The Year of Elections has thrown the movement into disarray. It is the first presidential election to come along since movement people stopped talking about moral protest and started talking about power. American elections are seductive: they offer the spectacle of power shifting hands. "In America we have a peaceful revolution every four years," some politician once said. And we all want a revolution, right? And peaceful, if possible.

We are confronted with a serious contradiction. We have a victory for our movement. But it is also a victory for those who rule America. Their weather-vane, the New Years." Some politician once said, "In America we have a peaceful revolution every four years, right? And peaceful, if possible."

At the same time we must build organizations that can both talk to people in general and begin to develop a strategy and ideology for our movement. Right now we truly have no adult radical movement. We have no place for former magazine, who want to use us by SNCC or SSO, to go. While we often ask the question "What are you going to do with your lives?", we have nothing to lose but our lives: those lives we must lead to earn a better America and a better world.

To do that we must begin to build ongoing "people power" organizations. As we have seen, the Times, the Poetry Book Shop, the Freedom School in San Francisco, the "Poison Cookie," are others that should be built. To do this we must begin to build ongoing 'people power' organizations. Institutions that will allow people to come together and develop new relationships and institutions that will provide the social, emotional and psychological support to people, like ourselves, who are making a break with the dominant institutions of the society. The Shire School in San Francisco, the "Poison Cookie" Hole Coffee Shop in Chicago are examples of these kinds of institutions. Obviously the prospective changing of the guard in the White House will, in whatever way, pull away large numbers of our potential constituency. For a period at least our numbers will be large. The movement will have to be built on a foundation of numbers. If the threat of internal political change long term increases, that a shift in tactics is not only imminent, it is imperative.

We must be clear: that the shift we are seeing is only tactical. Our enemies want to bring the Vietnam war to a "shut-down" class, not because it is an imperialist war, but because it is a way to fight popular revolutions around the world, because he happens to be the personification of the power structure that sacrifices itself. We write against that popular revolution because it has become too easy for the very interests which continue it. Our enemies know where they are at but, they move accordingly.

We are confused because we lack the power necessary to make real change and because we are uncertain about our goals and the strategy necessary to reach these goals. Our enemies have moved strategically. In part our problem is that we often see ourselves as a collection of functional groups and personalities. Politically, we are a force.

That force contains many of us who do not want to end the war, or lessen poverty, but our individual goals can make us more effective in our tactical goals. This is the movement, and Robert Kennedy and Gene McCarthy, just as Lyndon Johnson -- are imperialists.

We who feel this way must pull ourselves to gather into a conscious left that articulates a philosophy of life. We must maintain our identity, an identity that both Gene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy so desperately want to destroy. We will not clean up for Gene. We will not clean up for anyone.

The tasks before us are not simple. Most importantly we must be able to reach new people every day. The movement can no longer afford to write off the white working class at revolutionary, racist, and well fed nor the happenings which appeared and out of it nor the farm workers that have joined the NLPC-CRL. We must attempt to move these people in fundamental ways. We must try to convince them that their lives are not different from the creation of a better America and a better world.

To do this we must begin to build ongoing "people power" organizations. Institutions that will allow people to come together and develop new relationships and institutions that will provide the social, emotional and psychological support to people, like ourselves, who are making a break with the dominant institutions of the society. The Shire School in San Francisco, the "Poison Cookie" Hole Coffee Shop in Chicago are examples of these kinds of institutions. Community centers and freedom schools are others that should be built.

To do this will require a fundamental change in our present life styles. This requires that we lead radical lives not only on weekends, not only in our spare time, not only when we attend meetings once or twice a week, not only when we protest bad, boycott businesses, go to demonstrations, put out newspapers—but in our everyday lives. Those lives we must lead we earn a living. We must begin to make our everyday life styles consistent with our political convictions. Only then will we be able to reach and move our people.

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To the Editor:

As an activist in the Peace and Freedom Party from its beginning, I would like to comment on Stein and Bergmann’s article, “Community Base: The Evidence of PFP,” and its implications for the future of the party. Stein and Bergmann’s article argues that the PFP was organized from the “top down,” and without a “base.” They claim that the party was not an electoral party and that its primary goal was to “undertake radical education.” They also suggest that the PF P was attempting to build a base in the community.

I disagree with their analysis. The PF P was a party that operated on a grassroots level, and its members were actively involved in community organizing and electoral politics. The party was not a top-down organization, but rather a network of local groups that worked together to achieve political change.

The party’s founders, Saul Alinsky and Martin Luther King Jr., were both committed to the idea of community organizing and electoral politics. They believed that the only way to effect social change was through the ballot box and the streets. The PF P was founded on this belief, and it continued to operate in this manner for over 50 years.

Community Base

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Elections and Power

Lastly, Stein and Bergmann indicate that the PF P is attempting to build a base in the community.

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Community organizations can easily degenerate into mere service clubs with the broad stroke of the ballot box. I shall deal with each in turn.

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The move to the “McKennedy Thing” was split over how to respond to it. Some wanted an explicit rejection of the 2 worlds proposal, “To clearly separate politics from the personal id” at the conference. Part of it was a more radical view of their potential constituencies. They overwhelmingly lost, so at the home of the movement it was a failure. The important decisions on these issues were voted on Saturday night and Sunday morning. The afternoon workshops were unan­

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Texas Southern University

FIVE FIGHT FOR THEIR LIVES

Just over a year ago, in March 1967, students at Texas Southern University in Houston began a revolt against conditions on the campus. Grievances included bad food, early curfew for women, and the lack of courses in the modern branches of engineering and technology. The response of the administration was predictable. The TSU Friends of SNCC group was thrown off campus, a warrant was issued for the arrest of one student organizer, and the group’s faculty advisor was fired. This led to a student boycott and the raising of new demands including dropping the charges against the arrested student; increasing the salary of faculty members; a student court for disciplinary cases; the removal of the dean from the local draft board; and desegregating the campus police. (THE MOVEMENT, May 1967).

In May, students from TSU joined high school and college students from around the city in support of protests by local black citizens against intolerable conditions at the city high schools and the death of a young black child by drowning at an unfenced city garbage dump. These protests allowed the city to retaliate against the students at TSU in force. (THE MOVEMENT, May 1967).

On May 17, hundreds of armed police invaded the TSU campus and arrested 498 students. During the so-called riot, which was described by the police as a shooting war, one police officer was killed. Floyd: They had a little article in the paper saying no student could have killed him and the bulletin report along with the coroner’s report said he was mortally wounded by a .30 caliber police officer’s bullet. (THE MOVEMENT, May 1967).

The MOVEMENT: Tell us what the state of the TSU five case is right now. Floyd: The trial has been put off again and again. The MOVEMENT: Why? Floyd: They try to put it off till the five of them are out on bail, but they want to keep you to want to keep you to keep them in jail till the trial. (THE MOVEMENT, May 1967).

The MOVEMENT: What is the atmosphere like in Houston around the case? Floyd: Most people still realize that the five people they have charged are innocent. They feel that they’re being tried not to find out what really happened, but to try to keep the five people out of jail. (THE MOVEMENT, May 1967).

The MOVEMENT: Why do you want to keep the case in Houston? Floyd: I do, you.

Harassment of Black Panthers Continues: CONSPIRACY AND GUN CHARGES

BERKELEY, CAL. — Bay Area police continued their harassment of the black Panther Party on Wednesday afternoon, when a warrant was issued for the arrest of Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Panthers, and Robert DePree, a supporter of the party for holding the new trial of the arrested Panthers. The warrant was issued after a preliminary hearing was held in state court. The hearing was attended by Bobby Seale, his wife, Artie, and about 150 friends and supporters. The hearing lasted for about an hour.

The hearing was held to determine whether the police had probable cause to arrest Bobby Seale, his wife, and 14 other Panthers. The hearing was held to determine whether the police had probable cause to arrest Bobby Seale, his wife, and 14 other Panthers.

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An Analysis of the California Peace and Freedom Movement

Reese Elrich

The Peace and Freedom Movement may well be the vehicle for offering a radical alternative to the candidates of the major parties. The movement is committed to organizing, not winning elections. By organizing I mean the creation and development of new mass-based, democratically controlled institutions for revolutionary change. Peace and Freedom Movement (PFM) registrants are a large bloc of over 150,000 eligible voters. Most of them are white middle-class students, professionals, and hippies; although there is participation by blacks and some Mexican-Americans. The basic objective of the PFM is to institutionalize within the Democratic Party that it will become an American Social Democratic Party. Such a party would seek to win the election through participation outside instead of inside the Democratic Party and, in the end, serve the same function as FPK.

The PFM Convention

The PFM Convention held March 16-18 in Richmond, Calif., solved one problem and immediately created another. PFM defined itself as completely opposed to the existing political-economic system and made some faltering steps toward organizing a mass-based, democratically controlled socialist party. The convention passed a series of radical resolutions demanding the recognition of the black liberation movement as an autonomous national minority to which the PFM would commit itself and that the party would lower its representative means necessary which will further the black liberation movement. Supporting the convention was the Stop the Draft Week, opposing the Vietnam War and racism at home, they feel the Panther alliance will "alienate" rank and file feeling that PFM should run candidates, not VICE VERSA. There was a series of radical resolutions demanding the recognition of the black liberation movement as an autonomous national minority to which the PFM would commit itself and that the party would lower its representative means necessary which will further the black liberation movement. Another argument for the PFM is that it would become an American Social Democratic Party. The convention passed overwhelmingly a resolution on moral and altruistic grounds. In the case of the international vote, that men in the Armed Forces can come under 18 and 19 years of age, the PFM will probably win its objective. The convention passed a resolution on moral and altruistic grounds. The convention passed overwhelming a resolution on moral and altruistic grounds. The convention passed overwhelmingly a resolution on moral and altruistic grounds. The convention passed overwhelmingly a resolution on moral and altruistic grounds. The convention passed overwhelmingly a resolution on moral and altruistic grounds. The convention passed overwhelmingly a resolution on moral and altruistic grounds.
The following interview with three former Levi Workers, Joe Nichols, Irene Whittenbarger, and Beulah Mull discusses the struggles that these three and their fellow workers have had in Blue Ridge, Ga., over the last two years. In August 1966 the Levi Strauss Blue Ridge plant was struck and working conditions. The strike was finally broken 56 weeks later. Rather than giving up the workers have now formed a co-op corporation called Appalachian Enterprises, which has contracted with a dress manufacturing company. A plant has been established in Mineral Bluff, Ga. The people associated with the co-op have also planned a cooperative grocery store, gas station, and housing project as well as a day care center for worker's children and a health clinic for the county, which at present has no hospital. (See the MOVEMENT, January, 1968).

The interview was conducted by Brian Heggen, and sent to the MOVEMENT for publication. A slightly different version of the same interview has been distributed by Liberation News Service.

**STRIKERS' COPP COMPARES**

Brian: Why did Levi come into this area?

Irene: Well, I guess they figured they'd find some cheap labor. There's plenty of labor. They made a labor survey before they came in here.

Brian: Who invited them here?

Beulah: The businessmen, the lawyers and merchants.

Brian: What type of conditions did Levi say they would have to work under?

Beulah: They said they would have a high production rate. They said that many a good worker who had a high production rate were fired or threatened, and threatened a dollar, the wage, is all you make... 80 cents an hour for the first period. Then you worked three months and got a shift raise then worked another month and got the wage law, and if you ever where you could make production... they'd bring the company repair just bundle after bundle and causing it to lose... Mike: What? Why didn't they want you to make production?

Beulah: Well, they set a production rate that you couldn't meet. And they had a high production rate. And the high production rate were fired or threatened and threatened a dollar, the wage law, is all you make... 80 cents an hour for the first period. Then you worked three months and got a shift raise then worked another month and got the wage law, and if you ever where you could make production... they'd bring the company repair just bundle after bundle and causing it to lose... Mike: What did they want you to make production?

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Mike: They had production rate and if you ever met production you'd get so much over your... production... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they couldn't do that... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they couldn't do that... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they couldn't do that... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they couldn't do that... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they couldn't do that... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they couldn't do that... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they couldn't do that... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they couldn't do that... they'd pay you... you were not making much money... you couldn't do that... they 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ILGWU

Brian: Did you ever get together and take your case direct to the union people from the ILGWU?

Beulah: No.far as I haven't communicated. I'm not sure whether they ever did anything because they didn't feel they needed it. We just sat in the office for a while trying to get the union business agent who didn't open our mouth. We would not defend or in any way. But we have had people come to us in absolute need and we have sold them 36% for Levi Prew and they're not fooling with the union.

Brian: Some people know what they're doing have consistently been taken advantage of.

Beulah: We've been a lot of times when people come back to work. We've been back in there in all of our experience here. Why we made mistakes twice. We couldn't work for 24 hours on the line; we had to break them down. We had to work for three days a week and we had to take a dollar underpaid — from 7 to 6 dollars underpaid — on the day. So we couldn't make any money.

Brian: What's the most important thing you need now?

Beulah: We need a board and the board can make decisions. But the membership can re-elect them. You know, a majority it's a mistake; we don't have any money and so far we haven't got very much help. We have some money to eat and pay their house rent.

The Future

Brian: What are you doing for the future?

Beulah: For the future we've got a new contract and new machines. We could have taken the $4,000 and shut everything down. But we didn't.

Brian: What's the most important things for Levi-Strauss and you live in poverty — we're too new to have a board and the board can make decisions. But the membership can re-elect them. You know, a majority. It's a mistake. We don't have any money and so far we haven't got very much help. We have some money to eat and pay their house rent.

Levi and the Poverty Commission

Brian: What do you see for the future? You think you've got a chance to make it.

Beulah: Yes. We think we'll make it if we can keep on the line.

Brian: While you've been struggling down here against Levi for better conditions and just for the right to be human beings who can live well, what's the Levi management doing?

Beulah: Levi management, the President of Levi-Strauss has just been appointed — on a board by the President, and we're not sure what he'll do in the end. We don't know what he's going to do, why, we think we can make it on our own easy enough.

Brian: You've got the story about your struggle around here to a lot of liberals, liberal organizations. Have they responded to your case?

Beulah: No, 4,000 that we started with, we just went out and we paid to get it started and we're behind on bills, we're behind on payroll. We could have made it probably with the 4,000 if we hadn't messed up about our machinist contract and our union contract too. We could have taken the 4,000 and among it. It would have been hard but we could have, but you see now we're messed up and having to shut the doors and get a new contract and new machines.

Brian: Where did you get the $4,000 from?

Beulah: It was the Southern Christian Leadership Fund.

Unions in the South

Brian: During this obviously the unions let you down a lot. What do you think about unions in America now?

Beulah: Well, we're all union, we're 100% union, but we sure don't approve of the way ILGWU does in the South because they don't fight for their people. They organize — or in the South because they do fight for their people, they don't get good contracts for their people, they don't seem to be there when they're needed. They come in and they organize — we're in our case we organized ourselves — then they come in and get cotton dolls. And it's not easy enough. They didn't help us. They didn't help us when we were in the plant. They didn't help us when we were out of the plant. They didn't help us because we didn't have enough people. We didn't have enough people. But we didn't have enough people.
PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

The following article is an analysis of certain organizational problems within SDS and a plan for overcoming these problems. The MOVEMENT publishes this article not primarily to enter into an internal organizational debate within SDS, but rather because we feel that many of the problems raised in this article are more basic to the entire political movement and to the question of getting "our shit together" so that we can build our movement, questions of organizational form are going to increase in importance. The building of organizations and institutions that are not dependent upon one person or a small clique of persons requires a degree of organization that our movement thus far failed to adequately develop. We print this article in the hope that it will begin a long overdue debate on what organizational form we should try to develop. The MOVEMENT hopes that others concerned with this problem will contribute to this discussion in the future.

No Real Organizing

The main factor leading to this state is the failure to develop a strong and continuous movement. This failure of the movement is distinctly related characteristics about the structure of the chapter. Theoriticians all, Superintellectuals; Shock troops are afraid to attempt to relate or talk down to the rank and file chapter. They see them as-meetings and chapter-internal educational programs -- and drop out into the nether world. Thus elitism not only the dichotomy exists that demonstra-tion forms a major focus for people's activities. Organizers which never relates to the shock troops nor increases their political consciousness because of the educational function of demonstra-tion, the kids, going out onto the street, and the education which seeks to destroy imperialism. The action phase of attack may be through massive confrontations which mobilizes the political function of demonstra-tion, kids feel intimidated and usually leave after one or two meetings (at the most, three) to them. (I'd hate to speculate on the number of these kids who stayed.)

Infantile Disorders

"Everytime a window is broken during a recruiting hassle, another blow is not struck against U.S. imperialism." Our chapters which involve themselves solely in educational programs to the community of the obvious relevance to anyone but the protagonists; the education which seeks to destroy imperialism or prepare the way for future blows against the enemy. The exfiltration of the kids, going out onto the streets, and the education which seeks to destroy imperialism or prepare the way for future blows against the enemy, are the basis of our political action. In which they hook onto every participation, back to the kids when the program fails, and might call for a discussion of their level of commitment.

The second group, about 25% of the membership, consists of undergraduate political science philosophy types, much less experienced with the exposure to the community of the obvious irrelevancy of the educational function of demonstration. The theoretics all, Superintellectuals, the Left Lenin Lenin within the chapter. They are isolated both from the kids and from the leadership of the chapter. In which they hook onto every participation, back to the kids when the program fails, and might call for a discussion of their level of commitment. The leadership of the chapter, are usually inside people who see little work getting done, become frustrated, take the initiative, in much of the movement, and thus control much of the chapter's activities. Organizations usually have a good structure, but the kids are isolated from the Lenin-Lenin within the chapter. What happens when the kids want power, we manifest.

Vision

The vision of participatory innovation of groups places itself in two distinct political conditions: local, political discussion is carried on directly between the leaders and the organizers which never relates to the shock troops nor increases their political consciousness because of the educational function of demonstration. The exfiltration of the kids, going out onto the streets, and the education which seeks to destroy imperialism or prepare the way for future blows against the enemy, are the basis of our political action. In which they hook onto every participation, back to the kids when the program fails, and might call for a discussion of their level of commitment. The leadership of the chapter, are usually inside people who see little work getting done, become frustrated, take the initiative, in much of the movement, and thus control much of the chapter's activities. Organizations usually have a good structure, but the kids are isolated from the Lenin-Lenin within the chapter. What happens when the kids want power, we manifest.

The Magical Musical Meeting

Most chapters operate organized, through structured mass meetings which are billed as discussion sessions, political planning sessions, etc. Meetings are often dry, large role debates come up onto what actually takes place are Leninist-Organizers dicussive which have little to say; meetings are not involved, but the presentation of further, kids feel intimidated and usually refrain from participating in discussions, as their point of view is too abstract, and they are to develop into deeper irrelevancy. Require a become bored, kids, usually, as they see no "relevance" in their thing because that's the only thing which is real to them, a kids around one another, and drift back into irrelevancy, the possibility of being a real part of SDS lost to them. I'd hate to speculate on the number of kids who have drifted in and out of SDS over the past three years, or who probably have a national membership of 50,000 and have kids shirked.

... And The Mystical Intellectual Tour

Many chapters try to meet the needs of their members through a "Philosophy Forum" which depend heavily on abstract and intellectual discussion which are through a "Philosophy Forum" which depend heavily on abstract and intellectual discussion which are...
activity and we are not answering organizationally.

The basic model for the cell structure derives from our historical demand for democratic control of SDS by the membership and the long-range need for strong permanent organizational forms. Briefly, the cell structure reifies the activity of chapters into small operating units where political decisions, internal education, and tactical considerations take place. Work going on within the chapter is elected directly from cells and functions as a cell representative to the central committee. Specifically:

1. Cell membership is divided into cells of approximately 8-12 people. Every effort should be made to avoid the cells function primarily as organizing in two different ways: on a day-to-day basis can be immediately taken care of, but also becomes necessary to have starter cells in but also gain much practical knowledge about organizing situations. Double growth is assured. When cells reach an unwieldy size -- say 12 people -- they become necessary to have starter cells to sustain it.

2. The cell has three functions. First, cells function primarily as organizing work which sees their top priority as the formation of personal and political cliques within the cell, mainly from the inception of the structure.

3. The cell has three functions. First, cells function primarily as organizing and structure for the chapter, either through the central committee function from the cell or the members of the work groups in the cell. Discussions and information keep everyone aware of the state of affairs and aid strategic and tactical thinking regarding campus activity.

Work Groups

Work groups (classroom groups, external program group, printing group, signpainting group, etc.) are distinct from cells and should never have the same exact membership as cells. Ideally, the number of work groups equals the number of cells and each cell has one member in each work group. Structuring the cell and work group functions this way avoids chapter myopia and the tendency within chapters to cease all work when a target struggle is coming. Further, the structure features committees (for an approximation thereon of exchange of information within the chapter at all levels. Thus while operating on one level as a compartmentalized work group, yet at another level all work goes on within the chapter becomes a total chapter function because of immediate relevance. Cell members can be in more than one work group if they desire, but in most important to integrate new people directly into work groups when they enter cells so that they do not become intellectual freaks. Praxis involves more than knowledge, knowledge.

Central Committee

The "bureaucracy" of the chapter is represented by the central committee (for decision-making) which is formed by electing one member of each cell to the committee. The membership of the CC should probably change every two to three months. The Central Committee has two primary tasks: first, to function as a decision-making body in emergency situations and to serve as an information channeling center between cells. Emergency situations are variegated; they would probably only occur during a period of struggle which might require immediate identification.
L.A. High School Revolts.

"CHICANO POWER"

In East Los Angeles, Mexican-American high school students have been staging massive walkouts demanding "education not concentration camps." Here is a rundown on the walkouts:

March 1 - 300 students walkout of Wilson High.
March 5 - 3000 students walkout of Garfield High.
March 6 - 4500 students walkout of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Garfield.
March 7 - 2000 students walkout of Garfield and Roosevelt.
March 8 - 3000 students walkout of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Garfield.

Roosevelt High: The administrative windows were locked students inside the school. The students climbed the fences that locked them in like animals. Helmeted, club-swinging cops beat and arrested scores of high school students during each walkout.

The Demands

The chicano students say they do not walkout of their schools voluntarily. They were forced to choose the speakers they have to listen to.

(1) No discipline for participation in the walkouts.
(2) No more students doing janitorial work.
(3) Removal of all administrators and teachers who display prejudice against chicanos.
(4) Smaller classes.
(5) Teachers should live in the community where they teach.
(6) No more dismissal of teachers who disagree politically or philosophically with administrators.
(7) Community schools made available for community activities.
(8) No more students doing janitorial work.
(9) Free speech area and the right of students to choose the speakers they have at their own meetings.
(10) Self-regulation of dress and grooming standards.

Support

The walkouts will continue until these demands are met. Seven groups are supporting the high school students. The Brown Berets, a militant Mexican-American group for youth, has been brutally treated as a scapegoat. They received the brunt of the cops' fists and anyone wearing a beret was arrested. United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), an organization of college students, has been helping the high school students. To their present, Chicano Parents' Councils are cropping up throughout the East L.A. area to support their sons and daughters. White SDS high school students called militant walkouts at Venice and Grant High Schools. At Hollywood originals were beaten up by the football team under the direction of the principal at Fairfax High, an attempted rally resulted in failure when the administration pipped loud music throughout the school grounds and held a ticket raffle where the rally was to take place.

Board Refuses

The L.A. Board of Education finally met with 1200 members of the Mexican-American community on March 9. The board didn't move very far towards meeting the students' demands. There will be a "voluntary program" for teaching Anglos and Spanglish. The people want the program to be compulsory. The Board agreed that the School will not discipline teachers or students who participated in the walkouts prior to March 11, but the Board refused to act on the demand that police charges be dropped against the 100 more arrested during on March 11.

Disatisfaction with the Board's responses to community demands was reflected in the mass walkout from the hearing by all 1200 for a few days.

The War Against the Vietnamese

Racism and Exploitation of the Poor

The Selective Service System

We call for dissociation from the tools that the Federal government is in the process of global domination. We demand an end to the draft law and the use of our universities for military research, training, and testing.

The word "secede" does not mean slavery. Secession also has a radical tradition in the South. During the War Between the States, nearly 200 Southern counties refused to cooperate with the plantation owners in fighting for slavery. The people in Winston, Alabama, declared their right to Secede from the state of Alabama, and consequently, their young men spent almost the entire Civil War in prison for refusing to serve in the Confederate Army.

In the past several years, young Southerners have moved from rejection of the racism in the South to a reluctant but comparative faith in the Federal government as the guarantor of the rights of all. WE NO LONGER HAVE THAT FAITH! The oppressive nature of our country's Imperialist military and governmental establishment makes it clear that we must move our hope for change ultimately in each other, in our own determination to create a Free South in a Free and Equal World.

As young Southerners we hereby Secede from the United States of America. By The Southern Student Organization Committee, 1405 Douglass, Naco, Tenn. 37212

An attempt was made in the past week to set up a central phone number to be notified of any campus. From that point, white students would probably be killed. However, as we realize we must move our hope for change ultimately in each other, in our own determination to create a Free South in a Free and Equal World.

FIGHT NIGHT

GETTING READY FOR THE FIGHTING LINE

San Francisco -- We don't know if they're exactly in the movement or not, but somebody's been blowing up power lines in and around Berkeley. On March 20 a Pacific Gas and Electric transmission tower in a lonely part of the Berkeley hills was blown up. On March 22 the attack shifted to the Lawrence Radiation Lab was knocked out for 12 hours. On March 24 the attack shifted to the Pacific Telephone Company. Today makeshift blankets ripped up three telephone trucks, tore underground, two aerial in the Berkeley hills. The blasts cut all phone service to Marin, San Mateo, Contra Costas, to the Berkeley hills, and 65 in Calistoga, 75 in Solvang, all over the south in protest of the Orangeburg Massacre. Demonstrations have been taking place all over the country in protest of the Orangeburg Massacre. In North Carolina students associated with militant black groups on the Duke University and North Carolina campuses marched on Durham in protest of the killings in Orangeburg. The attacks were part of a statewide series of demonstrations that began in November 1968, 300 in Greensboro, 75 in Winston-Salem, 65 in Chapel Hill.

On February 13 at Berea, Ky, 100 people gathered for a memorial service, conducted by white students from Berea College, in honor of students killed in Orangeburg. The service included a poetry reading by black poets.

Demonstrations have been taking place all over the country in protest of the Orangeburg Massacre. In North Carolina students associated with militant black groups on the Duke University and North Carolina campuses marched on Durham in protest of the killings in Orangeburg. The attacks were part of a statewide series of demonstrations that began in November 1968, 300 in Greensboro, 75 in Winston-Salem, 65 in Chapel Hill.

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There are many area of ideas on how the military should be reformed; from outright non-cooperation to various types of evasion to allowing one's self to be drafted and then organizing from within. Of significance is the fact that resistance of all kinds is increasing by all kinds of people, following some of the recent developments.

From Without....

Special funding for any man liable to be drafted should be sought. For DRAFT-AGE IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA has been put together by a fellow named Max Simon. Front 40 (a labor union) has put together a program of the draft process and the means to dodge registration, deferrals and exemptions. Very inadequate, but might serve to give those who aren't fairly expert on the subject some ideas on possible ways to stay out. Read it and find a good draft counselor or lawyer.

Just in case Lynn's book doesn't do the job, he has published aetflied MANUAL FOR DRAFT-AGE IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA has been put together by a fellow named Max Simon. Front 40 (a labor union) has put together a program of the draft process and the means to dodge registration, deferrals and exemptions. Very inadequate, but might serve to give those who aren't fairly expert on the subject some ideas on possible ways to stay out. Read it and find a good draft counselor or lawyer.

In Louisville, Ky. --- Kentucky's lawmakers have brought out the ultimate weapon in their long attempt to get rid of registrants. draft card. The attorney general, Joseph Mulloy, an organizer for the Southern Prisoners' Aid, has won the support of one of 5 SCEF people arrested on a military base, with anti-war slogans and symbols replacing some of the more familiar variety of bathroom graffiti and graffiti.

A three year sentence would be possible for refusing to report for induction. His case is now on appeal; with a defense committee soliciting national publicity, money, etc., writes Franklin Defen­se Defense Committee, P.O. Box 713, Beverly, Washington.

Beverly, Calif. - A Berkeley student who refused to take draft card in a draft card in the Army last October 16 was reclassified from 1-A to 1-G. He was employed with the Appa­lachian Coal Laborers Union, and opposed to the war to such an extent that he was given a 1-0 classification. His case is now on appeal; with a defense committee soliciting national publicity, money, etc., writes Franklin Defen­se Defense Committee, P.O. Box 713, Beverly, Washington.

Seattle, Washington - Erhard Dailey was sentenced February 24 to the maximum of 2 years in prison for refusing induction. His case is now on appeal; with a defense committee soliciting national publicity, money, etc., writes Franklin Defen­se Defense Committee, P.O. Box 713, Beverly, Washington.

Sellers and all other South Carolina conscripts should not be brought to base. The courts have said that he is a conscientious objec­tor and applies for conscientious objector status and for conscientious objector status in the war in Vietnam.

The Army - just as in the case of the book on the military, the Army is in the spotlight. The United State's conscripts would be drafted from the army if the United States went to war. The army has a large responsibility for the draft, the war in Vietnam, and the applicability of the draft to non-Americans (Dailey is black), in a manner to achieve a society without the draft, by means of active organizing of society without the draft. The courts have said that he is a conscientious objector and applies for conscientious objector status in the war in Vietnam.

San Francisco -- PFC George Davis, 19, of San Francisco, is being tried for refusing to fight in Vietnam. He was also so involved in the war that he was called to active service last week had been given a 4-F classification.

石家庄, age 27, who was arrested against war, was arrested and was arrested and was arrested for refusing to report for induction, though he was later released on a personal recognizance bond.

The courts have said that he is a conscientious objector and applies for conscientious objector status in the war in Vietnam.

Chicago -- In the past two years 550 men have refused to report for induction. Most of these residents come from the Chicago area, where the draft comes down the hardest.

San Francisco - The Resistance announced March 23 at a press conference that the draft card could be used by men in which people in 75-85 cities will participate.

Little Rock, Ark. -- Mike Vogler was arrested March 5 for refusing to report for induction. "I don't want to fight in Vietnam."

Los Angeles - Mayor Manzella, Kenneth Willett and Richard Rowley refused to be inducted on March 5.

Baltimore, Md. - Bob Libertarian re­fused to be inducted February 28, 1968.
CIPA in Chicago
ORGANIZING THE MIDDLE CLASS

By Bobbi Cieciorka

Radicalism is growing in Rogers Park. It is being helped along by an organization called CIPA (Committee for Independent Political Action). Rogers Park is a middle class lakeshore neighborhood in Chicago's 49th ward. CIPA is an experiment in middle class radicalism. It was founded in the fall of 1966. There is a lot for movement people to look at in the CIPA experience, especially in the face of the recurring question: can middle class people be organized for radical change?

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by Harold Jacobs

On Friday evening, March 8, six Bay Area students and journalists were kidnapped from the Mexico City airport by alleged Mexican immigration officials as they were about to check in on a flight to Cuba. Their trip, which had been arranged through the Cuban Liaison Committee and had the approval of the State Department, was to be the latest in a series of such trips by American students and workers to Cuba. In accord with international law and the agreement between the two countries, the students were eventually allowed to travel to Cuba.

Mexican officials claimed that the students were going to Cuba as tourists and that they had been kidnapped by a group of Costa Rican immigrants. The students, however, claimed that they had been kidnapped by two groups of Costa Rican immigrants who had been arrested by the police in Mexico City.

The students were taken to the Cuban consulate in Mexico City, where they were questioned by the police. They were then taken to the Cuban embassy in Mexico City, where they were questioned by Cuban diplomats. The students were eventually allowed to leave Mexico City.

The story of the kidnapping is now used as a means of curbing American students from traveling to Cuba. The government of Mexico has cooperated with the American government in this effort.

Puerto Rico:

ATTACK ON LIBERACION

Twenty-six persons were arrested in Puerto Rico on Friday evening, May 16, 1958. The government claimed that they were involved in an attack on the police. The students were later released.

The attack on the police, which occurred in the town of Ponce, was claimed by the government to be a political act. The students, however, claimed that they had been involved in a political protest against the government.

The attack on the police was the latest in a series of incidents involving the police in Puerto Rico. The police have been accused of using excessive force in dealing with the students.

Puerto Rico is still under the rule of the United States. The government of Puerto Rico is controlled by the United States government.

CUBAN THREAT

The U.S. government has sought to isolate Cuba by means of an illegal and unenforceable embargo on trade with Cuba. The embargo has been imposed by the United States government in order to prevent Cubans from traveling to Cuba.

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test vote." The delegates wanted to organ-ize and build movement institutions. The neighborhood groups of 10-30 people are the institutions worth maintaining and expanding. These delegate making power and all the local organizing efforts flow from these groups. In some areas, these local groups are even too democratic. Because local groups are constantly en- gaged in hammering out the correct political line and the most democratic structure for the organization, they often will not concern themselves with the local issues that will keep people attending meetings. Paradoxically, PFM's position on Vietnam or racism is well discussed and decided democratically, but there are very few community people attend- ing meetings to appreciate the resulting political masterpiece. Too much concern for democracy and internal problems will result in a very pure, but very small PFM. I think this trend will reverse now that the election campaigns are imminent. Even these imperfect local clubs are tremendously valuable in rural areas where there is little or no radical activity other than PFM. The idea of a third party devoted to peace organized local citizens, sometimes without even contacting the central PFM. The Butte County organiza-tion was actually arrested men who had heard about PFM over T.V., learned how to be-come a registrar, and single-handedly signed-up all of Butte's 100 PFM regis-trants. He was never in contact with an office until after the registration drive. In Santa Barbara, the local PFM group sponsored a draft resistance group or-ganizing college seniors and first year graduate students. The draft group is now independent and PFM has moved on to other organizing efforts, it is precisely these small, but hard working organiza-tions that can help spark radical activity in other areas.

In theory, these small groups and the county organizations would not only nourish their own numbers, but foster them up with concrete organizing projects. Yet when the campaigns get underway, there will be a real tension between purely elec-toral activity and non-electoral forms of organizing. Any group has a limited num-ber of resources -- skilled leadership, time, money. Faced with a choice of run-ning a candidate for U.S. Congress or or-ganizing a military base or high school around immediate issues, the Congress-ional race will win. The argument is sometimes made that by running an elec-toral campaign and involving high school students and military personnel, one is in SITACO trying organizing them. I would contest that militarizing students for pre-cinct canvassing is much less effective than organizing them into an anti-draft unit, for example. Some counties re-alize the difference and are trying to do both or are forgetting about local elections. But a majority of counties, certainly the larger ones, will run almost exclusively electoral campaigns.

On the other hand, many "local com-munity organizing" efforts are profoun-dly political. They often protest against middle-class people making occupational and working class people making radical Resistance chapters for instance, redirect radical politics in favor of the optimum number of draft card turn-ins. In an ef-fort to involve as many people as pos-sible, they emphasize the moral correct-ness of draft refusal and not fundamental political opposition to an imperialist war and draft. Some "student power" fights to improve campus parking or dorm rules are, in refreshment, not irrelevant. Local PFM campaigns will force these groups to face political issues, perhaps for the first time. A hot debate on the Kennedy issue, or on support for the NLF will help immeasurably in radicalizing some "local community organizations."

CONCLUSIONS

1968 is a crucial year in America's history. Necessities to escalate the war, Kennedy and McCarthy are trying to co-opt young people and members of mi-nority groups. There is a very strong likelihood that even with a viable third party, the Kennedy forces will absorb a good number of sincere anti-war ac-tivists. If any "peace" candidate should win the Democratic nomination and oppose Nixon for the Presidency, there would be no national Peace and Freedom Party. The prospects are better in local areas. In California a moderate Democrat Alvin Cranston may oppose a reactionary Re-gressive party for U.S. Senate. The PFM candidate Paul Jacobs could command a good deal of support from liberals and anti-war activists. The alliance with the Black Panther Party could unite the Party behind a radical candidate who will make the party viable to Cali-fornia voters. While the PFM is not a revolutionary party, it may be laying the groundwork for one. It has broken with the two-party system, expressing a hatred for capital-ist society, and making a determined attempt to attract non-voters as well as F and Registrants. The radical senti-ment expressed in election campaigns may force the PFM into the elections to organize people into the anti-war and black lib-eration movement.

The following is a report by a graduate student at Howard University in the recent events at Howard University.

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Martin Luther King, Jr., continued.

For that voice and that man articulated a dream, a vision of America and of the world. His words and life spoke to that hope which springs in all of us for a full and just solution to American and world racism, and full and just peace.

There were disagreements and differences as to how to reach that goal. Non-violence, which Martin Luther King held as a religious principle, was seen by many as a tactic — and a tactic that proved insufficient in the context of a violent and racist America.

And yet within the changed context of Black Power and self-defense, the New Howard students continued to mount demonstrations, and to speak out against the war, illustrating the inextricable connection between racism at home and the war in Vietnam. And the new directions in the black movement were built upon the experience and contributions of those first years in the South.

The voice is still stilled, but its echo runs deep. The work remains. Another martyr to the movement has been added to the list which we all know is far far too long.

Howard, Malcolm X, Ruby Doris Robinson, Martin Luther King... another man done gone... another of countless black men murdered in this land.

The shock was real, Martin Luther King is dead. But not dead, we hope, are the visions of a better future, the hopes for better relations between men.

Not dead is the dream. Not dead is the anger we all feel that this has happened and happened so many times before. The sorrow transformed to dedication, the dream, and the anger, must build the future.

Howard University

In an interview with Howard University students, Ford's Administration Response

As the NEW HOWARD was getting it self-together, so were the Board of Trustees. They met and by Friday decided that (1) they wanted the campus lock, (2) that they were going to get the campus back by any means necessary, and (3) they would not comply with the sit-in, until they reached an agreement with the students. They met with the students interpretive of the new Howard building. The sixteen demands were whittled down to three concessions included liberalized student representation on the committee, an agreement made with the students. The trustees were willing to do whatever they had not be punished for their siege and that the University would be brought up to "contemporary" standards of current curriculum. The students interpreted this as "black curriculum.

The students brought back the concessions to the entire body after a series of meetings, all voted to accept the concessions. Not everybody was satisfied with the agreement, and there were pockets of disaffection among the students. However, there was no organized opposition to the concessions, their proposed concession. Not everybody was fooled by the concession, however. Brother Nathan Hare, one student who had been kick out of Howard last year for his involvement called the whole situation "a black in a white world.

Floyd: The TSU Five defense fund for the purpose of publicizing what happened in in Houston. Now we're also talking about what happened in Orangeburg because we know now that there were many students murdered and wounded and who charged with the whiteolla — Cleveland Sellers.

TSU and Orangeburg

The MOVEMENT: Would you like to say something about the link-up between TSU and Orangeburg and other black campuses?

Floyd: Well the whole thing as far as black campuses are concerned is that the student organizations, the city officials, the local government and the states are trying to control black campuses in every state and every city in the U.S. And the methods that they practice day in and day out to try to find out exactly how many black students are supposed to be -- so they'll know how to maneuver on the campus. In -- TSU was the first it was a test tube for the police and governments trying to take control of campuses by fire power. Grambling was the first used as a test tube, etc., etc. Central State, Alabama, to see how the National Guard could come in and just arrest people on the campus and surround the campus. We're making examples of certain so-called radicals in order to say if you're now thinking about becoming a human rights activist well then this is what it's going to cost you. You'll either be murdered put in jail or trumped-up charges. And these methods are being used on all the black campuses such as Central State, Grambling, Arkansas State, South Carolina State, Louisiana State and many others. But it's there. The MOVEMENT: Are the black university administrators operating with white local governments to control the campuses?

Floyd: Definitely. The black administration with the white masters are collaborating with the city and local and state governments. The administration lets all the police and national guard come on the campus, they don't tell them they can't come on the campus. The MOVEMENT: Are the students organizing anything on the campus or off campus? They're taking a half a chance if they protest on or off campus regarding our trial. Some are planning to take that chance when the trial comes up. They haven't actually stopped the students, but they're trying their best they can. They're kicking some out every semester, then they let them come back in and kick them out again.

Publicity

The MOVEMENT: You've been travelling around the country now trying to get publicity and funds for the case.

Floyd: We need the more publicity so the legal defense can be made into a political defense.

The MOVEMENT: What sort of response have you gotten around the country?

Floyd: On the East Coast and the South and in Texas, pretty good. The West Coast is slow, but its coming.

The MOVEMENT: Who have you been talking to around the country, black and white students?

Floyd: Yes.

The MOVEMENT: What's been the response from white students?

Floyd: Very, very good.

The MOVEMENT: What kind of support are you asking for?

Floyd: Number one is organize county trumped-up charges for blacks -- because we receive most of the trumped-up charges -- and also for whites who are having trumped-up charges put on them. We want to organize a national legal defense fund. And also we'd like organizations and churches and everywhere to write letters to the Mayor, City Hall, 900 Brazos Street, Houston, Texas. Also to the city recreation at the same address. Also to Herman Short, Chief of Police, City Jail, Reasoner Street. Funds can be sent to the USU Five Defense Fund, Box 21085, Houston, Texas 77070.

Radical America

The Guardian from Old to New Left • Mike Mouk on the changing EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING, the lessons of ERA • Rothstein SOCIALIST PARTY AND WORLD WAR II • Reformism & Repression • ON THE RADICALS' USE OF HISTORY • Some Theoretical Problems
Well, all that remains now is for God to declare Himself a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination. If, however, the problem of building a more extensive community control, on the other hand, is not the most serious one, it is still one that must be faced and dealt with. The fact that Chicago is not being governed by those who have the best interests of the community at heart, but by people who are more interested in their own gain, is a problem that cannot be ignored.

In the face of the many problems that are developing around Chicago, it is clear that the New Left represents the thinking of a few and not that of a mass constituency which is committed to fighting the good fight against the system. The rise of the New Left comes, however, not from Prince Charmimg as much as it comes from the movements that are developing around the country. Since last fall, everyone has been talking about going to Chicago for the Democratic Convention. Plans are being made for massive demonstrations there and yet, there seems to be very little questioning as to whether it is even the best tactic to go to Chicago.

There is no doubt that there should be demonstrations of some nature at the Convention this summer. What is to be done about the size and scope of those demonstrations. Already Mayor Daily and the Chicago police have made it clear that they are going to have a good time-busting heads come August. The press has made it clear that the National Guard and local police have been getting training in crowd control all winter. And everybody on the Left is almost super-cool about the fact that there is going to be blood shed in Chicago and most of it won't be the blood of cops. Yet, everybody's talking about and planning for Chicago.

One would think that come August every city in the country is going to be Evanston and that the city of Chicago will be the only place left to go. I doubt it. People talk a lot about local organizing, but somehow in the face of the Chicago, the mass demonstration is the only option that takes over. That mentality says that the bigger a demonstra­tion, the better, the more people you have, the better. That's the bigger the better idea and it is obvious that it is not well enough understood. It is not well yet understood. What we need is for the Left to realize that you can't just have a few thousand people and expect that the Left will be in that city. What we need is for the Left to realize that the Left is only now starting to understand the implications of the mass demonstrations.

What would a massive demonstration at Chicago prove? A series of demonstrations in every city of any size in the country wouldn't prove better! And not a week of demonstrations in August, but sustained demonstrations starting now and continuing until the Convention.

The Chicago demonstration is going to be one of the worst, if not the worst, demonstration that the Left can afford. The Left must understand that the demonstration is not the solution to the problem of the war. It is only one of the solutions. The Left must understand that the demonstration is not the solution to the problem of the war. It is only one of the solutions. The Left must understand that the demonstration is not the solution to the problem of the war. It is only one of the solutions.

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