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**NATIONAL COMMUNITY UNION
THE FIGHT FOR SF STATE
PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY
TIJERINA FRAME UP**

THE MOVEMENT IS 3 YEARS OLD!

20¢

THE MOVEMENT

Affiliated with SNCC and SDS

JANUARY 1968

VOL. 4 NO. 1



H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC (Photo: Bob Fletcher)

RAP BROWN UNDER "HOUSE ARREST"

H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC, has been a political prisoner in New York City since September 18, 1967. He is forbidden to travel outside of New York City by a court order, which, if disobeyed, would mean the forfeit of a \$15,000 bond and imprisonment.

This kind of restriction can only be called preventive arrest, and the U.S. government is testing the repressive effectiveness of such tactics. In South Africa, that divided land whose injustices liberals often decry and American investors profit on, there is a similar procedure. It is called house arrest.

What should not be forgotten is that oppression in the United States and South Africa differ perhaps in form, but not in substance. Whether Rap Brown's travel ban is called house arrest or preventive arrest, the result of the two is the same: an individual's movements are restricted to a proscribed area for an indefinite period.

Examination of the facts of the case makes clear that the conscious attempt was not to jail Brown on various false charges, but simply to make it impossible for him to travel around the country and speak. This would hurt not only Brown, but the organization of which he is Chairman: the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. By moving quietly and through the courts, the government hopes to stop Brown and SNCC without creating a public outcry.

These Are The Facts:

On July 24, 1967, Brown spoke in Cambridge, Maryland. He left the city the same evening on his way to Washington, D.C. A while after he had left Cambridge the Pine Street Elementary School, which has a history of being burned, was burned again. The next day the State Attorney of Maryland issued a warrant for the arrest of Brown, charging him with inciting the people to burn the school. Later the same day, the Federal Government warrant was issued for the arrest of Brown, this one charging him with leaving the state of Maryland to avoid arrest on the first charge. The Federal charge made him, of course, a fugitive from justice.

Brown learned of the warrants for his arrest, and, on the following day, arranged through his attorneys to turn himself in to the F.B.I. in New York. On July 26, Brown was leaving Washington, D.C. for New York to turn himself in, when he was arrested by the police at Washington National Airport and immediately turned over to the F.B.I. The F.B.I. was fully cognizant of where Brown was going and for what purpose, but they chose to abrogate the agreement that had been worked out between them and Brown's attorneys, choosing instead to make it appear that he had been trying to run away.

He was taken to a detention cell in the U.S. Post Office Building in Alexandria, Virginia, held for six hours and then released. The Federal government had decided to drop the charges of "flight from prosecution" against him.

However, when Brown walked out of the Post Office Building, he was arrested on the steps by Alexandria police, who charged him with "flight from prosecution" under a Virginia state law. The Federal Government had bowed out to let the state government do the same work, knowing that in a Southern court there was much less chance for Brown to receive a fair hearing than in Federal Court.

Restricted

He was taken to the city jail in Alexandria, Va., and after some time was released on \$10,000 bond. Then, the Governor of Maryland asked the Governor of Virginia to extradite Brown to stand trial on the school-burning charge. The Governor of Virginia honored this request. Brown was once again in jail, but his return to Maryland was prevented through legal action taken by his attorneys. On September 18, 1967, Brown was released from jail on yet another \$10,000 bail on the condition that he would not leave the

eleven counties of the Southern District of New York, except to travel to consult with one of his attorneys.

Shortly thereafter, Brown was once again arrested on a charge of carrying a weapon while under indictment, was jailed in New York City and released on \$15,000 bond. The restriction on Brown's right to travel was appealed to the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court who turned down the appeal.

It is clear that if H. Rap Brown is going to be released from his "jail" in New York, it will only be because of pressure put upon the Federal Government. This is an important case, because if the Federal Government succeeds in keeping H. Rap Brown "jailed," overnight militants will find themselves arrested on false charges and released, with the condition that their movements be restricted to a proscribed area. It happened to Bill Epton, Black liberation fighter from Harlem, in 1964, when he was arrested on charges of inciting to riot during the Harlem rebellions of that summer. It happened to John Harris, Black liberation fighter in Los Angeles, who was arrested for leafleting, released and now restricted to California. It happened to Eddie Oquendo, Black draft resistor from Brooklyn, who was convicted for refusing to serve in the Army, was released on appeal and is now restricted to the borough of Brooklyn, New York.

It is clear what the Government is trying to do. It is our responsibility to stop them. If they succeed in keeping H. Rap Brown, one of the most well-known Black leaders, restricted to New York, they will have won and will then be able to move with impunity against any militant in the country.

What Must Be Done:

1. Send a telegram immediately to SNCC, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011 requesting H. Rap Brown to speak in your community. The United States Government is trying to say that Black people in the United States are not interested in the words of Chairman Brown.
2. Write letters of protest to Chairman H. Rap Brown protesting his illegal "house arrest." Your letter may be used as an affidavit which SNCC will attach to his appeal to the Supreme Court to overturn the racist decision of the Virginia judge.
3. Circulate and get signatures for the Citizens Amicus Brief in Support of H. Rap Brown's Appeal from his Bail Restrictions. Copies of the petition are available from New York SNCC.
4. Send a contribution to the National Office of SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, SW Atlanta Georgia. Your dollars will help SNCC carry on its political work toward Black liberation. ♦

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YOU'RE IN FOR US, WE'RE OUT FOR YOU

Last month THE MOVEMENT asked, "Are the Crackdowns Coming?". They are:

The indictment of Coffin, Raskin, Spock and the other members of THE RESIST.

The mass indictments of 70 young men in San Francisco for refusing to submit to induction.

The preventive arrest of Rap Brown, confining him to the Southern District of New York.

The frameup of Reyes Tijerina for murder.

The murder charge against Huey Newton.

The 2-1/2 year sentence laid on Leroy Jones.

And all the others

THE MOVEMENT gives its total support and solidarity to those who have been, are and will be the victims of government action against the movements for radical political change, peace and black liberation. We cannot be frightened or intimidated into submission by what Arthur Kinoy in this issue calls "A major change in policy on the part of the Administration." The name of the policy is repression. It is meant to kill the movement but it will not.

What should our response be? There has been a lot of talk lately about "filling the jails." We suspect that government would not mind that a bit; they might even encourage it and donate the manpower and facilities to help out. To accept American jail is to submit to American rule. Since the rules are illegitimate, so is the punishment for breaking the rules. As Julius

Lester of SNCC said, "To resist is not to go to jail when sentenced, but only when caught and surrounded and there is no other choice but death." Not only must we oppose the oppressive policies of the government, we must do all in our power to prevent these policies from being carried out. We must oppose the government and get away with it.

We would like to resurrect an old IWW slogan: YOU'RE IN FOR US, WE'RE OUT FOR YOU. When a movement person in the pursuit of justice cannot avoid capture and imprisonment, it is the duty of those on the outside to remain on the outside and to defend and free those who have been caught.

THE MOVEMENT urges Americans to:

Refuse induction,

Go underground or leave the country if necessary to avoid jail.

Close down induction centers and draft boards,

Disrupt military recruiting and recruiting for war corporations,

Disassociate themselves from the Armed Forces by any means possible, particularly if they are serving in the Armed Forces.

The movement must not be deterred from its aggressive strategy. If we allow ourselves to be forced into a defensive position we will be crushed. As Kinoy advises us, we must not sit still and be clobbered and go into municipal court and defend our disorderly conduct cases and be the defendants all the time. We must stay on the offensive! ♦

HELL NO!
WE WON'T GO!



WE MIS-EDIT LADO

To the editors:

In the November issue of the Movement you printed an article about the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO). The article was written by a member of the LADO staff, and expressed our collective judgement on certain facets of our work.

In preparing the article for publication, you wielded the editorial ax too freely, in our opinion. In cutting more than one-fourth of our draft, you did not limit yourselves to loose flesh, but dug quite deeply into the vital meat. The result was that while the printed article didn't face exactly opposite of the direction we intended, it was at least a quarter-turn away.

The point of the article was not "integrated organizing" in the abstract, as many would gather from your version (and the title, which was perhaps our fault, since we left it to you to choose one which would accurately reflect the contents). The point we tried to make was our experiences in organizing black, brown and white together by confronting white supremacy and the corrupting effects of the white-skin privilege and its caricatured reflection among Latin Americans.

Some of your cuts may be justified on grounds of space. (Although even here your decision to cut more than one-fourth of a relatively short article on community organizing while printing six pages on the Oakland events might be challenged.)

But when you are so diligent as to pluck sixteen words from a thirty-nine word sentence, so that what originally read, "Thus, for example, when whites have come to LADO they have understood that they are not coming to a neighborhood group which has Latinos in it, but to a Latin American defense group which if fighting in everybody's interest," came out as, "Thus, when whites have come to LADO they have understood they are coming to a neighborhood group which is fighting everybody's interest," then we have legitimate grounds for doubting (1) whether you understood our article, and (2) whether you conscientiously tried to publish it as we wrote it instead of as you would have wanted it written.

Surely you have better things to do with your time.

In closing, we would only say that we have understood it was the desire of your staff to build the Movement into a tribune of the movement, a forum for exchange of ideas and experiences among radical organizers. If that is so, then we would suggest that you print articles more or less

as submitted, with reasonable cutting as demanded by space limitations; if the articles are too long, and you are doubtful of what you are cutting, then it would seem to us that the proper course would be to reject them or return them for re-writing, since in most cases the writers know better than you which points are important to their case, be that case right or wrong. Otherwise, you will be acting not as a tribune of the movement but as the spokesman for yourselves, at best a small group and at worst a clique.

In all fairness we think this letter should be printed in full.

Sincerely yours,
Obed Lopez,
Olga Pedroza,
Caroline Tatman,
Hilda Vasquez Ignatin,
Noel Ignatin,
Dolores Varela,
for the staff of LADO,
Chicago, Ill.

PL CRITICISM

Dear Editors:

We would like to respond to Cannon and Segal's article in the November issue of The Movement, "Stop the Draft Week: A Political Analysis", particularly to the section dealing with Progressive Labor Party.

In general it contains an unending series of lies and slanders, not uncommon in the ruling class press (PLP did this, did that, etc.) which we would be glad to answer in total except we were informed The Movement is not able to spare enough space for such a reply. Consequently, we will deal with a few of the specific accusations as well as the political disagreements from which the attack sprung.

Cannon and Segal accused us of pushing "the proper anti-imperialist line (the PL line)" in the STDW Steering Committee meetings. They claim that "the ACTION of the week was most important, and would define the ideology of the movement by creating new ways of struggle." Of course one can hardly disagree that in order to take state power it will be necessary to get people to act differently than they are acting now, but the above point of view ignores that to get people to ACT differently it is necessary to get them to THINK differently. The setting of an example is one part of that fight but if the other part, the winning an anti-imperialist outlook, is not waged simultaneously, the action itself is placed within the wrong framework. This desire to only ACT and not to win people to an anti-imperialist outlook came through most prominently in the organizing for the Week. The propaganda (leaflets, buttons, posters) took no political line except "Shut it Down" and "Hell No, Nobody Goes". (The lines of "Immediate Withdrawal" and "No Draft for Vietnam" were voted and approved, but somehow they never got on paper.) Leaflets that were passed out to high school students said in essence that the NLF was all right because they weren't commies. At the few mass meetings that were called there was no discussion of the perspective of the action, but only of the tactics: maps, charts, electronics, plans, counterplans. As Segal said, "The primary aspect of STDW is that it is a military event." We felt the primary aspect of the week should have been the winning of larger numbers of students to an anti-imperialist outlook.

Instead of dealing with the basic political disagreements between themselves and PLP, Cannon and Segal accuse of one alleged manipulation after another, which reads more like Granville Hicks than the Movement Press. The first point the 'honesty boys' raise is "PL members did not come to the Steering Committee meetings as representatives of PL, but came

instead in the clothes of 'front' organizations -- anti-draft unions, organizing committees, etc." We are curious why the honesty boys didn't see fit to identify our various 'front' organizations. Let's do it for them.

John Levin represented PLP; John Roemer, an open PLer who works in the Berkeley Anti-Draft Union, was elected by the Union to be their representative. The Berkeley ADU has 60 - 100 members who attend each meeting. They have held countless demonstrations at the Oakland Induction Center in support of young students and workers who had to appear for their induction. They voted to support STDW, and elected one of the three PL members in the Berkeley ADU to the STDW Steering Committee. Third, Dale Ewart represented the Black Anti-Draft Union until they decided to break with the STDW because of its consistently chauvinistic attitude in dealing with the Black community (more on this later). Of the seven arrested at a recent BADU demonstration, two were PLers--the only PLers who work in this "front" organization. Fourth, candidate PL member Dick Towes represented SFSC on the Steering Committee. Last year he was co-chairman of SDS. By the honesty boys' own admission "SFSC PL group did an excellent job of organizing for the week, and brought a disciplined ready group to the action." We might add that the SFSC students deserve the credit.

It goes without saying that since everyone knew those four people were PLers, we could not very well act as a "hidden caucus." The same point applies to the accusation that we suggested hidden PL members as speakers: it would be completely ritualistic to "identify" John Ross and John Harris as PLers, as every militant on the left in California knows they are. There might be more of a case concerning Ken Epstein, who was proposed as a student speaker from Berkeley. Ken is one of those open PLers in the

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By Lincoln Bergman & Buddy Stein

Peace and Freedom

Can the Peace and Freedom Party serve as the beginning of long-term, ongoing organization around issues which affect people? Can a political party, built from the top down, before community groundwork has been laid, function dem-

"We are acutely aware of the setbacks and problems which organizers using this design have faced. But we see no solution to our problems in rushing toward the familiar glamor of electoral activity."

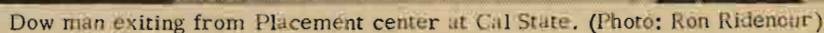
The honest boys admit, "Of PL's charges, the one dealing with black-white relationships was the most legitimate. . ."; that "the Steering Committee found themselves in a box and didn't have the political savvy to get out." Some real self-criticism is in order here, but the San Francisco Originals (self-dubbed) don't engage in it. The box they found

John Roemer, John Levin, and Dick
Tewes PLP and STDW Steering Com-
mittee members - San Francisco,
California.

NOTE: There are two deceptions in the PL letter that require clearing up (the rest are irrelevant). 1) No money was spent for walkie-talkies against the Steering Committee's wish. 2) SNCC did not denounce the Steering Committee, or its philosophy or its actions, nor did it make any statement that could be interpreted as a denouncement.

--- Honest Terry Cannon

Again, this failure seems to be built into electoral campaigns. Think back on the number of campaigns in which the



The defendants have been charged with at least four and as many as seven violations including rioting and inciting to riot.

Maybe the Peace and Freedom Party will attempt to undertake radical education and long-range community organizing. If there is any future to the Peace and Freedom Party at all it lies in this direction, and not in the will-o-the-wisp of a national electoral "alternative."

CHICAGO COP AGENTS EXPOSED

by Noel Ignatin

CHICAGO -- Four police agents who had infiltrated movement groups here have recently been publicly exposed and denounced. November, the Chicago Daily News carried several stories, with pictures and information from movement sources, recounting police department spying. The stories linked the police plants with earlier raids and robberies of the offices of the Chicago Peace Council and the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO).

The names of the exposed agents are Morton Frankin (alias Marty Frankl), John Valkenberg, Michael Randy and Alfredo Vallejo (alias Perales). Frankin, Valkenberg and Randy were mainly active in the Chicago Peace Council, a federation of peace groups, and Citizens for a Democratic Society. Vallejo functioned primarily in LADO and CADRE, the organization of draft resisters.

The identification of the agents came about through several avenues: Frankin was recognized by someone who happened to be in court while he was testifying in a case against a syndicate member; Valkenberg was named as a cop by his fellow cop Randy, in an attempt to secure his own position; in the case of Vallejo, LADO members became suspicious of a number of personal discrepancies (for example, his driving a new car although he was apparently without means of sup-

port) and began checking on him.

The police department had no comment beyond the statement that some of the men named were assigned to its intelligence division.

The ACLU has begun collecting materials which might be used in a suit of the interested parties to enjoin the police from sending agents into legal, public organizations. Such a suit, if it is undertaken and even if it wins, will obviously have more propaganda value than material effect, since the ones responsible for enforcing the injunction would be the police department.

Avoid Witch-Hunts

Considering the present formless state of the movement, a certain amount of police penetration is inevitable. The worst reaction on our part would be to become paranoid and launch a witch-hunt, which would divert our attention and accomplish the aims of police agents far better than they could accomplish them themselves. But even under present conditions, we should learn to question how do people come to the movement, how do they support themselves, etc.

The main task, however, is not rooting out police spies, but building the kind of movement which will minimize the amount of damage they can do.

The history of people's movements in

this country and throughout the world shows that the best protection against damage from enemy agents is to have the closest, deepest ties with the people we represent, to make all our actions serve the people, and to take action only together with the people.

Our starting point in dealing with police agents and all forms of official repression must be the understanding that if we defend the people, they will defend us.

Our movement cannot be based on stunts, on spectacular coups which depend on secrecy for their success. Our movement can only develop and defend itself through the patient, undramatic work of raising the consciousness of millions of our people, by taking part in their struggles, being willing to teach and learn from them, developing our programs from their needs and suiting our tactics to their level.

If we hope, without the support of our people, to out-conspire the CIA, FBI and the local agencies, then we are hopeless

fools. But if we understand that our movement, small as it is compared to the tasks before us, represents the needs of 90% of the American people, and that the people will support us when they have come to understand this truth, and that this support will prove stronger than the FBI and the whole ruling class machinery - then we will have taken a big step from radical romanticism to revolutionary maturity.

Of course we will face greater repression, of course we will go through a period of enforced illegality - we should harbor no illusions on that score. The time will certainly come when anyone who refuses to conspire is a coward, just as there is a time when anyone who insists on conspiracy is a fool.

But whatever the conditions, legal or illegal, peaceful or violent, the alpha and omega of a revolutionary approach is the building of ties with our people.

It is only this which will guarantee victory. It is only this which will give content and significance to our lives.

DEFEND TSU FIVE

On March 4, five black students from Texas Southern University will face trial and the death penalty on a frame-up charge of murdering a white policeman. (See Movement, September 1967). The arrests followed a police riot May 10 on the TSU campus.

The death of the policeman, Kuba, for which the Texas Southern Five are being framed to set an example against the militant struggle, took place when the cops attacked campus dormitories. There are no windows on the side of the building from which the police attacked; therefore, a student's bullet would have had to make two right angle turns to hit a policeman. The accused are: Douglas Wallace, who was already in jail; Floyd Nichols and Charles Freeman, who were on the other

side of the city; Trazewell Franklin and John Parker who were in bed when the police attacked the dorms.

The widest publicity and protest that can be devoted to this are necessary to make possible the freedom of the TSU five.

Funds are urgently needed. Donations and statements of support may be sent to:

T.S.U. Five Defense Fund
Box 21085

Houston, Texas 77026 -

Statements of protest should be sent to: Mayor Louis Welch, Office of the Mayor, Houston, Texas or Carol Vance, District Attorney, Office of the District Attorney, Houston, Texas. ♦



Alfredo Vallejo, alias Perales, carrying one end of LADO banner. (Photo: Dolores Varela)

DUMPING ON THE DRAFT

SEATTLE: \$2,500 bail

Ernest Dudley, 24 years old and one of the original members of DRAFT RESISTANCE, SEATTLE is to be tried on January 15. On April 14, 1967 Dudley refused to be inducted into the armed forces. On October 10, 1967 he was arrested in Los Angeles and held incommunicado for about a month after transfer to a Seattle jail. In addition he was held in exorbitant bail -- \$2,500.

Dudley is a black revolutionary and a member of SNCC. He refuses to go because the war and American Society which perpetuates that war is racist. He has publicly said, "My fight is here."

His case comes before Judge William Beeks (who gets all draft cases in Seattle). This judge has shown himself by public remarks to be consistently prejudiced about draft cases. An attempt will be made to have the judge disqualify himself, but this is unlikely.

The government will probably attempt to push this case through with as little publicity as possible. Dudley's supporters say. Those who will help the planning and support of Ernest Dudley or those who wish further information should contact, as soon as possible: Ernest Dudley Defense Fund, c/o Draft Resistance, Seattle, P.O. Box 717, Seattle, Washington 98111.



Ernest Dudley (Photo: Fred Lonidier)

OAKLAND: MEDIC AWOL

Pvt. George Davis, a combat medic in the Medical Corps of the U. S. Army, on Dec. 3, 1967 reported to the Oakland Army Base for processing and immediate shipment to the 90th Replacement Battalion in Vietnam. That evening he went A.W.O.L. and went to New York in order to consult friends and have a chance to think away from a military environment.

On December 26, he surrendered himself to Army authorities, stating his refusal to go to Vietnam under any circumstances.

PALO ALTO: HARRIS 1-A

David Harris will refuse induction into military service on January 17th. Harris is one of the founders of the Resistance, a loosely knit organization of young men who face almost certain prison sentences for refusing to co-operate with the draft. During the past year, the 22 year old Fresno resident resigned as president of the Stanford student body to work full time against war. He gave up his student deferment and turned in his draft card as a protest against the selective service system and the war in Viet Nam. He was at once classified 1-A and ordered to report for induction. Harris says he intends to report to the Oakland Induction Center at 15th and Clay about 7 AM on the 17th and within an hour to have refused to deal with the draft system.

ATLANTA: SSOC C.O.

Gene Guerrero, Jr., founding chairman of the Southern Student Organizing Committee, refused induction into the Army Dec. 4 at the Atlanta, Georgia induction center. Nearly two years ago, Guerrero had applied for conscientious objector status; his request was denied by the Ga. State Appeal Board one week before he received his induction order. A 1965 graduate of Emory University, Guerrero was active in the sit-in movement in 1963 and 1964, and was instrumental in forming the Southern Student Organizing Committee, a Southwide student organization engaged in pro-labor, civil rights, student power, and anti-Vietnam war activities.

Guerrero was supported in his refusal of induction by about 75 demonstrators from various Atlanta anti-war organizations. The support demonstration maintained a spirited picket line outside the induction center from 6:30 A.M. until Guerrero was released from the center at 9:15 A.M., after he had refused induction.

SPEECH TO SDS CONVENTION BY RAP BROWN LAWYER FIGHTING GOVERNMENT REPRESSION: "TAKE THE OFFENSIVE," SAYS KINOY

Printed here are excerpts from a speech given by Attorney Arthur Kinoy to the SDS National Conference at Bloomington, Indiana on December 28. The tape was not turned on at the very start of his speech, so the first few sentences are a summary of what was said then. The transcript of the speech follows the *****.

Mr. Kinoy stated, from his experiences as a lawyer in movement cases, that he believes that in the next four to six months we are going to see in this country a major attempt at political repression, that the decision to use this repression has already been made at the highest levels of government in Washington, and that we must prepare for repression by knowing the nature and complexity of the legal and repressive machinery to be used.

The signal for the beginning of this mass repression was the frameup prosecutions instituted late this summer against Rap Brown. The important thing to understand is not the singling out of Rap and the institution of the prosecutions against him. The important thing is not the utilization of a law under which there has never been a successful conviction. The important thing is not the institution of prosecutions in which now some of their own witnesses say they don't have a shred of credible evidence to move on. The important thing is that they have achieved what they wanted because they have developed a new technique in this country, a technique of preventive arrest.

Rap Confined

The simple fact of the matter is that Rap is confined to the Southern District of New York and he is not permitted to speak anywhere in the country other than in the Southern District of New York. And, to the eternal shame of the American movement, no fight has been made on this, nobody knows about this, nobody knows that ten days ago a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States turned down a request for emergency relief so that Rap Brown could go to a university to speak to the student body; a most respectable and conservative of invitations.

Regardless of the fact that the conviction will probably be knocked out, because the law is as blatantly unconstitutional as it could be, the concept of preventive arrest has been developed into a technique for immobilizing the leadership of the American resistance movement. And the American resistance movement didn't know anything about it and didn't do anything about it and didn't fight on it.

Government Tactics

The signal that they were going to move was then immediately followed by action. The government has a series of complex blocs of machinery which it can move into action against the entire leadership of an opposition movement. First is the frameup prosecution, and we have not seen the last of those.

It is no mystery to anybody that another militant leader of the black movement is back in the United States. It is no mystery to anybody that there are people sitting in Washington right now trying to figure out which particular statutes will provide an attack upon him. But this is just the bare beginning. Simultaneous with the development of the frameup prosecutions against the leadership of the movement which always skillfully and cleverly attempt to isolate first those whom they feel to be most vulnerable, least likely to have support, and least likely to have help, a pattern is set.

Look what they can do on the basis of Rap's case. They can pick up any militant leader, and it doesn't matter what the nature of the charge is, or whether or not the charge will be thrown out two, three, four years later, and stop him from speaking. Merely by placing a geographical restriction as a qualification of the bond issue -- if Rap's case is permitted to stand.

The next level is to resurrect that section of repressive machinery of the government which has gotten a little out of use. That was the whole structure of the Congressional Committee inves-

tigation. Now, what do we know for a fact?

Congressional Investigation's

We know that a major decision has been made to open up wholesale congressional investigations of the whole sweep of the anti-war movement and the black militant movement throughout the country coming from three primary sources, the McClellan Committee, the Eastland Committee, and the UN-American Activities Committee. Now, this is not idle speculation. Again, every responsible member of the resistance movement should know what the simple facts are. The simple facts are that these committees have already had their resolutions of authority for the investigations passed; already have their investigators in the field; and in at least seven different cities subpoenas are already out from both the Eastland Committee and the McClellan Committee.

Let me tell you a little story because it illustrates the way in which they have planned their offensive action. You know they're accustomed to lawyers who are effective and who managed to get a number of decisions from the Supreme Court that membership lists and records and files of organizations could not be subpoenaed by Congressional Committees because it violated the First Amendment. So a good friend of mine, the Senior Senator from the state of Mississippi, with some assistance, worked out a beautiful scheme in 1964 in New Orleans. The scheme was: you get state officials to use state anti-secession statutes, obviously unconstitutional, statutes the Supreme Court had thrown out years ago. Using these statutes, the state gets a search warrant, raids the organization and takes its files and records.

Meanwhile the organization rushes to a federal court and says the statute is unconstitutional, that it's a fraud and an outrage. Meanwhile behind the back of the Federal court and the state court and everybody else, Senator Eastland and his cohort Mr. Sourwine were down there with subpoenas from the Senate Committee to the state prosecutor who illegally had the books, records and files of the civil rights organization involved -- the Southern Conference Educational Fund, SCEF. When we innocently and naively went into the Federal courts and said, "All right, now these raids were illegal, give us back our books and records," the state officials got up in court and said "We're very sorry, we can't give them back to you, they're in the hands of the Senate of the United States."

Illegal Legality

Now, using that technique, just three months ago, the McClellan Committee did exactly the same thing in the state of Kentucky. Using a statute which 10 years ago the Supreme Court of the United States said was unconstitutional, the Kentucky authorities went in and arrested the McSurelys, staff workers for SCEF. At the same time they used a warrant and raided their home and took three truckloads of material. Well, they cleaned out everything the McSurelys had and then our lawyers rushed into court saying this statute was unconstitutional. The Federal Court agreed. But what happened? It became clear that the purpose of the whole thing was not to make secession arrests, for the statute was obviously uncon-

stitutional. The purpose clearly was to permit the McClellan Committee, using the technique Eastland invented in New Orleans, to seize letters, books and records, and correspondence with people suggested as volunteers. Don't you think it helps the power structure in Kentucky to get that information? Of course it does. That's why they go after it. The McClellan Committee is moving all over the country. And what happens simultaneously?

Committees Out for Blood

There is a division of labor. The division of labor is that the Eastland Committee is going to go after Jack O'risings and their interrelationship with what they call the white left. All right, that's their sphere of operation. HUAC has announced its hearings to dovetail in between the McClellan hearings and the Eastland hearings. So the committee structure is now going to operate full scale.

First you have individual frameup prosecutions. Then you have the committees which have decided to open up full-scale, wholesale exposure-type hearings. But that's not sufficient. A deal was made in Washington, which again very few people know anything about. The deal was made to extend for at least one more year of life the Subversive Activities Control Board -- the "McCarren" Board. Now that was one of the most fantastic episodes in recent Constitutional history. Ever since the Truman veto message, every single time the McCarren Act has come up for renewal, religiously, the Attorney General of the United States has come before the Judiciary Committees of the House and Senate and has said: This statute is completely unconstitutional; it violates the First Amendment and we urge you not to extend its life. And religiously the Senate and House have extended its life. But the Justice Department has always gone through the act.

Now a fascinating thing happened this year. For the first time in the history of the statute (and this goes back to the dark days of the McCarthy period), the Attorney General of the United States refused to take the position the Act was unconstitutional. He said he was too busy to appear before the Senate committee on this legislation. And instead the Majority leader of the Senate, acting for the White House, said in effect: We acknowledge that this board has really not performed any

useful function over the last several years, because unfortunately every single time it gets an order against a so-called subversive organization to register the Supreme Court manages to throw it out. Therefore we're going to warn this board. We're going to give it one more year of life and unless it produces results in the next year we're going to come in at the end of that year and urge you to abolish it.

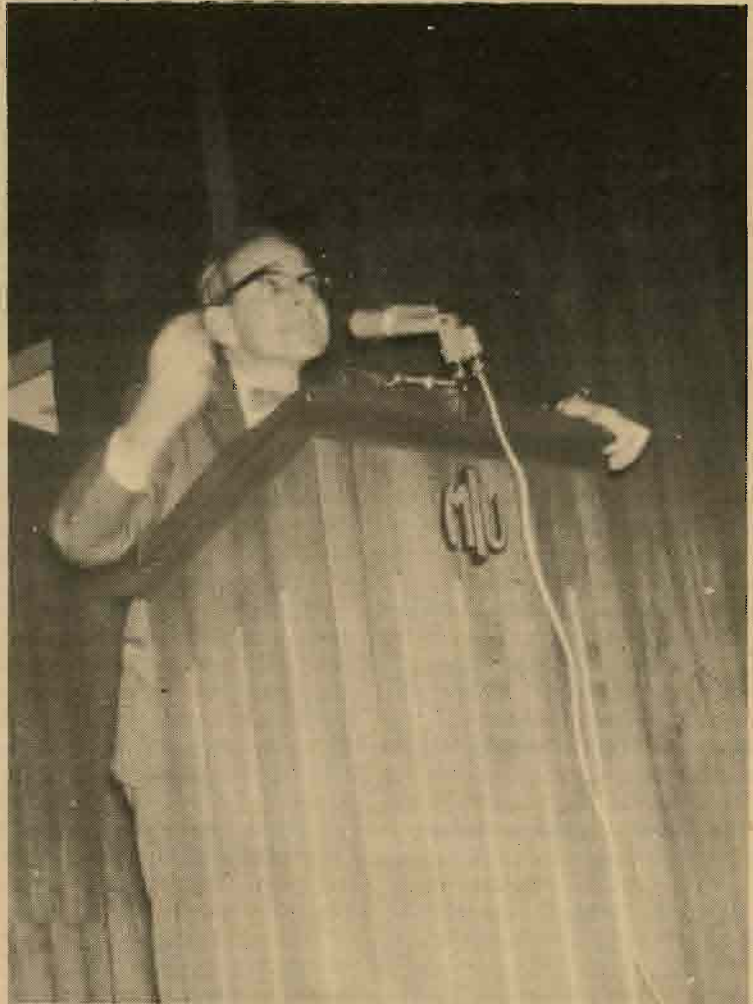
Incredible! There has never been a statute like this written in American history. Into this new "McCarren Act" is a provision that says that unless the board, within the next year, acts successfully against four organizations, it will expire. The SACB may move against SDS -- we think that's very likely.

They'll use the McCarran Board, they'll use the committees . . . All right . . . that's branch three. What's branch four . . . ?

We now have our first mass indictments under the Selective Service Act, for refusal to be inducted. Seventy indictments in San Francisco, all returned en masse, not just single ones. Seventy indictments returned last week in San Francisco, with grand juries now sitting in at least five other areas of the country. This was a fundamental, basic decision made by the Justice Department to move now. They haven't reached yet the level of people who have turned in their cards, and these are not draft card burning cases. These are just the accumulated backlog of cases of young men who refused to cross the line. And as everybody knows, the Justice Department has been following a very different policy up to this point. Simultaneously what happened . . . ?

The Hershey directives. Along with the decision to have mass prosecutions there has been a decision for full-scale implementation of the Hershey directives from one end of the country to another.

Now the final category I won't even spell out because that's still on the drafting boards. And that I'll leave to your imagination. Because on the drafting boards are the classic espionage act cases, the Conspiracy Cases, the Smith Act prosecutions -- sitting there waiting to move. (Kinoy gave this speech a week before the members of THE RESIST were indicted for conspiracy -- Editor.)



Arthur Kinoy addressing SDS National Council (Photo: Joe Blum)

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THE BATTLE FOR S.F. STATE

(MOVEMENT staff writer Brooks Penney has followed developments at San Francisco State College for some time. Here he analyzes the events of the last few years.)

On December 6, as reported in the Movement last issue, a planned disruption of the San Francisco State College campus effectively shut down the campus for a day. Like a great number of demonstrations at colleges this demonstration had very little support from the student body at large and the white political activists by the following week had effectively isolated themselves from the rest of the campus. A sit-in on Tuesday of the following week drew only 75-100 participants with most of the rest of the campus hostile to the activity. The actual closing down of the campus of 18,000 was brought about by fewer than three or four hundred demonstrators. Rallies conducted by the activists rarely drew a sympathetic audience.

Probably this does not sound unusual to many of the activists around the country who usually find themselves vastly outnumbered by a hostile and reactionary student body, faculty and administration. But it is unusual at SFSC because this campus is generally more liberal than others and seemed ripe for radical student organizing. For a public supported school, the college has been amazingly creative in its attitudes towards education and the role of the college in relation to the rest of society. Educational and political experimentation has been the rule rather than the exception over the past few years. But the manner in which this activity has taken place has had serious faults that have been exploited by an unusually well organized political right on campus. Valuable lessons can be learned from the experiences of the SFSC campus over the past five or so years.

Street Car Campus

To understand December 6 it must be put into a historical context. San Francisco State is a street car campus that draws a student body not so much from students whose parents live in San Francisco but from the youthful migration that has always taken place to the Bay Area. The school is cheap -- there is no tuition for residents of California and other fees cost only \$53 a semester. The average age of the student body is 25 and the primary concern of the students is the arts. There are large and generally good art and English departments; the English department contains one of the better creative writing schools in the country. There are no national fraternities or sororities allowed on campus; no athletic scholarships are given. There is no student union building and polls of student opinion on the subject find the students saying, "Why waste the money on a building when the library needs books?"

One of the most serious problems of the campus, though, is its lack of a real sense of community. The campus is located next to the ocean in one of the foggiest and coldest sections of San Francisco. The area surrounding the campus is middle and upper middle class white; most of the students live in other parts of the city and commute by bus.

The lack of a sense of community on the campus works against student activism. Students hurry between buildings and hurry to leave when classes are over.

Liberal Faculty

The members of the faculty are mostly young and bright. I remember one professor of mine who had five scholarly works going at once while teaching a full load. Needless to say, he quickly moved up in a bigger college, probably for more money. Some of those who stay on in spite of their reputation, such as S.I. Hawakawa or Roger Nixon of the Music Department, are attracted by a

genuine concern for education and teaching. The attitude towards their disciplines can best be summarized by the example of the hiring of Alan Meyerson, director of the Committee, a local improvised theater in North Beach, as a full professor of Drama. Meyerson never graduated from high school. One office in the Humanities building is shared by Kay Boyle and Wright Morris in what one writer has called a unique event in higher education. Between the two of them they have written fifteen books; Mr. Morris's writings are the subject of several doctoral dissertations and one book; they both teach and are not "writers in residence" as they would be at most colleges. Yet neither has a college degree.

By and large the faculty is politically more liberal than most college faculties. Kay Boyle is an editor of Liberation and has been arrested many times in pacifist demonstrations. John Summerskill, the president of the college, took part in the Spring Mobilization march. One of the administrators was arrested on a felony charge at the Oakland Induction Center during Stop the Draft Week. Leonard Wolf, of the English Department, was recently arrested in connection with his attempt to develop a community center for the hippies in the Haight specifically for sponsoring an experimental nude dance.

Faculty activity of this sort is not only tolerated but pointed to with pride by the campus. It is good and safe and proper to be concerned with peace and the problems of society -- but within bounds. John Gerassi of the International Relations department, an editor of Ramps and author of a book on Latin America, stepped across these bounds, however, when he led the students into the Administration building on Dec 6. Because he attacked the institution itself, and only because of this, he has been suspended from his teaching duties and will probably be fired by academic senate or the administration.

Student Politicos

Five or six years ago some of the left-liberal students began to move into the student body government and attempt to take it over. At the present time students have won seats on all major college policy making boards including every committee of the Academic Senate. The Associated Students began appropriating money for some very unusual activities. They gave \$10,000, for instance, to the Poetry Center, a section of the creative writing department, to make a movie of the poet Theodore Roethke. They sent students to Mississippi for the 1964 summer and to Selma. They hired Paul Goodman as a visiting professor because of his criticisms of education. They set up an Experimental College in which the students determine the curriculum as a counter to the normal top-down concept of education. The Academic Senate and the Administration institutionalized the Experimental College by allowing the classes taken to count as college academic credit. Some of the students who came back from the Mississippi summer and the freedom schools set up a tutorial program in the Fillmore and Mission districts. Out of this, the next natural step was the Community Involvement Program that participated in such off campus political activities as redevelopment fights. About two years ago, with the rise of black power and black consciousness, the Black Student Union was formed. The BSU took over the tutorial program in the Fillmore, and, among other things, set up a black communications program with Leroi Jones as a guest lecturer. Before receiving a \$300,000 grant from the Carnegie Institute this year, the programs

had been entirely supported by Associated Student funds.

The Quiet Revolution

The basically liberal and permissive attitude of the college administration and faculty aided by the anonymity of SFSC was used as a cover for a great deal of the student activities. The quiet revolution, as the student activities have been called, has taken place almost out of sight of the community at large. For students at Stanford to even talk about an experimental college rated a feature story in the San Francisco Chronicle at a time when the Experimental College at State had been in existence for over a year. A few birth control pills and empty beer cans found on the floor after a Vietnam Day Committee dance on the Berkeley campus sent Max Rafferty into apoplexy of rage over "orgies" on the campus while a happening on the SFSC campus at the same time involving a totally nude female passed almost unnoticed.

But the quiet revolution has been too quiet. Even though the average student has been involved in the products of the student government: the Experimental College, the tutorial program, the Community Involvement Program, he has not been involved in the process of bringing these things into existence. It would probably surprise the average student, for example, to hear that there are students on the academic senate committees. And of those who knew it, few would have any idea of the significance of the fact. One of the reasons they have not been involved, of course, is that the very nature of involvement excludes students who work and support themselves (755 of the student body does). These things take time and hard work. The application for the Carnegie grant, for instance, took a group of students about a week to finish, working night and day. They practically camped in the Administration building. The average student isn't willing to spend this kind of time; and since most students live thirty minutes to an hour away by a cold bus ride and have to work besides, it is not unusual that more do not work more in the student government.

SDS

About a year ago things began to change. A new campus force appeared with the beginning of an SDS chapter. In the past there had been a campus Friends of SNOC and a Vietnam Day Committee. There has always been a small YSA group and

individuals from these organizations have been involved in the student government but the focus of most of these organizations' activities has been off campus -- never at the campus itself. The SDS chapter changed this. One of their first activities was a boycott of the Student Commons that serves food to the campus like a commercial cafeteria. The prices were high; the food next to uneatable. There had always been general discontent on campus over the Commons and SDS called a boycott. Summerskill allowed SDS to bring a catering truck on campus and park it in front of the commons. The boycott was successful and the commons promised to lower prices.

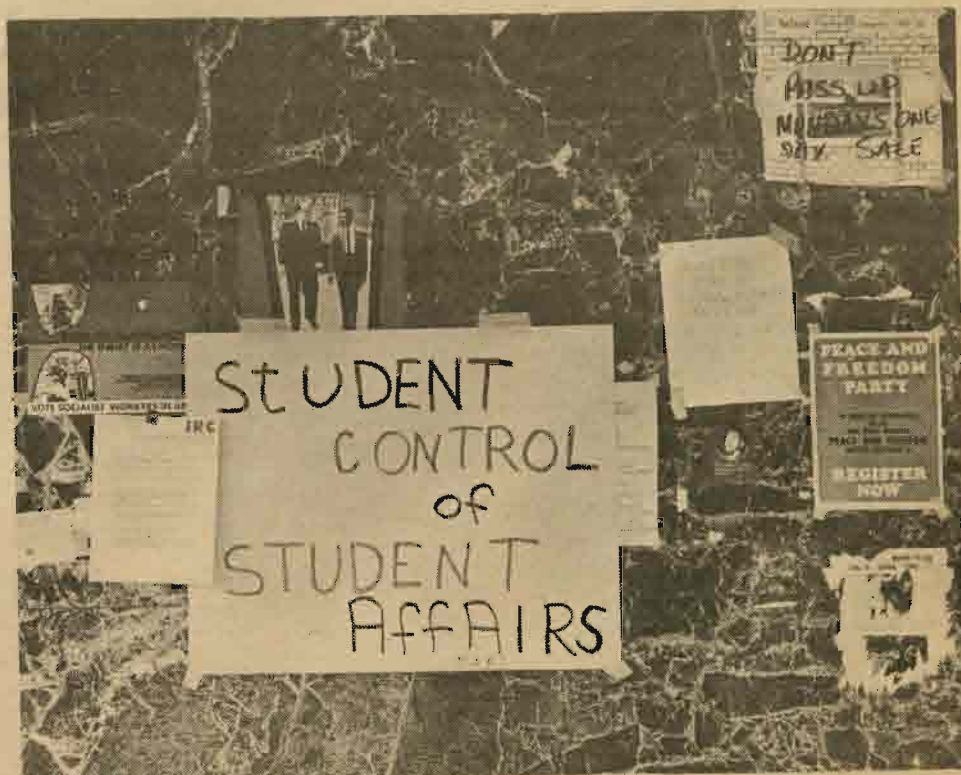
Very little follow-up was done by SDS as the activists moved on to other confrontations. When threatened by disruption Summerskill called off the Selective Service Deferment Exam; there were demonstrations against Marine Corps and Dow recruitment and a sit-in over class ranking. This last issue was supported by the Academic Senate, which voted against class ranking.

Throughout these battles the emphasis was on the confrontation. As one member of SDS put it to me, "That damn Summerskill, he keeps giving in to us and we can't have a confrontation." Perhaps because of this attitude, the radicals in the student body government have shied away from SDS while the SDS activists view them as elitist liberals. The student body radicals didn't support some SDS activities and in the case of the Commons boycott found themselves not supporting activity that had the sympathy and support of a large portion of the student body.

Student Conservatives

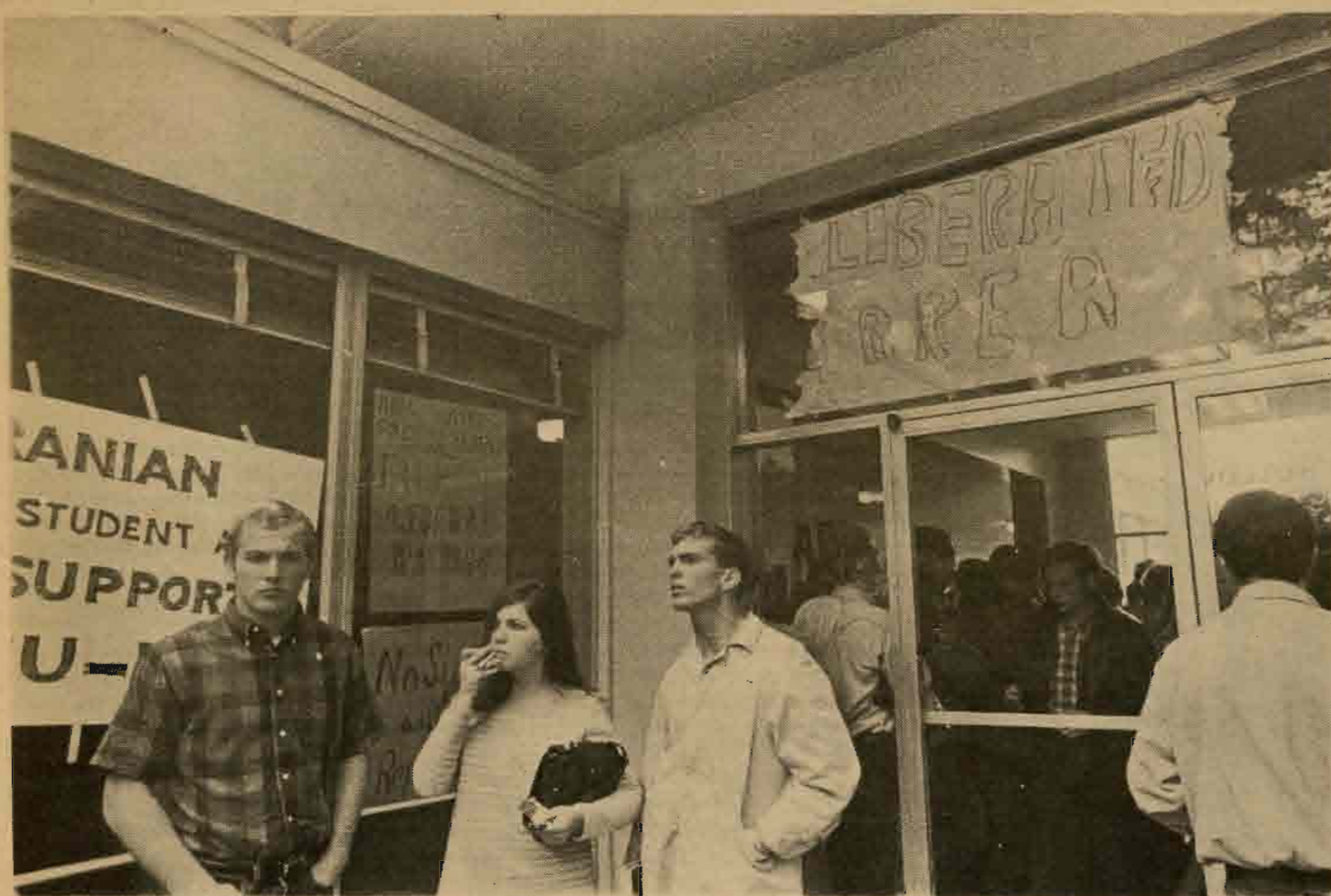
Another force on the campus is the student conservative politicians. Their concern is with the more traditional rah-rah activities but they have been consistently defeated over the years. This also has changed in the past year. The major spokesman for this position has been the campus daily newspaper, the Gater. The Gater is controlled by the journalism department, with the students getting credit for working on it. The journalism department, as on most campuses, is a campus joke. The faculty consists primarily of rejects from or employees of the local media. With the rest of the campus wildly experimenting with education, the journalism department is still measuring the column inches in the New York Times.

In the spring of 1967 student body elections the conservatives handily won with



Above, a wall at SFSC illustrates the diversity of campus activities.

(Photo: Jeff Blankfort)



Administration Building at SFSC sometime after Dec. 6 demonstration. (Photo: Jeff Blankfort)

the help of the Gater. The week of the election the Board of Publications formally attacked the Gater on the following points.

1. The city editor, Phil Garrington, formally announced his candidacy for the Student Body presidency at the head of a conservative slate of candidates in his regular column.

2. The Gater ran three feature stories about candidates on Garrington's slate — a total of 73 inches — with announcing them as such and ran no stories on opposing candidates.

3. Just before the election the Gater ran a totally inaccurate story on the incumbent president, Jim Nixon.

The Gater admitted that the charges were correct but the BOP was unable to do anything. Shortly after the election the editor of the Gater was discovered not to be a student in the college — he just didn't register for the spring semester — and an employee of the S.F. Examiner. He was fired but the damage had been done. An attempt to nullify the election failed and the conservatives held control of the student body government.

The liberals in the student body government lost the election by default. They didn't start campaigning until very late and because of the way they had worked in the past had no real contact with the student body. The SDS activists and their supporters attacked from the left and the Gater from the right. From this election a good portion of the present problems of the campus can be traced.

The conservatives did not magically appear from nowhere. The election victory was engineered and financed by Bill Burnett, a student who has been around the campus for six years. In 1963 as speaker of the Student Legislature he effectively delayed the tutorial program and Community Involvement Program for a year. He ran unsuccessfully for student body president and twice managed unsuccessful bids by his protégé, Ron Kinder. He is the power behind the throne for the conservatives and apparently the source of their heavy financing.

Open Process

After the debacle with the Gater, the Board of Publications set up and financed a weekly publication, Open Process, to offset the influence of the Gater. One of the major contributors to Open Process is Jefferson Poland, founder of the Sexual Freedom League and a knowledgeable student politico although he has a bug up his ass about sex. Running true to form, within a few issues he had mentioned masturbation, heterosexuality and such more than a few times. The May 18th Open Process had a photograph of a reclining nude complete with her pubic hair. Kinder stole a thousand copies according to Open Process and had them distributed in Sacramento that afternoon. That same month the newly elected student legislature's finance committee

clashed with the BSU over the financing of the Black Communications Program headed by Leroy Jones. A fist fight almost broke out and the meeting was adjourned. The students had deadlocked on whether or not to approve the funds; the next day whether the deadlock was broken when two administrators and a faculty representative voted for approval.

Black Power Letter

Burnett and Kinder immediately compiled a letter on black power that was signed by ten student legislators and sent off on Associated Students letter head. The letter ran down a distribution of Associated Student funds to the BSU making the equation Black equals bad. Anti-white statements by Leroy Jones were culled from interviews and plays, and Jimmy Garrett, one of the BSU's leaders, was quoted as saying he would help his people whether it meant reading a book or killing a man. This was topped off by affidavits from two conservative legislators that they had been threatened by Negroes. Although AS letterhead was used the letter was not an official action of the AS and the secretary was refused a file copy.

The letter was sent to all the State College trustees, Max Rafferty and conservative state legislators. The mailing was followed up by intensive lobbying by Burnett and Kinder in Sacramento. Dick Nolan in his column in the S.F. Examiner gave an example not only of his intimitable style, but also the type of information that Burnett was handing out. He said that the student government "power block is an incredible assemblage of black hate groups, radical lefties, Maoist revolutionaries, numb-dumb hippies and over-age student leaders... The threat of physical violence — beating and knifing — is... used to deter opposition." An investigation by the chancellor's office cleared the BSU.

In August, Burnett pulled off his Vandever mailing. Under the name of a father of one of his fraternity brothers, Jim Vandever, Burnett sent out a mailing to 10,000 conservative leaders around the state — businessmen, chambers of commerce, church organizations and city councils. The mailing leaned heavily on Jefferson Poland, the nude from Open Process and a play by Leroy Jones. The effect was as would be expected: the roof fell about Summerskill's ears and bounced on the floor. Although nothing much substantial came of this explosion it did make Summerskill very gun shy — the ringing telephone became a very real thing and usually meant trouble. The whistle had been blown on the quiet revolution and the stage was set for this semester. The intensive work of Burnett had made the conservative powers in the state ultra-sensitive to SFSC and any activity that might take place there. The bad publicity plus the power wielded in the legislature

by the conservatives bode ill for the experimental section of student spending. When the Fall semester started, the student legislature cut the money for this section drastically, and, most significantly for the events that followed, the budget for the BSU was cut to almost a third of what it was the previous year.

The Gater and the BSU

The Gater was viewed as responsible for these cuts not only because of the rigging of the election last year but because under its new editor, Jim Vasco, it had remained hostile to these programs and especially the BSU. The BSU had taken over the tutorial program in the Fillmore and had excluded white students because of the belief that blacks should teach blacks. The Gater under Vasco (who last year as sports editor wrote a column on Muhammad Ali calling him a clown and coward) viewed the BSU's position as white hating and said student funds were being used to support a reverse-racism.

In the first week in November a group of black students went to the office of the Gater with a list of complaints to give to Jim Vasco. A fist fight broke out. What started it is unclear but one thing is very clear — the blacks won. Vasco spent a night in the hospital and the office was fairly well torn up. Immediately the Gater and the metropolitan press was screaming about the attacking black hordes and Summerskill suspended nine black students. Vasco brought criminal charges against the nine also.

The suspended students were then allowed to go before an appeals board to contest their suspensions — sentence first, trial later. The SDS activists called a picket line at the hearing saying that the hearing was nothing more than a kangaroo court. The majority of the campus did not understand the SDS position on due process — it was never articulated to the campus adequately — and therefore couldn't understand the ruckus. Most students do not understand the administrative procedures and in this case couldn't care less since the students had already been convicted by the press. Sentiments ranged from, "They did it didn't they?" to "Poor politics — at least they could have waited until night time and caught him off campus." Even the SDS position assumed the guilt of the black students — "Vasco was beaten because he is a racist."

Jefferson Poland

Then later in the month, Open Process, which was back publishing after the incident last spring, still with Jefferson Poland, published an edition with a poem all about masturbation and a photograph of Poland nude, carefully draped with a bunch of grapes. Panic reigned in the Administration Building. Summerskill called a meeting of the Board of Publications and tried to railroad them into sus-

pending Open Process so quickly that the editor of Open Process wasn't informed of the meeting and without telling the Board of Publications what it was that he was upset about. The BOP refused to be railroaded, so Summerskill immediately suspended Poland and Blair Partridge, the editor, from school and suspended the publication.

Partridge and Poland went to the ACLU which threatened legal action against Summerskill. The position of the lawyers was that there was legal precedent that upheld the right of Summerskill to suspend students who are involved in a violent activity on the campus, meaning the black students, but the precedent was against the suspensions of Partridge and Poland before a hearing. Summerskill capitulated and admitted that he had "acted precipitously" and reinstated Partridge and Poland and then ordered a hearing — this time a trial then the sentence.

MAPS

In the meantime, the group around Open Process and SDS formed a joint organization, Movement against Political Suspensions. (The name came from a Berkeley group that had formed around the suspensions of students for Stop the Draft Week activities. The validity of using the name and its relevance to SFSC was not at all clear and probably a bad choice tactically.) MAPS presented five demands to Summerskill. 1) Drop the suspensions of the six students (the appeals board had upheld the suspensions of four of the black students and reinstated the remaining five.) All trials in the future should be conducted by a board of elected peers. 2) Reinstatement of Open Process. 3) End political harassment of faculty, student and administrators. 4) No outside police on campus. 5) Student controls of student affairs, specifically of student publication.

A deadline was set for the demands, December 6, and plans were drawn up for a demonstration at the administration building if they were not met. Jimmy Garrett said that 5,000 off campus blacks were going to show up for the demonstration. The issue was beginning to be articulated as racism on campus. The BSU was saying that the unequal treatment of the black and white students was purely motivated by racism. A MAPS leaflet was headed, "Is this Mississippi?" One PL leaflet was entitled, "What is Liberal Racism?", another, "John Summerskill Liberal Racist." The day after the demonstration Summerskill took up the issue of racism and said that the problem at SFSC was only an example of the problem of society at large.

December 6

On December 6, after a short rally the white activists marched on the administration building. The building was locked so the glass doors were broken and several hundred went into the building. The blacks arrived fifteen to thirty minutes after this happened, went into the building and then left after a short time. An attempt was made by some blacks to go into class rooms to either discuss the events and issues if allowed or disrupt the classes.

After about an hour or so the demonstrators' bull horn outside the administration building was taken over by a heckler who said that blacks were on a rampage in the Commons and stealing food. The crowd surged in that direction and fights broke out; as a spin-off, blacks broke the doors to the bookstore, attempted to set a fire in the building and broke a door to the library. The blacks who were involved in the incidents were primarily from off campus (fewer than a hundred showed up); the on campus blacks from the BSU finally stopping them. The BSU was in a very bad position of involving people in a demonstration who didn't react to their discipline.

Summerskill, with the support of the San Francisco Police had decided not to call uniformed cops on campus to put down the demonstration and called off classes for the rest of the day. For this, the trustees of the State Colleges, Max Rafferty and Gov. Reagan called for Summerskill's scalp. He was summarily called to a meeting of the Trustees in L.A. Saturday, December 9, and given a humiliating dressing down. Professors were not

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LET'S GET IT ON

by Peggy Terry

In the past it has been the SDS people at JOIN who explained and interpreted JOIN to you. From now on we intend to do our own talking without the aid of student interpreters. Those of you who are really serious about making a world which will "let the people decide" will make an effort to understand us and to listen to what we are saying.

We're here tonight to talk to you about a couple of things that we feel are important, things that up to now have been ignored, slighted, and overlooked.

We believe that the time has come for us to turn to our own people, poor and working - class Whites, for direction, support and inspiration, to organize around our own identity, our own interests.

This conference is titled "Ten Days That Shook The Empire" and that's a mighty fancy sounding slogan. What disturbs us is that it doesn't say anything to welfare recipients, to guys working out day labor agencies, in short - it has no meaning for the millions of our people who, due to the nature of our economic system, live out their whole lives one short step ahead of the wolf. Unless, and until, you do say something that has meaning for us you will continue to be a minority group with no mass base and will end up talking only to yourselves.

Our Own Engineer

We believe that it is our right to criticize SDS, your programs, your methods, your ideas. We are, after all, an off-spring of SDS. Just as many of you are alienated from your parents because you believe they are on the wrong track, so it is with us at JOIN. We are here to let you know that we intend to be our own engineer, run our train on our own track at our own speed, and in a direction of our own choosing.

We take on this tremendous task fully aware of the pitfalls and deadend roads that may await us. We realize that it will not be easy to overcome lifetimes of letting preachers, teachers, parents, and television be the engineers on our train. We, like you, are products of an inhuman system that puts the selfish profit motive above all human welfare and the only thing we have going for us right now is our knowledge that the poor and working class can and will overcome all these obstacles. We have only to look at ourselves to know that this is fact and not just wishful thinking.

Too many of our class brothers and sisters now have only the KKK and the George Wallaces to look to for solutions to their problems. We believe that, given the understanding that comes only with working-class oriented organizing, we can change the direction in which many of our folks now seem headed.

Middle Class Baloney

Nearly all the white people in SNCC and CORE were from middle-class backgrounds and few understood what Stokely was saying when he told them to go organize their own people. They got up-tight about the Black Power slogan and retreated into their middle-class world to lick their wounds. They were unable to go beyond the point of needing to hold black people's hand and have not gone into poor and working-class neighborhoods in any number worth mentioning. Many of those who did now find it just as hard to let go the hand of poor and working whites as they did to let go of blacks. Working-class whites are a pretty violent people, these students reason, and must be taught the beauties of "participatory democracy" before they

can be trusted out on their own. This is nothing but middleclass baloney. The problem was, and is, that middle-class whites do not see us poor and working-class whites as "their own people". Just as poor and working whites have been taught to hate and fear blacks, the middleclass has been taught to hate and fear us, to think of us as "rednecks", "crackers", and "killers of the dream". What you weren't taught and what you seem unwilling to recognize is that those of us who were or are those things were tricked into that bag for the benefit of middle and upperclass whites way back during the Reconstruction years. The first people killed by the Klan were poor whites who refused to believe that they had more in common with the rich, white slave owners than they did with the poor blacks.

Learned From Blacks

It is a well known fact that some of the top brass at SDS, known as the "Founding Fathers", feel that JOIN is a failure be-

At the SDS National Conference last month the community organizers of the JOIN Community Union in Chicago announced their plan to form the National Community Union. This organization intends to begin the job of large-scale organizing with poor and working class whites in urban areas. This represents a new turn for the movement. In the past political programs and projects have been formulated by students and brought into working class areas. Now working class community people are assuming the political leadership of these organizing programs. They intend to work closely with but independently from SDS. They plan to recruit and train students to help in this work. The following two articles are an attempt to spell out the reasons for the formation of this new organization and its program. The first is by Peggy Terry, editor of JOIN's community newspaper, the Firing Line. The second is by Youngblood, chairman of the newly formed National Community Union.

cause it has failed to produce the marching thousands that the black movement produced. We believe that because black people have already plowed that ground it would be foolish and wasteful for us to go and plow it over again. Black people did the big marches thing, they did the filling the jails thing, they did the non-violent thing, and by doing those things they learned something that is very important to us here: big marches don't change anything, filling the jails don't change anything, and non-violence is stupid when used as a tactic in the most violent society the world has ever known. They learned, and they told us, these things won't work and what we have to do is tear this system down and build it back to suit ourselves. The reason we believe that JOIN is a success is because it produced a core of strong, serious working-class whites who are willing to help them tear it down and rebuild it for the benefit of both races.

The proof of our strength and determination to do "our thing" is our presence here on this platform. The rhetoric that SDS uses to manipulate students has been used at JOIN against a much less sophisticated people. That we didn't all drown in this sea of rhetoric is a strong point in our favor. "Participatory democracy" is a part of this rhetoric. It's a middleclass bag that we are now handing back to you. You will have to find a way to deal with it, just as we will have to find a way to deal with the problems

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DON'T SHAKE IT, BREAK IT

By Youngblood

In revolutions of the past student movements were greatly instrumental in radicalizing the working-class. In our opinion it is now time for serious organizing in regards to the working-class to begin. It is with these thoughts in mind that we have come to the following conclusions:

1. That organizing on campuses and in rural areas is not enough if we are to build a Movement that is both powerful and enduring.
2. That to become this we must build a base among the poor and working-class whites if we are seriously to challenge the "power-structure" of this country.
3. That the organizing of working-class and poor whites can best be done by people from that background who will be in charge and give direction to the action of the programs set up by the National Community Union.
4. That we must really begin to organize in urban areas where there are heavy concentrations of poor and working-class whites.
5. That selection of these cities must be based on such important factors, as existing and projected industry, existing and projected conditions potential and existing political awareness, and geographical location.

Our emphasis is on urban area for three main reasons:

1. That while the student and rural organizing aspects of the White Movement are vital and essential we believe that unless the life of the average White worker is touched the Movement is failing to do the job most needed to be done.
2. That students aren't students forever and will one day move into communities which they will become part of.
3. That there are economical reasons which are driving great masses of rural and semi-rural people into the cities.

done by Officers of the NCU through speaking engagements, the medias of the Movement Newspapers, and personal contacts with individuals and other organizations.

Training

We view the establishment of an organizer's school as essential and as one of the "key elements of the program". The value of such a school should not be based on its ability to turn out full-fledged organizers ready to organize the world but rather on the beneficial experience of having worked and lived around people whose life and life-styles are different. Our assumption (based on our experience) is that an organizer who has lived in poor housing, worked out of day-labor halls, knows about welfare and has a basic understanding of local and national affairs is in a much better position to deal with these issues than one who has only read or heard about them.

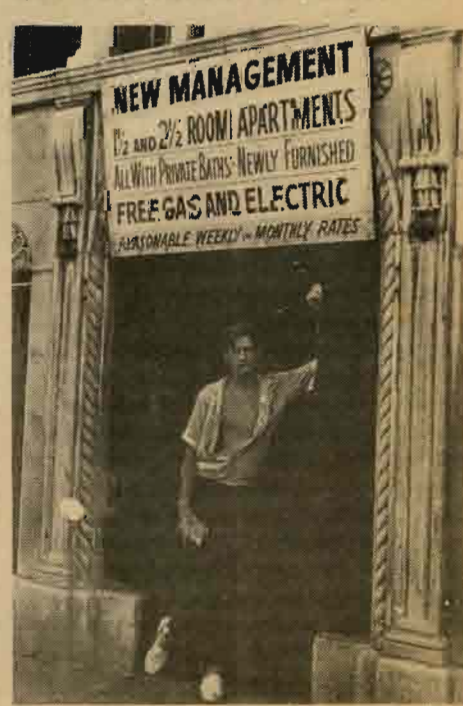
The curriculum of this school is geared to give the trainee two things that we believe will better prepare them for the role they will play later:

1. The experience of having worked and lived in a poor and/or working class environment and an opportunity to relate such experience to the job of organizing.
2. The benefit of our experience and knowledge gathered from our work as organizers for JOIN.

Some of the trainees will be expected to make a long term commitment to organizing in one community--one or two years at least. During the process of the training school the trainee will be evaluated as to their ability to organize and to live within a poor and/or working-class community.

The school will last for five to six weeks with the first session starting the first of March.

Trainees will move into the outskirts of the Uptown area of Chicago. They will probably live in weekly rental flats and



National Community Union

The National Community Union is in the incorporated co-ordinating body under whose Charter credentials will be issued to selected organizers for the purpose of establishing multi-issued operation in various cities.

Recruitment

It is our intention, through recruitment, to pull people into this Organization who see their role in the Movement as assisting in the establishment of community union type operations (locals) which we believe will culminate in the realization of gate-ways through which people of the working-class can enter into the Movement.

We believe that because of decisions made by the Black portion of the Movement and objective conditions that there are enough of the kind of people (potential community organizers) around to create the nucleus needed to initiate this program.

The recruitment of these people will be done by publicizing our endeavours. The publicizing of these endeavours will be

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work out of day-labor hall for their living money. They will not be allowed to live off money they bring with them other than a small amount for the first few days. The first week will be spent in finding living quarters and in getting started in day-labor. The dress will be that of the area. No heads, bells, or beards, mini-skirts, wierd clothing, or long hair (on males).

Trainees will mostly work day or late night shifts and meet in the evenings with organizers to discuss problems and issues of organizing. We will cover issues like urban renewal, life-styles, food co-ops, welfare, tenant unions, etc. There will also be work-shops given by people working on issues of a national nature such as the war, foreign policy, draft resistance and counseling. All discussions will be mostly concerned with how these issues relate to organizing in a community.

We will talk about the problems we have had in organizing in JOIN and how we solved or failed to solve them.

There will be written materials concerning local and national politics, relevant histories, informational material about various subjects. Some of this will be required and some suggested.

All trainees will be expected to have as much contact with people in their area as possible, to talk with them and to try to get some feeling for where they are at. This will be done on the job and in their neighborhood. Trainees will be asked to distribute JOIN's Newspaper, the Firing Line, and to talk to people about some of the material that is in it. Trainees are not JOIN organizers and will not use the JOIN office for meetings or to hang around in. Their free time should be spent in their area learning as much as possible about the people who live there.

At the end of the training period people will be evaluated and sent to wherever they will do their organizing. They will be considered organizers for NCU and will be responsible to NCU.

Placement

The sites that these organizers will move into have been chosen on the basis of information that our research teams have gathered. The sites number around fifty and are spread out over a twenty-five state area.

The NCU organizers will move into a working-class neighborhood of a city and take up residence. They will begin to move around in the community utilizing its facilities for the purpose of setting up the fact that they live there. There will be no pre-set staff, office, or name in regards to an organization unless it comes out of the community.

Our objective of organizing White poor and working-class people based on great deal of thought moves us to state that if the Movement is really to address itself to the evils of present day society and change then it must touch the life of the worker. For until you touch the man who touches the button on the machine you have touched nothing.

CLEVELAND STOPS DRAFT

The Cleveland Induction Center was closed for the first time in anybody's memory December 8 as 300 well-protected demonstrators marched on it. One reporter speculated after speaking to the Colonel in charge that induction had been called off for the day. The authorities would not admit it.

The march was called by a Stop the Draft Week coalition which included the Direct Action Committee, the Cleveland Draft Resistance Union and the Cleveland Student Mobilization Committee. Participants came from Cleveland and from campuses in the surrounding area.

The demonstrators came prepared for confrontation. They carried shields and wore helmets and pads. A large defense guard was organized and stationed itself between the marchers and the police. They had a walkie-talkie system to warn them of the arrival of the inductees' buses, which they planned to stop.

Two weeks earlier the police had attacked and clubbed the defense guard after the demonstrators had halted a bus, leafleted the inductees, and skirmished with the cops. While the police were oc-

Officers

The National Officers of this body are Chairman, Doug Youngblood; National Secretary, Vernon Urban; Educational Secretary, Junebug Boykin; Financial Secretary, Carol Youngblood; Inter-Organizational Secretary, Tom Mosher; and Field Secretaries.

The duties of these officers are:

Chairman: To represent the NCU as the national spokesman, traveling represent-



ative, and to co-ordinate the organizers who will be carrying out the NCU program.

National Secretary: To co-ordinate the national office, act as traveling representative, and co-ordinate all correspondence.

Educational Secretary: To be responsible for co-ordinating informational and educational material, the gathering of such material, to act as editor of the NCU Newsletter, and to work in the training portion of our program.

Financial Secretary: To keep book showing the financial state of the Organization, act as traveling representative, and be the sole issuer of money for organizing, printing, and traveling expenses.

Inter-organizational Secretary: To be responsible for maintaining communications with other Movement Organizations and act as traveling representative.

Field Secretary: To act as field representative for the NCU in regards to recruiting, fund raising, speaking engagements and local representative for local organizing operations. Field Secretaries will carry credentials issued by the NCU.

All Officers, except Field Secretaries must have a working-class background.

The reasons behind the definitions of the Officer's roles is that we have found that if you leave things undefined someone can at a later time define it for you and that definition may alter the course of the organization.

In regards to the credentials we have

seen too many people become heady and begin to make decisions that are way ahead of their group. We believe by issuing credentials to our officers and organizers we can eliminate a great deal of this "elitism".

The Program that these Officers will co-ordinate is:

1. Recruitment of people who want to do community organizing.
2. Establishment of a training school for them.
3. Placement of these trainees in various cities.

Problems and Needs

There are many problems that confront the people who want to establish a White Movement. Lack of programs, projects, and definite endeavours to which people can realistically commit themselves has greatly impeded us but the greatest of these stumbling blocks is that thus far we have built nothing that poor or working-class Whites can relate to. Years and life-times of programming by the establishment make it hard for working-class people to understand the action taken by the student movement. Their usual response to demonstrations, marches, and militant confrontation is one of being "turned-off". These actions are viewed in the same way that panty raids, and the trying to get 20 people in a phone booth or a Volkswagen are; as college pranks. In no way do they see these actions as being really relevant to their lives, and rightly so. The picketing of factories does not mean to the workers what it means to the students nor does marches that keep workers from earning their living. It is our belief that until we have set up or begin doing something that they can readily identify with our efforts of trying to change America (therefore the world) will not culminate in our liberation. The liberation so necessary if we are to reap the harvest of Freedom. Freedom to create a world not based on the archaic principles and methods we now use in dealing with our fellow human beings.

Historically, America stands in many ways now where Imperial Rome once stood; Master of the Earth. We are:

EVEN IN ARIZONA

By Mark Shenfield

The Movement has finally exploded in traditionally conservative Tucson, Arizona, as increasingly militant demonstrations by University of Arizona students culminated in the recent arrest of 17 on Dec. 4.

In conjunction with Stop The Draft Week, over fifty pickets marched in downtown Tucson to the local draft office, where an abortive sit-in was attempted to prevent inductees from boarding a bus for draft physicals in Phoenix. Demonstrators then surrounded the bus and were able to detain it for over 30 minutes, until cops were able to clear a passage. Seventeen demonstrators were arraigned, most on dual counts of disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly (the first time this charge has been filed in Tucson). Three draft cards were also burned at the demonstration.

looked to no longer by the "wretched of the earth" as a Promised Land. And our arrogance does not allow most Americans to realize that we are responsible for much of that wretchedness. Nor do we look behind our glass-walled skyscrapers at the wretchedness of our own country. Our jails, prisons, reform schools, and mental hospitals are jammed full. We are engaged in an imperialistic war that not even Hitler could've dreamed up. Millions of our citizens suffer from not having an adequate standard of living. Their lives are void of the simple necessities that make life anything more than a drudge. Super highways are built, rockets are hurled into the dark of space, useless programs waste billions of dollars while there are people who live in hovels not fit for human habitation.

America, like Rome, will fall; not because of alien hordes but because we continue to expose its corruptness. The corruptness it cannot overcome because our leaders are committed to a "status quo" that prevents dealing with the causes of this corruptness.

Our radical perspective is that you do not work with the symptoms of an illness when its causes are so apparent.

We take this job upon ourselves fully aware of the immensity of the task we have laid out. But we are also fully aware that until our people are reached and given explanations that they can understand and relate to we lack an important spoke for our wheel of change. We turn now to the task of organizing the working class confident that through our backgrounds and collective intelligence we can do what we have written about. We call upon our brothers and sisters in the Movement to give us their co-operation support, access to their funds, knowledge and most of all their hopes for a better tomorrow.

There is a part of NCU's program that is not mentioned here and that is because given the time we had to write this we could not clearly and honestly state just what it is. As soon as we have it drawn up we will get it out.

STRIKERS CO-OP

Mineral Bluff, Ga. —

The Blue Ridge strikers have discontinued their picket line at the Levi plant in Blue Ridge, Georgia after the scab workers at the plant voted that they no longer wished to be represented by the ILGWU. The boycott against Levi continues but the strikers themselves are now busy setting up an industrial sewing cooperative. They have formed a corporation called Appalachian Enterprises, which has contracted to sew 1000 dozen dresses per week for a dress manufacturing company. With this contract they have raised some funds and used their shaky credit to renovate an aged building in Mineral Bluff. They are leasing almost fifty machines from a machine manufacturer and started sewing in November.

They feel that soon the women will have gotten used to the machines and making different garments and will be putting out dresses at well above production.

They also plan to have a surplus after all the wages and the overhead has been paid to use for other things that will help organize and develop their area. They plan to set up almost immediately a day care center with the profits from the plant that will take care of the children of all the mothers in their area who are forced to work whether at the cooperative or not. They also have planned for the future a cooperative grocery store, gas station, and housing project. In addition they plan to build a health clinic for the county which at present has no hospital. Furthermore some of their anticipated profits will be budgeted for making grants to other groups of oppressed people who want to organize coops and other self-help projects.

They are, at this point, about \$18,000 in debt and have been able to raise only about \$4,000. Support is greatly needed. Send contributions to: Appalachian Enterprise, Inc., P.O. Box 66, Mineral Bluff, Georgia, 30559.

FIGHTING REPRESSION

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Scared to Death

Now let me put something to you very bluntly. The unfolding of all these techniques of mass repression is new and different, and represents a major change in policy on the part of the Administration. What's the purpose? What's the reason? The simple fact of the matter is that this is not the best way for them to operate. It is not the best way for them to rule. It is not the best way for them to carry out their objectives. They would much prefer to accomplish their ends without the consequences which flow from the opening up of a program of mass repression. And I suggest to you that the reason why they made this decision — and it's a serious decision that goes to the heart of every single thing every single one of us has to think through as to what we're going to be doing in the days to come — is that they're afraid; they're frightened now, and they're frightened in a way they have not been.

I don't know where everybody else was in July and August this summer, but I had some work to do in Newark. There were a lot of problems in Newark this summer. And I saw one thing on the face of the Mayor of that city, and the police commissioner — and that was fear. And they were frightened, and they remain frightened of the upheavals in the black ghettos from one end of the country to the other. They are scared, they're frightened, they don't know where it is going, they don't know what is going to happen.

And what is the second thing they are frightened of? They're frightened about you. They're frightened about the impact of the student generation on the problem of one simple, central thing — the problem of the draft. They made policy decisions, very important policy decisions, taken after tremendous splits and differences within their own ranks. They made policy decisions about the elimination of graduate deferments. And for the first time now they face a situation that they are frightened about because they don't know what will happen. For the first time they face a June when a graduating class all over this country has no out, no escape, faces the Army, faces the war in the bluntest and most direct way. The one thing the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, was most frightened at was the possibility that a large number of young men would not go. Because that and that alone was the thing they did not know how to cope with, that was what they were frightened about and that is what they remain frightened about.

Intimidate the Movement

I suggest that the two fears together — the fear of the black ghetto uprisings and the fear that the effect of eliminating deferments may impel a whole student generation to face its conscience with no escape, no outs — is forcing them to move. Now the men in Washington are frightened that there will be some leadership and some planning. They're frightened that these two currents will fuse in some way; they're frightened at the impact on their entire policy of these developments.

Therefore they have decided that they will resort to the classic form of mass repression to create the other side of the coin of fear — to create the fear in the currents of the movement and the people whom they want to keep from doing simple things — talking together, planning together, moving together. Now what's the purpose of the overall program of repression? Do they care ultimately whether or not they make the convictions stick? No, that isn't the point. They're desperately concerned with creating an atmosphere of fear and paralysis from one end of the country to the other so that the well-springs of social action can't move in a directed form. They move out of desperation. They move out of fear.

Take the Offensive

The way which one meets this and resists this is to turn the situation on its head: TURN IT TOTALLY ON ITS HEAD. And let me give you just one or two examples, because you're going to have to face every single one of these problems.

The Committees attack. Traditionally in this country for 20 years everyone who was called before the Un-American Activities Committee took a defensive posture. As a result the Committee gained its objective, which was not primarily to terrorize the witness but to terrorize everybody else. And they're counting on that again. So two years ago in Chicago and Washington we came to a very fundamental decision about how one meets mass repression. Very simple. You take the offensive. You reject utterly and totally a defensive posture. We said that the House Committee as an institution had no right to exist, and as constituted it is wholly illegal under the American Constitution. Therefore we decided to challenge it head-on. And that is what we did as everyone knows.

Let me tell you something that very few people know. Do you know what happened as a result of the heroic fight the Berkeley people and the New York people put up at the Washington hearings and the people in Chicago put up by saying they weren't going to participate in the hearings, that they were illegal, that they rejected the entire structure, that they were going to defend the best and the essence of American democracy by having nothing to do with them, by asking a Federal court to do its duty and strike the Committee down?

This fall a three judge federal district court in Chicago ordered HUAC to stand trial as defendants. We're going to put HUAC on trial this spring in Chicago. The Supreme Court has said that the First



Arthur Kinoy (Photo: Joe Blum)

Amendment means that American citizens may not be chilled in the exercise of fundamental rights, and may not be deterred or frightened from exercising their rights. Now what is more chilling than HUAC?

The circuit court of appeals agreed with what the Supreme Court said in a case we won three or four years ago, called the Dombrowski case. This is a case you should learn a lot about, all of you. (One thing I hate to tell you is that it's not true that you're not going to have to learn about it. What happens in the movement is that the movement people themselves become the best masters of law, in the best sense of the word because they must learn how to use it.) The approach of this case came out of the experiences of the Southern movement that you don't sit back and take it on the head; you move first. The Supreme Court held that you don't have to stand trial before you challenge a governmental institution that chills people in the exercise of their First Amendment rights.

Aggressive Tactics

So the Chicago federal court has said that the Un-American Activities Committee is properly charged with chilling the American people for the last 20 years in the exercise of their rights. On January 8, defendant Willis, the Chairman of the Committee, will present his answer to the complaint. Summonses have been served on defendant Willis and others and in the spring of this year in Chicago the Committee will be tried. Translate that technique into every single form of experience.

What did we do when Eastland stole the SCEF records? We didn't just sit back. We sued him for half a million dollars. And the Supreme Court last year ordered Mr. Sourwine, the general counsel of the Eastland Committee, to stand trial in the District of Columbia as a defendant in a conspiracy to violate the civil rights of citizens. And in addition the court in its mandate said that costs for this action in the amount of \$770 are assessed against defendant Sourwine.

For six months Sourwine and Eastland have been fighting that. Not because Sourwine doesn't have \$700, but because Sourwine doesn't want to make a check to Dr. James Dombrowski and SCEF signed J.D. Sourwine.

Why do I tell you these stories? Because we must learn how to develop aggressive offensive techniques utilizing the law, which enable, help and assist in developing and mobilizing an aggressive, offensive counter-reaction. When you work in a community, instead of sitting there and being clobbered and going into municipal court and defending your disorderly conduct cases, and being the defendant all the time, you can counter with an offensive, aggressive legal action. It raises the whole morale of the community, the whole morale of your own people; it puts you on the offensive, but more than that it gives the movement a million and one forms of organization and activity to build around. Now, this is the way we have to plan to meet the mass offensive against us which is being opened up.

All On the Block Together

Think through what the powers that be have done. Think a little bit about what I said before. This is not the best way for them to move, because they make terrible mistakes. They're throwing us all together, whether we like it or not. They're going to move against SNCC, there isn't the slightest question. And they're going to move against the FDP, there isn't the slightest question. They're both on the chopping block today. And they both know it and they both are going to have to stand up and fight together. I tell you an interesting thing. It's true of the black militant movement and it's true of the white militant movement, and they're both on the block together.

What reaction has done has created the bridge which none of us could create by

ourselves. We have got to understand that now, because that's the bridge. The bridge is not for the whites to say to the blacks now they're going to solve their problems in the black ghetto, or in rural ghettos, or in Mississippi or Alabama. Of course not. But when black militant organizations stand before the McCarran Board — and they will — and stand before the Eastland Committee — as they already do — and the white organizations stand before them, and the student organizations stand before them, there is no time for discussion of any other kind of problem. The enemy solves the problems. We simply don't have any time to get hung up in our hang-ups, because we have to solve the problems of how we are going to have a common strategy.

You know a black leader said something very powerful to me the other day. He said, "You know what I like most about that action you brought in Newark — to put the Newark police department in receivership?" What was most important to him was that the suit said who the real law-breakers are.

Now we say the same thing when we move affirmatively against governmental repression. The government is turning on and destroying the ideas and concepts of political freedom. In order to meet their fears now they must abandon the ideas and concepts of political freedom. Our fight for political freedom is not a fight we have made up. You know it's not a fight that originated in SDS or SNCC or anywhere else. These are ideas and concepts deep in the roots and heart of this country.

The ideas of political freedom are the ideas we fight for when we fight for constitutional freedom. These were the ideas which Sumner fought for when he called for defeat of the fugitive slave laws. These ideas of political freedom are ideas which the men in power are now turning against. In order to have mass repression they must destroy those ideas. So we must come forward as the champions of these ideas and in so doing . . . I happen to believe that millions of Americans will join us . . . I happen to believe that we can win. And that is why this is a fight in which all the lawyer can do is throw out thoughts, suggestions, techniques for the people. Because political repression is going to be met ultimately only by political thinking and organization. And that's your problem, not the lawyers!

The FIRING LINE

Uptown's Community Newspaper

THE FIRING LINE is published bi-weekly by JOIN Community Union. It's all about what it means to organizing southern whites in Chicago — and what it means to BE a southern white in Chicago.

one year - \$5

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Posters by Ervin Cobbs - Rap Brown, LeRoi Jones - available from The Movement - \$1.50 each.

BOYCOTT WINS AFRO HISTORY IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO -- The December issue of THE MOVEMENT carried a story on unrest in black high schools here (Chicago High Schools Rebel). One of the schools mentioned was Englewood High, where Owen Lawson, a Full Time Basis substitute teacher was dismissed and transferred, technically, for "administrative incompetence". There was a student boycott in protest of his dismissal.

The Movement talked with Ron Watkins and Alexander Ben, Director and Co-Director of the Englewood Civic Organization which supported the boycott despite police and school administration harassment. The most important victory won by the students was the acceptance of their demand that Afro-American history be taught in Chicago's schools.

Demands

On the first day of the boycott, November 20, a delegation of students, parents and members of the Englewood Civic Organization met with the white principal (of a school nearly 100% black) with a demand that Owen Lawson be reinstated, that Afro-American History be taught in all public schools in Chicago, that a black principal be assigned to Englewood, and that no reprisals be carried out against anyone involved in the action.

The demands were refused, and the boycott continued for two weeks. On the 21st, twenty-five students were arrested for "mob action", for demonstrating and blocking traffic. Participation in the boycott ranged from a peak of nearly a thousand students (out of 2900), with over 500 participating the entire first week, but began to taper off the second week because of threats of suspension.

Liberation Schools were held during the boycott, with Lawson and other black school teachers and SNCC and CORE people teaching. Rallies were held nightly, and a group of 70 students made the hour-and-a-half trip to principal Van Dam's residence to demonstrate in front of his house.

GET IT ON Con't from p 6

of our own kind of hang-ups.

In clear and simple language that leaves no room for rhetoric we are now publicly separating ourselves from SDS control. In doing so we assume the responsibility for building a working-class identity and consciousness among our people. We believe that by taking this step we will shorten the time needed before we can take our rightful, and historically necessary, place in the struggle for real democracy that is taking shape in our country.

One final thing before I turn this meeting back to Youngblood. We want it understood that we appreciate the efforts of SDS people who came into our neighborhood and set up the JOIN Community Union. We are glad you came even if you did call us a "project". Without your help it might have been another 5 to 10 years before any serious organizing was done. We have met some beautiful people and made some close and beautiful friendships. We hope that we have helped them to grow and become better human beings just as they have helped us to grow and become more aware of the importance of being truly democratic. ♦

MOVEMENT CARS GET
TENDER LOVING CARE
AT

Earl's

VOLKSWAGEN

1830 SAN PABLO AVE.
BERKELEY

At the end of the second week, ECO asked the students to go back to school due to opposition from some of the parents, and later met with Superintendent Redmond to present him with a list of demands similar to those given to Van Dam.

A new mode of thought has spread through the halls of one of Chicago's southside all Black schools . . . I have walked the halls of Englewood High School because I am a student there. I have seen the proud black faces. I have seen the black woolly heads held high and all humanity cannot know them in humbleness again. The disturbance at Englewood over Mr. Lawson may well be used as a landmark to denote the time when Black students united together in the defense of their Blackness. . .

--Adlue Calvin, Program Director of SABRE (Students Against Black Repression in Education), Englewood High School, Chicago.

Afro-American History

Although Redmond told him the demands were impossible, a regular curriculum in Afro-American History is being set up in the Chicago Public Schools. A group of black teachers, including some con-

sidered by ECO to be militants, is now developing a curriculum guide. ECO considers this to be a direct result of the efforts of the students and ECO.

Although Owen Lawson has not been reinstated, the issue of Afro-American History is seen by ECO to be of primary importance. ♦

(Photo: Mike Sharon)



Ron Watkins and Alexander Ben of the Englewood Civic Organization.

S.F. STATE Continued from page 6

allowed to speak and the meeting turned into a sounding board for a conservative attack on Summerskill, the S.F. police, progressive education, moral decay and assorted other evils.

The mood of the campus swung sharply behind Summerskill between the demonstration and the hearing. Had the trustees fired Summerskill at that hearing, a massive and highly effective student and faculty strike would have no doubt occurred. This is one of the reasons he wasn't fired although a committee was set up by the Trustees to investigate the incident. Later, even Reagan, swung his support behind Summerskill and said that he acted correctly in not calling the cops.

Call for Another Demonstration

In the meantime the BSU called for another demonstration the following Wednesday and rumors of the blacks arming and planning to come in force were flying around the campus and the city. The rumors were generated for the most part by the hysteria of the white community when confronted with militant blacks. One example is an article by Jim Vasco in the December 6th Cater that asserted that there were going to be snipers on campus during the demonstration of that day.

By this time MAPS was in serious trouble. They had supported Summerskill when it looked as though he might be fired because he hadn't brought cops on campus (one of the demands) and called for a student strike. But this became a dead issue and they were faced with another demonstration, called by the blacks, and the fact that nothing substantial had changed. They had had their demonstration, generated a great deal of hostility, and were no closer to reinstating the black students than before. The organization after almost two days of continuous debating split over what should be the best action. Some members were in favor of a picket line and/or a teach-in while perhaps the majority was in favor of another sit-in in the administration building.

MAPS Sit-In

The all-white MAPS felt duty bound to support the blacks. Despite the nonsense written by John Gerassi in the December 23, National Guardian, there was no communication with the blacks and MAPS had no concept of what they were planning. The debate had more than a touch of Kafka as the reasons for the sit-in broke down to roughly into three categories: 1) Face saving. A demonstration had been called to support the blacks and it must be gone through with. 2) Proving to themselves and the blacks that they had balls (see Gerassi's article for the clearest

articulation of the cult of machismo). 3) What else is there to do?

It is this last point that was never really spoken to and a corollary to this question was also never considered: if the sit-in takes place what does it really mean as a political act? The debate and finally the action took place as though the activists were operating in a political void. "Principled politics" was the main consideration and in the end MAPS became politically irrelevant.

It was finally decided to hold a non-violent sit-in in the administration building on Tuesday the 16th rather than Wednesday when the blacks were supposed to have their thing. From 75 to a hundred did sit-in, with other MAPS people holding a closed mike teach-in attempting to explain the sit-in. Nevertheless a good portion of the rest of the campus remained actively hostile to the action. Summerskill agreed to talk to a delegation of the protesters. Nothing came of this meeting. Nothing happened Wednesday and on Thursday the Academic Senate by a narrow vote refused to request the reinstatement of the four black students.

That's where it stands now. A large number of bewildered and confused people each in his own way attempting to come to some sort of an understanding and solution of the problem other than Gov. Wallace's riot stick two inches in the skull of the demonstrators. There is a lot of talk that the campus has opened up to a new sense of dialogue; serious problems have been brought to the front and are being discussed. A lot of people are talking whom have never talked before, but at the present stage they are mostly talking at rather than to each other.

Facade Peeled Off

The activities on the SFSC campus over the past year or so have peeled the facade off the campus and shown some of the cracks that have always existed to be gaping fissures. The keep it quiet politics of the past has built no base among the students and at the same time the confrontation politics of the MAPS and SDS activists has proven equally ineffectual as a method of building a base. Contrary to the activists, it seems to me that confrontations are not the only way that politics works. The attack on the liberals by the activists further alienated them from the campus and cut off possible allies. In the end analysis, liberals may very well be the enemy but in the BEGINNING of an organizing drive liberals can serve as fronts and covers for more radical activities. And perhaps more important — nobody is born a radical and one of the jobs that radicals should be about is educating and radicalizing people. If by their words and actions, radicals can

themselves off completely from everybody else, it seems to me that they're making a rather serious mistake.

Although Summerskill was entirely wrong, for example, in his disregard for due process for the black students, to call his actions motivated by racism completely went over the heads of most of the students and faculty on campus and ultimately allowed him to shift the blame from his poor judgment and panic to society at large. The issue became far more complicated than it need have. One liberal professor told me that he understood the due process issue and agreed with it but the racism issue made no sense to him. The racism issue coupled with the attacks on the liberals drove a deep and very serious wedge between the activists, both black and white, and the rest of the campus.

To say that the society is racist is almost a tautology and has become a radical shibboleth. Stokely said it two years ago and it has never proven to me to be an effective organizing slogan for whites. As was pointed out in the last issue of the Movement by JOIN organizers, people move only on issues that directly concern them and the issues on the SFSC campus can and should be made concrete and clear to the community.

But for the radicals and the social democrats to go at each other while Burnett and Reagan and all that they stand for are burning the Reichstag is political foolishness. There are serious things to be done and political fighting with possible allies is not the way to get them done. The quiet revolution at SFSC can no longer be quiet but it is possible that it can take on deeper dimensions and can become more relevant to the student body and more truly revolutionary. ♦

DOW PROTEST AT IOWA

An anti-Dow demonstration was held at the University of Iowa on December 5. Some 50 people attempted to invade the Union to reach the Dow recruiters. They were maced and clubbed and there were several arrests. Following that, 200 -- 300 chanting demonstrators marched through the campus and to the police station. The University had called in outside cops whose violent actions both educated and angered the watching crowd. Unlike an earlier demonstration at Iowa where counter picketers outnumbered and attacked demonstrators, this demonstration maintained mobility and the actions of the cops won the crowd's sympathy. There were 18 arrests. ♦

MURDER FRAMEUP IN NEW MEXICO

By James A. Kennedy

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. -- On December 26th, the first night of Hanukkah, militant Mexican land grant leaders Cristobal Tijerina and Felix Martinez were guests at my house to celebrate Hanukkah and to wish that their land might be cleansed of those who have stolen it and oppressed their people. One week later, they are in a Santa Fe New Mexico jail charged with murder. All the Alianza and land grant leaders arrested after the Tierra Amarilla uprising last June 5, including Reies Lopez Tijerina, have been rearrested, their bond revoked by Las Vegas, NM judge Joe Angel. They are assumed to have been accomplices in the murder in Tierra Amarilla January 2 or early January 3 of the Tierra Amarilla jailer and Rio Arriba County Sheriff Bulogio Salazar. The swiftness with which the arrests took place makes one smell a classic frameup. Many, including Tijerina and his 19 year old daughter Rose, were arrested at roughly 6 pm (mst) January 3 BEFORE THE BONDS HAD BEEN REVOKED by Judge Angel.

Victim Salazar was one of the most brutal and hated cops in Rio Arriba with some three "legal" murders to his credit according to one Tierra Amarilla resident. He and another Deputy, Dan Rivera, are known for their savage beatings and for pistol whipping people in Rio Arriba. The possibilities of people who would gladly and with cause do away with Salazar are almost limitless. But among those possibilities were NOT Chris Tijerina nor Felix Martinez.

Accused Not There

Tijerina and Martinez were at a rally in Santa Fe the night of the 2nd -- there are a number of witnesses. Later they spent the night in Espanola, N.M. 20 miles from Santa Fe which they left after they had eaten breakfast in Espanola January 3 about 8:30 am. They proceeded to the Tierra Amarilla Court House on business. At that time -- without any knowledge of the death of Salazar -- they were arrested on suspicion. At 5 pm (mst) they were arraigned on murder charges and the bail was posted at \$10,000 each. They have since been removed to the jail in Santa Fe.

David F. Cargo, Republican Governor whose wife used to be in the Alianza, (and who has been trying to find an excuse to rid himself of that unhappy fact -- as well as rightwing charges that he is an Alianza tool) called in a special press conference for the revocation of the bonds of all the 21 defendants charged with capital crimes growing out of the Tierra Amarilla June 5th fight. These include fathers of families of 15 and 16; elderly men in their 70s, and teenage girls. Six hours later the judge had followed suit on petition from Santa Fe DA Alfonso Sanchez -- a little Joe McCarthy -- to revoke the bond.

Arrested in Tierra Amarilla along with Chris and Felix was another local Alianza leader, Moises Morales. As of 9:30 pm nearly 12 of the June 5th defendants had been rearrested and transported to the State Penitentiary near Santa Fe at Cerrillos, NM.

Corky Gonzales it is reported is on his way from Denver to lend assistance to the Alianza and Cesar Chavez has phoned asking how he can help. Chavez and Bert Corona of MAPA in California are planning to come in this weekend to lend their moral support.

What Happened

According to New Mexico State Police -- hardly a reliable or unprejudiced source when it comes to the Tijerinas and land grant struggle -- the victim Salazar was abducted by a "a large group" on the evening of January 2 (circa 8 pm mst) at the gate to his yard. His body was found on the morning of the 3rd 15 miles from his northern New Mexican home. He had been pistol whipped to death it seems. Salazar was a key witness against the freedom fighters of Tierra Amarilla -- he claims to have been shot by Reies Tijerina during that struggle -- though there is no proof that Reies was even there. Salazar had been wounded during the June 5 battle. He recently joined a suit brought by another tio tomas (uncle tom) cop against Reies Lopez Tijerina for the alleged shooting for \$1.5 million for damages.

Some interesting unanswered questions at this point -- the time of death of Salazar; whether he was armed when he went home; why his wife heard nothing from the large crowds and didn't report

his absence till this morning; why he would let a large crowd of Alianza people take him in his own yard without crying out; etc. etc.

More interesting is that the State Police when they arrived in Albuquerque to arrest Reies, before bond revocation, had to lie to the Albuquerque Police Dept. to the effect that bond was already revoked in order to procure their co-operative in the arrest. Reies and others were served with NO warrants, no papers of any kind. Nor were they allowed to confer with their attorney when he arrived at the city jail as they were being led away to the State Pen. The formal charge later released was they were taken into custody during a "bond revocation investigation."!!!

A Frame-Up?

But this is only part of the picture. It is considered opinion among a number of movement people here that this is a deliberate frame up with specific political objectives in mind. All the recent evidence points to it -- to a frame by people in and around the tio tomas machine of Democratic Senator Joe Montoya? The victim, a key witness in the case against Tijerina who three times changed his story as to whom it was who shot him, was deemed expendable material -- and perhaps fell foul to one of his own cronies?

Here are the circumstance that become the backdrop in an increasingly ugly, sinister and familiar pattern. First the inept, but McCarthyite DA Alfonso

Sanchez, a Montoya Democrat, was facing the preliminary hearings and jury selection on Jan. 29 in TIERRA AMARILLA AND RIO ARRIBA COUNTY from which he would have to choose jurors. This is an area, with many Alianza members and sympathizers, into which he was afraid to go. This was hardly fertile ground in which to get the kind of rigged trial needed to send the 21 defendants to jail and some to their deaths (the death penalty is being sought against Tijerina and several others for alleged kidnapping.) Now -- with terrorism and fear in the county -- perhaps a change of venue will be sought to a more hospitable climate from Sanchez' view. Conjecture yes -- but not at all surprising given New Mexican politics, the boiling point in northern New Mexico and similar changes of venue in another Tijerina trial recently.

Point 2. For the last month State Police Chief Joe Black has been warning that renewed violence in Tierra Amarilla was imminent. That perhaps even a "new raid" was in the planning; and on Dec. 11 he took in a force of over a dozen of his legal goons following reports from "his intelligence officers" of renewed Alianza activity in the area.

Point 3. For nearly three weeks now

Charges against Cristobal Tijerina and Felix Martinez of being an accessory to a murder were dropped by the DA's office on January 5 on the strength of affidavits that the men were in Santa Fe at the time of the murder. Martinez was released. Tijerina and the other June 5 defendants were still being held as of our latest news, but the State Supreme Court had ordered a show cause hearing for them Monday the 8th.

Senator Joe Montoya, the CIA's favorite "Mexican", has been attacking Tijerina in the press, on TV and radio and in speeches -- calling him a bad American,

implying treason etc -- in an effort to whip up hysteria against this rank and file Mexican leader who is viewed by the press etc. as Montoya's chief rival for hegemony of the Mexican community here. Further, Montoya has been irked by Tijerina's expose of his tio tomasism, his land ownership and ties to the wood industry.

Montoya's hate campaign, the fact that Sheriff Naranjo and DA Sanchez are part of his machine, and that things aren't well for the machine in northern New Mexico -- the colonial hirelings are being thrown aside despite crooked elections etc., and a new militancy is emergent, the strange death of Narajo's perjuring fuzzi and the arrest of Tijerina and Martinez, the attempts to discredit, terrorize etc. -- A well-planned frameup???

Anyhow that's the talk, the guessing among a lot of movement people I've talked to today, Chicano and Gringo alike. But, baby, it won't work -- they're saying -- and it may be a hot time in the old adobes soon. ♦

N. CAROLINA ANTI-DOW

On Monday, December 4, 75 students and faculty from the University of North Carolina, Duke, and North Carolina State demonstrated in front of the Raleigh Induction Center. The pickets marched to the Center and picketed on the seven nearest sidewalks. On December 8, pickets numbered 105, 80 marched and 25 vigiled silently across from the Center. Later the demonstrators marched to the State Selective Service office and held a rally. 35 young men signed a We Won't Go statement.

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