance pervades the entire black community. Those who fit the standard psychologically then emulate the speech of whites -- that's called good English. The misfits emulate through hairdos and face creams.

## Black Unity

During the revolt in the Negro ghetto there was a unity among black people un-

precedented in Los Angeles. This was not the unity of a contract or the imposed unity of the fraternities and sororities. This was a much deeper unity embodied in cooperation and honesty.

The unity came out in the words "Burn baby burn." It expressed itself Friday night on 42nd Street and Avalon Boulevard when young Negro stood in front of a Negro business shouting "Don't bother this one, He's a brother. He's a brother." It showed when another young Negro politely asked a woman her size, then stepped through a broken window of a dress shop to pick out ten or twelve dresses. It was seeing people with their heads up and smiles on their faces. (I know that to many people, an expression of happiness is a sign of ignorance and depravity. I project that the "looting" which took place throughout the revolt was the only intelligent and SANE action the people were allowed to take.)

In any case the unity has lasted throughout the arrest, beatings, curfews and general suppression of rights -- perhaps the internal feelings of unity have been strengthened.

JIMMY GARRETT



## Chastain: "I will serve with pride." continued from page 4

with the purpose of discouraging such an appeal to a higher sense of justice.

Having been born and raised in the South, I find this attitude on the part of the Oakland Court familiar. It may please the Court to know that I have been made to feel right at home.

Now I want to go to the heart of the matter. Your remarks to us, Judge Pulich, that this is a land governed by law, and if people do not obey the law there will exist anarchy is, I feel, a true picture of what is grievously wrong with America today. You have ignored the very basis upon which our country was founded. The British, two hundred years ago, spoke often of law and claimed the authority to enforce the law when it was not obeyed. But our forefathers replied, and I quote from the Constitution of the United States of America: "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." I want to repeat the term "just powers", for I have not heard his Honor, in the power of his Court, speak of justice -- only of law. I say Judge Pulich betrays our heritage by placing law before justice. Law is based upon justice and authority is that power which enforces the concepts of justice as written into law. Laws, your Honor, are but the written expression of justice. Where is the justice in racial discrimination?

I heard his Honor's opinion on the law, but I heard a far greater voice ring out from the distant past: "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." And I look about me and everywhere see my fellow Americans, because their skin is darker than mine, daily murdered, imprisoned, and denied their human rights.

Our forefathers, however, had an ear to the future when they wrote the Constitution, for they added this safeguard: "That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its founda-

tion on such principles, and the organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

That, your Honor, is the greatness of this country. But you have not spoken of our greatness but only pointed out our weakness. When a man in a black robe upholds the sickness of our society, the failure of the white society to be just, our country is shamed.

There will be no democracy for 22 million black Americans as long as 170 million white people are undemocratic.

There will be no freedom for the Negro as long as white Americans are trapped in hate and fear.

There will be no justice for our human family when our country is governed and controlled for the benefit of the white society.

Morality is smothered when property is valued over human beings.

A few moments ago I spoke of the greatness of this country. I will now tell you in whose hands it rests. Ten years ago there began a movement which is going to save this country -- the Negro Struggle for Human Rights. It is in this Movement that we can see America being reborn, and Democracy taking on a new meaning. The Negro is speaking to us white people, and slowly freeing us from our prisons of hate and fear; and turning this country towards tomorrow. For the Negro is not out to correct the wrongs of the past, but to secure the rights of the future -- for all Americans. And I don't know if we white people will ever fully appreciate what they are doing for us.

Judge Pulich, I shall serve with pride your 30 day sentence. To be counted among those who are acting for a new and better tomorrow does me honor.

Your time is past. Change is coming, and we are a part of it here and now. Perhaps someday you will understand that while you may imprison our bodies, you cannot enslave our souls. The sound of freedom is in the air, and we seven stood tall to join with tomorrow.

You cannot stop the future.

NORMAN CHASTAIN

**"We're On Top And They're On The Bottom" Police Chief William H. Parker**



# OUR WEAPONS

... Sociologists and political scientists fear "conflict" and "mass action." Their theory calls for a government of competing elites, quietly and privately vying for the right to control our lives. This theory leads to safe and quiet government. Democracy is dangerous in their eyes; they think it leads to totalitarianism. In some cases it may be possible for elites to compete. Industrial elites armed with money may be able to negotiate with government elites who have armies. Students, however, are like Negroes and workers; they have little force except for their numbers and the strength of their commitment. To ask these groups to give up mass action is to ask them to submit to the rule of the elites who have power that doesn't come from numbers ...

(FSM Newsletter, Berkeley.)

## BERKELEY continued from page 1

who must support (as they did last December) the students and faculty. It was to sustain the greatest unity and militancy that the Free Student Union was formed.

### The Stakes: Power

At the root of all issues at Cal is the wrestling of power from the Regents and placing it in the hands of faculty and students. Regulations governing student affairs -- political and otherwise -- should be written by students. The power to discipline, particularly in political areas, should be in the hands of the faculty.

Student government must not be an arm of the administration. It must be a government of the students. The government must be representative of all the students -- including the graduates who were unilaterally disenfranchised by the Regents in 1960 (because they were the core of the radical movement at that time). The tuition policy should fit the educational needs, rather than the need of the Regents to show a profit. The content and form of education should be designed by the faculty and students, not by Regents of pre-enlightenment ideological vintage.

There are numerous economic grievances that the union must confront -- among them outrageous rents (in a city with no rent control), outlandish prices for books (where the ASUC ups its prices 10%) and low wages for working students (both on and off campus).

### Candidates, Negroes, FBI

There are other issues on which the Union can act. It can help mobilize the academic community to elect a state assemblyman from the University district who could be more progressive (shall we say?) than Mr.

Mulford. It might join the civil rights fight for compensatory education so that Negro students can attend Cal. (Less than 2% of the student body is Negro, and many of those are African exchange students. About 25% of the surrounding community is black.) The Union might safeguard the civil liberties of students and demand that the records of students and petitions that they sign not be turned over to the FBI and other secret police outfits by the administration. The Union should demand that the FBI & Co. stay out of the Dean's office, and off the campus.

While the Union is mainly concerned with campus issues, it will not shy away from the international and domestic issues of the day. However, Union decisions will be formed and voted upon by the membership. The Union recognizes that the separation of on-campus/off-campus issues is a false distinction made up by the Regents.

The Free Student Union was born on April 28, 1965. Less than a month later, the FSU was the largest single independent organization on the Cal campus with a membership of 4,000. The Union must grapple with the grievances of thousands of students. Administrators have been vindictive and oppressive, rather than enlightened and constructive. Until their actions change there will be a need for the Free Student Union.

"As students we have certain rights which no agency can legitimately grant or deny; among these the right to govern our own internal affairs; to set our own standards of conduct; and jointly with the faculty determine the form and nature of our own education."

(Preamble, Free Student Union Constitution)

BETTINA APTHEKER

## For Negroes The Gap Widens

# EQUAL EDUCATION..UNEQUAL INCOME

Whether it's integrating, upgrading, bus-sing or boycotting, school reforms remain a major objective of the civil rights movement. And why not! It is in school that youth pass most of their formative years, so whatever goes on within those dismal walls is crucial enough to merit surveillance. Yet as even jubilant newly weds later discover there are other things in life, youth soon enough get hep to the limits of education. Tranquilizing the brain and exciting the nerves, schools have justly earned their dubious reputation. But develop a capacity to endure a decade or so of boredom (in academic lingo, it's deferring gratification), tack on anxious parents and occasional tutors, then your chances of beating the system are much better than impatient peers who really "don't know what it's all about."

It's all about jobs and income. And what's more, the payoff varies according to color of skin. Diplomas and degrees bring Negroes lower returns but they're not as low as those obtained by workers who dropped out along the way. Education, in other words, makes a difference. But there's a catch here which spurns the popular notion that between the races unequal income reflects unequal education. Relative to white workers, Negroes on the whole are gaining in education while losing out on income.

During the Korean War period just thirteen years ago white workers averaged almost 4 years more schooling than their Negro step-brothers. Rapid gains have since been made and now 50% of Negro workers have completed 10 1/2 or more years of school as compared to slightly over 12 years for white workers. The white man's lead has narrowed to about 1 1/2 years.

Remaining around school longer means more diplomas and degrees. Over a third of Negro workers already have high school diplomas or better. And even in universities, Negro and white faces alone no

longer mark the sweepers from the students. Though the chances of white workers obtaining college degrees are now double that of Negroes, the odds were better than three to one in 1952.

These gains are certainly impressive enough though they still understate the case of Negro advancement. A look at the younger generation offers a better perspective on how things are moving along. Among Negro youth (ages 20-24) half are high school grads or better. They average 12 years of education compared to 12 1/2 years among white youth. It is not that educational differences are already disappearing between the races, not by a long shot. Yet nor are they as disparate as literate but ill-informed members of the white middle class would have us believe.

Still, the income gap grows. White families are earning on the average over \$3000 per year more than Negro families, compared with only a \$2000 difference in 1947 (real income). Whether it's the Mississippi jungle on the one hand, or civilized New York and California on the other, Negroes are "less equal" economically speaking now than they were before.

In accounting for the growing disparity, unemployment emerges as a major culprit. Wearing a white robe and burning a cross, it hits Negroes the hardest. Negroes have generally had more experience with unemployment. But not until 1955 has the unemployment rate been one year after another greater than two to one. Nor are high school diplomas written guarantees of job security. According to a Department of Labor report (March, 1964) Negro high school grads had more unemployment than Negro workers with only an eighth grade education.

It might be argued that a white diploma represents a better education than a black one. But even so, it doesn't explain the growing income gap between the races. Certainly Negro schools aren't worse off now than twenty years ago. But whatever education the Negro has the white man got

# Viet Nam Pamphlet Distorted

Newspapers, and national radio and TV last month carried extensive stories of an "MFDP pamphlet" urging Negroes to refuse to register for the draft, or, if already in the army, to stage a hunger strike.

The source of the stories was a pamphlet passed out in McComb, Mississippi. It was drafted by Joe Martin of McComb, and Clint Hopson, a law student from New Jersey. The pamphlet was sparked by the death in Vietnam of a Negro soldier from McComb, John D. Shaw, 23. Shaw had been involved in demonstrations. He was then drafted into the Army, and 8 months later he was killed.

### What the Pamphlet Said

"Here are five reasons why Negroes should not be in any war fighting for America:

1. No Mississippi Negroes should be fighting in Vietnam for the White Man's freedom, until all the Negro People are free in Mississippi.

2. Negro boys should not honor the draft here in Mississippi. Mothers should encourage their sons not to go.

3. We will gain respect and dignity as a race only by forcing the U.S. Government and the Mississippi Government to come with guns, dogs and trucks to take our sons away to fight and be killed protecting Miss., Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana.

4. No one has the right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other Colored People in Santo Domingo and Vietnam, so that the White American can get richer. We will be looked upon as traitors by all the Colored People of the world if the Negro people continue to fight without a cause.

5. Last week a white soldier from New Jersey was discharged from the Army because he refused to fight in Vietnam; he went on a hunger strike. Negro boys can do the same thing. We can write and ask our sons if they know what they are fighting for. If he answers Freedom, tell him that's what we are fighting for here in Mississippi. And if he says Democracy,

tell him the truth -- we don't know anything about Communism, Socialism, and all that, but we do know that Negroes have caught hell right here under this American Democracy."

### Not by FDP

The distribution and content of the pamphlet were reported in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Newsletter as an item of news. That was picked up by the national press and distorted into a statement by the MFDP.

Lawrence Guyot, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the MFDP, and Rev. Ed. King of the Executive Committee, made their position clear. They said,

"... the news media are totally inaccurate in saying that this is an MFDP position or policy. At no time has the State Convention, the State Executive Committee, or any county MFDP Executive Board voted on such a position. . .

### Easy to Understand

"It is very easy to understand why Negro citizens of McComb, themselves the victims of bombings, Klan-inspired terrorism, and harassment arrests, should resent the death of a citizen of McComb while fighting in Viet Nam for "freedom" not enjoyed by the Negro community of McComb. However, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party does not have such a position.

"As the Negroes of Mississippi continue our struggle for the freedom to participate totally in the decisions which govern our lives, it is inevitable and desirable that a growing interest and awareness in local and national issues such as war and peace must follow. The MFDP encourages and welcomes discussion and debate of these issues among its members. We reaffirm the right of our members to take public positions and actions on any issue. As we understand democracy, this is what it means. . .

"Again we wish to emphasize that we uphold the right of our members to discuss and act upon all issues

## ROBERTA COHEN, SNCC VOLUNTEER

Roberta was a child of her times -- energetic and committed. Much of her short adult life she devoted to the Movement. She was a part of the San Francisco office, one of the staff.

Her death last month of the effects of a minor accident was terrible and shocking to us. We find it hard to believe yet that a woman so young and full of life could be gone.

### THE MOVEMENT

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HARRY BRILL



# INVOLVING WORKERS IN THE MOVEMENT

## Proposal To The Unions

Writing in the August issue of *The Movement*, Jack Minnis disputes what he calls the "coalition theorists" who argue that the civil rights movement, in his terms, needs "to snuggle up close to Lyndon's Labor organizations." He continues, "The theory is that, if Negroes are to get what they want, being a minority of only 10% of the population, they're going to have to have allies." These allies, the theory goes, are in the unions. But, Minnis argues, the unions are among the haves, protecting the interests of the haves, uninterested in the have-nots and, in some cases, hostile to the have-nots who are now making demands that could threaten the interests of the unions.

To prove that the unions are hopelessly lost, Minnis, drawing heavily from a recent article by Sid Lens in *The Nation*, portrays the international role of the AFL-CIO as an anti-revolutionary force working closely with the CIA and other governmental agencies designed to keep the underdeveloped countries from gaining full political and economic independence. This is demonstrated, according to Minnis, by the source of funds for AFL-CIO's international projects and the influence of corporate directors with foreign investments in these labor projects.

### Unions not Monolithic

Whether Minnis' argument is true or not, the method he uses to persuade us is far from convincing. In the first place, the unions are not monoliths. While Meany-Lovestone may define the AFL-CIO's international role, there are voices in organized labor that make, mild to be granted, protests.

Second, if we judged who was run by who contributed we would have to conclude that SNCC, because it draws heavily from middle-class white support in the North, is run by middle-class whites, Southern Negroes fighting on the front lines in the MFDP, MFLU, Poor Peoples Corporation, Farmers Alliances, freedom schools and community centers have come to a different conclusion.

Third, and related to the first point, is the fact that within the unions there are organized blocs of Negroes and low-paid whites who are pushing for something new to happen in the unions. These trade unionists, largely found in the unskilled and service occupations, are beginning to feel the pressure of automation. They are also aware that friends and relatives are without work and they hear this message into the unions. In the Laborers, Hospital workers, Steelworkers, Auto and others, there are Negro caucuses pushing in uncertain directions, but looking for new ideas with which to move.

Fourth, the unions, like the corporations and the government, are not immune to the pressures placed on them by the civil rights movement. The NAACP's Herbert Hill has led a drive on union discrimination at the national level. Local CORE chapters and action committees around the country cause the unions concern.

The unions, unlike government or business, have a basic problem which Minnis mentions but seems to dismiss. In his words, "the labor organizations don't even pretend to represent anybody except their members who have jobs and can pay dues, and that representation is often more pretense than reality." But this is to ignore their problem: how to deal with an expanding labor force and a shrinking job market.

This is not the civil rights movement's problem and the civil rights movement has, by and large, been satisfied to demand equal unemployment.

In the absence of some kind of program, Minnis is right -- a coalition with the unions means giving up demands of unorganized Negroes and whites. Without a program, a coalition is dominated by the stronger force and at this time the unions have much more money, more staff, and a much firmer entrenchment in the system than does the civil rights movement.

### Four-Step Program

Is there an alternative? I propose a framework for the discussion of a coalition -- a coalition in which the demands of the Negro community for jobs, housing, schools and equal treatment would not get lost behind the hollow cry of "unity". I think that programs can be built around housing needs and social service needs of the ghetto.

STEP 1. Negro neighborhood (and Mexican-American and low income Anglo) community groups, leaders, etc. would develop an inventory of neighborhood needs: new low income housing, recreation facilities, paved streets, social services administered by the local community, and the like. Where traditional neighborhood organizations fail to do this, those unions with a large Negro, Mexican-American, or low income Anglo membership would organize their own membership according to residence and urge members who lived together in a neighborhood to take the initiative themselves.

STEP 2. The unions would support these demands because new jobs would be created as these needs were answered. The unions would also bargain for the inclusion of light-industry parks in replanned neighborhoods, these industries being an important way to stop the flow of work out of the unionized city into the non-union suburban, semi-rural or rural sections of the country. The unions would support the local initiatives from the neighborhood in exchange for the inclusion of permanent job opportunities in the light industry parks.

STEP 3. The neighborhood groups would insist upon certain terms before accepting the support of the unions. First, that a certain proportion, to be fixed in joint discussions, of the new jobs would be set aside for the unemployed of the neighborhood who would be brought into the job market through union apprentice programs, government training under MDTA, war on poverty, etc. Second, that final say in any program must remain in the hands of those who live in the neighborhood. Only with this veto power could the neighborhood interests prevail over the sometimes conflicting city-wide or state-wide or even national political and economic interests of some of the unions. Third, that the unions, through their pension and welfare funds, would make funds available to the neighborhood for the development of small housing cooperatives, small producer cooperatives, jointly sponsored neighborhood centers and so forth.

STEP 4. The unions would only conclude such agreements if the neighborhood supported programs for the creation of more jobs in the area of their jurisdiction. Thus a general program of public works might come out of the Alameda or San Francisco or Santa Clara Valley or Los Angeles County labor councils that would reflect the need for more jobs and the specific needs of particular neighborhoods for housing, services, or whatever would create

# LIFE WITH LYNDON IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

## HOUSEWIFE'S MANUAL..

### YOUR BANTU SERVANT

The South African Government has just opened its first nuclear reactor, with the help and assistance of Lyndon and the U. S. corporations. It's been a marvelous example of international cooperation. "About 80 South Africans (just as white as they could be, every one of them) were trained abroad for the Pelindaba (as the reactor station's called) staff, many of them at Oak Ridge, Tenn., at the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission's national laboratory. Tome Cole (also quite white) was on loan to Pelindaba as a consultant, reported the New York Times.

What does South Africa have to offer to black Africa, besides the nuclear power which Lyndon and his friends have provided?

Well, for one thing it has a government. The Government of South Africa is probably as close to that of the classic police state as anything that's been developed since Hitler. South African police are authorized to take "witnesses" into "protective custody" for as long as six months. Too, there is a law which can be applied at any time permitting persons to be arrested and held for 90 days without charge.

This South African police state government has decided that there are "dangerous implications" in an experiment to upgrade black workers in the mines. The poorest paid whites in the mines earn six times as much as the best paid blacks. Most of the mines are owned by U. S. and British businessmen, whom we have named many times in these pages. Naturally, these businessmen want the cheapest labor possible. They'd like to get rid of the white supervisors and let the blacks do it all. But if the whites refuse, then they'll go on paying the whites to supervise the blacks, and paying the South African government to police the blacks so they've no choice but to work as they're told.

That's the kind of government that South Africa has to offer the rest of Africa. That and the nuclear power that we of the Great Society have provided.

Anything else?

Well, yes, there is one other thing. It's a book. This book is published by the City of Johannesburg. The title of the book is "Your Bantu Servant and You". It's designed to tell the white masters in the City how they can get the most out of their black servants.

The City tells the white masters that servants like to be called by their names, rather than "boy." The City explains that "in his own mind he identifies himself with his name." A revelation. The City tells the masters that they should speak to the servant in a language the servant understands, if they want him to do what he's told. And the servant, says the City, should be given only one order at a time since "very few servants are able to follow, remember, and carry out a series of instructions in the correct order, or at all, for that matter." It seems the South African black men are not computers. The way for the whites is indeed hard in that frontier land.

The City is particularly concerned about the relation between white women and black menservants. "Never", says the City, "appear in front of him in any state of undress, or allow any female in the family to so appear." All work--no play.

Lastly, the City cautions the white masters that the blacks are human and have their own social and recreational interests. They should, therefore, not be required to work more than 65 hours per week. The City says it is necessary to pay good wages in order to get good servants, and it recommends pay of \$22 per month, for four 65-hour weeks. That figures a bit more than one cent per hour.

And such is the country in Africa which Lyndon, his Atomic Energy Commission, and his corporate friends, singled out for the gift of a nuclear reactor and the expertise to run it.

### FOOTNOTE ON WATTS

Los Angeles and its rebellion are interesting. The cops are out there now gathering all they can of the goods that were taken by the rebels from the stores. The cops say they'll give the goods back to the store-owners, if the store-owners can identify them. Such goods as can't be identified will be kept by the police and auctioned off later this fall.

The money that's made from the auction will go to the policemen's and firemen's pension fund. While the rebels who took the goods are serving out their sentences in the California prisons, the cops against whom they were rebelling will be enjoying the fruits of the looting.

JACK MINNIS

Justice in the Great Society.

those jobs. Further, this plan would retain in the neighborhood local initiative and leadership so that programs would not be imposed from above but developed by community organizations at the grass roots level.

Whether such planning is technically possible, I do not know. The problem, however, is not a technical one. It is, in the broadest sense, a political one. Not political in the Democratic vs. Republican sense -- there is little likelihood of initiatives from either of those sources -- but political in the sense that different interests must be brought together around a common program and that such a program must, if it is to deal with the tremendous sense of powerlessness, despair and frustration that leads to explosions like the Watts riot, come out of the communities; not be imposed by government bureaucracies or paternalistic social welfare agencies. When the political problem is solved, answers to technical questions will emerge.

It has never been clear to me why private

agencies must be controlled by absentee, generally corporate, interests with no roots in the communities. The days of benevolent or not so benevolent colonialism are coming to an end. Yet, labor councils and locals throughout the nation continue to pour funds into Red Feather, Community Chest, United Fund, whatever they are called drives instead of demanding that social work services be placed under the direction of local leaders at the neighborhood level.

The Mississippi movement began in the plantations, towns and counties. It moved state-wide. It then challenged the nation with the Freedom Democratic Party. The process took four years. The problems of the North are deeper, more complex. We cannot solve them more quickly here. We can, however, begin to understand that problems will not be solved by any ideological elite studying the basic texts for utopia. Rather, they will be solved in the work and thoughts of people trying to build meaningful programs in the "other America".

MIKE MILLER

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