

Affiliated  
with  
SNCC  
and  
SDS

# THE MOVEMENT

MAY, 1968

VOL. 4 NO. 4

**TEXAS SOUTHERN FIVE  
LEVI STRIKERS' CO-OP  
MIDDLE CLASS ORGANIZING  
AND  
LOTSA STUFF ON THE  
'68 ELECTIONS**

**IN THIS ISSUE**



THE MOVEMENT

## ONE DOWN—THREE TO GO?

*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 weathervane, the New York Stock Market's Dow Jones Average, which has risen at each mention of peace, in recent months, shows this clearly. If Two Gun Tex really isn't going to run, if the war in Vietnam is really going to be ended, both we -- the pacifist, religious, moralistic, revolutionary, streetfighting, communist, middle class peace movement -- together with the insurrectionary black movement -- and our true enemies have coalesced to bring this about. Our problem now is that they know how to move in the future, while we are confused.*

They are not confused because they understand that a change in the guard at the White House will not destroy imperialism. Instead it will make that same imperialism more palatable to those who do not suffer under it directly. They are not confused because they are clear about their goals, they are well organized, and they are able to make tactical shifts, when the logical extension of their policies is leading to disaster. Thus, if the continuation of the war will lead to a financial crisis, if major sections of American capitalism are being hurt rather than helped by present policies, if the threat of internal political chaos threatens long term interests, then a shift in tactics is not only intelligent, it is imperative.

We must be clear that the shift we are seeing is only tactical. Our enemies want to bring the Vietnamese war to a dignified close, not because it is an imperialist war, but because it is no longer a productive form of imperialism. Lyndon has to go not because he wants to fight popular revolutions around the world, but be-

cause he happens to be the personality the power structure chose to sacrifice when the fight against this particular popular revolution has become too costly for the very interests which initiated it. Our enemies know where their interests lie and 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 fractioned groups and personalities. Politically, we are a force.

That force contains many of us who do not just want to end the war, or lessen poverty, or get farm workers a better chance to buy the junk America has to sell. We want to do away with the structure that maintains war and oppression in this country and around the world. That's imperialism, and Robert Kennedy and Gene McCarthy, just as Lyndon Johnson -- are imperialists.

We who feel this way must pull our-

selves to gether 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 as reactionary, racist and well fed; nor the hippies as apolitical and out of it; nor the farm workers for having joined the AFL-CIO. We must attempt to move these people in fundamental ways. We must try to convince them that their lives can make a difference in the creation of a better America and a better world.

To do this we must begin to build ungoing permanent organizations, institutions and ideologies that people can relate to. Institutions that can give "our constituency a tangible idea of the different human values we hold as radicals". Institutions that will allow people to come together and develop new relationships; 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 re-

quires that we lead radical lives not only on week-ends, not only in our spare time, not only when we attend meetings once or twice a week, not only when we put out leaflets, hold forums, go to demonstrations, put out newspapers--but in our everyday lives: those lives we must lead to earn a living. We must begin to make our everyday life styles congruent with our political convictions. Only then will we be able to reach and move our people.

At the same time we must build organizations that can both tie people together 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 students, who were turned on by SDS, SNCC or SSOC, to go. While we often ask the question "What are you going to do with your life?", we have nothing to offer prospective doctors, teachers, social workers, lawyers, management trainees, chemists -- in short anyone who isn't a student."

Obviously the prospective changing of the guard at the White House will, at least temporarily, pull away large numbers of our potential constituency. For a period at least our numbers will shrink, we may well feel isolated and alone. This should be a time of consolidation, of hard work, of internal education. We should reassess our own politics which many of us have not been able to think about in long range terms due to the pressure of day to day work.

We should reach out to those people

cont. on p. 16

THE MOVEMENT PRESS  
449 14TH STREET  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA. 94103

Mr. & Mrs. Grant Cannon  
4907 Klatte Road  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45244

5 57 3

BULK RATE  
U. S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
San Francisco, Calif.  
Permit No. 8603

CONGRESS

SLIGHTS

VIETNAM

VETERANS

## IN DEFENSE OF P.F.P.

To the Editor:

As an activist in the Peace and Freedom Party from its beginning, I would like to correct some misconceptions about the PFP (and about electoral politics in general) contained in Buddy Stein's and Lincoln Bergman's article in the January issue of THE MOVEMENT. Especially at this stage in the history of the movement, it is absolutely essential that there be a thorough discussion of electoral politics as an arena for radicals. And given the prevailing suspicion of electoral politics in some sections of the Left, such a discussion is doubly important.

To begin with, Stein and Bergman's article presupposes a necessary dichotomy between community organizing and electoral politics. Thus: "THE MOVEMENT has always seen community organizing as the main task of our gener-

adequate garbage collection; and street lights? For thirty years, Saul Alinsky's organizations have proved that. Thus, BOTH types of organization -- electoral or non-electoral -- are subject to similar pressures which can lead to complacency. Now, the PFP was able to get on the ballot because of the widespread disillusionment with the two major parties and their leaders. Thousands are discontented with the war, with racism, and are casting about for alternatives. As such, the great bulk of those registered in the PFP are probably not radicals but are becoming increasingly receptive to radical ideas. Thus, it is not as Stein and Bergman formulate it: that the PFP should educate its workers. For if the PFP is to be truly democratic, radicals must realize that at this point they are probably a minority within the party and must fight like hell for their point of view. You can't have it both ways. Our task, then, is to



ation. The Peace and Freedom Party has done little to change our minds." Yet, at the article's conclusion the writers at least see a possibility for the PFP to "undertake radical education and long-range community organizing," thereby obliterating this dichotomy while putting the discussion into the realm of tactics (i.e. how best to organize communities for radical action). It is to this tactical question that I address myself.

Stein and Bergman's main objections to the tactic of electoral politics (and specifically to the Peace and Freedom Party) seem to fall into three general categories: one, regarding the lack of a "base" in the community; two, the tendencies toward opportunism inherent in electoral campaigns without internal education; and three, the impossibility of achieving change through the ballot box. I shall deal with each in turn.

## Community Base

The writers argue that the PFP was organized from the "top down," that it lacks a base, that it was built "before community groundwork has been laid." If that is what is meant by a "base," then I suppose I could also accuse non-electoral community organizers of organizing from the "top down," and "without a base" every time they step into a new community. The same criteria apply to both kinds of activities. The decisive question, rather, should be: How do you go about CREATING a base? How do you best organize people around the issues that effect their lives? Bergman and Stein, somewhat begrudgingly, acknowledge the attractiveness of electoral politics to many people, that the PFP has "involved hundreds of movement-oriented people as workers," who have "reached communities and places which have never been touched before by the movement." In fact, they admit that "Precisely because of the American belief in the electoral process people do commit themselves to activities in the context of an electoral campaign which they will not engage in at other times." The logic of which leads me to conclude that electoral politics, precisely BECAUSE it is capable of involving, and thus organizing, great numbers of people, should be a major arena for serious radicals. Thus, to bemoan the lack of a prior base just when the PFP is attempting to BUILD a base (for radical electoral and non-electoral action) is really missing the point.

## Internal Education

Secondly, Stein and Bergman see the need for internal education in the PFP. On this I wholeheartedly agree; without it electoral campaigns can easily degenerate into mere exercises in vote-getting. No doubt about it. But isn't it also true that without internal education, non-electoral community organizations can easily degenerate into mere service clubs with no broader perspective than providing

help raise consciousness in an organization which we do not control and should not control. This, it seems to me, is what all radicals should be doing.

## Elections and Power

Lastly, Stein and Bergman indicate that engaging in electoral politics, without internal education to be sure, "reinforces the faith in the ballot box as the only effective path to basic social change." This formulation, however, glosses over the nature of political power, and particularly the process of winning power. I would agree that in the final analysis, no revolutionary political party, should it receive a majority of votes in this or any other country, would be allowed to take power by the existing government. There would be a revolution first. But another thing is certain. As long as a majority of people in this country give their allegiance to either of the two parties, no revolution can ever take place, for that allegiance is what legitimates the power of those parties and the interests they represent. That is why electoral politics can be so useful: it is only when increasing numbers of people, by breaching with the political Establishment begin to see the true nature of American "democracy," they will begin to see the real nature of political power. Obviously, when the PFP demands the immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, or setting Huey Newton free, no one has any illusions that such demands will be met merely by virtue of our presence in the political arena. However, to the degree that we threaten the Establishment with a loss to their Political base (i.e., their legitimacy for power), that Establishment then begins to reveal its naked coercive power. Thus, by raising these absolutely reasonable demands for millions to hear, the PFP is doing more to raise consciousness than any non-electoral community organization that I know of in California.

## Be Active

I therefore encourage all radicals to become active in community organization which has both electoral and non-electoral aspects. It excludes neither, because it doesn't see them as counterposed. In fact, the PFP has been a main sponsor of demonstrations in the bay area -- including the Fairmont demonstration against Rusk and the pro-Huey demonstrations. It is easy enough to stand aloof and bemoan tendencies that exist in any movement, electoral or non-electoral. Only by fighting WITHIN these movements can we fight those tendencies and build that base which we desire. This is not to say that there can be any guarantee that the Peace and Freedom Party will not degenerate. No one has a crystal ball. But at this point it certainly merits and welcomes the participation of all radicals.

Joel Jordan  
Independent Socialist Club  
Peace and Freedom Party

## REED REFUSES

To the Editor:

Many of the students graduating from college this spring will be drafted by the end of the summer. We, comprising 66% of the male seniors of Reed College, Portland, Oregon, will not serve in the armed forces of the United States.

Our decision is irrevocable. Our consciences do not permit us to participate in this senseless and immoral war.

We are sure that tens of thousands of students throughout the country will join us in resistance.

Signed:

69 Male Seniors of Reed College  
Reed College Senior Class  
Box 223, Reed College  
Portland, Oregon 97202

Vietnam veterans, former servicemen, and federal employees who are presently out of work received good news last month. When they reported to their state unemployment offices to collect their weekly compensation allowances, they were handed a little notice reading, "Federal funds for the payment of unemployment compensation on your claim have been exhausted." Congress has failed to make available new funds. So "our boys" are being neglected until Congress irons out the political hassles involved, while unemployed bank tellers and ex-Dow employees continue to collect. →

## MARTIN LUTHER KING

*By the time this is printed the initial shock of Martin Luther King's assassination will have passed.*

*That shock was real. Something inside the psyche of America died when he died — something too inside the heads and hearts of many of us in the movement.*

*For all the criticisms that have been levelled against King in the past — for all the posthumous praise from dubious and hypocritical sources — the death of the man brings home hard once more some sometimes forgotten things.*

*Our movement began with the freedom struggles in the South. That struggle was the impetus and inspiration for much of what we think and do today. Resistance to oppression was a constant factor throughout the history of black people in America. In our lifetimes that resistance has broadened to unprecedented scale.*

*For many reasons, which we perhaps only partly understand, which future historians will have to detail, the event that is most often pointed to as the beginning of the larger freedom struggles occurred that day when Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus . . .*

*In late 1955 the Montgomery bus boycott began. Out of that struggle emerged Martin Luther King, a recent Ph.D from Boston University, as a leader and spokesman. In Montgomery his house was bombed. Later he moved to Atlanta and was instrumental in organizing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The rest is history — our history.*

*The struggles, speeches, arrests, and threats upon the life of Dr. King have by now been detailed again and again in countless memorials and obituaries. Those struggles and that unforgettable voice made great contributions to the struggle to "let freedom ring" in America.*

cont. on pg. 15

THE MOVEMENT is published monthly by THE MOVEMENT PRESS  
449 14th Street, San Francisco, California 94103. 626-4577  
EDITORIAL GROUP: Arlene E. Bergman.. Lincoln Bergman..  
Joe Blum.. Marilyn Buck.. Terence Cannon..  
Bobbi Cieciorka.. Jerry Densch.. Hardy Frye..  
Peri Gilbert.. Karen Jo Koonan.. Gayle Markow..  
Julie Miller.. Jeff Segal.. Sue Simensky.. Morgan Spector..  
Buddy Stein.. Karen Wald.. Fred Weinstock.. Dave Wellman..  
LOS ANGELES: Bob Niemann. 1657 Federal Ave.#5, Los Angeles, Calif. 90025  
478-2509  
CHICAGO EDITORIAL GROUP: Linda Friedman.. Warren Friedman..  
Hilda Ignatin.. Noel Ignatin.. Mike James.. Anne O'Brian..  
PHOTOGRAPHY: Chicago Film Co-op, Nanci Hollander..  
Tom Malear.. Dolores Varela. 4533 N. Sheridan Rd. Chicago, Ill. 60640  
334-8040  
SUBSCRIPTIONS: \$2 per year, individual copies: \$7 per hundred  
per month.. bulk subscriptions..

# KNOCKING AT THE GATE IN '68

by Lincoln and Arlene Bergman

"If you don't do it, someone else will" This statement came at a key time in the deliberations of the plenary session at the meeting (March 23-24) in Chicago to launch a new national coalition to confront the Democratic Convention. Tom Hayden's statement expressed the thrust of the coalition organizers. It was a concerted thrust that caught many movement grass-roots organizers unprepared.

More than 200 delegates arriving at the plush camp outside Chicago were met with traditional barrage of position papers -- few discussed, fewer read. During the first morning's session there was an uneventful panel discussion.

The afternoon workshops were unanimous in their distrust of an immediate call for a centralized action in Chicago this summer. They were adamant about

gies McKennedy released by not being "too hostile." They hoped by remaining vague, they might be able to talk to McKennedy supporters, even bring them back to the movement. Their underlying assumption was that constituency of the new coalition would be mostly the middle-class kids who "cleaned up for Gene" and the liberal peace vote.

The "Against" McKennedy people insisted that in order to clearly define the movement's position, we had to be explicit and consistent in rejecting McKennedy along with the Democratic Party. If the Democratic Party is the source of racism and imperialism (as EVERYONE reiterated), then McKennedy only represents a saner, superficially more palatable wing of racism and imperialism. The "Against" people feared absorption and cooption into the McKennedy thing, unless we could offer a solid alternative program. They also had

their opposition to the "McKennedy Thing" but split over how to respond to it. Some wanted an explicit rejection of the 2 candidates. Others were tempted by the coalition organizers' "best-of-two-worlds" proposal, "To clearly separate us from those events and yet make us politically relevant to the energy they (the candidates) have released."

## THE CALL

The important decisions on these issues were voted on Saturday night and Sunday morning. In the evening, first Carlos Russell presented the black caucus position paper and a programmatic 13 points.

The paper condemned the Democratic and Republican Parties as sources of racism and oppression and called for a confrontation at the Democratic Convention. Russell made a deliberate effort at full discussion to avoid the kind of accusations which followed the NCNP.

In spite of Russell's attempt, the black caucus proposals were quickly adopted by the plenary session. (Afterall, "there was a lot of business to cover"). But in endorsing the black position paper, the plenary virtually committed itself to a confrontation in Chicago this summer without a full political discussion.

For the rest of the evening the politics of that decision were couched in terms of structure. Should the call come now or be postponed until a conference of regional groups in June? The conference organizers and peace liberals pushed for the immediate call. Opponents, grass roots organizers and SDS types, wanted the postponement of the call or none at all. The discussion was a discussion of attrition. The "if-you-don't-do-it-someone-else-will" thrust combined with the fact that opponents didn't really have themselves together, ensured the passage of an immediate call. The question of the specific structure and tactics of the Democratic Convention was postponed till June.

## RESPONSE TO MCKENNEDY

The issue, how to respond to the McKennedy thing, was partly resolved by the decision to do something at the Chicago Democratic Convention. But the meeting still hadn't discussed the minimal political policy statement on which the coalition would be based. A very incomplete discussion came Sunday morning.

Do we define our political and programmatic stance "TOWARD" or "AGAINST" the Kennedy and McCarthy candidacies? The debate over the word was not a stylistic one. The debate pointed to a deep division in political orientations. Everyone affirmed the need to maintain the identity of the movement but refused to come to grips with what that identity might be.

The "TOWARD" McKennedy people were afraid to reject McKennedy outright-some because they will probably support McKennedy, others because they thought they could better use the ener-

a more radical view of their potential constituency. They overwhelmingly lost the vote.

## MOBILIZATION OR ORGANIZATION?

After a few minor amendments to the 2-1/2 page call that the coalition organizers issued, a three-man initiating committee was elected. Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger and Vernon Grizzard will be responsible for convening another conference in June and coordinating the organizing efforts of regional groups.

The politics of the conference was reminiscent of the peace politics of 1960-63, garnished now by the Yippies. The conference never came near discussing a radical political program. To condemn ritually racism and imperialism was all. So far, these appear to be the politics of protest, not resistance-of mobilizing, not organizing. But much depends on the work of the regional groups. Several years ago coalitions did not condemn imperialism, even ritually. This may be a step forward.

The conference gave a lot of lip service to the importance of local organizing. Many verbal concessions were made to make mobilization a tool for local organizing, the program mentioned (though the conference didn't discuss) many ideas for local organizing, and the structure of the coalition gives autonomy to local groups. The coalition also has plentiful resources.

We should try to work with it. But first we must get straight in our own heads what is "the politics of resistance" our program? There was a lot of "SDS-baiting" at the conference. Part of it was justified. Many people lean on the rhetoric of community organizing without any concrete program for organizing a radical base. The coalition represents another challenge to radical organizers to get themselves together. ➔

## THE FIRING LINE

### NEEDS HELP

The FIRING LINE, the JOIN Community Union newspaper in Chicago, is in urgent need of 2 people experienced in laying out and compositing.

We have no money for salaries. All we have to offer in return for your labor is love and appreciation, plus the insight to be gained by working, living, and learning in a poor and working class neighborhood.

All replies should be sent to:  
Peggy Terry  
Editor, THE FIRING LINE  
4431 N. Clifton Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois  
60640



# HOUSTON SDS UNDER ATTACK

On the evening of March 5, three shotgun blasts ripped through two rooms of the family home of Daniel J. Schacht, an SDS war protestor, in the latest of a series of threats and violence attributed to the local KKK aimed at Houston's anti-war movement. Luckily, no one at the home was hurt.

The first confrontation with the right began over a year ago, when members of the Houston Committee to End the War engaged in speech-making and leafleting in downtown Houston were assaulted by members of the local United Klans of America. At least five cases of damage by firearms to the homes and businesses of HCEWV and SDS members reported to the local authorities have not led to a single arrest.

## Harassment Arrests

Most likely, this recent attack was triggered by the arrest, trial and conviction of Jarrett Smith, Jr. and Daniel J. Schacht for the unlawful wearing of parts of the uniform of the U.S. Army during a skit performed in front of the local induction center, in coordination with the December 4, 1967, Stop the Draft Week. The Bongthe Cong Repertoire Theatre, a local SDS endeavor, enacted the brutal slaying of a Vietnamese peasant for the inductees. This is a simple case of costly harassment intended to stifle anti-war dissent. A pre-trial motion to quash the indictment, emphasizing constitutional rights of free expression and the discriminatory application of this law was rejected by Federal Judge James T. Noel.

At the trial each witness for the prosecution carefully refrained from characterizing the defendants' actions as a skit or theatrical production in fear that any such admission would favor the interpretation of a complementary U.S. Code giving blanket authority to wear the uniform "in a theatrical or motion picture production, if there is no intent to discredit the armed forces." Testimony of the defense, however, clearly indicated

that the skit was written, planned, rehearsed, and props procured for a "theatrical production." This led the government attorneys toward questioning the intent of the defendants.

The government objected to the introduction of memorable passages from NO TIME FOR SERGEANTS, THE CAINE MUTINY COURT MARTIAL, and DR. STRANGELOVE, all unprosecuted views of the military from burlesque to black humor. The government also objected to the presenting of documentation of U.S. atrocities against civilians, statements of fact. The Judge sustained both objections.

The two-and-a-half day trial, culminated in a crescendo of surrealism in the final summation by U.S. Assistant Attorney Moose Hartman who told the defendants that "If you don't like it here, there are boats leaving every day." Also, "If you came to my home, you wouldn't be able to walk into court, implying that he would kill or maim a civilian. It should be clear that his remarks call for the same type of terrorism used by the Klan.

## Sentences

Jarrett and Danny returned to be sentenced on February 29. Jarrett was fined \$250 and given a six months probated sentence on the condition that he not associate with SDS or the University of Houston Student Humanist Association, for three years, disregarding the First Amendment guarantees of free assembly.

The Judge told of Schacht's conceiving and carrying out the portrayal of American servicemen killing a pregnant woman. Since he showed no "grief or remorse" in expressing his belief, he was given the maximum penalty of six months and \$250 fine. The defendants are appealing the case with the assistance of the Texas Civil Liberties Union.

Contributions to cover the cost of defense can be sent to Daniel J. Schacht and Jarrett Smith, Jr., 1620 W. Main, Houston, Texas, 77006. ➔

# 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 curfews 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 disarming 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 over 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.

On May 17, hundreds of armed police invaded the TSU campus and arrested 489 students. During the so-called riot, in which cops fired wildly, one policeman was killed, apparently by a ricochet from another cop's gun. Shortly after, five TSU students, all members of the Friends of SNCC group, were arrested and charged with being responsible for this death. (THE MOVEMENT, September, 1967).

One of the five, Floyd Nichols, has been traveling around the country trying to get publicity for the case. He was in San Francisco last week and we talked to him about the case and conditions on black campuses around the country.

The MOVEMENT: Tell us what the state of the TSU Five case is right now.  
Floyd: The trial has been put off again

say is that you guys conspired to incite this riot and in the process of that riot a cop was killed and therefore you're



and again.  
The MOVEMENT: Why?  
Floyd: The D.A. asked for a change of venue because of too much publicity. He wants it moved to East Texas. He wants to move the trial to Liberty, Texas. Most everybody up there is against black people.  
The MOVEMENT: How far is Liberty from Houston?  
Floyd: About sixty miles.  
The MOVEMENT: And its overwhelmingly white?  
Floyd: You have most of the Ku Klux Klan and Minutemen further east.  
The MOVEMENT: But you want to keep the case in Houston?  
Floyd: I do, yes.

responsible for his death.  
Floyd: They say we're responsible for two criminal assaults and also the murder.  
The MOVEMENT: Have they determined how the police officer was actually killed?  
Floyd: They had a little article in the paper saying no student could have killed him and the ballistics report along with the coroners report said he was mortally wounded by a .30 caliber police officer's bullet.  
The MOVEMENT: Apparently the bullet ricocheted from another cop's gun?  
Floyd: Yes. They were shooting wild and they were shooting AR-15 shells. They shot around 6,000 rounds of AR-15 shells into the dormitory. And the police officers were shooting at other police

brutality and trumped-up charges when we marched on the courthouse. And we were trying to teach black history because we didn't have black history in the schools.

The MOVEMENT: So they were retaliating for previous agitation?

Floyd: For two protests on the 16th. One was in Sunnyside -- a black child drowned in the dump -- they had fences around the playground, but not around the dump, which was 20 ft. deep and the child fell in and drowned. And also another protest in Northeast Houston where they were beating up black high school students who were attending Northwood Jr. High School. They were being beaten with ax handles and chains and whatever. They had arrests at both protest sites and they arrested preachers and deacons and deacons and sisters of the church and students at Northwood Jr. High.

The MOVEMENT: You're out on bail now?  
Floyd: Right.

The MOVEMENT: How much is the bail?  
Floyd: \$10,000 a piece.

### Political Defense

The MOVEMENT: How are you fighting the case?

Floyd: I'm not going through criminal court proceedings -- that's trying you as a criminal and the whole thing is political.

The MOVEMENT: The other defendants didn't want to do that though?

Floyd: So far they haven't.

The MOVEMENT: What are the reasons you're fighting the case politically?

Floyd: To try and get all five defendants off the hook, including myself, by any means necessary. The whole thing is political. We were arrested on political grounds. You see the mayor wants to get re-elected and we were talking about a black mayor, black people on the city council and it's all lily white, and black people on the school board which is almost all lily white. The whole thing in Houston is political and the whole thing

cont. on p. 15

### Harassment of Black Panthers Continues:

## "CONSPIRACY" AND GUN CHARGES

BERKELEY, CAL. — Bay Area police continued their harassment of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense with an early Sunday morning raid, Feb. 25, on the home of Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Panthers. At 3 a.m. six Berkeley cops armed with shotguns burst into and ransacked Seale's house while holding Seale and his wife, Artie, at gunpoint. Without warrants either for search or arrest the cops arrested the Seales, charging them with conspiracy to murder, carrying a concealed weapon, possessing an illegal shotgun, and possessing a .45 caliber automatic with disfigured serial numbers. Shortly afterward, four other members of the Panthers were surrounded by three squad cars carrying shotgun-armed cops, and jailed on similar charges. The police tried to defend this intrusion without a warrant by claiming there was "reasonable cause" and that they had been investigating a "disturbance in the area." Bail was subsequently set at \$11,000 each for the Seales, and \$6,000 for the other four. These arrests took place in the context of a weekend-long move by the cops against the Panthers, in which at least ten other Panthers were arrested on charges ranging from using profanity to inciting a riot as they attempted to stop police brutalization of a black woman.

pressed and the arraignment was postponed until Tuesday. Meanwhile, bond had been reduced on all six prisoners. Finally, on Tuesday, official charges were filed, but no conspiracy charges appeared, since the court could not produce any intended victims. Seale and his wife were charged instead with several felony gun law violations, while the other defendants were charged with gun law misdemeanors.

### Harassment and Retaliation

Commenting on the motives behind the police crackdown, the Huey P. Newton Defense Fund stated that the arrests were "blatant harassments and attempts to drain funds from the Black Panther Party which is involved in mobilizing support for Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense," and constituted a "direct retaliation against the party for holding the mass rally for Newton's defense in Oakland on Feb. 17." (That rally, at which Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown, James Fortman, and Bobby Seale had spoken, as well as a number of other rallies and meetings the week preceding the arrests, had gained a great deal of financial and community support for Newton's defense among the black people in the Bay Area.) Charles R. Garry, defense lawyer for the six, who pled all of them not guilty, stated that the most recent arrests were "a smokescreen to poison the atmosphere around the Huey Newton trial." He termed the charges against the Seales "trumped up" and "phony." Garry is also acting as defense attorney in the Newton Case.

At a preliminary hearing on March 19, which was held over Garry's objection that the prosecution's evidence was inadmissible because it was obtained by illegal search and seizure of the Seale home, testimony was heard from Berkeley policeman Edward F. Coyne, one of the arresting officers. Coyne admitted that he didn't like Seale's politics, and that he had "listened" on Feb. 24 while the Newton Defense money was being routed in Seale's house. It was also determined that Mrs. Seale had never seen the sawed-off shotgun they were charged with possessing, and that there were no fingerprints on the gun. Seale himself had never seen nor personally removed the serial number on his .45, which he legally possessed for his own self defense. The Panthers have conformed carefully to gun legislation to avoid this kind of trouble, he said. According to Garry, "the hearing clearly established there was no probable cause for arrest, and the testimony was unlawful because it was obtained by unlawful search and seizure."

### Conspiracy Charge Dropped

Confusion ensued for two days following the arrests, with Seale being released Sunday morning, in spite of the murder conspiracy charges, and neither the cops, nor the District Attorney, nor the local papers being able to present any logical justification for the police actions. On Monday, Feb. 26, a rally of several hundred in support of the Panthers gathered and filled the Alameda Municipal Court, Berkeley, where arraignment proceedings were taking place, but no charges were

## Rap Still in Jail . . .

SNCC has paid out \$3,000 to bail H. Rap Brown out of the New Orleans jail where he has been imprisoned and fasting for over a month. But Rap still remains a political prisoner, in the custody of the U.S. government. He is now being transferred to Alexandria, Virginia, where they will hold him for extradition to Cambridge, Maryland -- where he is to stand trial. His sounds: a little confusing to you, don't worry about your ability to figure this legal maze out -- cause the man has deliberately created a web of confusion and traps in order to effectively silence Rap and keep him out of circulation.



Floyd Nichols (left) and Stanley Wright, Treasurer of TSU Friends of SNCC at THE MOVEMENT office. (photo: Mark Hardesty)

The MOVEMENT: What is the atmosphere in Houston around the case?

Floyd: Most of the people still realize that the five people they have charged are innocent. I mean that's clear cut. But they're trying to put it off I believe till most of the public forgets about it -- until they grow weary and tired of waiting for the trial to come and then they'll probably rush into court and rush us out of court.

### Charges

The MOVEMENT: What are the five of you specifically charged with?

Floyd: First, conspiracy and incitement to riot. They say we are responsible for murder and two assaults to murder. This is why the DA is asking for the death penalty. It is based on an old anti-labor law where if laborers would strike and the police would set in to break the strike well then whatever injuries would result, they would pick out the so-called leaders or people who were supposed to have led the strike and if anybody was injured or anything then they would be charged with that.  
The MOVEMENT: What they're trying to

officers. A lot of them had to be taken to the hospital.

### Why These Five?

The MOVEMENT: Where were you when the disturbance occurred?

Floyd: I was about 10 or 15 miles away during all this shooting.

The MOVEMENT: What about the rest of the defendants?

Floyd: Two others were in the dorm when they arrested the 480 some odd students and one was already in jail and the other was across town.

The MOVEMENT: How soon did they arrest you?

Floyd: They arrested me about 28 hours after.

The MOVEMENT: Did you get lawyers right away?

Floyd: First we got NAACP lawyers and now we have other lawyers -- some are connected with the ACLU.

The MOVEMENT: What do you think is the reason that you five were picked out?  
Floyd: We had been active in protests centered around the campus on police

# RADICALS AND 1968 ELECTIONS

## An Analysis of the California

### Peace and Freedom Movement

Reese Erlich

(Ed. note: Reese Erlich was a student at the University of California at Berkeley until he was suspended for participating in last October's Stop the Draft Week demonstration. He was recently indicted by the grand jury for organizing that demonstration. He is currently a statewide organizer for the Peace and Freedom Movement.)

The main body of this article was written before Johnson made his announcement not to seek reelection. The full effect of his decision on leftist politics will really only be known in the months ahead. One fact is clear, however, the thousands of liberals who would have flocked to a third party if Johnson ran against Nixon in November are now solidly embedded in the Democratic Party. On the college campuses, in the Mexican-American communities, and even in the black ghettos, Bobby Kennedy will co-opt many a potential radical. How can radicals most effectively oppose such co-option? A radical third political party running local campaigns offers one, but clearly not the only possibility. Running a presidential candidate against Johnson and Nixon was the single biggest drawing card of a third party. Such a possibility scarcely seems possible now. Yet there is still a real possibility of running successful campaigns for U.S. Senate, Congress, and state offices. These candidates can articulate radical socialist programs to the liberals who still think Wayne Morse et al are the quintessence of the peace movement. Even well organized, hard fought third party campaigns will not radicalize as many people as Johnson would have had he decided to run. But to ignore electoral politics this year is to GUARANTEE a good number of potential radicals will work inside the Democratic party.

The Peace and Freedom Movement may well be the vehicle for offering a radical alternative to the candidates of co-option. The PFM has defined its main role as organizing, not winning elections. By organizing I mean the creation of mass based, democratically controlled institutions for revolutionary change. PFM already has a large base of over 105,000 registrants. Most of them are white middle class students, professionals, and hippies; although there is participation by blacks and some Mexican-Americans. The biggest danger for such a fragile coalition is that it will become an American Social Democratic Party. Such a party would seek to put pressure on the Democrats from outside instead of inside the Democratic Party and, in the end, serve the same function as RFK.

#### THE PFM CONVENTION

The PFM Convention held March 16-18 in Richmond, Calif. solved this one problem and immediately created another. PFM defined itself as completely opposed to the existing political-social-economic system and made some faltering steps towards becoming a mass based, radical, socialist party. The convention passed a series of radical resolutions demanding the freeing of Huey Newton "by whatever means necessary which will further the Black Liberation Movement," supporting the next Stop the Draft Week, opposing U. S. and "communist" imperialism abroad, and offering alternatives to a capitalist economic system. For the first time a new left coalition was able to agree long enough to proclaim a hesitating allegiance to socialism.

By passing these and other radical programs, PFM ran a calculated risk. The vast bulk of the Party's some 105,000 registrants are disaffected Democrats or Republicans who wanted an alternative should Sir Robert fail in his bid for the Holy Grail. A meaningful coalition with the black liberation movement and opposition to U. S. imperialism might well scare them into re-registering Democratic. The issue most likely to cause a fission from the Party is the Huey Newton question, and more generally, the alliance with the Black Panther Party.

At the convention the tentative coalition between PFM and the militant Panthers was cemented. Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information, presented three demands as the minimum program for a coalition with PFM: 1) support the demand of Free Huey Newton 2) support a plebiscite within America's black colony to be held by the U.N. to determine the fate of black people in the U.S. 3) Endorse the Black Panther 10 point program. The convention agreed to these positions almost unanimously and in return the black caucus agreed to these encourage blacks to register Peace and Freedom and to coalesce with PFM on certain mutually agreeable issues. While this coalition opens up the possibility

of meaningful black, and to a lesser extent brown, participation in PFM, it raises grave problems in organizing whites.

#### CONFRONT WHITE RACISM

Because many middle class whites don't understand the connection between the Vietnam War and racism at home, they feel the Panther alliance will "alienate" people opposed to the war. There is some rank and file feeling that PFM should run a single issue campaign. A majority believe the issues are connected, however. Many liberals are beginning to change their minds and now favor the black liberation movement. Another argument is that PFM stands for "peace," and therefore could not support a "violent" group like the Panthers. The pacifist tendencies within PFM are very strong. Yet when the membership is presented with issues like Stop the Draft Week demonstrations, they slowly begin to change their minds. On these two questions alone, PFM organizers will have to do a lot of education. This education will require a different type of organizing than what has traditionally transpired.

PFM organizers will have to confront the issue of white racism immediately. The new left tradition is to organize whites around issues that directly effect their lives and then raise political consciousness by birching in other issues. Thus in JOIN, Mike James ET AL organized a round poor housing amongst whites and only later when the Chicago blacks were rioting, did they confront the race issue. When I visit a PFM club, the FIRST issue people will ask about is the Panther coalition. This direct confrontation, I have found, can be very effective with middle class whites. To a certain extent discussions on whether to nationalize industry or try to reform its worst aspects. This issue in no way effects their personal lives, or at least they don't perceive it as such. Rather they are concerned with the effect on other people. Similarly with the black liberation question, since most of them are not directly in contact with blacks, a good organizer can convince them to support the black liberation movement on moral and altruistic grounds. In any case the educational process that takes place is well worth the effort. By putting the Panther alliance in at least as an important position as the War, PFM will probably educate and radicalize a lot of liberals.

#### A NEW FORM OF ORGANIZATION

The means PFM uses to disseminate its radical program will help determine the number of people it attracts. There are at least two models of political parties that liberal or radical candidates have used. One is the typical American coalition party which compromises as many issues as possible in order to get large numbers of votes in November. Thus the candidate's

personality and his personal machine control the party. That system usually works out since neither the candidate nor the party usually have any political principles worth fighting over. The candidate will ignore people who can't vote because his object is to win the election. Finally, the candidate will take "good" positions on issues and then make a conscientious effort to ignore them if elected. It is this model that usually alienates radicals from electoral politics.

Another model, however, is the electoral wing of a revolutionary party. The Bolsheviks and various European Anarchist and revolutionary socialist parties used electoral politics to reach people who were not yet ready to pick up a gun. Their campaigns emphasized the party's political position rather than a candidate's particular glamor. And most importantly, they not only took good positions on local issues (e.g. workers' demands for better wages and working conditions), but they fought for those demands in the streets. As a result of the Richmond convention, PFM moved away from the structure of a typical American party and much closer to the emphasis of a revolutionary party.

From the very beginning of the convention PFM was interested in more than electoral politics. By almost unanimous votes, PFM endorsed and promised to give its resources to Stop the Draft Week, the Resistance, and the International Student Strike. The resolution read in part: "... Peace and Freedom Movement Chapters shall organize people for and transport them to these demonstrations, or organize similar demonstrations in their own areas.

For the first time in recent history, there will be a political party represented in the streets as well as at the ballot box.

A second very important decision made at the convention was that the Peace and Freedom Movement will control all candidates, not VICE VERSA. There was a strong debate as to whether the convention should endorse a single candidate for U.S. Senate or have an open primary. An open primary would have thrown PFM into the Democratic and Republican Party bag.

Open primaries favor the candidate with the biggest name, most money, and most amount of free time to campaign. Political issues are subordinated to a candidate's "image." The convention soundly rejected this type of campaign when it voted to endorse a single candidate for U.S. Senate. Under this system the PFM

steering committee will control finances and literature of the campaign. Paul Jacobs, a San Francisco author, won the endorsement running on a platform of Party control of the campaign.

#### INTO THE MILITARY

The convention specifically chose to relate to people who were not necessarily eligible voters. PFM will sponsor an initiative drive to put the issue of an 18-year-old vote on the ballot. Teams of three under-18-year-olds would accompany one registered voter in a door-to-door canvass of the community. The initiative drive would be used as a device to organize young people as well as an appeal to people of voting age. Too many times military men are ignored by political parties because they don't meet residency requirements. The convention passed overwhelmingly a resolution supporting the rights of men enlisted in the military.

The Peace and Freedom Movement adopts a policy of defending rights of enlisted men in the Armed Forces. We recognize their right to form their own organizations in their own interests as being fundamental. In view of recent persecutions of anti-war GI's, we demand that GI's be tried by their peers, or in other words, that all ranks above private be excluded from court martial of GI's so that men in the Armed Forces can come under constitutional law.

Many PFM chapters are located near military bases. In some areas they have plans to infiltrate the USO's with "peace chicks," pass out literature at local bars, do door-to-door canvassing at GI's off-base homes, and even organize on the base. During the registration drive, eight intrepid PFM voter registrars went into the Marines officers' housing inside Camp Pendleton. They had great success in registering military men and their wives until they accidentally knocked on the door of the commandant's wife. They were rather unceremoniously escorted off the base and ordered not to return.

#### BUILD MOVEMENT INSTITUTIONS

The whole mood of the convention was different from that of the established parties. No one expected to win any elections and for many delegates the main objective wasn't even to get a huge "pro-

cont. on pg. 14



# STRIKERS' COOP COMPETES

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 for better wages 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.

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 set up; what type of conditions did you have to work under?

Beulah: Sweatshop conditions.

Brian: What's a sweatshop?

Beulah: Well, they set a high production you had to meet. If you didn't meet the high production you were fired or threatened and threatened and a dollar, the wage law, is all you can make . . . 80 cents an hour for the training period. Then you worked three months and you got a nickel raise then worked one more month and got the wage law, and if you ever got where you could make production they'd bring the company repairs in just bundle after bundle and causing it to lose your production.

Mike Lozoff: Why didn't they want you to make production?

Beulah: Well, they had production set and if you ever met production you'd get so much over per bundle. So they'd put something before you like you could make money, then they'd see to it that you couldn't ever make any money by not letting you make anything more than production. And they talked about us in every way - they said we were hillbillies, we'd work for nothing. The manager, went somewhere way out in the country and he brought this big bathtub in - a thing I'd never seen - I didn't know they made a bathtub like it - but that's what they said it was - and he hung it on the wall with a sign that said, "If you don't have a bathtub at home take this and use it." It had a bar of soap down in it. It was right out on the porch site place where everybody that came and went, big shot and all, could see it, which said "Why don't you bathe?"

Irene: And tell about having to clock out and stay there. You couldn't go home, they said you'd be fired if you went home. But you had to stay there and wait on work and later on the labor board made them pay a little of that back, but their records weren't found, you know, they didn't pay much of it back.

Beulah: You know my job when you went in - inspect was my job - was the last operation. So they tell you to come in the next morning, then we'd get in there wouldn't be any work. We didn't even get to clock in. We went as high as 10, 10:30, and 11 o'clock and if you asked to go home they said no. But you had a babysitter, you know, paying your babysitter bill all the time.

## Community Feeling

Brian: Did people in this area have a feeling of togetherness, a feeling of community with each other before Levi came?

Irene: Yes, I think they did.

Brian: Did Levi try to break that?

Irene: Oh, they broke it.

Brian: How?

Irene: Well, the whole system in Levi was set up to where you had to act greedy to survive. You couldn't help your fellow man, you know, your fellow worker, or it just cost you. It took money out of your pocket. And the schedule was so tight that you didn't have a minute to lose. You couldn't talk. And they meant for it to be that way, they didn't want you to be together or have time to talk to each other.

girls got their job back through the labor board.

Irene: Some of the Tennessee Copper men helped.

Brian: Why did you decide to go for ILGWU?

Beulah: Well, the only thing I ever figured the reason that we went for the ILGWU, I thought maybe the Tennessee Copper Company men being chemical workers . . . I never really knew why the ILGWU came in. I know they did tell us they didn't want us after it was over and done and a mess of it. They told us they didn't want us to begin with. But how they ever really came in here I don't know. It was the only union I ever heard mentioned.

## Weak Contract

Brian: Your first contract was pretty weak and it was a long term contract that allowed the management to get away with

quite a few things. Why did you decide to sign that?

Beulah: We were advised to. We held a meeting in the school house in Blue Ridge and the guy got up and he read the contract over very fast. It was hard to understand. And he advised us that we would get a foot in the door and later we would grow strong. And the contract was not explained to us in any way, it was just read over very fast. It was the first union - the only union - to ever be in Fannin county, and we knew very little about unions so we only took their word that any contract was better than none and settle it peacefully and then build from there. So we signed.

Brian: Why did ILGWU go along with that - they knew more than you did?

Beulah: Yeah, they should have known more than us, and they should have known that it was only a way for Levi to kick us out one by one, because the contract was so weak. Then as time went on and nothing happened it was worse working than ever, after the union. So when we'd have a case

it (the contract) 'in the opinion of the management' - 'if qualified in the opinion of the management' - they'd say we don't have a leg to stand on and we'd rather take a case that we knew we could win. That was their excuse for not going to arbitration. First they talked us into the contract and then when you go to them with grievances they'd say the contract was so weak they couldn't win one so why bother with it.

Brian: You ended up worse with an ILGWU contract than without one?

Beulah: Yes, we sure did.

Irene: Made it against the law for us to walk out then.

## Company Violations

Brian: Did the company violate the contract?

Irene: Oh, every day. As soon as the doors opened they violated the contract. You

could just bet on that every morning.

Brian: How?  
Beulah: They paid no attention at all to seniority because in our contract every time you had a clause that give you seniority it would say at the bottom, "if, in the opinion of management . . ." So this left the union setting pretty you know, they had nothing . . . we can't fight that, they'd say, although they'd advised us to sign the contract.

Brian: So when you went on your "wildcat" strike the contract had already been broken?

Beulah: Over and over.

Brian: Did the International support you when you went out on strike?

Irene and Beulah: No.

Brian: Gave you no support at all?

Irene: No advice. Every time we'd ask them something they'd say "Well what does it matter; it's all illegal anyway."

## SCABS

Brian: Where did the scabs come from, while you were out on the picket line?  
Beulah: Well, they were local people that have never worked at Levi. Well, not everyone. Some of the scabs that scabbed in had been fired at Levi before. They had been tried, and the way Levi did, they would bring in and see if you was a real fast worker then if you didn't show that you could be one of these real fast workers they fired you. So this is where a lot of the scabs came from. They had already been fired at Levi at one time. They lots of them wasn't good enough to come in until the strike. And there just local people that had been fired. . .

Irene: Levi rejects . . .

Beulah: Untrained people mostly.

Brian: Why do you think they took the job and crossed your picket line?

Beulah: Well, because of poverty mostly. There's no jobs in Blue Ridge - there's one little factory that's been here thirty years. They work about 500 people and they never quit because it's the only job they have.

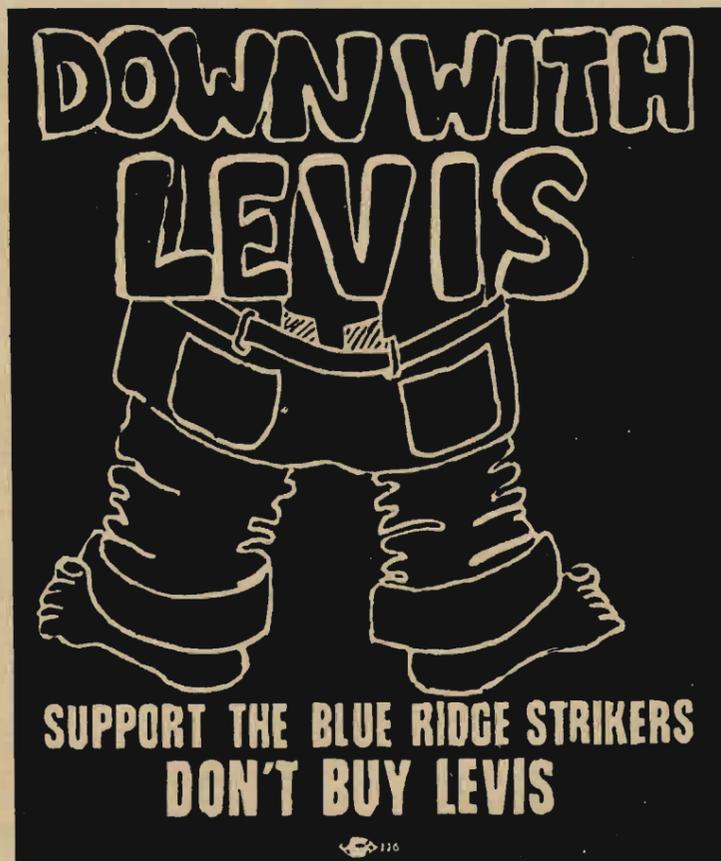
## Strikebreaking Violence

Brian: What sort of action was taken against you during the strike, with you being out there on the picket line? Did you get attacked, were there reprisals?

Irene: Our women were run over on the picket line and hospitalized and the grand jury didn't give us a bill. And they got a little midnight injunction fixed up in the judge's office and accused us of all sorts of things that . . . There wasn't anybody even there to deny those things, you know. And state patrol all over the place. The weekend right soon after we struck the weekend that he had about 30 patrolmen up here, there was thirty-four people killed on the highways that weekend.

Brian: With the strike and co-op, it's been over a year and a half, right?  
Beulah: Yes.

Brian: How long did that strike last?



## Starting a Union

Brian: Then generally people were being very badly treated. Who decided that they needed a union first?

Beulah: Well, a small group began talking the union. When we first began to have meetings they was a very small group and from there they kind of covered the whole territory. It took nine months. We organized the union ourselves. It took nine months for us to get the union in and several of the girls were fired. Two of the

to arbitrate they'd say "OK, OK, don't worry about this now, we'll settle it for you", and then you'd keep pushing and pushing and pushing and they never did anything for you. They never arbitrated one case in the two years they had the union, not one case. But we have a briefcase full of arbitration. They never arbitrated one.

Irene: Well, they talked the people into taking that contract and then when we'd go to them with a case, you know, with a grievance, they said, "Well, that clause in

# WITH LEVI

Beulah: Let's see, we struck August, the 10th, 1966 and let's see . . . Irene: September the 13th, 1967, was the election and then we dropped the picket line. I believe we held it 56 weeks and one day, thinking the union would do something. Beulah: And we wanted to hold the union in regardless. We felt like once the union was lost in Fannon County it would hurt everybody. So we started even started talking to some of the people that were working in Levi. So we can't say it's the truth but it came out pretty good that Mr. Baum told the girls before the election, "Well, you can vote for the union if you want to but when you do those strikers will come back in and we'll have to let you go". So it wasn't a matter of the scabs not wanting the union - they knew they needed a union. It was a matter that the manager made them think that if we won the strike they'd lose their jobs so that's why they didn't vote for the union.

## The Co-op

Brian: How are decisions made in the co-op - what type of structure do you have? Irene: We made us up some bylaws and we have a board and the board can make decisions. But the membership can reverse those decisions if it doesn't suit them. You know, a majority. Its a membership, individual thing. Everybody has their rights. Brian: Is it jointly owned by everybody within it? Irene: Yes. Brian: What type of trouble have you had since you formed the co-op? Have people given you fair contracts? Have you had trouble with getting contracts, trouble with the machinery? Irene: Well the first contract we was cheated real badly. They were paying too low; we couldn't even meet the payroll on it.



THE MOVEMENT

## ILGWU

Brian: Did you ever get together and take your case direct to the union people from the ILGWU? Beulah: Well, the thing that we walked out on we had the business agent up there and the area manager, the plant manager, we sat in the office over four hours about two months before we struck trying to get this one seniority thing settled. And our business agent would not open his mouth, he would not defend us in any way. And we kept trying to show him where this was absolutely not fair, nor right. They were gonna push girls out the door; not only back, but out the door. Mr. Melton said this in so many words, and he said, "Well girls you can learn a new dog new tricks better than you can learn an old dog new tricks." That was his comment. Our business agent sat there. He heard all this. Brian: You've been through this, through this strike and setting up the co-op for over a year and a half. There must have been a lot times when people were asking you to make compromises, when people said, "well why don't you deal with us and we'll give you a bit and you give in on this . . ." Beulah: Yes.

Beulah: See we didn't know anything to do but sew. We were good sewers - that's all we knew . . . We found out that we were at least \$2 underpaid - from 2 to 4 dollars underpaid - on the dozen. So we couldn't make any money, any way we turned we couldn't make any money. And now we're having to get new machines because we can't buy the old machines; they're not even the man's that sold them to us. Irene: If we'd payed for those machines it'd of been just like buying stolen goods. We'd of been out. Brian: So people who know what they're doing have consistently been taken advantage of you . . . Beulah: They certainly have . . . Irene: But we're learning the hard way. We don't make the same mistakes twice is why we can survive. We're learning every day. Brian: What's the most important things to you now - what are you trying to reach for? Beulah: We're trying to build this co-op so people can have a decent place to work and not be pushed around. When people own the thing they take more interest and pride in it and the co-op has got to go because it's the only thing left for us around here. If it fails we don't have anything.

## The Future

Brian: What do you see for the future? You think you're gonna make it? Beulah: Yes. We think we'll make it if we can just survive until we can get on our feet. Money is our big problem now. We don't have any money and so far we haven't got very much help. We have some people that simply have to have some money to eat and pay their house rent. If we can just survive until we get a decent contract and the machine deal straightened

out, 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, have they come through, have they helped you? Beulah: Well, no. \$4,000 is what we started this thing on, and we just payed what bills we had to pay and got it started and were behind on bills, we're behind in payroll. We could have made it probably with the \$4,000 if we hadn't got messed up about our machine contract and our sewing contract too. We could have took the \$4,000 and swung 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? Irene: It was the Southern Christian Leadership Fund.

## Levi and the Poverty Commission

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? Irene: Well, Levi management, the President of Levi-Strauss has just been appointed on a board by LBJ to relieve unemployment and poverty. I don't know what he's going to do.

Mike Lozoff: The president says his commission, including men like Mr. Haas, the guy who owns Levi-Strauss, is set up to probe deep into the causes and to reach the people at the bottom who are really unemployed and lack skills and help them. What would you tell these people? Beulah: When you can work 6 days a week for Levi-Strauss and you live in poverty - and we can prove this - 6 days a week you can't make a living at Levi-Strauss . . . Brian: Then how are poor people gonna solve the problem of their being poor? Beulah: Well, you know we're trying to solve our problem - through building a factory of our own . . . We're too new to know what will come of it. We know it's the only thing we've got to try. Brian: Then the only solution you see is to build something to control? Beulah: Yes.

## 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 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 - or in our case we organized ourselves - then they came in and got union dues. And they did not help us. They didn't help us while we were in the plant. They didn't help us when we wildcatted. We wouldn't of wildcatted if we'd of had support from the union. Mike: Why would a union do things like that? Irene: Well, they'll tell you that it's not for the dues, but that's the only thing I see they get from it. Beulah: They're losing out in the South because people are becoming very distrustful of the unions because they do not fight hard enough, they do not come in and do what they say they'll do so in the end you're always worse off than you were before you fooled with the union. Irene: I don't think unions ought to go into a place until they're ready to support them and back up the people; they do more harm than do good. Beulah: And the South really needs unions. The South really needs unions worse than anybody because we really have sweatshop conditions. We need unions that will fight for us. ♦

## A Little Background on Levi-Strauss

Levi-Strauss is the world's largest producer of jeans and casual slacks in its price range. While this corporation consistently withholds information regarding its operations, profits have obviously been good since both its net worth and current assets continue to grow each year. Net worth has grown from almost \$32 million at the end of 1964 to over \$40 million at the end of 1966. During the same period current assets grew from over \$33 million to almost \$63 million. The management of the corporation includes Walter A. Haas, who is also President of the Levi-Strauss Realty Co. and Iris Security Co., both real estate holding companies and each having a tangible net worth in excess of \$1 million. He is also a director of the Crocker-Citizens National Bank, Pacific Gas and Electric Co., Pacific Intermountain Express Co., Cal Title Insurance Co., and National Ice and Cold Storage Co. Another Director, Daniel E. Koshland, is a director of the Wells Fargo Bank, and is an officer in both realty companies. A third director, Walter Haas, Jr., son of the Chairman of the Board, is a director of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co., and the Bank of America (the largest bank in the world), as well as being an officer in the two realty companies. The corporation employs about 13,500 persons in the U.S., mainly in branch offices in the South. International operations include Levi Strauss International Inc., a wholly owned holding company. Its interests include 50% interest in the outstanding stock of Levi Strauss Far East, Ltd., Co., in Hong Kong. Within the last few months Levi-Strauss has acquired Firma Compernelle en Zoon, Belgium's largest producer of men's and boy's trousers. Walter Haas, Jr. said that the Belgian firm which will be owned and operated by Levi-Strauss Europe S.A. will be able to supply only a portion of Levi Strauss' European needs. The Bank of America International took care of the financing of this new venture.

# PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM,

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 the article have relevance far beyond SDS. In the process 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 dependant 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 forms we should try to develop. The MOVEMENT hopes that others concerned with this problem will contribute to this discussion in the future.

By  
Neil Buckley  
SDS Central-Western Pennsylvania Regional Traveller

Our mutual experience of the last several years define two general and distinctly related characteristics about the structure and operation of most SDS chapters: first, what Carl Davidson analyzed as chapter stratification and second the lack of long range chapter political activity which has consistently led to chapter collapse.

Davidson published a vice-president's report in NLN a year ago ("Has SDS Gone to Pot?" Feb. 3, 1967) which classified chapter membership into three groups: the Shock Troops, the Super-intellectuals and the Organizers. The Shock Troops, about 85% of the membership, are kids who generally share our analysis of America on a gut level but have no understanding of the political economic analysis behind SDS politics. Chapter dynamic is such that kids never go beyond a gut-level reaction and gain good political education within the chapter. Without political savvy the only role the shock trooper can serve within chapters is that of door-blocker, window-breaker, leafletter, and general shitworker. He is a tool of a ruling elite, and he knows it; he takes orders for a while, sees through the bullshit, becomes dissatisfied with his limited role -- the right reaction to conditions -- and drops out into the nether world of nonpolitical dope, glittering beads, Zen flagellator, the student-on-the-make mentality and apolitical attitudes. Shock troopers, once lost, stay lost.

The second group, about 10% of the membership, mainly graduate student and undergraduate political science-philosophy types, make up the Super-intellectuals, the Little Lenin Lobby within the chapter. Theoreticians all, Super-intellectuals think out the grand strategies, based on their politics derived from dusty pamphlets and left journals, and issue directives to the chapter for political action in which they hardly ever participate, bitch to the kids when the program fails, and never paint signs, run leaflets, or get their heads cracked.

Organizers, 5% of the membership, are usually sincere people who see little work getting done, become frustrated, take the initiative, do much of the shitwork and thus control much of the chapter's activities. Organizers usually have a good theoretical sense, tactical knowhow, but are isolated from the Lenins as Jacques was isolated from Jean-Paul Marat: they want action, not manifestos.

## Elitism

The mutual interaction of groups produces two distinct political conditions. First, political discussion is carried on horizontally between the Lenins and the

Organizers which never relates to the shock troops nor increases their political. Organizers and Super-intellectuals usually have fine discussions, but they take place in a vacuum and amount to little more than political masturbation since they do not create political consciousness within the chapter nor lead to programs which will have a political effect on the campus.

Second, elitism is assured because of the overpowering charisma of Organizers and Super-intellectuals: Shock troops are afraid to attempt to relate or talk down the elite. Both are not elected leadership and are not responsible to the membership in a democratic way; the membership sees this but cannot change the state of things.

Without a democratic chapter structure or politically aware base, and with the shock troopers alienated within the chapter, chapters either collapse totally, exist in complete isolation, or drag on from target confrontation to target confrontation without doing any political work. Further, the kids, going out onto the campus, spread the story of what's what in SDS and stop potential SDSers from going near the chapter. Thus elitism not only destroys the chapter internally but also prevents its growth.

The Lenins bitch to the Organizers for not doing their job, the Organizers shout at the Shock Troops about their lack of commitment, get more frustrated, collapse. The elite continue to operate, alone, in the name of SDS. More talk, less action, no base; no politics, no revolution.

## Infantile Disorders

"Everytime a window is broken during a recruiting hassle," another blow is not struck against U.S. imperialism." Not do chapters which involve themselves solely with windowbreaking or its other political equivalents strike many blows against imperialism or prepare the way for future blows against the enemy.

Most chapter people are the (relatively) very committed (with the limits set by Davidson) organized for the express purpose of mobilizing large numbers of fellow students to attack a single target at a time -- Dow, Marines, CIA, Chase-Manhattan. Political action and political education usually revolve around the target; the action must, of course; the education shouldn't.

The action phase of attack may be successful enough to dislodge the target (Columbia and class rank, Madison and Dow, Penn and Chemical-Biological warfare) which organically produces a rise in political consciousness because of the exposure to the community of the obvious contradictions between official truth and political reality. With the end of on-going external and internal (for the most part) political education, usually nothing is done

about increasing external or internal consciousness between struggles; without a target upon which to focus, interest of non-chapter and chapter people alike in political questions is lost; chapter people spend most of their time seeking out new targets and let internal and external education go to hell.

Thus, even though most SDS people see the single-issue campaign as impractical in theory, and strive to make sweeping connections in a single target campaign which avoid co-option into single issue struggles, the fact remains that target concentration and that alone determines the course of on-campus struggles for the majority of chapters. Such struggles are the functional equivalent of single-issue campaigns because the connections between the systems of American imperialism are left abstract; connections made are left there without a follow-up which involve people politically from target to target.

further, kids feel intimidated and usually refrain from participation in discussions; old, familiar discussions stagnate and sink into deeper irrelevancy. Regulars become bored, often leaving the organization to do their thing because that's the only thing which is real to them; new kids attend one or two meetings (at the most, three) and drift back into alienation, the thin possibility of being a real part of SDS lost to them. (I'd hate to speculate on the numbers of kids who have drifted in and out of SDS over the past three years; we would probably have a national membership of 50,000 had these kids stayed.)

## ... And The Mystical Intellectual Tour

Many chapters try to meet the needs of internal education through political seminars which depend heavily on exter-

nal resource people such as faculty "Marxists," Left Liberals, Concerned Intellectuals, etc. These educationals, however, remain abstract intellectual classes which do not fit an on-going program; they are usually large and deny participation as meetings do. (Again, if they operate on this level without an on-going structure behind them, they are political failures. With a programmatic approach of organizing connected to them they can be really fine things.)

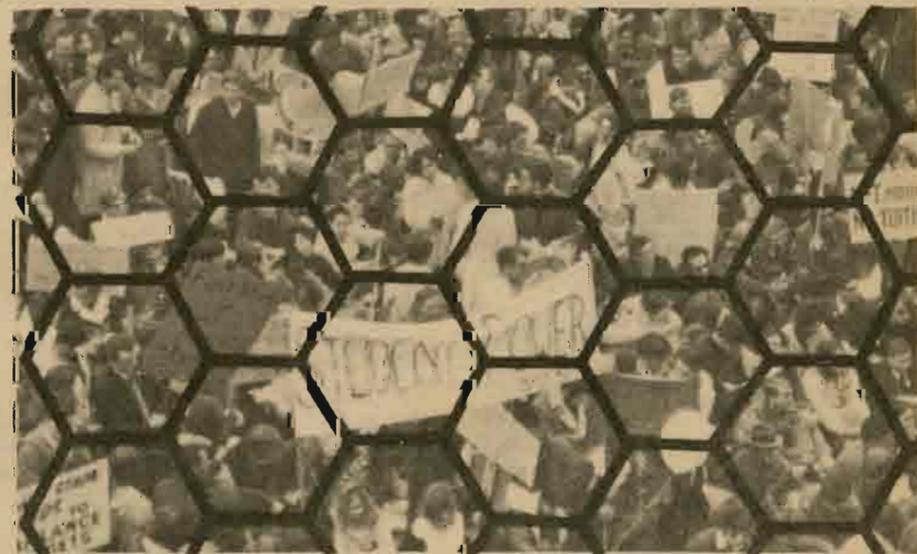
Free Universities and Free Schools, too, usually sink rapidly into irrelevance because SDS people who operate them and attend them talk only to themselves. Like chapter seminars, most Free U classes are abstract exercises and never deal with political education relevant to objective conditions.

Fundamental to the failure of chapters-as-meetings and chapter-internal-education-as-political-seminars-and-Free-U's is the fact that these forms do not involve the lives of people totally (or an approximation thereto) and do not provide a context in which chapter political activity forms a major focus for people's lives. Instead of seeing themselves as political organizers, chapter people see

## No Real Organizing

The main factor leading to this state is the lack of real organizing behind issues which do more than draw people to sit-ins, teach-ins, pickets, etc. The discussion going on within SDS about base-building (not just the PL line about base-building, nor the base-building-without-actions SDS line, but the general recognition of SDS people that little base-building goes on) shows that in most cases chapters operate in a political vacuum they find difficult if not impossible to surmount. The resulting frustration from isolation leads either to demonstrations without a base which are destructive in the long-range (the Penn State MUAC sit-in, etc.) or demonstrations which temporarily draw people into a struggle but which in no way organize new people into SDS. People are not organized because there is nothing real to organize them into.

Note that I am not putting down demonstrations as such; rather I am questioning the political function of demonstra-



tions as we have used them in the past and the way we view demonstrations. We need them to make real demands upon the power structure which can only be realized through massive confrontations which mobilize non-SDS people. Get rid of demonstrations and we get rid of ourselves; yet the dichotomy exists that demonstrations can lead to getting rid of ourselves if we don't use them right.

The existence of a real on-going program which does not have as its focus the next target/confrontation is precluded by the current structure of most chapters.

## The Magical Musical Meeting

Most chapters operate organizationally through structured mass meetings which are billed as discussion sessions, tactical planning sessions, etc. Meetings are often so large real dialogue cannot go on; what usually takes place are Lenin-Organizer discussions which have little relevance to anyone but the protagonists

themselves as students; instead of preparing themselves for a long political struggle, people prepare themselves for careers in America which do not have politics as their primary given; without people of such political vision there can be no real permanent political force in the student movement and no possibility of a permanent political force formed for ex-students; without these movements there will be less of a chance for a massed base political movement in America which seeks to destroy imperialism.

Beyond our current membership and the problems we face internally, we must seriously consider the involvement of those thousands of young people who would come to us if we had an on-going political organization which was relevant to their personal and political lives. Our present structures do not meet their needs, do not involve them in a significant way which leads to ultimate politicization, deny the formation of a strong movement. The spiritrages in Young America for political

# OR . . .

activity and we are not answering organizationally.

The experience of the Boston Draft Resistance Group shows that an on-going structure which actively involves people on a day-to-day basis can be immediately effective in creating political people who continue struggle in other areas. The BDRG operates, it may be argued in the middle of a massive gut-issue and sustains itself on the dynamic of anti-draft work; yet the experience of Penn State SDS chapter shows that on-going organization can operate effectively without a specific issue to sustain it.

### Tasks of the Cell Structure

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 refocuses the activity of chapters into small operating units where political discussions, internal education, and tactical considerations take place. Work goes on in separate groups. Leadership is elected directly from cells and functions as a cell representative to the central committee. Specifically:

**CELLS.** Chapter membership is divided into cells of approximately 5-8 people; every effort should be made to avoid the formation of personal and political cliques within the cell, especially from the inception of the structure.

### Organizing Units

The cell has three functions. First, cells function primarily as organizing unit which see their top priority as the task of going out to the potential constituency and organizing new people into the cell. Organizing -- one to one -- can take place in classes, dorms, demonstrations, educational, bars, anywhere. Cell organizers not only bring new people in but also gain much practical knowledge about organizing situations. Double growth is assured. When cells reach an unwieldy size -- say 12 people -- they should split into separate units and carry on from there.

After the cell structure has been in operation for a while, it will probably become necessary to have starter cells for newly organized people; it will probably be the case that as older cells advance politically discussions within them will lose relevance for totally new people brought into older cells. Thus starter cells with older people as cell leaders should be formed when that stage is reached where new people cannot relate to inter-cell dialogue; cell relationship to the central committee and work groups remains the same.

### Study/Discussion Units

Second, cells function as theoretical study/practical discussion units which meet the internal educational needs of the chapter. Study includes readings in classic revolutionary thought (Lenin, Marx, Ho), current revolutionary analyses (Oglesby, Fanon, Debray), economics of current interest (Magdoff, Baran and Sweezy), power analyses (Kolko, Dumhoff), informational texts (Cerassi, Petras and Zetlin), each without concentrating on one to the detriment of the other. The idea is not to produce experts in one field only but to have all chapter people aware of the issues of imperialism from all sides. Cells discuss current matters from material in NLN, THE GUARDIAN, THE MOVEMENT, NEW LEFT REVIEW, etc., and continually analyze where things are at internally and in the world.

Political discussion about chapter program go on within cells; the assumption underlying this phase is that each cell member keeps his ear to the campus and knows where things are at and how they tie into a national perspective.

Third, cells function as the main in-



MR CORPORATE LIBERAL HIMSELF

THE MOVEMENT

formation channelling center for the chapter, either through the central committee member 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 aids greatly strategic and tactical thinking regarding campus activity.

### Work Groups

Work groups (research group, external program group, printing group, signpainters, draft 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 fosters complete (or an approximation thereto) exchange of information within the chapter at all levels. Thus while operating on one level as a compartmentalized work grouping, on a second level all work which 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 so desire. It is 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.

### Central Committee

The "leadership" of the chapter is represented by the central committee (or steering committee) which is formed by electing one member of each cell to the committee. The membership of the CC should probably change every two or 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 channelling center between cells.

Emergency situations are rarities; they would probably only occur during a period of struggle which might require immedi-

ate political decisions that cannot be voted upon by the entire membership in a body. In such cases, the Central Committee member should poll his cell and make his decision based upon that poll.

The coordinating function gives continuity to cell operation. The Central Committee should ideally meet twice weekly and analyze the discussions going on within each cell; that information is then passed back to the cells. In some cases, it may be the Central Committee's task to suggest things for cells to do, like catching up with other cells.

Structuring the leadership along these lines assures democratic control of the organization and eliminates the chance for the formation of leadership which is not responsible to the membership (like the Superintellectual/Organizer group); the decision-making process within the cell structure could probably best be named participatory democratic centralism. The dynamic of interaction between the Central Committee and the cells in which the CC is kept on its toes by the cells and vice versa creates a healthy tension between membership and leadership. The end result is that all members of the chapter are eventually able to function as leadership, that the inequity of political consciousness which produces elites is eliminated through a general raising of political awareness.

### Membership Meetings and Forums

The membership should come together in a mass meeting every two-three weeks for a general discussion of political and tactical matters. Mass meetings provide a place for new people to come and be organized (initially, at least) into cells. During target struggles membership meetings are essential.

A second place for organizing new people and providing a positive presence (ie, non-demonstration) on campuses are external educational meetings which deal with a wide range of subjects. Educational can be lectures by faculty, film festivals (and not just political films), outside speakers, etc. Educational should

# STOP THE MUSIC!

## Oakland Seven on Offensive

OAKLAND, CALIF. -- Lawyers for the seven leaders of last year's Stop The Draft Week arrested for "conspiracy" are filing an injunction in Federal court that may stop the whole case.

The injunction requests that the Federal government prevent the state from prosecuting the seven. It argues that the trial infringes on the constitutional right of free speech and assembly. As one of the seven stated, "What we call organizing, the DA calls conspiracy." Since all the acts and planning for Stop the Draft Week took place in public, it hardly fits the definition of secret conspiracy.

### Conspiracy Law Challenged

At the same time the State of California is being asked to delete from the Grand Jury testimony all evidence that did not take place in secret -- that is, all the testimony. The conspiracy law itself is also being challenged on the grounds that a law raising a misdemeanor to a felony is unconstitutional. (conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor is a felony according to the present law.)

The next court appearance of the seven will be in Alameda County Superior Court on May 3. At this time the Court will be hearing the request for dismissal by the State.

### Support Needed

Meanwhile, the Stop the Draft Week Defense Fund is raising money for the costs of defending the seven, which will probably run into the tens of thousands of dollars. Several movie benefits have been held. A rock benefit at the Fillmore or Carousel Ballroom is coming up.

Three of the seven, Terence Cannon, Bob Mandel and Steve Hamilton, are under separate felony indictments. They were arrested during Stop the Draft Week. Even if the conspiracy case is stopped, their cases will continue.

The feeling of the lawyers and movement people around the country is that the Oakland Seven case is as important to the anti-war movement as the Spock-Raskin indictment. At a press conference in New York last month called by Spock and Cannon, Dr. Spock gave his full support to the Oakland Case. They called for mutual support and a general Spring Offensive of all peace and anti-draft groups against the continuation of the Vietnam War.

Contributions to the Defense Fund should be sent to 6468 Benvenue Avenue, Berkeley, California, 94618.

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 run-down on the walkouts:

March 1 - 300 students walkout of Wilson High.

March 5 - 2000 students walkout of Garfield High.

March 6 - 4500 students walkout of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Garfield.

March 7 - 2000 students walkout of Garfield and Belmont.

March 8 - 5000 students walkout of Lincoln, Roosevelt and Garfield.

At Roosevelt High, the principal tried to lock 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 did not walkout of their schools voluntarily. They were pushed out by the deficiencies that exist in all Mexican-American schools. They are demanding:

- (1) No discipline for participation in the walkouts.
- (2) Bi-lingual and bi-cultural education. Teachers who know Spanish and understand Mexican history and culture. Texts which tell the true story of oppression of Mexicans and their contribution to American history.
- (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 areas and the right of students to choose the speakers they have at their own meetings.
- (10) Self-regulation of dress and grooming standards.
- (11) School facilities available to students.

Support

The walkouts will continue until these demands are met. Several groups are supporting the high school students. The Brown Berets, a militant Mexican-American group for self-defense, has been brutally treated as a scapegoat. They received the brunt of the cops' clubs and anyone wearing a beret was arrested. United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), an organization of college students, has been assisting the high school students in their protest. Chicano Parents' Councils are cropping up throughout the East L.A. area to support their sons and daughters. White SDS high school students called sympathy walkouts at Venice and Grant High Schools. At Hollywood organizers were beaten up by the football team under the direction of the principal. At Fairfax

an attempted rally resulted in failure when the administration piped 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 26. The Board didn't move very far towards meeting the students' demands. There will be a "voluntary program" for teaching Anglo teachers Spanish. 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 or more arrested during the walkouts.

Dissatisfaction with the Board's response to community demands was reflected in the mass walkout from the hearing by all 1200 except for a few dozen.



(photos: Chicano Student News, March 15, 1968)

Meanwhile, students, teachers and community leaders went into session to map further strategy to win for the East Side decent schools, and teachers equipped to teach in them. It is likely that the situation will remain explosive until the demands are met.

(compiled from CHICANO STUDENT NEWS; THE PEOPLES WORLD; and SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SDS REGIONAL NEWSLETTER.)

**REQUIRED MOVIE GOING...**  
See the new liberal Bobby Kennedy in the film **POINT OF ORDER** acting as Joseph McCarthy's errand boy.

SOUTHERN DAYS OF SECESSION  
WE SECEDE

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 County, 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 of 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 business, military, and governmental establishment has made us realize that we must place our hope for change ultimately in each other, in our own determination to create a Free South in a Free and Peaceful World.

As young Southerners we hereby **SECEDE** from:

The War Against the Vietnamese  
Racism and Exploitation of the Poor  
The Selective Service System

We call for disassociation from the tools that the Federal government is using to implement its attempts at global domination, especially the draft law and the use of our universities for military research, investment, and training.

By seceding from our country's oppression, both nationally and locally, we reaffirm our determination to work together to create a new South, free from racism and exploitation and a world in which people are free to determine their own destinies.

We ask other Southerners to join with local activity at your campus or community in publically expressing the SOUTHERN DAYS OF SECESSION on April 20-30, 1968.

We join with the Students for a Democratic Society in this ten-day focus of local protest. And we endorse the efforts of the students around the world as they participate in the International Student Strike called by the Student Mobilization Committee for April 26, 1968.

By The Southern Student Organizing Committee,  
Box 1403, Nashville, Tenn. 37212

A LITTLE

TERRORIST

ACTION

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 Grizzly Peak in Berkeley was blown up. Dynamite had been taped to three of the four legs. When the tower toppled, power to the University of California and the Lawrence Radiation Lab was knocked out for 12 hours.

A month earlier a bomb was thrown over the fence into a Berkeley substation. No equipment was destroyed. The day after the tower was destroyed, another tower a mile away was blasted. Only one leg was dynamited, so it stayed up.

On March 22 the attack shifted to the Pacific Telephone Company. Two dynamite blasts ripped up three telephone trunk cables, one underground, two aerial in the Berkeley hills. The blasts cut off all phone service to suburban Walnut Creek. At the same time a bomb threat by phone caused the shutting down of the freeway tunnel between Berkeley-Oakland and Contra Costa county, the main traffic route into Walnut Creek.

Deplorable, of course, resorting to this kind of dirty pool against two nice companies like that. We suggest that they round up as suspects anyone that's gotten a gas, electric or phone bill lately.

SOUTHERN  
REACTION  
TO ORANGEBURG

Demonstrations have been taking place all over the south in protest of the Orangeburg Massacre. In North Carolina students associated with militant black groups on the Duke University and North Carolina College campuses marched on Durham in protest of the killings in Orangeburg. The protest was part of a statewide series of demonstrations that night including 300 in Greensboro, 300 in Charlotte, 75 in Raleigh, 30 in Winston-Salem, and 65 in Chapel Hill.

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

White Alert Teams

At the National Student Association Conference in Atlanta February 23-25, students proposed White Alert Teams to combat police massacres on campuses. The students, prompted by speeches made by a South Carolina State Professor and Charlie Webster of AFSC, who were both present during the massacre, said they felt they must do something besides sending money or sympathy. The idea proposed is to set up a central phone number to be alerted in the event of trouble on any campus. From that point, white students participating from across the south could be notified. They would go to the campus and interpose themselves between black students and the police, guards, etc., since they believe that racist cops would be less likely to kill whites than the black students and that more accurate press coverage would be available. They do admit, however, that some white students would probably be killed. However, as one delegate put it, "White Southerners have to show that they do repudiate massacre in the short range and the racist society in the long range." So far six schools have signed up to participate. For more information: Dave Morris, Milligan College, Tenn.

Compiled from the VORKEIST MAILING, Southern Student Organizing Committee

**FIGHT! FIGHT!**  
**GETTING READY FOR THE FIRING LINE**  
BY Mike James  
10¢  
UJIA COMMUNITY UNION  
4441 N. Elston Chicago, Ill. 60640  
Students for a Democratic Society  
1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612

## COPS' FANTASY

LEADS TO DEATH,

FRAMEUP

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. -- Floyd Richard, a young black father, has been jailed on a charge of involuntary manslaughter in the case of a policeman's fatal shooting of a white Vietnam veteran. On Dec. 23, about 10 P.M., Richard and a friend were giving directions to Sp/4 Harry James Smiley, unaware that they were being observed by two cops from the San Francisco tactical squad. The cops, who later said that they thought the three might be contemplating an armed robbery or a marijuana offense, drove up and stopped them at gunpoint for questioning. During the questioning, according to Richard's friend, "I heard a shot and the white kid grabbed his chest and asked the cops why he had been shot." The two black friends were handcuffed and arrested, and although both were released within several days, Richard was still harassed by cops and finally rearrested. He was charged with involuntary manslaughter in the Smiley killing, and with possession of marijuana. His lawyer, Claude O. Allen of Oakland said, "It is the worst case of a frameup I have ever seen."

On March 27, a motion for dismissal of charges was refused. Smiley's parents are suing the San Francisco police dept. for \$500,000, so it would be advantageous to the police to try to pin the murder on Richard instead. The trial was set for April 11.

## NEW CIA

## SECRET WEAPON

Just about a week following the dispatch of six F-111 fighter-bombers to SE Asia, the military admitted that the second one had already been "lost". The F-111 is being used in combat for the first time after being the object of much controversy under the experimental designation of "TFX".

A source close to the administration, who for obvious reasons wishes to remain anonymous, admitted these "losses" to be part of the latest CIA plan to defeat North Vietnam.

"The plan", he confided, "is to lose enough of these planes over enemy territory to ensure their being able to piece together at least one relatively undamaged plane. Once they do this it is expected they will start building them." The F-111, generally admitted to be quite useless and extremely expensive (the price probably running close to 8 figures - all to the left of the decimal), is expected to completely destroy North Vietnam's economy within a year if put into production there.

MOVEMENT CARS GET  
TENDER  
LOVING  
CARE

AT

Earl's  
VOLKSWAGEN

1830 SAN PABLO AVE.

BERKELEY

# plintering the Big Tick

There are any number of ideas on how the military should be resisted; 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 are just a few of the recent developments.

## From Without . . .

Essential reading for anyone liable to be caught in a draft — and lots of other folks too — are a couple of books which have come out recently on the draft and possible related problems.

HOW TO STAY OUT OF THE ARMY (published by Monthly Review Press, 116 West 14th St., New York City at \$1.25) is a short paperback by Conrad Lynn. Lynn, a lawyer experienced in draft cases, has written a general outline of the draft process and the various types of classifications, deferments 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. After reading it, find a good draft counselor or lawyer.

Just in case Lynn's book doesn't do the job, another paperback entitled MANUAL FOR DRAFT-AGE IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA has been put together by a fellow named Mark Satin. (Send \$1.00 in faltering yankee currency to Toronto Anti-Draft Programme, 2279 Yonge Street, Toronto 12, Ontario Canada) Very good; informative on such things as the new Canadian immigration law and the process of obtaining immigrant status. Also plenty of information on Canada — the climate, politics, economy, culture, organizations which might help you, etc. — which sounds like a fairly good place to live. But then what's not preferable to the Army or jail?

**Louisville, Ky.** --- Kentucky's owners have brought out the ultimate weapon in their long attempt to get rid of organizers of the huge numbers of Kentucky poor folks. Joseph Mulloy, an organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SECF) and one of 5 SCEF people arrested on a charge of sedition last summer, was ordered to report for induction into the military on February 23. Mulloy had previously applied for conscientious objector status and, though he was supported in his claim by prominent members of the Catholic Church, was turned down by the draft board. This left him no other choice than to refuse induction, though he would have been willing to do civilian work had he been given a I-O classification.

Mulloy, age 23, has worked against war, poverty, strip mining and racial discrimination with SECF and other organizations. He was employed with the Appalachian Volunteers until his dismissal as a result of his decision not to submit to the draft. Three key members of the Kentucky staff of AV have resigned in protest of his being fired and 14 of the West Va. staff demanded he be rehired.

**Atlanta, Ga.** -- Cleveland Sellers, a SNCC field worker and one of those wounded at the same time South Carolina cops and National Guard murdered four students at Orangeburg February 8, was convicted of draft "evasion" in a U.S. District Court March 28. The judge chose to ignore the fact that black people are unrepresented on Sellers' South Carolina draft board. He also saw an irrelevant fact that the board's files listed him as a "semi-professional agitator," thereby proving a political as well as racist motivation for

wanting to get rid of Sellers. The case was limited, then, to whether he actually refused to report. In actuality, he had reported but had not stepped forward when ordered to during the induction process.

American Civil Liberties Union lawyers had unsuccessfully contended last year that Sellers and all other South Carolina blacks should not be subject to classification and induction until they are represented on local and appeal boards.

The word from Cleve is: "LET US RESIST THE MACHINE AND JOIN THE BLACK LIBERATION ARMY!!!!!!"

**Nashville, Tenn.** -- On March 15, SNCC Field Secretary Fred Brooks, also former director of Nashville's controversial Liberation School, was sentenced to four years in jail for refusing to be inducted into the Army.

Brooks pleaded "Not Guilty" on the grounds that he is a conscientious objector and opposes the war in Vietnam.

**Seattle, Washington** — Earnest Dudley was sentenced February 24 to the maximum of 5 years in prison for refusing induction. His case is now on appeal; with a defense committee soliciting national support and publicity. Legal arguments for the defense all hinge upon the constitutionality of the draft, the war in Vietnam, and the applicability of the draft to non-whites (Dudley is Black) in a non-representative society. If you can help with publicity, money, etc., write: Earnest Dudley Defense Committee, P.O. Box 713, Seattle, Washington.

**Berkeley, Calif.** -- A Berkeley student who turned in his draft card in disgust at the war last October 16 was reclassified and ordered to report for induction. Following the order to show up on March 4 in New York, Hale Zukas asked for a transfer of induction proceedings from there to this area so that any legal proceedings arising from his refusal to report would be carried out here.

Despite Zukas' being confined to a wheelchair and having no use of his hands, local board #2 in Bayshore, New York evidently decided that his opposition to the war made him quite eligible as cannon fodder. He is expecting a new order to report for induction in this area soon.

**Columbia University** --- A poll conducted here found 30% of the seniors to be opposed to the war to such an extent that they would refuse military servitude "at any cost" while it continues.

**Chicago** — In the past two years 659 men have failed to report for induction here. Most of those resisters come from Black neighborhoods, where the draft comes down the hardest.

**San Francisco** — The Resistance announced March 28 at a press conference here a draft card turn-in set for April 3 in which people in 75-85 cities will participate.

It was also announced that Paul Rupert and Greg Byers had refused induction in Oakland the morning of the press conference.

**Little Rock, Ark.** — Mike Vogler was arrested March 5 for refusal to report for civilian work.

**Los Angeles** — Joe Matzlish, Kenneth Wilkes and Christian Hayden refused to be inducted on March 5.

**Baltimore, Md.** — Bob Libershal refused to be inducted February 28.

## . . . And Within

**The Army** — Just in case the books on staying out of the Army and going to Canada didn't help you the Wall Street Journal, now being opposed to the war, published an article March 20 on how guys in the Army get out of being sent to Vietnam.

Seems like folks with bad backs, bad eyes and so on are being sent over anyway so new methods and afflictions are being fervently sought. Company clerks at Fort Benning, Ga. say that maybe a sixth of the college graduate draftees (who are perhaps more familiar with the weak points in the bureaucracy) in their companies get off even after they have gotten Vietnam orders. Methods, many of which show plenty of good old yankee ingenuity, vary from confusing Army records (by applying two or more different changes of status simultaneously or even having one's self removed completely from Army records) to having one's spleen removed.

Almost makes one wish that more folks were allowing themselves to be drafted so that their creative talents could really be challenged.

**Fort Ord, Calif.** — Two soldiers here are being investigated with the possibility of a court martial for allegedly "promoting disloyalty and disaffection among the troops and civilian populace." A three year sentence would be possible as a result of Private Ken Stolte, Jr. and PFC Daniel Amick having exercised their rights of free speech in passing out a leaflet condemning the war and advocating the formation of a G.I. union.

Anti-war sentiment is reported very high at the base, with anti-war slogans and symbols replacing some of the more familiar variety of bathroom graffiti and troops openly wearing peace buttons while in uniform.

**Fort Sill, Okla.** --- The American Serviceman's Union and the Committee for G.I. Rights acquired legal aid for Corporal Rodney Oshiro when he was charged with speaking to an officer with a "disrespectful inflection." Although the case was lost, GI's are reported impressed by the effort with the result of an upsurge of interest in the union.

**Clovis, New Mexico** -- Air Force Captain Dale Noyd was sentenced to a year in federal prison for refusing to train pilots to fly jet fighters for the war.

**San Francisco** -- PFC George Davis, 19, was sentenced Feb. 19 to four years at hard labor for refusing to fight in Vietnam.

**Washington, D.C.** --- A lack of enthusiasm was evident among the men of the 13th Tactical Fighter Wing over the transfer of Our Fearless Leader's son-in-law, Patrick Nugent, to flight line duties with their unit. The brass assured the men that the likelihood they will soon be shipped off to Vietnam has nothing to do with Pat's presence.

A letter sent anonymous by one of the men to the Washington Evening Star said, in part:

"Without unfairly impugning Airman Nugent's motives, it is not difficult to view his newly manifested patriotic zeal as part of a plan to revive flagging public support for the Administration's Vietnam policy.

"I cannot . . . accept the apparent utilization of our wing as a pawn in a political chess game in which the strategist has no qualms about making any move that will win."

# CIPA IN CHICAGO

## ORGANIZING THE MIDDLE CLASS

By Bobbi Cieciorca

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 organizing which has been going on since 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?

CIPA grew out of a city-wide call for independent political action. It was envisioned that networks of independent political units — block clubs, area groups, ward organizations — would be developed all over Chicago. In fact this only happened in the 49th ward with CIPA. Electoral politics were seen as a good vehicle for organizing since many middle class people retain faith in the electoral process and can be drawn into action this way. However, CIPA intended from the beginning to use electoral politics as an educating tool to build radical consciousness.

Early electoral efforts resulted in a solid core of workers and a financial base in the community but not in widespread community involvement. There is now a hard core of perhaps 30 activists and a larger group of around 150 who participate occasionally.

Since the early campaigns CIPA has broadened and diversified its approaches to the community and has begun to ask a lot of serious questions about how to move in a middle class neighborhood, what they can hope to build, what "middle class" means.

### The Neighborhood

The 49th ward is made up mostly of East Rogers Park, a fairly stable and defined neighborhood. It also includes part of Edgewater, a less defined area. CIPA people call Rogers Park "middle class" but are quick to point out that this is a decidedly non-functional definition which tells little about the real forces, stresses and potentials of the neighborhood.

Rogers Park is a mostly white neighborhood but has small populations of several minority groups with recent influxes as urban renewal disturbs nearby neighborhoods. It is a well educated neighborhood with many young liberally oriented professionals as well as a large grouping of older people. (The middle aged have moved to the suburbs). There are both white collar and blue collar workers with a wide range of incomes. It is predominantly a community of renters rather than home owners.

All this tells us very little about how the people who live in Rogers Park think and feel, or about how politics, especially radical politics, might fit into their lives.

### How People See Themselves

CIPA people point out one immediate difference between Rogers Park and poorer neighborhoods: local issues are not obvious; you don't have rats and roaches and garbage on the streets to point to. Vietnam is a major concern, but people feel as powerless to effect change there as they do in their own lives. Many of the young liberals understand and support the black liberation movement but, again, they do not see how it relates to them nor how they relate to it. Racism wears a liberal cloak and speaks an enlightened rhetoric but remains racism. Busing and open housing are issues on which people will take strong verbal positions, but no action.

Many problems are not different from what an organizer might find in any neighborhood. However, the veneer of respectability obscures the discontent of many of the area's residents more than would probably be found in a poorer neighborhood. People insist upon viewing their problems as individual; they cannot see beyond their own isolation to the social roots of what troubles them. Often they can envision no possibility of change, nor of a happier, more fulfilling life. When they can glimpse such possibilities, they still cannot see what they as individuals might do to realize these possibilities. And always, to deny the legitimacy of discontent, people talk about how things aren't so bad and there's a lot of people a lot worse off. As one CIPA staff worker puts it: "People are still

thinking in terms of society having a limited amount of resources and they ought to be damn grateful they've got what they've got and not complain about the little problems in their lives." This last is perhaps a stronger curb to action here than it might be in a poorer community where it might be easier to see through.

Despite the diversity of the community, CIPA people find some attitudes pervasive: everyone seems to hate his job, and everyone understands that he is getting screwed in the market place.

### CIPA's Role

What then is the role of CIPA, an organization attempting to build radical political consciousness? The greatest obstacle to movement might be roughly defined as lack of vision, an inability to conceive of alternative ways of life and modes of ac-



Poison Cookie Hole discussion with Vivian Rothstein about her trip to N. Vietnam.

tion, and hence, an inability to get involved -- inertia.

CIPA attempts in many ways to jog people out of their inertia, into a recognition of viable alternatives, into motion. These attempts take a multitude of forms.

### Poison Cookie Hole

High school kids are an obvious constituency, more open and flexible than many other groups. Kids in the local high schools feel isolated, unable to move with just one or two friends to back them up. Amy Kesselman of CIPA got together some of these students; out of their meetings developed several underground newspapers and later a coffee house called the Poison Cookie Hole. The Cookie Hole was created and controlled by the kids. Amy was an advisor only, but her CIPA connection aroused conservative community opposition (warping the minds of our youth).

Seventy kids came on the night the Cookie Hole opened and saw it closed on a technicality by the cops. The night it reopened the area swarmed with cops but they could find no pretense to close it. Opposition tactics changed to putting pressure on the kids: red baiting on the one hand, offers of assistance (with strings) from the mayor's Youth Welfare Commission on the other. The landlord repossessed, claiming violation of lease and the Cookie Hole was closed for a couple of months. The place is open again now.

though no longer the focus of massive attention.

Out of the experience has grown a group of enlightened high school students who can see through the maneuvering of bureaucracy and who are beginning to work seriously on organizing within each of the local high schools.

### Draft Resistance

Another CIPA related group is the Rogers Park Resistance which does draft counselling and on December 4 supported eight young neighborhood men when they posted a statement of non-cooperation with the draft on the door of the local headquarters of the Democratic Party ("the local representation of the war effort"). Two draft cards were slipped through the mail slot during the demonstration.

### The Spark

Then there is the ROGER SPARK, a bi-weekly newspaper put out by CIPA since last December. It includes local news — often news not covered in other local press — and commentary on national events, both from a radical perspective. It has a mailing of 1,000, a happily expanding circulation, and is well received in the neighborhood.

Anti-war organizing during last summer included such things as a peace fair on the lakeshore beach and occasional evening anti-war film showings on the beach.

unable to really help through their social service jobs. Many of the people who came to CIPA came as liberals, and the transition to radical perspectives was sometimes a long and difficult one. Now however, the core of CIPA workers are confirmed in their radical stance. This is in part necessitated by the liberalness of the neighborhood; that which is radical has to be differentiated continually from that which is liberal. This solid radicalness means, among other things, that the candidacies of McCarthy and Kennedy have in no way changed the attitude of CIPA people toward establishment politics. There is no question of working for Kennedy as the lesser of two evils. Even though the neighborhood will probably go all for Kennedy if given the chance, CIPA people would use his candidacy to expose his inability to satisfy people's real demands.

### Square Provo

CIPA continues to work in electoral politics, but here too there is a strong emphasis on prodding people to see alternatives. Candidates in the upcoming election will use what they call the "square provo" approach, that is, a simplistically straightforward manner of dealing with community problems. If a factory is polluting the air, the candidate will climb the roof and stop up the chimney. If kids need a place to play the candidate will set up a play lot on the vacant lot down the street and perhaps be arrested. These actions are object lessons that there are immediate and functional ways of dealing with problems — after which people can go on to talk about why such practical solutions to problems can't happen within our current social structure.

Underlying all these new directions in which CIPA has branched out is a growing awareness of the need to involve people in real work, as persons, not just as bodies, the need to see politics as how you live, not just who you vote for. Thus a candidate, canvassing, will say: "Yes, I'm running and I'd like you to vote for me, but if you want to do something really useful for the community why don't you get involved in the resistance or the nursery school or start talking to the people on your block about whatever issue most concerns you."

### What It All Means

So what is important in the CIPA experience? People are being radicalized. That means that they are beginning to see alternative modes of action, they are breaking out of their blinders, beginning to see how they as individuals can act. Responsibility is spread over an ever widening group of people. People respond to the trust placed in them and become more involved. Bonds between people become more important as well as the sense of political involvement in and responsibility to the community. People take their politics into the community so that the importance of something like a PTA meeting is seen in the political perspective of the whole community. Certainly CIPA is seen as a real force with which they must deal by the liberal establishment in the neighborhood. People begin to make personal decisions about what they will do with their lives from a radical and responsible position. At least one grad student is foregoing his studies because to continue would mean leaving and right now he sees his involvement in the neighborhood as more important.

It is hard to say where these developments will lead, what kind of radical community could conceivably emerge, whether a middle class constituency can be as effectively organized as a poor or working class one. But whatever happens in the long run, it is important that the ripples spread, that the circles of understanding widen throughout the community, that people break out and free themselves for future radical action. From this point of view CIPA looks like a very good beginning. ◀

### Women

At one point a group of the women in CIPA, both organizers and women who related as wives of men who were active, got together to discuss the special situations and problems of women in political organizations. The discussions started as gripe sessions but soon grew to be an exploration of themselves and their personal and political lives. Out of this they have emerged with new confidence in their abilities as political individuals as well as new understanding and affection for each other. They are developing a program of consumer information in areas like food, drugs and medical care and are talking about setting up co-ops to provide improved services in these areas. A co-operative nursery school has already been set up, and there is talk about developing an agit-prop theater group.

### Internal Education

There has also been an internal education program wherein people attempted to break down the liberal American dream and begin to understand the realities of this country — that its flaws are not "mistakes" and "accidents" but integral parts of the system, built into it from the first. This kind of analysis has helped a lot of people who had been becoming disillusioned because of their inability to do the kinds of things they wanted to do, such as people with humane impulses who were

(Photo by Lowen Bertrian)

# ACTIVISTS KIDNAPPED IN MEXICO

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.

The six, Jack Bloom, Bobbi Cieciorka, Harold Jacobs, Connie Kurz, Stuart McRae, and Karen Wald, all active in movement organizations, had no difficulty entering Mexico as tourists. All had valid passports, Mexican tourist visas, and Cuban visas.

Five of the six had applied for State Department authorization for the trip early in February. At the time they left the authorizations had not come through, although some of them were led to believe by State Department officials that their request would be approved.

Mexico is the only Latin American country maintaining diplomatic relations with Cuba. In accord with international agreements between the two countries, Mexico has thus far allowed United States citizens, including those without State Department authorization, to travel to Cuba through Mexico. What happened to the six was a blatant departure from previous practices.

The six were kept prisoners in their abductors' cars for over twenty hours, divided into two groups and driven from Mexico City to the border towns of Reynosa — McAllen and Matamoros — Brownsville, where they were ordered by Mexican officials to cross over to the U.S. At no time was an explanation given to them, either by their abductors or by Mexican officials at the border towns, as to why they were being forcibly expelled from Mexico.

## Who is Responsible?

There is some evidence, however, that U.S. authorities had foreknowledge of the incident. The group taken to McAllen contacted U.S. immigration officials in Brownsville in order to link up with their friends. When the U.S. authorities in Brownsville were asked whether the Mexicans had informed them that three North Americans were being taken over the border, U.S. immigration officials said they had NOT been so contacted but boasted that they "had independent sources of information" to expect the group.

Further, a story about the kidnapping which appeared in the SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER (3/15/68) claimed the security affairs desk in the State Department confirmed that the abduction took place. State Department officials were quoted as saying they were "not directly involved," thus leaving open the possibility they were INDIRECTLY involved. According to the State Department, Mexico maintains the six were expelled because they were hippies and "hippies are persons non-grata in Mexico."

The "official" explanation makes no sense for the following reasons: (1) the six are not hippies and do not look or act like hippies; (2) the six had no difficulty entering Mexico as tourists; (3) the six were in the process of LEAVING Mexico when abducted. If allowed to leave for Cuba they would have been out of Mexico in less than two hours. Instead, the Mexicans went to the trouble of driving them — on a practically non-stop, 800 mile trip — to the U.S. border.

It appears that both the U.S. and Mexican governments were implicated in the kidnapping. In contrast to the U.S., Mexico has friendly relations with Cuba. If the Mexican government cooperated with the U.S., it was probably because of U.S. pressure.

## Cuban Threat

The U.S. government has sought to isolate Cuba by means of an illegal and immoral blockade. The restrictions imposed on travel to Cuba are a direct extension of U.S. policy toward Cuba. The U.S. passport, which is supposed to function to protect Americans who travel to foreign countries, is now used as a means of curbing travel.

The case of the six underscores the fact that U.S. citizens cannot travel freely, without harassment or intimidation, to countries the U.S. government defines as out of bounds to Americans. But what kind of threat does Americans travelling freely to Cuba pose for U.S. officials? The trips to Cuba by movement people serve to enrich our movement political-

ly. It is often said that the movement knows what it is against but not what it is for. A close look at the Cuban revolution undoubtedly will serve to speed up the process whereby our own movement comes to define itself positively. The threat that Cuba poses is the threat of example, the living embodiment of an ideal just, as the expression goes, 90 miles off the coast of Florida. It is thus imperative that the route to Cuba through Mexico, presently the least expensive way of going, be kept open.

The six are filing protests with the Mexican and U.S. governments. The six intend to resume their trip as soon as possible.

## Puerto Rico:

### ATTACK ON LIBERACION

Twenty-six persons were arrested in Puerto Rico on February 28th, when police raided a community meeting held to protest Police persecution of young members of LIBERACION who live in Barrio Tortugo, a working class neighborhood near Rio Piedras.

At 8:00 P.M. some 120 riot police surrounded the house where the meeting was being held. Without showing arrest or search warrants they broke into the house, manhandled around 100 persons and took 26 to the headquarters of the Criminal Investigation Corps.

The object of the arrests were 13 members of LIBERACION who were present at the meeting. LIBERACION, a youth project for National Liberation, begun in the summer of last year, intensively training full-time volunteers who live in both rural and urban working class communities in Puerto Rico and plans to begin organizing among Puerto Rican people in the ghettos of the United States. They organize at grassroots level against various aspects of the colonial situation with emphasis on resistance to the draft and the war in Vietnam.

## ATMOSPHERE

These arrests took place in an atmosphere of hysteria on the part of the mass media and in the colonial government structure over acts of sabotage against U.S. enterprises which have been occurring here and have increased over the last month. In spite of front page hysterical coverage by the press and police statements that the arrests were related to the acts of sabotage, only eight persons were charged, all of them with minor offenses. National public response to the arrests has been one of support for LIBERACION and of general anger against police brutality and of the continued clear-cut violations of civil rights.

Among the members of LIBERACION arrested in the raid is Juan M. Rivera, at present on trial for resistance to the draft. This case together with that of eight others is being used as a test case which challenges the legality of the draft in Puerto Rico. Prominent civil rights lawyers from Puerto Rico and the U.S. are participating in the defense.

A few days after these arrests two young men related to the work of LIBERACION were arrested for draft resistance. Miguel Rodriguez and Israel Rodriguez, part-time volunteers active in community organizing against the draft, were arrested by the FBI at the same time that three members of the Movement Pro-Independence were arrested on the same charge.

# CENTRALISM, OR . . .

## CONT'D FROM PG. 9

be viewed as secondary organizing functions; when conducted in this manner, they become tactical tools rather than intellectual seminars and irrelevant discussions.

The cell structure leads, then, to three effects: the formation of democratic chapter structures with a leadership totally responsive to a constituency; a constituency which is politically sophisticated in both theory and practice; and an organizational form which can function in a non-target vacuum and which likewise provides for the more or less total involvement of chapter people in political struggle on a long-term basis. Probably the most important point is the latter: we need totally involved political organizers, not only on campus but in the community generally.

## Praxis Makes Perfect

Limited experience, and applied theory, suggest the cell structure is best suited to the needs of chapters on multiversity campuses. In those monsters it is important that political and personal activity be centered around the chapter both for personal and political survival. Also, new chapters would probably benefit greatly and assure their political life by forming immediately into a cell structure and thus avoid repeating mistakes made by chapters over the years.

Penn State SDS reorganized around the above program two months ago and is having partial but good success with the cell structure. After years of isolation, new people are being organized into the chapter through one-to-one efforts and educational programs where people are contacted. Work groups are functioning, especially the military R&D research group, and a programmatic approach to throwing military R&D work off campus is formulating. Most importantly, the political awareness of the 35-40 members now permanently in cells has grown tremendously in two months. On the bad side, about 30 people have drifted in and out of cells; this is probably a case of kids being unsure of themselves and the lack of firmly developed cell program. The process has slowed down recently. The Central Committee has not functioned as well as it could. In reaction to the old leadership, cells elected mostly new people to the Central Committee, people who are still somewhat unsure of themselves and their role as leadership. Further, some of the old leadership, especially the ideologues, still persist in that assumed role; yet the development of people negates the efforts of the Super-intellectuals to dominate.

Smaller schools, especially the Antioch Reed/Swarthmore kind of school, are less suited for the cell structure on one level-communications on small campuses are infinitely better than at multiversities — but can easily adapt chapter functions into the study group approach. However—

ford-Bryn Mawr SDS, a newly formed chapter, organized into a cell/work group structure; Swarthmore SDS has a much looser form of study group chapter in operation (in this case integrating cell and work group functions.) Temple SDS has just begun an attempt to get cells going.

## Other Implications

Usually people who are brought political awareness initially through a confrontation with the Selective Service System sink into political inactivity because there is no organization into which they can be integrated which has a total analysis of America; most draft resistance groups are in fact single issues groups (with some exceptions like the BDRG and the Cleveland Draft Resistance Union). The multi-group approach to draft resistance in which DRU's and SDS are separate can be politically irrelevant; by organizing draft case people into SDS chapters which are cell structures we can build strong on-going political forms rather than SDS-DRU coalitions of a limited and tenuous nature. (This integration is especially useful for rural campuses where the metropolitan dynamic is not a key factor.) The creation of strong political organizations and strong political people is in reality and in the long run the only viable alternative to the draft which is political.

Eric Mann has been doing some thinking about a similar structural organization for post-college SDS people who have moved on to work situations. The form Eric envisions, as I understand it, is one in which teachers, social workers, professionals, etc., come together as a local organizing committee to do political work in a given geographic area; the rationale behind his thinking is the same as that which led to the cell structure concept: we need permanent, relevant political organizations keyed to the long range struggle which will focus on political work rather than the work situation itself in daily life. The two forms, then, are mutually important in that they provide a continuity for political work in which people can come from study to work, from a campus cell group to a city cell group.

Had we been organized along continuous lines since our beginning we may not have lost 100,000 members over the years. With the political situation in America today we cannot afford to lose people because we do not treat their needs organizationally. On this point, at least, Mao is relevant to our movement; there can be no revolution without a revolutionary organization.

The most important point to stress to chapters considering the cell structure is: experiment. The total model may not fit your particular conditions and should be modified to fit local reality. From the dynamic of our experimentation comes our growth. That's Praxis. ♦

# WANTED:

people interested in making a long-term commitment to radical community organizing. All types of skills and abilities are welcome. We have a particularly urgent need for a **PRINTER**, an **EDITOR**, and a **NURSERY SCHOOL TEACHER**. (see article describing CIPA activities in this issue of THE MOVEMENT)

# C.I.P.A.

1517 Howard st. Chicago, Ill. 60626 — (312) 338-5872

# ANALYSIS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT

## continued

test vote." The delegates wanted to organize and build movement institutions. The neighborhood groups of 10-30 people are the institutions worth maintaining and expanding. Basic decision 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 engrossed 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 attending 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 galvanized local citizens, sometimes without even contacting the central PFM. The Butte County organization was started by a retired man who heard about PFM over T.V., learned how to become a registrar, and single-handedly signed-up all of Butte's 100 PFM registrants. He was never in contact with the state office until after the registration drive. In Santa Barbara, the local PFM group spawned a draft resistance group organizing 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 organizations that can help spark radical activity in outlying areas.

In theory, these small groups and the county organizations would not only make campaign promises, but would follow them up with concrete organizing projects. Yet when the campaigns get underway, there will be a real tension between purely electoral activity and non-electoral forms of organizing. Any group has a limited number of resources -- skilled leadership, time, money. Faced with a choice of running a candidate for U.S. Congress or organizing a military base or high school around immediate issues, the Congressional race will win. The argument is sometimes made that by running an electoral campaign and involving high school students and military personnel, one is IPSO FACTO organizing them. I would contend that mobilizing students for precinct canvassing is much less effective than organizing them into an anti-draft union, for example. Some counties realize 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 community organizing" efforts are profoundly political. Too often protest amongst middle-class people means expiation of moral guilt and nothing else. Some local Resistance chapters for instance, eschew radical politics in favor of the optimum

number of draft card turn-ins. In an effort to involve as many people as possible, they emphasize the moral correctness 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 for example, are reformist in nature. 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. Nixon promises to escalate the war. Kennedy and McCarthy are trying to co-op young people and members of minority 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 activists. 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 Allan Cranston may oppose a reactionary Republican Max Rafferty for U.S. Senate. The PFM candidate Paul Jacobs could command a good deal of support from liberals and left-liberals. He might even take enough votes away from the Democratic candidate to give Rafferty a victory. PFM cannot solve all the problems radicals face in 1968, but it will expose

thousands of Americans to revolutionary ideas, perhaps for the first time.

At the Richmond Convention, PFM rejected democracy and reformism and yet will retain appeal to the wavering liberal. The alliance with the Black Panther Party presents a difficult job of education among the Party's predominantly white middle class members. Yet it can be done. Alameda County (Berkeley and Oakland) is launching a campaign to elect Huey P. Newton to Congress. This campaign will force many whites to confront their own racism and perhaps overcome it. There is tentative agreement with militant Mexican-Americans which is a significant addition to the New Left coalition. Implementation of support for Stop the Draft Week and carrying through on the 18-year-old vote referendum should attract many young people into the Party. Finally the Senatorial race should help to unite the Party behind a radical candidate who will make the party visible to California 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, expressed a hatred for capitalism and even a hesitating allegiance will attempt to attract non-voters as well as P and F registrants. If the radical sentiment expressed in Richmond prevails, PFM will use the elections to organize people into the anti-war and black liberation movements -- not to get a big protest vote.

Copyright by Reese Erlich 1968. All rights reserved. ◀

## "NEW

(Deeply involved in the upsurge of Black consciousness, many Black students have been getting together to demand that their schools make the changes necessary to serve the students. Many of the issues arising are of the type which have also been brought up by white students, such as the dehumanizing dorm regulations, repressive and arbitrary administrations and the whole factory atmosphere of the college which is meant to turn the student into a machine useful to the corporate state. This becomes especially distasteful to the Black student when he realizes that he is being turned out for use by the white corporate state.

The following is from a report by Afriamerican News Service on the recent events at Howard University.

During the past two years, Howard students have made request upon request, demand upon demand to rectify the most basic problems of curriculum improvement and academic freedom. The response of the University has been swift and repressive action to silence those students and faculty who have been singled out as rebels in the university community. Last year scores of students and faculty were asked not to return to the campus.

This past month, an attempt was made to repeat the mass expulsions of black radical students. Most of the precipitating action centered around Howard's 101st Charter Day Celebration of March 1. In early January or February students had presented a list of demands to the school administration concerning elimination of student repression and the establishment of a black curriculum. They asked that an answer be given by no later than Charter Day. When the administration refused to reply, 39 students marched on stage of Crampton Auditorium in the middle of Charter Day exercises and demanded that their position be given a hearing and a response. The administration responded by breaking up the Charter Day Assembly.

### Sit-In

On March 15th, a disciplinary hearing letter was sent to approximately 39 students who were singled out by the admin-

## WHERE IT'S AT

... A RESEARCH GUIDE FOR  
COMMUNITY ORGANIZING ...

... Real Estate Ownership.. Urban  
Renewal... Community & Public Services..  
Police... Courts... Lawyers... Unions...  
Consumer Action... Jobs...  
Organizing Resources... & others ...

DONATION \$1.50..

POSTERS by ERVIN COBBS  
RAP BROWN AND LEROI JONES  
\$1.50 each available from the Movement



NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

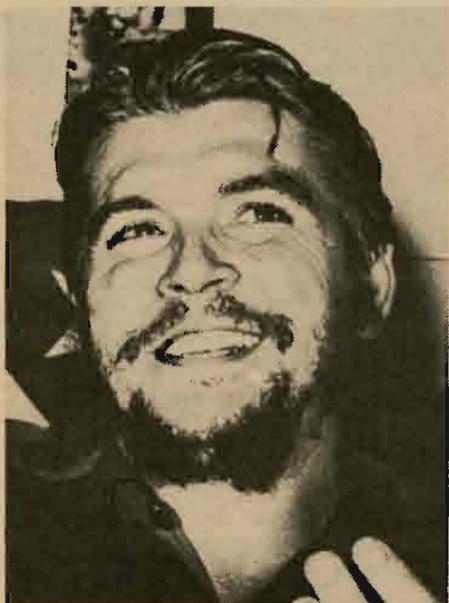
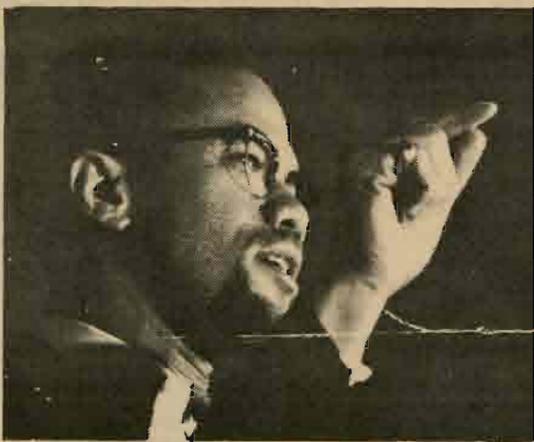
ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE SEND ME ....

I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ check if  
MOVEMENT subscriber

mail to the MOVEMENT  
449 14th ST. San Francisco, Calif. 94103



GIANT POSTERS  
MALCOLM X AND  
CHE GUEVARA

\$1.00 each

only 75¢ to Movement  
(22x 28 inches)... subscribers

-SPECIAL BULK RATES-

## MARTIN LUTHER KING ..... 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 for world 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, Martin Luther King 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 now stilled, but its echo runs deep. The work remains. Another martyr in the movement has been added to the list which we all know is far far too long. Medgar Evers, 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 time, 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

istration as "leaders" of the student movement. The students responded to the letters on the following Monday by entering the administration building, along with nearly 200 other students and staged a sit-in. On Tuesday the sit-in was repeated, only the numbers had increased to 500. The students spent Tuesday night inside the administration building. Wednesday morning, administration officials were greeted by 2100 students who refused to let them into the building.

On that day, the "NEW HOWARD" University was formed. Students took over the entire administration building, including the school switchboard. Committees headed and staffed by students were formed to meet all the responsibilities of the student take-over. "NEW HOWARD" had the support of all the professional schools of Howard, as well as the 8,750 student body of the Liberal Arts College. The Law students had formed a Legal Defense Committee. Two hundred strong, they had filed suit in the District Court to keep New Howard opened, and to declare the injunction issued by the "former" Howard officials which closed the school and gave students until 12 midnight Thursday to evacuate the campus, invalid.

The medical students formed a medical committee to see that NEW HOWARD students were in good health. In addition to the support from these two professional schools the Engineering and Architecture school students built and installed a campus-wide PA system that sent the word out all over campus, as well as on the four floors of the administration building. Other committees were the food committee, communications committee, the student marshalls, the janitorial committee was established to handle the overall responsibility for the total activity of NEW HOWARD. Students from the Steering Committee were also responsible for conducting negotiations with the Administration and the Board of Trustees.

Meanwhile, the steering committee had listed 16 demands, all of which were to be met before the students turned the Liberated Zones of the campus back to the administration.

### Administration Response

As the NEW HOWARD was getting itself together, so were the Board of Trustees. They met and by Friday decided that (1) they wanted the campus back, (2) that they were going to get the campus back by any means necessary, and (3) they would try to work out a concession plan with the students to return the campus peacefully. So they sent their most liberal members, Kenneth Clark, Percy Julian et al to work out an agreement with the students. Into the administration building they came and meet they did with the steering committee of NEW HOWARD. The meeting lasted way up into the wee small hours of Saturday morning, with the Board of Trustees skillfully wearing down the members of the steering committee until they reached a tentative settlement, subject to approval of the entire student body assembled in the halls of the administration building. The sixteen demands were whittled down to three concessions, supposedly embodying the substance of the original 16. The concessions included liberalized student representation on the discipline committees, a guarantee that the students would not be punished for their siege and that the University would be brought up to "contemporary" standards of curriculum (this the students interpreted as "black curriculum").

The students brought back the concession to the entire body after a series of meetings, all voted to accept the concession. Not everybody was satisfied with the agreement, and there were pockets of dissention among the students. However, there was no organized opposition to the proposal made by the steering committee, so their proposal carried. Not everybody was fooled by the concession, however, Brother Nathan Hare, a sociology professor was kicked out of Howard last year for his radicalism called the whole scene "Amos & Andy Bullshit".

As time passed and students realized what had happened, many were clearly disappointed at the compromise with the board of trustees. Many said they would not comply. ←

# TEXAS SO. FIVE

continued from p. 4

around the country against black people is political.

The MOVEMENT: Is there a defense committee?

Floyd: The TSU Five defense fund for the purpose of publicizing what happened in Houston. Now we're also talking about what happened in Orangeburg because we know exactly what happened there -- how many students were murdered and wounded and who they charged with the whole deal -- Cleveland Sellers.

### TSU and Orangeburg

The MOVEMENT: Would you like to say a little 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 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 -- they have people to try to find out exactly how militant black students are supposed to be -- so then they'll know how to maneuver on the campus. So TSU was the first -- it was a test tube for police and government trying to take control of campuses by using fire power.

Grambling was the first used as a test tube -- and Central State -- to see how the National Guard could come in and just arrest people on the campus and surround the campus. They'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'll happen to you. You'll either be murdered or put in jail on trumped-up charges. And these methods are being used on all the black campuses such as Central State, Grambling, Arkansas A & M, South Carolina State, Howard, Tuskegee. And we've had some information that they're planning on breaking up the BSU at Hampton Institute. The MOVEMENT: What's been the response to your case by students at TSU?

Floyd: Well they've been trying to organize around our trial but the administration is collaborating with the local and state government. They put out sheets for freshman entering the college which list what you can and can't do, who you can talk to, how long you can say out, and when you can't stay out. Its actually been incarceration or a concentration camp but you know, you can't see it but its there.

The MOVEMENT: Are the black university administrators co-operating with white local governments to control the campuses?

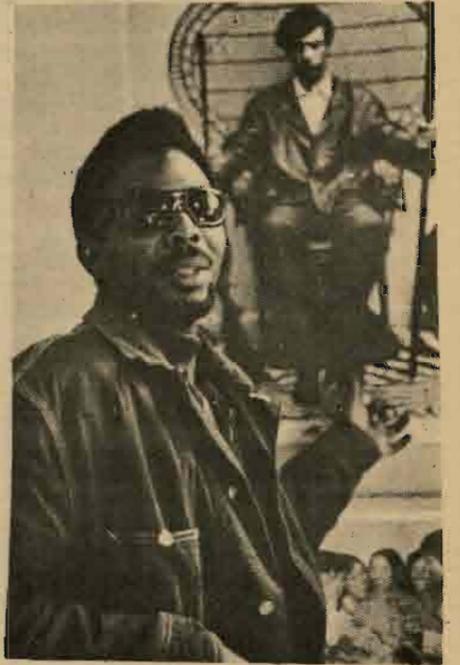
Floyd: Definitely. The black administration with the white masters are collaborating with the city and local and state governments. The administration lets all the police and national guard come on the campus. They don't tell them they can't come on the campus.

The MOVEMENT: Are the students or-

The Movement is setting up a photo co-op, we desperately need darkroom equipment, etc. Send anything, it will be put to good use.

ganizing anyway on all the black campuses? Floyd: Well, they're trying, but a lot of them have been scared into organizing a Book of the Month Club. See they won't let us on to organize. They can keep us down like they want to keep us down. The MOVEMENT: What is happening along these lines at TSU itself?

Floyd: Well the people are willing to support us, but due to the atmosphere that was created -- what they can do and what they can't do -- see they're under



a hammer that they'll be thrown out of school if they protest on campus or off campus. They're taking a hell of a chance if they protest on or off campus regarding our trial. Some are planning to take that chance when the trial comes up. So they haven't actually stopped the students, but they're trying the 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 have been travelling around the country now trying to get publicity and funds for the case.

Floyd: We need the money for publicity so the legal defence 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 sort of support are you asking for?

Floyd: Number one is organize around 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 everybody to write letters to the Mayor, City Hall, 900 Brazos Street, Houston, Texas. Also to the city councilmen at the same address. Also to Herman Short, Chief of Police, City Jail, Reasoner Street. Funds can be sent to the TSU Five Defense Fund, Box 21085, Houston, Texas 77026.

## Radical America

THE GUARDIAN FROM OLD TO NEW LEFT • Mike Munk on the changes EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING, the lessons of ERAP • R. Rothstein SOCIALIST PARTY AND WORLD WAR I • Reformism & Repression • ON THE RADICALS' USE OF HISTORY • Some Theoretical Problems

radical  
america

All in the March-April

50¢ or \$3/yr (6 issues) • 1237 Spaight, Madison, Wis. 53703



Well, all that remains now is for God to declare Himself a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination. But maybe it won't be necessary. His son has already entered the race and we, the youth of America, are supposed to stop whatever it is we've been doing and follow in his path with loud Hosannas. If I were to follow in his path, you can be sure that I would have a silencer on my Hosanna. But that is neither here nor there.

What does matter is that Bobby Kennedy has found it politically expedient to run for the Presidential nomination. And it is strange to see what short memories people have. In the 1964 election, everyone was stampeded into voting for Johnson, because Goldwater was so bad. No one could think of anything good to say about Johnson then, but everyone rationalized it by saying, "Well, you don't want Goldwater, do you?" Now, four years later, the stampede is on to de-throne Lyndon and replace him with McCarthy or Kennedy. Once again people are concerning themselves with the 'lesser of two evils' rather than fighting all evils.

Many feel that the New Left is in danger of being coopted by Bobby. If it is, it would indicate where the New Left was all the time. If it has not moved beyond a point where it would not be vulnerable to a Kennedy candidacy, then the rhetoric of the New Left represents the thinking of a few and not that of a sizeable constituency which is committed to fighting the good fight against the system.

The real danger to the New Left comes, however, not from Prince Charming as much as it comes from the monomania that is developing around Chicago. 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 have been very little questioning done 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 there is doubt about is the size and scope of those demonstrations. Already Mayor Daly 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 disappear and Chicago will be the only place left to go. I doubt it. People talk a lot about local organizing, etc., but somehow in the face of Chicago, the mass demonstration mentality takes over. That mentality says that the bigger a demonstration, the better. The more people you have, the better. This is the bigger the penis, the better the screw ideology and it is obvious that it is not how well-endowed you may be that counts, but how well you use that with which you've been endowed.

What would a massive demonstration at Chicago prove that 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 Chicago demonstration is going to be aimed at disrupting the Convention. Well, the MFDP did that in 1964 with a couple of hundred people. To disrupt the Convention is nothing compared to disrupting America. We all know, too, that somebody is going to be nominated at that convention, whether it is disrupted or not. The Democratic Party is going to run a candidate even if they have to have the Convention at the LBJ ranch. Therefore, the point of any demonstration is to communicate a militant opposition to the war and hopefully, win a few more people to that position. Making all plans to do this at Chicago (via ABC, NBC, & CBS) may be a fatal mistake. Everybody on the Left admires the Vietcong, but few seem to realize that some of their tactics can be applied here.

Let Chicago be Khesahn. Mass troops around Chicago, but let the question be raised in the enemy's mind that Chicago may not be the target. Maybe the week of the Convention is the week to take a White House tour and instead of touring, take over the White House. Maybe that's the week to take over the Democratic City Halls and Governor's offices around the country. Of course, these would be temporary take-overs, but what better way to let the world know that the country really is falling apart.

Too, this might be the time to open up new fronts. After all, the fact that this country is waging a war in Vietnam is only part of the story. That war stems from

an ideology that is anti-human. One front that is expected to explode this summer is the ghetto. While it would not be advisable for white radicals to venture into an exploding ghetto, that is no reason why the middle-class ghettos couldn't have their own kinds of explosions. It's time people really started raising hell about the higher prices being created because of the war. It's time people started going into supermarkets and shopping free, because they've paid for all the food a hundred times over. It's time you drove off from the gas station pump, smiling and not paying.

Everyone's expecting a showdown at Chicago and if Lyndon Johnson can effectively see that Chicago is kept under control, you better believe that it will be a big enough victory to insure him of being re-elected. Everybody is going to Chicago for a confrontation, but is the New Left prepared for the confrontation? Prepared to WIN the confrontation? It just seems that everybody is prepared to confront and go to the hospital. That's all well and good, but it ain't necessarily political. The easiest thing in the world is getting beat up, sent to the hospital and jail.

There are viable alternatives to Chicago. These should be explored seriously. They might prove to be more effective, particularly if they can be tied in with local organizing projects and other issues besides Vietnam. It's not the war in Vietnam we should be trying to stop. It's an ideology and a system. Peace will not come with the cessation of the war in Vietnam. Peace will come from the revolution. ♦

## TOWARD CONSUMER DRUG CONTROL

By Dave George

The high cost and uncertain quality of prescription drugs is not the most serious part of America's health care problem, but it is one many people want to do something about. This problem isn't as appalling in its size and its human consequences as the problem of general health care in the ghettos and low income areas, but its solution does seem to be within the reach of ordinary people. A co-op drug plan is a base from which to build more extensive community controlled health services such as cooperative group medical plans.

The recent -- and almost forgotten -- Congressional hearings on drug prices

did nothing for the consumer. Sporadic publicity, price exposes and protest demonstrations will not insure permanent changes. Neither Betty Furness nor LBJ's new consumers commission will adequately protect our interests. Only consumer controlled organizations will deal successfully with consumer exploitation.

### TRADE NAMES AND LARGE INVENTORIES

Any program aimed at retail drugstores only cannot win great savings. Because of the large number of drugs on the market, about 14,000 (many are generically the same), and because physicians

rely on different drugs, pharmacies have large inventories, slow turnover, and a high markup. Besides, many physicians prescribe high-priced trade name drugs instead of lower priced equivalent quality drugs, simply because they have no information about drug prices and quality except the propaganda from the company salesmen.

Consumers could start their own coop drugstore. But besides the problem of the large financial investment to get started, it would have to compete with other stores with no particular economic advantage. To win savings, a consumers' group could support efforts to reform the prescription drug laws which now serve the interests of the drug corporations. This should be part of a long range effort but more immediate consumer controls are possible. Consumers can get real savings on prescriptions only if drugstores -- like supermarkets -- can keep a fairly small inventory moving quickly and if the lower priced generic equivalent drugs can be purchased.

### THE FORMULARY - A LIST OF HIGH QUALITY AND LOW COST DRUGS

There is a way that a local group of consumers can cope with the problem of too many drugs and too-costly name-brand drugs. Consumers can encourage their doctors to prescribe, whenever possible, from a formulary -- a relatively small list of drugs that offer the best combination of high quality and low cost. This is the practice of many clinics and union health centers where the patient can save by filling his prescription at the pharmacy in the health center. A consumers organization with the cooperation of local doctors on a formulary provides a favorable negotiating position with the neighborhood pharmacist. The drug coop can then negotiate for lower retail prices in return for their patronage and the opportunity for the druggist to cut costs with less inventory.

This is the plan that a group of people in the Hyde Park - Kenwood area of

Chicago have worked out as a result of several months consideration of the consumer's prescription drug problem. This project started from a picket and boycott of a corner drugstore after a consumer had checked around on the price because he felt his original quotation of \$9.50 was too high. This incident was followed up by a survey of 17 drugstores in the area. It was found that prices ranged from \$1 to \$9 on the same prescription of penicillin G and that black people were quoted higher prices in several stores than white people. Following the enthusiastic response to a public forum, the group is organizing people into membership in the drug coop. ♦

# SUBSCRIBE TO THE MOVEMENT

**INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS**  
\$2 for 12 issues

**BULK SUBSCRIPTIONS.. (PER MONTH)**

1-10	20¢ each
11-99	10¢ each + postage
100+	7¢ each + postage

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ subscription(s).

MAIL TO THE MOVEMENT 449 14th ST.  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94103

## ONE DOWN Continued

who want to see the war ended and so are casting their votes for Bobby and Gene, and continue to emphasize the fundamental sameness of Kennedy, McCarthy and Lyndon Johnson. Just as LBJ has been one of our best organizers in the past, Bobby will serve that same function in the future. We should not despair. We should remember that we began to build our movement while Bobby's older brother was president. Our task remains essentially the same. We must continue to open America's eyes to itself. We must move from "Hey, hey LBJ how many kids did YOU kill today?" to an exposure and condemnation of the system in which LBJ is only a figurehead. We must educate as well as mobilize.

In the building of our own organizations and institutions, in our day-to-day lives, we must present a real alternative, a positive alternative. We must build a movement that can say not only what it is against, but what it is for; a movement that beyond saying what it is for, can begin to build institutions that demonstrate these ideas and organizations that will fight for them.