



THE



MOVEMENT

MAY 1967



VOLUME 3 NO. 5

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HOW DO WE STOP THE WAR?

BLACK STUDENTS ON THE MOVE

Across the country and particularly in the South a new black student movement is taking shape. Howard University students ran General Hershey off a speakers platform at their school in protest of the Vietnam War and the draft. They are now fighting compulsory ROTC. At Southern University in Louisiana black students have been demonstrating for changes in dorm rules, rules about cars, and for changes in faculty hiring practices. During one of the demonstrations a campus cop went berserk and shot and wounded five students. He is being charged with aggravated assault. Below we give accounts of the activity in Nashville and at Texas Southern University.

Hopefully, this new militant black student movement will have the effect of giving new vitality to the predominately white student movement. Already, we think the students at Howard University have taught something to activists at Berkeley and elsewhere. You don't sit still for Government speakers so they can give their side. The Howard students realize clearly that the government's point of view completely dominates all the news sources of the country. Has the President ever given equal time to the anti-war movement on any of his prime telecasts to the nation? To speak of free speech, when the government has control of all sources of communication, is to play the fool. The Howard students understand this, now maybe a lot more people will see it too.

In the next year black students will be building a strong movement. SNCC plans to take several hundred black students off the campus and into the field this summer. There they can gain some organizing experience, and in the fall they can begin to move effectively on their campuses for student control.

BLACK POWER REVOLT AT TEXAS SOUTHERN

HOUSTON, TEXAS -- Texas Southern University is an all-black college controlled by whites. Six blocks up the street is the University of Houston. Cops at TSU carry guns, cops at the U. of H. do not. The curfew for girls at TSU is 9 p.m., at the U. of H. it is 11 p.m. The food is better at the U. of H. Texas Southern offers no courses in the modern branches of engineering and technology. Last month the racist control of Texas Southern was seriously shaken by a Black Student Power movement on campus.

The TSU Friends of SNCC group had been thrown off campus and its faculty advisor fired, because of its militancy. Demands that they be reinstated were turned down by the Administration. On March 28 a boycott was called, closing down the school. Doors were barricaded with 2 x 4's borrowed from a nearby construction project. 200 students sat down in the middle of Wheeler Street, a busy thoroughfare passing through the center of the campus.

The Administration's response was to ask that a warrant be issued for the arrest of Lee Otis Johnson, who had been suspended from TSU for organizing a SNCC demonstration against Mayor Louis Welch of Houston. The police explained to Johnson's father that the charges would be dropped if Johnson promised to stay away from the TSU campus. This act of political intimidation caused the movement to broaden its demands. New demands were:

Drop all charges against Johnson and reinstate him in school,

Change the curfew hours to the same as on the white campuses,

All disciplinary action to go through a student court whose powers shall be at least equal to that of the Dean of Students,

Replace the present slop served in the cafeteria with edible nutrition,

Increase all salaries of TSU faculty and maintenance personnel to the level of white campuses,

Remove Dean James B. Jones from the Draft Board. "We feel that Dean Jones uses his power on the Draft Board to put the fear of death into young men and as a disciplinary practice to further oppress the entire male student body."

Disarm the campus police.

STUDENTS PADLOCK DOORS

On the morning of April 3 a mass rally was addressed by Reverend F. D. Kirkpatrick, Co-Chairman of the Friends of SNCC; Lee Otis Johnson; and Franklin Alexander, national chairman of the Du Bois Clubs.

Around noon, groups of students placed chains and padlocks on the doors of all class buildings. Others stood at the doors with picket signs. 500 students gathered in the middle of Wheeler Street and sat down, blocking the traffic. The police riot squad set up roadblocks around the campus.

DUMP FOOD

Inside the cafeteria, students dissatisfied with the "present slop" began dumping trays of food on the floor. Others

CONTINUED ON P. 10



RIOT COPS bust black student after police attacked Fisk dorms.

NASHVILLE

COPS ATTACK BLACK STUDENTS

Nashville, Tennessee -- Jefferson Street is the main drag in this city. It runs for about a mile with Fisk University on one end and Tennessee State College on the other. All along the strip are restaurants, bars, and motels. On Saturday night April 8 the manager of the University Dinner Club called the police on one black student over a personal dispute. The other students around felt that the arrest was uncalled for and set up a picket line around the place. This attracted many more students to see what was happening.

The owner of the restaurant, a black man, came down and seeking to avoid trouble began discussions with the pickets. By this time the street was blocked off by onlookers. Police had begun to reroute traffic.

THE SET-UP

Then it begun. For an "unkown reason" the cops let a bus pass through their blockade of the street rather sending it around the demonstration. The white drive, rather than "feeling" his way through the crowd, forced his way through. This angered the students and they began booing the bus driver and the cops.

At that point a black plainclothes officer ran out into the middle of the street, pulled out his gun, and began firing into the air. Enraged and confused by this action, the students began to throw rocks and bottles at the cops, who began to move on them with the first shots.

"SHOOTING IN THE AIR"

The shooting had alerted a nearby riot squad, which entered the area. Swinging clubs the cops forced the students into the dorms of Fisk University. The cops claimed that they were also shooting into the air, but several girls were wounded in their dormitory. The cops forced their way into the men's dorms through the windows.

Meanwhile a sympathy demonstration formed at Tennessee State College a mile down the street. The cops moved their

riot squads and began shooting. The cops claimed they shot into the air. However, two students were shot in the neck; several were wounded in the arms and legs. The riot squad then surrounded the entire two campus are and drove around with guns and other riot equipment ready for use.

COPS LIE

Back a Fisk a Dean had entered the dorms and asked the students to move to their respective dorms. The students refused, claiming that they would only be attacked by the cops who were stationed outside. The dean went out to speak with the cops. He came back to the waiting students and told them the police had said it was alright for them to go to their own dorms. When the students emerged from the dorms, the police ruthlessly attacked them again.

SNCC WORKERS ARRESTED

By Sunday evening, over 100 black students and citizens were in jail; over 50 people had been injured by police gunfire and billy clubs. Three SNCC workers (Ernest Stephens, George Ware, and Simuel Schutz) who were returning to Nashville from another city were stopped in their car and questioned by the riot cops. The police spotted SNCC literature in the car, and on that evidence arrested two SNCC workers for "inciting to riot". They were placed under \$2,500 bond each. The third SNCC worker was charged with "vagrancy" and also taken to jail.

By Monday night April 10 the black students had learned a lot about dealing with cops. A demonstration was held at Tennessee State College protesting the presence of the occupation forces on their campus and in their part of town. The students also began to raise demands about kind of education that they were getting. "What kind of a "Negro" college is this, that will not permit a course on Afro-American history to be taught?"

CONTINUED ON P. 10

EDITORIALS

THE MOVEMENT MAY DIE! SAVE THE MOVEMENT....

Dear Readers,

The Movement is up tight - We may not be able to put out our next issue. We are already two months behind on our printing bill.

In the past the bulk of our income came from Friends of SNCC groups, but much of that has been lost lately as Friends of SNCC groups become less active.

If we are to continue publishing we must have increased support from other areas.

So this is a plea to all of you who write us the great letters saying The Movement is the best paper around: Send money; give gift subscriptions; urge friends to subscribe; sell the paper on your campus.

The need is urgent. We must almost double the present number of paid subscriptions. Please contribute today. Help keep the Movement alive. ◀

BLACK MISSISSIPPI STRUGGLES ON

During the past month the Movement has received several letters from projects in Mississippi. These remind us very vividly that, while Mississippi is largely silent these days, a great deal is still happening there. Projects struggle on many communities, manned by local people, without access to the resources of SNCC or any other civil right organization. They are also without even that slight protection which the publicity of 1964 and 65 gave them.

Negroes are still brutalized and murdered with horrifying regularity. We just don't hear much about it anymore.

Economic conditions for blacks grow steadily worse. There are black people starving in Mississippi.

The much applauded civil rights legislation of 1964 and 65 has made little change. Most Negroes still don't vote, and even where they do vote, their candidates don't win. Most schools are still segregated. All the work of the early 1960's barely cracked the surface of the racist South.

These determined people deserve and need all the support you can give them. Read their letters. See what you can do to help. ◀

MOSS POINT, MISS.

Dear Movement,

I recently returned for a few days to Moss Point, Mississippi, where I previously had worked with the Freedom Democratic Party. A handful of local people remain active there, and have been subjected to increased police harassment, which has resulted in several beatings and arrests. They are now working and making plans to form a stronger organization involving a greater portion of the local people and would very much like volunteers to come down.

Most likely I will be returning to Moss Point within the next few months and would appreciate anyone interested getting in touch with me. I would then be able to give you more information and put you in touch with Moss Point people who could tell you about the projects they have in mind and the exact needs volunteers could fill.

Jody Ramsland
R. F. D. 2 Box 301
Mt. Kisco, New York

MARKS, MISS.

Dear Friends,

We are writing you asking for help! All the poor Negroes here are starving. They need food and clothing. So will you please send us some money. Send it direct to me and I will see that all of them get help that need it.

We have an adult school. And we need money to help run it. We have 10 volunteer center's to run the adult schools.

If you need any more information call 326-9441 and ask for Rev. L. C. Coleman here in Marks, Mississippi.

There are peoples here who do not have a place to stay. We need your help. We are fighting for freedom.

On April 19, 1967 we had a county-wide meeting. We ask for the Valley Green Church but the pastor Rev. L. H. Hills wouldn't unlock the doors. Mrs. Fannie Hamer was suppose to have been here. Mr. Lawrence Guyot was here.

In Freedom
L. C. Coleman
519 Cotton Street
Marks, Mississippi

WELFARE GROUP BOYCOTTS STORE

Los Angeles, California--

On March 30, 1967, members of Citizens for Creative Welfare, a group of Pueblo del Rio housing project residents, continued their boycott of Gambo's A&T market at 55th Street and Holmes Ave. Under an agreement reached the previous Saturday, the store owner was to have cut prices, cleaned up his store, and improved meats and vegetables. According to Mrs. Turner, president of the organization, the changes were to have been made by Tuesday but the owner did not live up to his part of the bargain. Only a few prices, she said, were dropped. "Unless there are changes made we will have no alternative but to picket the store," said Mrs. Turner, "and this is not the only market in Los Angeles that overcharges poor people." Pueblo del Rio housing project is located in the Avalon area, which is one of the areas which rates lower on economic scales than Watts.

Picketing began at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, March 30, 1967 at the market. Leaflets distributed by the group on Saturday asked patrons to boycott the store but "don't burn" it. Thirty (30) persons demonstrated at the store asking passerbys not to burn it -- as the owner would only collect insurance and move to another place to continue the exploitation. Three hours of demonstrations were sufficient for the owner who proceeded to negotiate the following agreement:

1. Cut prices on 50 major items from 10-30%.
2. Upgrade the fresh meat department.
3. Start to provide fresh vegetables.

The group is also working to determine what policies govern evictions from their public housing project.

Citizens for Creative Welfare
1825 E 51st Street
Los Angeles, California
Phone: 582-4698 (Mrs. E. Jones)

LETTERS

LETTERS ON THE DRAFT

To the Editor,

A friendly letter of criticism to The Movement, one of the best revolutionary rags around. . .

We can expect our rulers to seek more and more men for their army.

The \$64 question is whether we can get enough young guys White and Black, to stay out of the Army. I don't think we can. In this April issue, along with your editorial "To Hell With The Draft" there was an article which indicated that economic pressures. . . and social pressures figures strongly in the decision of going in. And economic pressures are getting heavier, not lighter. On the other hand, more and more guys with a conscious understanding of the oppressive nature of the system are prepared to make sacrifices. The question is, or should be, where can I -- and the guys I'm working with -- best apply our understanding? Where are key weak points to hit at? Should we advocate staying out when it means: a) splitting to Canada, b) going underground or, c) going to jail? I think not.

For the majority who are not going to be prepared for these steps. . . we will be irrelevant in our individualistic morality play. Furthermore, we will be saying that going in is a defeat, whereas if we concentrate on the nature of the war and the system in our confrontations and stress the necessity of collective effort to smash the system, we will be raising the political level of those going in and still maintain for them and for revolutionary organizers the perspective of hitting the monster in his belly. In his vital armed forces, so necessary to him in this epoch.

It seems to me that the Movement (paper and people) should reconsider our present perspective of Stay Out. We should pay more attention to the importance of working in the factories in the period which is bringing greater oppressions to most working people. We should expose and organize against union sell-outs as well as the owners. While supporting people who fight the draft from a position of opposition to the system, we should shift to a Resist Outside/Resist Inside within the priority of exposing the nature of the war and the system. Don't get me wrong, I'm not advocating that we advise guys to enlist or that we enlist ourselves! But when revolutionaries get drafted, we should seriously consider where our talents can best be utilized.

Earl Silbar
Chicago, Ill.

MOBILIZATION

The April gives the complete silent treatment to the Spring Mobilization against the War in Vietnam. Why? Is the killing and murdering over?

Max Mandel
Berkeley, California

HOLLY SPRINGS, MISS.

Dear Friends,

We are still here trying to get peoples registered to vote. We are also working on the election trying to get Negroes in offices, and we need your help again. So please come to our aid by helping us. We need food, clothing, shoes of all sizes large and small and money. So please don't let us down. Tell your friends about us and ask them to help us out by sending us something to help support this election. Freedom,

Annie Bogard
200 Rust Ave.
Holly Springs, Miss.

Dear MOVEMENT:

Here is a \$5.00 donation to the best paper on the West Coast. Please renew my sub also.

I would like to ask some questions about your "Hell No to the Draft" editorial, and make some comments of my own.

I agree with you that the draft is a terrible, racist institution that is used to force men to murder for American aggression. But I wonder if the draft is the main problem. Should it be our main target? Or even a target at all?

It seems to me that the draft is just a tool that could be easily eliminated and replaced with another evil just as bad or worse. The draft takes those unemployed, and those who are working; as opposed to those going to college or those who have a job "vital to the national interest." But couldn't the draft be eliminated and replaced with a system of high paying "incentives"? Couldn't the Army become a source of high paying jobs for those of us who otherwise would be out of work? Then the Army would be made up of professional soldiers (some Army brass favor this plan as more economical).

Probably then even more black men would join for the "better standard of living." Then it would look like they had a "free choice" and the Army policies would be harder to oppose, because it would look like we were trying to put them out of a job.

Also the Army could say, "If a man doesn't want to fight in Vietnam, he can get some other job someplace else." But when civilian jobs are not available, the "choice" becomes one big hoax.

And what if another Watts comes up? It will. Wouldn't it be easier to convince unwilling draftees to your side than highly paid mercenaries? In South America they have found this to be true.

Would it not be better for Stokeley to accept the draft and organize the sentiment of the GI's against the war? Than to be stashed in a dark prison cell?

It seems to me that the war itself should be the main target. We should get out -- no matter how the Army gets its men.

Some of these ideas I thought up on my own, and some I got from others. I still do not know all the arguments on all sides, and I would like to know more about your position. Could you give me some more answers? Thank you.

And best of luck to the MOVEMENT!

Sincerely,
Dave Warren

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MILITANT PARENTS FORM COUNCIL

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. -- At the head of some 40 school groups in the South Central Los Angeles area, Mrs. Margaret Wright is leader by consensus of the United Parents Council. The group forcefully demonstrated earlier this month on the question of crossing guards for the black schools of Los Angeles. The group appeared, 100 strong, at Los Angeles City Hall to express their concern about the lack of crossing guards in the elementary schools and to tell the city Council to stop passing the buck on the issue.

WARRANTS

Mrs. Wright states that the issue revolves around "warrants", which turn out not to be laws at all, but policies set by a sub-committee of the Police Commission. "They tried to make us think it was law, but we found out for ourselves." The group may be forced to get those warrants changed. "Our demonstrations have brought the issue out into the open", she says, "It's been in the Police, Fire and Civil Defence Committee for a month and half while our kids have been getting killed in the streets."

PTA

"The PTA's are finks. About the only thing they are good for is fund raising--and even then they tend to exploit kids. We need independent citizen power to fight this school board."

COORDINATORS

"The School-Community Coordinator Program under the Department of Urban

Affairs is mostly a waste of taxpayers money. They are supposed to help solve problems but what they do is sweep them under a rug. There are maybe 5 good ones in the whole bunch -- who really know the community -- the money for the rest of them (there are twenty eight) can go to the kids for materials and textbooks.

ADVISORY BOARD

"I serve on the Compensatory Education Advisory Board, but the Administration just tries to keep us divided. There is supposed to be one board -- they break us up into three -- then do their damndest to keep the three groups fighting. I keep trying to unify them so that we can have some say in how that Federal money is spent."

Asked how she got involved in these issues, Mrs. Wright stated, "I just got mad -- one day the children at one ghetto school were sitting outside in the rain eating lunch. The principal and the PTA people were warm and dry at a luncheon meeting inside. I was so mad I knew I had to get rid of the Principal and some teachers. I got some others together, made a stink and got that school straightened out fast. Then I started going to the Board of Education meetings.", she continued, "two days a week. There were very few people there -- and no other black faces. I used to visit white schools too, and when I did, I could find out anything I wanted to, but when I went to schools in my own area the



MRS. WRIGHT (CENTER) stands with a coffin at L.A. City Hall demonstration of United Parents Council.

principals would clam up and I couldn't get nothing out of them. I got awfully suspicious about that.

NEGRO HISTORY

"Once I asked the Board to consider putting Negro History into the curriculum. One member told me 'If you had any history we might put it in! It's that kind

of stupidity that makes me know I have to fight."

Mrs. Wright, a youthful appearing grandmother of three, describes herself as "just a housewife." She deals with school problems for United Parents in her spare time, while her major job is operating a nursery school of her own. The entry-way to the school is covered with pictures of black heroes -- from Garvey to King. ◆

HEAD START PROTEST

by Lou Gothard
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

A group of some 100 persons converged on the office of Mayor Shelley on April 17, 1967 to protest the ridiculously small (\$375,000) allocation of funds for local Head Start programs. The group, represented the Head Start Parents Policy Advisory Committee, delegate agencies, as well as Head Start parents from across the city.

Walter Robinson of the Potrero Hill Community Action Committee, presented Mayor Shelley with a copy of a resolution, directed to Sargent Shriver, Office of Economic Opportunity head, which stated in part:

"The amount of funds presently allocated for San Francisco's Head Start Program is totally unrealistic and perpetuates the farce of goodwill and 'help' from the government . . .", and, "These children are suffering irreparable harm, educationally, culturally and physically due to lack of involvement in a Head Start Program."

The Mayor responded to the group after they threatened to sit-in at his office. He placed calls to Congressman Philip Burton (D-S.F.) and to Shriver's office, and succeeded in passing the buck to the Regional Office of the OEO. Daniel Luevano, lame duck Regional Director of OEO, pointed to "Congressional guidelines" for the national Headstart programs as the major hangup. The guidelines in question limit the re-funding of applications to levels set by existing programs. In practice, it means that "them that has, gets".

Luevano seemed a bit confused about his role in formulating those guidelines -- at first stating that "this office did participate in making up the guidelines," later, asked by Eugene Haggarty of the Montessori Head Start project what recommendations were made, he stated "no specific recommendation has been made on this program, but we have often done so in the past." Luevano's resignation becomes effective June 1, 1967.

ROLE OF EOC

The San Francisco Economic Opportunity Commission was also blamed for the problem. It seems that they chose to gamble their money on the more potent Community Action Programs rather than Head Start. The implication is that unless a community can foresee the direction of this so-called War on Poverty, 27,000 black children must pay the price.

OTHER SCHOOLS

"The San Francisco Unified School District is in trouble too," according to Robinson, "and the lack of concern for black children is appalling."

There is currently no major, concerted group effort designed to achieve educational rights in the San Francisco area. The Head Start parents involved in this group have become acutely aware of the white man's school programs -- of which Head Start is but a taste. ◆

U.S. POST OFFICE DESTROYS SNCC MAIL

Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
NATIONAL OFFICE: 360
STREET, S.W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- Over 600 pieces of SNCC mail were chopped to pieces last month in the Main Post Office here. On March 30th the SNCC National Office received a tip from a black postal worker that the Atlanta postmaster had ordered his workers to destroy a sack of SNCC mail.

SNCC officers were told by Tom Jackson, the Post Office Supervisor, that in the past two months at least 2 sacks of SNCC mail had been destroyed due to "lack of sufficient postage."

The Post Office claimed that they were legally justified in destroying the mail, since SNCC had not reclaimed it after ten days. However, SNCC had not been notified of the lack of postage, and the second batch of mail was destroyed before the legal 10-day limit was up.

Several black postal employees told SNCC that they had never heard of this happening to anyone's mail before and that this was the first such incident they could recall.

Among the 600 pieces of mail destroyed last month was the first issue of the "SNCC Newsletter." In the second issue, SNCC says, "Many of our friends and supporters have said over the past few months that they have never received any of our mail. A friend from overseas recently visiting our office said he had NEVER received any of the many letters we have mailed to him. We wonder how many of you have not been receiving our correspondence, news items, etc. because such letters were chopped in the Atlanta Post Office." ◆

LOWNDES CHURCHES BURNED

LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA -- White violence has broken out again here. On Sunday morning, March 12, a renovated church which had been rented to the Lowndes County Christian Movement, parent to the Lowndes County Freedom Party, burned to the ground.

The church was to be used by the LCCM for its anti-poverty program. The fire destroyed the building, equipment and materials. The FBI made a routine investigation and "took notes."

Early the following morning the Macedonia Baptist Church in Fort Deposit was burned, after a mass meeting of the LCCM. Whites had warned black residents of the area for some time that they would burn the church if it was used for such meetings.

Stokeley Carmichael, in a statement attacking the permissiveness of the government that allows these burnings to take place, said, "White America is tightening its noose around the necks of black people here just as she is doing in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This fact is also becoming clear and evident to black people across the nation, as proven by the rebellions breaking out in all American cities, and the unifying surge of support which black people from all walks of life are giving to Congressman Powell. . . ."

"Black people are now serving notice that we will fight back. The bombing of our churches and homes will only unify us more, and make us more determined than ever to fight back." ◆

FROM CONFIDENTIAL GOV'T FILES

MEET YOUR LOCAL WAR CRIMINAL, LOOK HIM UP IN T.A.B.

SPECIAL FROM OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

Came across a publication recently which should prove to be invaluable for people interested in researching the activities of scientists engaged in research for the military. It's called the Technical Abstract Bulletin -- "TAB" to the military/scientific community.

It is published twice a month (on the 1st and 15th) by the Defense Documentation Center, the address of which is c/o Dr. Robert B. Stegmaier, Jr., (Administrator), Cameron Station, Alexandria, Va. 22314. But don't write him, unless you have an official "need to know," because TAB is not available to the general public.

If, however, you can inveigle your way around this "need to know" nicety, you'll find that the TAB is a comprehensive collection and index of all reports, interim and final, on defense contract research in 22 "subject fields" ranging from agriculture to space technology, and taking in every conceivable scientific field.

Item (verbatim):

AD-377 386 Fld. 15/2

GRACE (W R) AND CO CLARKSVILLE MD RESEARCH DIV RESEARCH ON NEW CONCEPTS FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF AGENTS FOR TUNNEL DENIAL

Final rept. May-Aut 66

by J. A. Cogliano, G.L. Braude, L.E. Campbell, E. W. Lard and M. Cock. 15 Nov 66 47 p. Rept. no. Res-66-114 Contract DA-18-035-AMC-747 (a) Proj. DA-1B522301AO81

Confidential report

Distribution: No Foreign without approval of Commanding Officer, Edgewood Arsenal, Md. 21010, Attn: SMUEA-TSTI-T

Descriptors: (*Underground structures.

Non-lethal agents). (*Non-lethal agents. Dissemination). Army operations.

(TAB dated Jan. 15, 1967, page A46)

Item:

AD-377 847 Fld. 15/7
RAND CORPORATION SANTA MONICA CALIF ALTERNATIVE 1970-72 USAF TACTICAL FORCE POSTURES IN MAJOR CONVENTIONAL WARS by Sorrel Wildhorn and P.M. Danant Dec 66 56p. Rept. no. RM-5206-PR Contract AF 49 (638)-1700

Secret report

Descriptors: (*Warfare, Tactical warfare). (*War games, Air Force). Aircraft. Shelters. Effectiveness. Tactical Air Command. Defense systems. Diagrams. Landing Fields.

(TAB dated Feb. 15, 1967, page A47)

Item #1 is pretty clear. Researchers at the W.R. Grace Company, a big U.S. steamship line with a subsidiary called the Davison Chemical Company, have done research on how to use "agents" (probably chemical) to clear out a tunnel and deny its use. The five researchers are listed, as well as the date of the report.

Three of these researchers are listed in the Baltimore phone directory and are, presumably, available for (some sort of) comment. Edgewood Arsenal is the Army's chemical center. We leave it to your imagination to figure what this research project is all about. (Perhaps the five researchers are nicknamed the "tunnel rats" by their fellow researchers.)

Item #2. We don't have a Santa Monica phone book. Perhaps some West Coast partisans will track down Messers Wildhorn and Danant.

The Technical Abstract Bulletin is another intelligence source about the U.S. military. (1) It lists the research facility. (2) The title and "descriptors" suggest

the nature of the research. (3) The names of the researcher(s) provide a clear investigative avenue.

TAB is by no means definitive, but it does suggest, in addition, the staggering scope of defense research activities. This is important.

Item:

AD-378 399 Fld. 15/7

STANFORD RESEARCH INST MENLO PARK CALIF ALTERNATIVE COMMUNIST CHINA THREAT POSTURES AND ANNUAL COSTS, 1967-1985

Technical rept.

by M. B. Summers. May 66, 234 p. Rept. no. SRI-TR-5205-15, SRI-5-2616 Contract DA-49-092-ARO-10, Proj. SRI-ETU-5205

Secret report

Restricted data

Distribution: No Foreign without approval of office, Chief of Research and Development, U.S. Army, Washington, D.C. 21301

Descriptors: (*China, War potential) (TAB dated March 1, 1967, page A71).

"Need to know" is a catchy phrase. It should be obvious by now that there is a great "need to know" on the part of all United States citizens, not just the kept scientists, the whores of the military establishment, the "privileged few" who have sold their brains.

The Technical Abstract Bulletin is an excellent source from which to learn the direction(s) of military planning. The items listed here are only three out of literally thousands.

NOTE: We repeat -- the TAB is not available on your local newsstand. It is however, available (if you can ferrat it out) wherever defense research is being conducted. We stole ours.

Good hunting.

MARK COMFORT FOUND INNOCENT - FRAMED BY COPS

OAKLAND, CALIF -- Mark Comfort, militant black organizer in East Oakland, won his second court victory last month. Testimony at the trials revealed that a police informer had led him into a trap resulting in his arrest.

Comfort's first arrest was on charges of interfering with an Officer and Resisting Arrest. He had run out of his house at night to defend a neighboring family who were being assaulted by the Oakland police. A jury found him innocent.

But the Oakland Police seem determined to get rid of him. Shortly after the first incident, Comfort was called up by a man named Gil Williams. Williams told Comfort that he knew some people in San Francisco who would give Comfort money for his legal defense. He offered to drive Comfort there. Then he asked Comfort to bring a gun "because the neighborhood is pretty rough."

Comfort, very aware of gun regulations, brought a small derringer pistol, which he stuck in his belt, visibly. Williams asked to see the gun and showed it to another man in the car. Williams drove home, stayed inside for several minutes and reappeared with a shotgun. He then suggested that they go to Jim's Place, an Oakland bar, before going to San Francisco. Within 15 minutes after they entered

the bar, police had pulled up, and arrested Comfort for having a "concealed weapon."

One of the arresting officers testified at the trial that the head of the Criminal Investigation Department gave him a warrant and told him that Comfort would be at Jim's Place within an hour. "I had never been to Jim's Place before," Comfort told THE MOVEMENT. "It turns out that the bar is owned by a white Oakland cop. When my attorney asked the cop on the stand if he knew Gil Williams, he didn't say a word for a long time and then said 'uh, no, I don't believe I know the name.' We're pretty sure he's working with the cops. He's gone into hiding now; we can't find him."

A hung jury ended the trial.

4 MONTHS TO GO

On May 9 or 10, Comfort must go back to prison on a sentence given him last year, for his activity at the Oakland Tribune demonstrations. Comfort's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was not considered. He has over 4 months to serve. "We haven't stopped fighting," Mark told us. "My lawyer is filing a writ, so I may be in and back out again. R.J. Engle, my lawyer is a beautiful cat. He's handled all three of these cases and he's been great." ◆

SNCC WORKERS INDICTED

ATLANTA, GEORGIA -- Seven SNCC workers have been indicted here on charges of "injuring government property" and "interfering with the Universal Military Training and Service Act." They and five others had been arrested on August 17, 1966 while demonstrating against the war at the Atlanta induction center.

One of the youths, Johnny Wilson, was charged with "insurrection", a state charge carrying the death penalty. The Supreme Court has twice ruled this law

unconstitutional. After Wilson's lawyer protested, the charge was dropped. Wilson, charged with assaulting an officer, was sentenced on Feb. 3, to three years on a Georgia chain gang.

While in the city prison, they suffered continual harassment by the white prison guards, who forced them to spend long periods of time in the isolation boxes. These are concrete boxes 7 feet long, 4 feet wide and 7 feet from top to bottom. Prisoners in the boxes are given only bread and water. The only toilet facility was a seven gallon can.

In the prison, black women were made to work in the kitchen for as long as 12 hours, while white women prisoners strolled in the prison grounds. On male work details, whites drove the tractors while blacks cut grass with a sickle.

After serving their sentences, seven of these young Black men have been indicted by the federal government. These charges stem from the August 17 demonstration. The police, the army and the courts think these young men are traitors and have tried to give them the maximum sentence on whatever charges they can trump up. They now face a maximum of six years and \$11,000 fine on the two charges.

They need bail money. Funds can be sent to SNCC, 360 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Ga. 30313. Make checks BAIL FUND.

There is no title for this book.

It is not finished. . .

When Black America's struggle is finished. . .

Then this book will be finished

THE SECOND FLUTE PUBLICATION

The cost of this book by Charlie Cobb, SNCC Field Secretary is \$1.00.

It can be ordered from Flute Publications, Box 109, Tougaloo, Mississippi, 39174.

It contains poems and photographs.

THE MOVEMENT recommends:
Earl's Auto Sales and Service
1830 San Pablo Ave. Berkeley
Th 1-5755

SNCC WORKERS ON WAR CRIMES MISSION

LETTERS FROM HANOI

Julius Lester and Charlie Cobb, SNCC field secretaries, are in North Vietnam as representatives of SNCC and as investigators for the War Crimes Tribunal. Following are excerpts from letters which they sent back to SNCC.

16 March 67

Dear SNCC,

The people with the Tribunal seem disorganized and untogether. We have to watch ourselves in terms of how much we let ourselves be used. They don't know how to deal with me and Charlie, which is good. We deliberately keep them off balance in order to keep from being used. The Tribunal's a good thing, if for no other reason than it has the American government scared. I think SNCC people should be aware of what our participation means: (1) I guess it's our first big move into the international arena. It is one thing to talk against the war, demonstrate and it is another to send two people to Hanoi to collect evidence against the war. We are the only American political group doing so. The U.S. of course will seek to use this to isolate us from the black community and it is our responsibility to see that this does not happen. This can be more easily discussed when Charlie and I return. (2) We became more vulnerable as individuals. C. and I were aware of at least one agent keeping tabs on us. We were stopped briefly by French intelligence on leaving Paris this morning. Thus, each person in SNCC is being watched, since C. and I are viewed as representatives of an organization; not as individuals. This points up more and more the need for theoretical discussions, and organizational discipline. No longer are we watched by the cracker cops in the south alone. Cracker cops the world over now watch. We must understand with our hearts what we mean when we say revolution: It sounds radical and that's SNCC's tradition, but revolution is a total kind of commitment and way of seeing and there is no plea you can cop if caught.

PARIS

Tried to make contact with some Africans in Paris --- in a bar, which seemed to be an African hangout, but their heads seemed to be totally inhabited by the desire to be French, while talking black. Charlie and I got on the plane after much hassle with the French who were very upset about us going to Cambodia (still don't know why) and kept talking and finally pulled out a big thick book and turned to a page marked POLICE. Now I don't know no french, but I figured POLICE didn't refer to a recipe for gravy.

CAMBODIA

Phnom Penh (Cambodia) has been a lesson in neo-colonialism. The first thing we saw coming off the plane were French army officers. Inside the airport it was weird to come up against french speaking orientals. It seems that outside the U.S., you must know french. Their influence is everywhere. The Cambodian chicks with their hairdos, western dress and heels. The entire day was just seeing how the west rules the world. We looked out the window of our hotel room and there's a big Shell station. A little further a huge sign that says HOWDY! It is hard to feel that you're out of America. --- the movie theatre showing Davy Crockett and Elvis Presley flicks, the cigarette stands selling Phillip Morris, Marlboros, etc., the Come Alive You're in the Pepsi Generation calendars, Coke signs, the Avenue Charles deGaulle.

Essentially they feel the same problem we do (1) learning how not to think white and (2) controlling the economy of their country --- racism and exploitation. Yet, you see very few whites on the street. It is apparent that the world will have to go through a long period of de-Americanization --- a long, bloody, period.

There is much poverty here and because I walk around with cameras around my

neck, I'm a rich American to them. And they're right. As poor as I am in America, here I'm rich and they want money. C. and I are, of course, oddities and crowds gather whenever we stop on a corner. First place I've been where I couldn't hang out on the block.

Well, off to Hanoi tomorrow. Take care,

Julius

Phnom Penh, Cambodia

March 16, 1967

Dear SNCC,

Julius and I arrived this morning from Paris at 9 A.M. temp, was 80 and getting hotter. We had some trouble with visas because our names had been mis-spelled so we weren't expected --- and because we were "Americans" therefore not to be liked, and certainly not to be trusted and to be given a hard time. We got over the hump by explaining what we were here for and were placed on a bus which carried us into town.

We got a look at the countryside through the bus window. It looks like the Mississippi delta --- it really does only wetter; but I knew that I had traveled the roads and paths and fields I saw. The houses of course were differently styled but still share cropper shacks in the Mekong Delta.

The people in the countryside have very sad eyes and work very hard. They are also a very brown people --- some almost black. They would look into the bus as it passed with a hard-to-take mixture of deference and hate. On top of the difficulty at the airport, the ugliness of being "American" was driven home.

URBAN POVERTY

There is no poverty as ugly and oppressive as urban poverty. Phnom Penh is the capitol city of Cambodia, which is governed by a prince. While I grew up in the urban east of the U.S. which is perhaps the center of urban poverty in the U.S., there is nothing quite like what I've seen this day in Phnom Penh.

Julius was offered a girl before he got out of the bus here in the city. Getting into the hotel was a matter of constantly shaking your head saying no to people approaching you with various hustles and "services".

What cuts most is the children: asleep in alleys, begging in the streets; working in some of the dingiest, dirty places in the city.

The city smells of urine, rotting food, and sweat. There is not enough of anything basic and what there is is ridiculously high. We walked around at midday with camera equipment probably worth more than the yearly income of most of the people we saw. We went back to our room to leave it there.



THE MAIN street of Hanoi, today. (photo from Felix Greene's VIETNAM VIETNAM.)



A KINDERGARTEN in the provincial town Nam Dinh south of Hanoi. It was bombed on Sept. 15, 1965. The words above the entrance mean: "Make our children healthy". (photo from Felix Greene's VIETNAM VIETNAM.)

The war seems and is very close. The Cambodian/Vietnam border is only 36 miles away. Just walking through the city I can sense the fact of war, and we are considered (and we are in fact) aggressors. There has been bombing on the Cambodian side of the border, which is a major factor in Cambodian anti-americanism. So, while nobody yet has yelled "Yankee go home", the fact of war can be felt.

VIETNAM PLANS

Tommorrow we leave for the north. We had hoped to get into the south, but a major push taking place there makes that impossible and the whole area is sealed off. We expect to be north for about a month, and you won't be hearing from us while we're there, but will write you as soon as we can.

We will be traveling, looking at the effects of the war; particularly investigating U. S. war crimes. Also will be engaged in extensive dialogue re: parallels of our two (not independent of each other I feel) struggles and generally getting a sense of what the country aspires to be.

HELLO TO EVERYBODY.

Regards,
Charlie

Dear SNCC,

Being greeted at the airport by beautiful vietnamese women handing us a bouquet of the most colorful collection of flowers I've ever seen can only be inadequately described as wonderful. The garrish americanization of much of Asia that we had seen was completely washed away in the warmth of that moment. We were escorted into a reception room to wait for our baggage to be checked through, and I sipped tea.

Because we were in an official car, people who noticed us looked in with FRIENDLY curiosity (the difference quite striking from Phnom Penh where they are trying to figure how to hustle you!)

At the hotel, talked with some DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) people and learned that our stay in Vietnam will be divided in 3 periods: 1. general orientation in Hanoi, 2. travel to the provinces, and 3. return to Hanoi for discussion and statements.

We met an english doctor who talked to us very briefly as he was on the way to one of the provinces. He said that the U.S. was systematically bombing schools, medical facilities and exposed villages. All documentary materials we have read so far bear him out.

Woke up early the next morning. Bombs or shelling in distance. Thought I was dreaming, but Julius heard them too.

ROLE IN VIETNAM

We are playing a dual role, investigating U.S. war crimes and representing SNCC. The SNCC thing is our political task. We will have a chance (we have been informed) to talk with victims from the South; with students, with women (who play important roles here); and learn about Vietnamese movement. The DRV War Crimes Commission is hosting us, our first talk with them was good if a bit stiff and formal, but after all this is a country at war. It will get easier as we stay (our visa's are good until May 4th).

Very little about SNCC is known. Stokely's name is known, but again, very little about him. We need to have some long, serious discussions with DRV about SNCC. Aside from the problems of language and having to talk through an interpreter, the fact that they only know of us through U.S. press, etc., there are problems of terminology (e.g. "field secretary" has little or no meaning, but "organizer of community," "cadres," "CLICKS; or "imperialist landowner" means "plantation owner.") It can get pretty complicated.

We must be the first blacks in generations to visit Hanoi; the hair throws them I think.

STATISTICS

Here are some statistics which you may or may not have: More bombs than were used in Africa and Europe during world war 2 have been dropped on Vietnam--over 300,000 have been dropped in the North alone. Here in the North, 88 hospitals and medical facilities; 296 schools; 80 churches and 30 pagodas have been bombed. On the other side of the picture, 7000 american planes have been shot down. We have seen bombed areas right in the middle of Hanoi. A lot of our stay will be investigating these bombings.

It has just occurred to me that Afro-Americans were historically the first colored people of the world to be subjected to U.S. aggression (over 400 years ago, continuing right up to today.)

Regards,
Charlie

P.S. Expecting war to expand greatly in north during next few weeks.◆



The enemy is

RACISM

USA

POLITICAL INEQUALITY · ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION · SOCIAL INJUSTICE

HARLEM AGAINST THE DRAFT

By Flo Kennedy

Three thousand or more black men, women and youngsters cut a path through the hundreds of thousands who packed New York City's parks and streets at the Spring Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam, on Saturday, April 15, 1967.

It was a raw, damp day, and the "forward march" for the groups assembled was an hour or so behind schedule. The marshals were having a time keeping the thousands of people who had assembled before eleven to hold their positions.

Impatient thousands of marchers began streaming around the classified clusters of women's groups, academics, many in caps and gowns, political groups, Midwest and Southern contingents, and professional groups who were impatiently waiting their marching orders.

Suddenly, hundreds of black people came tearing through the grumbling, chilly marchers. The crowds parted like the Red Sea divided for the children of Israel. Some of the blacks were singing, not the usual freedom songs, but different chants. "Hell, no, we won't go," and "Down with LBJ" reverberated through Central Park.

ANTI-DRAFT CONF.

Back in January of 1967, the first anti-draft conference of a regional or national character of which I'd heard (and I'd been listening) was held. The conveyors were called the Black United Action Front. I wouldn't have missed it for the world.

In its newsletter of April 4, 1967, the Coordinating Committee of Black Organizations Against The Draft described the Harlem movement and its plans for joining the peace march. The following is part of Jim Haughton's article:

"The Black United Action Front, a coalition of many grass-roots organizations, is once again in full swing. In preparation for the April 15th Anti-War Mobilization, thousands of leaflets are being distributed and posters pasted up throughout the community. Sound trucks are going up and down side streets and avenues, and Black people are being informed of their responsibility, nay, obligation, to march in protest against Johnson's racist, genocidal war in Vietnam.

Through the work of BUAF thousands of Black people will march on April 15th and for the first time in New York City give massive organized expression to their deep disgust at racist U.S. imperialism's aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam who are in a great armed struggle for their political independence. Their struggle is inseparable from our struggle for Black liberation. American imperialism and its stooges, black and white, is the common enemy to the colored peoples of all continents."

That same issue included an interesting article by Conrad Lynn, which also bears repetition:

"Young Black men who are opposed to the draft or the racist war in Vietnam should take immediate steps to fight being inducted into the U.S. Army. By appealing within the Selective Service System it is possible to fight the draft "with a minimum of expense. If the young man decides to refuse induction when he must enlist the services of a lawyer and be prepared to undertake the costs of a trial. These costs may be offset by organizing sympa-

thetic persons who can offer support to the draft refuser.

Following is a list of steps to be taken by any young man who is conscientiously opposed to war:

1. Write a letter to draft board asking for Form 150 immediately.

A. If you are religiously opposed to war fill out form.

B. If you are morally or politically revolted by the war, write out objections and submit to lawyer to see if objections meet test of U.S. v. Seeger, 85 S. Ct. 850.

C. If board rejects objections appeal to State Appeal Board (in New York, Col. Boughton, Selective Appeal Board, Albany, N.Y.)."

The other notable contributor to the newsletter, which emanates from 139 West 125th Street, where Jim Haughton has his Harlem Unemployment Center, is Bob Browne, whose excellent speech to the aforementioned Black Anti-Draft Conference of January 21, 1967, is printed in full.

DOVIE SUE AND MARTIN LU

Almost more interesting than the mechanics of rousing the black community was the reaction of the American public as reflected, possibly distorted, by the media, to the coalition of the barely breathing civil rights movement and the thriving anti-war protest. If blonde Dovey Sue had married black Martin Lu, you wouldn't have heard greater rage, indignation and dismay than you did when the Reverend Martin Luther King dropped the heavy, clammy, hand of the Establishment, momentarily, and reached out toward the pale, wan hands of the (barely integrated) peace marchers, or the "peace-niks," as the ever so clever Establishmentarians are most wont to call them.

If milky-white Dovey Sue had become betrothed to Black Martin Lu, the tones would be easily classified. There would be sounds signifying outrage, hostility to Martin Lu, and accusations of betrayal directed to Dovey Sue. But here, there is an attempt to pretend concern both for the peace movement and the civil rights movement. Couldn't you die?

Joke Number One: A New York Times editorial allowed as how Martin Luther King's attempt to join the civil rights movement and the peace movement will result in a disservice to both movements.

Wouldn't the racist, segregated, Es-

tablishmentarian New York Times bust right out crying if a fly and speck should land on either the Peace Movement, news about which the Times seldom sees "fit to print," or the civil rights movement, which, from reading the Times, one might suppose was composed of boogie man stories about Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick and Lincoln Lynch, and Uncle Remus tales by Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins.

So big has become Roy Wilkins as an apologist for go-slow techniques to discourage galloping racism, that I am fully prepared to go anywhere, meet anybody, and suffer any penalty to join in an NAACP card burning. (My this year's dues probably haven't been paid. Anyway, let's keep it that way).

LIKE HAM AND RYE

There's nothing wrong with General Westmoreland making speeches to the press assembled to hear the Establishment "party line" at New York's Waldorf Astoria. Militarists and media go hand-in-hand like ham and rye. No great howls of anguish were heard when Cardinal "Killer" Spellman or "Bloody Billy" Graham traveled 'round the world to encourage the slaughterers of non-whites in Southeast Asia. Conceding of course, that it's only coincidental and/or irrelevant that they and the Dominicans and Congolese are non-white, what do Establishmentarian religious hustlers care about the "Thou Shall Not Kill" commandment?

The name of the game is the same: Keep the nigger in his place, put him in jail or kill him. But the late news is that the black people have had the game, and they're getting almost smart enough not to get into a position to be put in jail and/or killed in sufficient numbers to be "kept in place," set up for them by their racist government and its mistress, big business.

The "breakthrough" of the marchers for Harlem is symbolic of the growing impatience with the war in the black community. May it thrive and flourish.

ATLANTA, GA.-- Cleveland Sellers, Program Director of SNCC, has refused induction into the army. He is challenging the decision of the Selective Service System on the grounds that blacks are systematically excluded from the draft boards.

BLACK STUDENTS TO BE C.O.S

ATLANTA, GEORGIA — Seventy Morehouse College students announced at a press conference here March 31 that they will apply for conscientious objector status.

Several black student leaders circulated a petition asking that black men become conscientious objectors and work within the country "to regain control over their individual lives and destinies."

The press conference was attended by

over 100 black students of the Atlanta University Center. Georgia Representative Julian Bond and Dr. Martin Luther King endorsed the petition. Over half the faculty of Morehouse College signed a petition endorsing the action taken by the students.

The black students expressed hope that similar action would take place on other black college campuses throughout the south. Over 150 Spelman College women have signed petitions supporting the action of the Morehouse men.

Why Am I In Vietnam?

My Enemy Is —

- A GOVERNMENT THAT KEEPS ME POOR
- THE SLUMLORDS
- THE SYSTEM THAT DOES NOT EDUCATE ME
- THE SYSTEM THAT DOES NOT PROVIDE JOBS
- A POLICE STATE THAT PRACTICES VIOLENCE AGAINST ME.
- A GOVERNMENT THAT ONLY THINKS OF ME IN TIMES OF WAR TO DIE FOR IT

**MY FIGHT IS IN THE U.S.A.
U.S. GET OUT
OF VIETNAM NOW!**

ANNOUNCEMENT

Frank Greenwood, producer of "Burn Baby Burn", is beginning a phone-in radio program on KPFK in Los Angeles.

Mr. Greenwood will discuss Afro-American and African History, and the problems of the American black ghetto.

TUESDAY NIGHTS

11 p.m. to 1 a.m.

KPFK-FM 90.1

PART OF A HARLEM SPRING MOBILIZATION LEAFLET

EDITORIAL ||||| HOW DO WE STOP THE WAR?

Many readers have asked us why THE MOVEMENT did not publicize or discuss the April Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam. One reason is that we felt it would be given full (though not necessarily accurate) publicity in the commercial press. The other reason, more important, was a sense of uneasiness on the Editorial Board, a feeling that though the Mobilization was "good", it was somehow not enough, off base, inadequate. One Board member bitterly described it as "dancing in the streets, having fun while Vietnamese are being roasted to death."

Others backed it strongly, but most of us were afraid that it was futile. We'd seen it before—the march on Washington, the marches during the Cuban Missile Crisis, the March into Cicero—people marching, but not getting anywhere.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MASS MARCHES AND RALLIES IS THAT THEY MOBILIZE THE PUBLIC SUPPORT THAT MAKES POSSIBLE ACTIONS WHICH TRULY THREATEN THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY. Without the tacit support of the black community, SNCC's radical actions would be impossible. Stokely Carmichael would be just an alienated "firebrand" and Muhammed Ali a lone hold-out who could be dismissed. It is the active, and passive, support they are given that makes them political threats.

Let us therefore look with pleasure on the mass mobilizations, not because 100,000 or 200,000 is a magic number that will make politicians and military men crumble, but because they represent the sentiment that will make more "dangerous" actions possible. The peace movement WILL escalate. It will develop to the point where the government must either stop the war or crush the movement. The groundwork for repression is always laid by men like Westmoreland who attack "defeatists" and "traitors at home".

We must not forget that when Westmoreland denounces peace marchers as traitors, he is speaking the words which President Johnson wants the public to hear. As we were marching, our Armed Forces were dramatically escalating the war, not in response to "North Vietnamese aggression," but clearly in response to the marches in America. Columnists and editorials repeated Washington's message: Peace marches only lengthen the war; they are self-defeating and traitorous. And the Administration is trying to prove in blood that this is true. It is attempting to label as traitorous the inoffensive, legal and undangerous forms of protest in order to scare us off from escalating the anti-war movement into

more "dangerous" forms—civil disobedience, draft refusal, "We Won't Go" rallies. They are very afraid that we will get the mass support that will enable us physically and politically to PREVENT the furthering of this war. They saw the path that the Black Revolt took from the March on Washington to Black Power, and they are determined that the peace movement, now clearly allied with the movement, will not follow this path.

Mobilizations are not the most we can do; they are not news; they are background. Mark Twain, who wrote essays opposing the American imperialism in the Philippines in the last century, said, "If this is traitorous, then I am a traitor and proud of it." We say it again: The mass marches are the least we can do. If they are "traitorous," then the actions to come will be traitorous ten times over. We must stop the war, not by protesting alone, but by PREVENTING it.

Several readers (see LETTERS) take issue with our opposition to the draft. We don't think that by refusing to go into the Armed Forces we will force the government to create a professional army. We think the Administration wants to take America's young people and mold them into supporters of our increasingly aggressive foreign policy by subjecting them to military and other government-controlled programs at an early age. The government needs popular support in order to survive. Draft refusal is an effective way to deny it that popular support, politically and physically, at the present time.

We must strike at the source of manpower for the Armed Forces. (Anti Draft Unions). We must expose the individuals involved in war research (see FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT FILES, this issue). We must prevent the movement of war goods (Port Chicago). We must prevent their manufacture (sit ins and strikes at the plants). We must educate the members of the Army and let them know that though we sympathize with them as friends and citizens, we do not support the actions they are forced to carry out. We must unseat the politicians that promote the war. We must deny tacit public approval to those who make money out of the slaughter.

We have the support. Now we must end the war. ◀

"HELL NO, WE WON'T GO!" DRAFT REFUSERS TO MEET

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA — On May 14 at the Walden School a conference to discuss total non-cooperation with the draft will be held. Total non-cooperation with the draft means that a man of draft age will refuse any deferment, such as 2-S or 1-Y, and will refuse to be inducted if he should pass the physical and mental tests of the Selective Service System.

The conference will discuss the different reasons for taking such a position. Men who have served time in jail for this sort of activity will explain the nature of prison. The legal aspects of non-cooperation will be talked about. Plans for the following months will be announced and explained. There will be an opportunity to meet men from around the West who will be coordinating activities in the months ahead. Work for these activities will be divided up among those who decide or who have decided to make this commitment.

The conference will not be a forum for every view on the draft and the war. It will be a place for men to gather who are thinking seriously of non-cooperation and participating in a movement which centers around that activity.

In a statement to THE MOVEMENT the group said: "We realize that dissociation from this country's war of genocide on the Vietnamese people carries with it the risk and probability of a severe prison sentence. The perils of non-cooperation, however, do not require passive acceptance of individual or collective martyrdom. We intend to support

those who have taken the position of non-cooperation by means of such acts as civil disobedience and deliberate, massive violations of the Selective Service Act.

"The lesson of the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials was that a fundamental 'law of humanity' exists," the statement continued, "which transcends the law of the state. The individual has the obligation and therefore the right to fight against his nation's inhuman activity by whatever means are at his disposal. The War in Vietnam is such an activity. The massive destruction of the Vietnamese crop lands, the burning of villages, the napping of men, women and children, the torturing of civilians and prisoners of war all attest to the inhuman and cruel nature of the American Government's policy in that country.

"As each man incurs guilt to the extent that he fails to engage in active opposition to his country's inhumane policies, we as men refuse to take part in that war and totally dissociate ourselves from that war and the institutions -- specifically the draft -- which enable the United States Government to carry out its policy of genocide in Vietnam."

For more information call Steve Hamilton or Lenny Heller in Berkeley at 849-4950. Address: 2502 Telegraph, Berkeley, California. Or David Harris or Dennis Sweeney at 323-0529 in East Palo Alto. Address: 2269 Cooley Street.

These men are organizers of the Bay Area Organizing Committee for Draft Resistance. ◀

SDS FORMS ANTI-DRAFT UNIONS

CHICAGO, ILL. — Students for a Democratic Society has begun a nation wide move to organize anti-draft unions. The activity began back in December at the SDS National Council Meeting. The results are that at least 20 campuses (listed below with people to contact) now have an anti-draft union. Each union decides how it will oppose the draft, so that all around the country many different tactics for draft refusal and avoidance are being developed.

For example, at Michigan State University the SDS Chapter has set up a three part program:

1. To provide counselling and information to draft age men who oppose the Vietnam war and are looking for alternatives to the draft. This includes political or religious Conscientious Objectors or emigration to Canada.

2. To mobilize opposition to the war through an Anti-Draft Union. The Union has two petitions. One reads "We, the undersigned, are young Americans of draft age opposed to U.S. intervention in Vietnam. We hereby form an Anti-Draft Union and declare our intention to: Refuse to fight against the people of Vietnam; refuse to be inducted into the armed forces of the U.S.; resist the draft; and aid and encourage others to do the same."

The other petition, which is being circulated among women and non-draftable males reads: "We the undersigned citizens of the U.S. declare our support and encouragement of all men who will: refuse to fight against the people of Vietnam; refuse to be inducted into the armed forces of the U.S.; and resist the draft."

3. To carry out a draft project for the general purpose of publicizing protest against the war.

More information on SDS activity can be gotten from the SDS National Office at 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612 or from the contacts given below. Also the March 27, 1967 issue of New Left Notes, the newspaper of SDS has further information and discussion of the anti-draft movement. ◀

DRAFT UNION CONTACTS

Here is a list of national and regional contacts for those interested in draft resistance work. Following that is a list of campuses where there are currently draft resistance groups. For those of you interested in contacting the groups on the list, you may do so by writing to the national office.

Jeff Segal (national draft resistance coordinator)
1608 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 60612

Tom Bell
107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, NY

Mark Harris
Peace and Freedom Center, 221 Xenia Ave., Yellow Springs, Ohio

Levi Kingston (national draft resistance traveller)
SDS National Office or 4319 Melrose, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mark Klieman (Northern Calif. field secretary)
1079 San Pablo #1, Albany, Calif. 94706

Morty Miller (New England draft resistance traveller)
27 Day St., New Haven, Conn.

Doug Norberg (Southern Calif. field secretary)
4319 Melrose, Los Angeles, Calif.

Bob Pardun (Texas-Oklahoma field secretary)
POB 8519, University Station, Austin, Texas

Mendy Samstein
338 E. 11th St., New York, NY ◀

GETS 6 MONTHS SUPREME COURT DENIES BLACK PLEA

The Supreme Court of the United States, in full retreat from its role as protector of civil rights, has refused to hear the case of a SNCC Field Secretary. Charles MacLaurin, organizer in the Delta region of Mississippi, was arrested in July 1963 on charges of "disturbing the peace" and "resisting arrest."

The day before his arrest, MacLaurin had attended the trial of several black Greenville residents on trial for playing ball in a "for white only" public park. When they were found guilty, MacLaurin addressed a group of 50 black persons gathered in front of the courthouse. He told them that the conviction was unwarranted and suggested that blacks register to vote in order to correct this injustice.

A Greenville police officer, a Negro, told MacLaurin to move on or be arrested. Believing in his right to speak freely, MacLaurin kept on speaking, and when arrested, went limp and was dragged off.

He was tried in the Greenville Municipal Court, without legal representation, and found guilty. He appealed the case and was tried again, in the Washington County Court, which held TWO TRIALS, one on each count. MacLaurin was sentenced to 90 days and a \$50 fine on each count. Charging that the count of "disturbing the peace" was in defiance of his right of freedom of speech and that he did not resist arrest, MacLaurin appealed to the Washington County Circuit Court. This court upheld the earlier conviction.

A further appeal before the Mississippi Supreme Court was decided against MacLaurin. Finally an appeal for Certiary was placed before the U.S. Supreme Court, requesting that the case be reviewed. The Supreme Court, with three justices dissenting, refused the review that decision of the racist courts that had acted in clear violation of MacLaurin's civil and human rights.

On February 1 of this year, Charles MacLaurin was ordered to surrender to the City of Greenville. He did, and began serving a sentence of 180 days. MacLaurin is one of SNCC's best organizers and was attempting to build a strong black political organization in the Delta region. In a statement on his case, SNCC said, "This is still another example of the fact that the courts and the governmental officials across this country are engaged in a conscious conspiracy to frame up and deny justice to black men who dare to fight for their human rights and seek justice."

SOMALI TRIBESMAN CLASH WITH FRENCH

AFRAMEERICAN NEWS SERVICE

-- The divide-and-conquer tactics of the French colonialists in French Somaliland came to light here last month.

This French colony was the scene of violent clashes between the Somali people and the French occupation troops. The Somali tribesmen, a proud people who have been fighting for independence through massive demonstrations and civil disobedience, are being isolated from the Afar tribesmen, the other tribe in that area. The French have used the traditional hostility between the Somali and Afar groups to perpetuate French control.

After allowing more Afars to register to vote than Somalis, the French held a rigged plebiscite to determine whether the colony was to remain French. The Afars, courted by the French and offered special privileges over their Somali brothers, dutifully voted to remain a French colony. The Somalis voted for independence.

The Somalis, dissatisfied with the "election" results, held mass demonstrations in protest. These were met with violence by the French. Thousands of Somali tribesmen were arrested and shipped off to "camps" in the desert. The French claim they are "trouble-makers" who must be isolated. The Afars have been promised "special privileges," "increased educational facilities" and "more and better jobs" by the French governor for serving their French masters so faithfully. It appears that the French may have another Algeria on their hands.

MARK COMFORT ARRESTED

Mark Comfort, organizer of the Oakland Direct Action Committee, was arrested as THE MOVEMENT went to press. He was arrested in Sacramento during a demonstration by the Black Panther Party for Self-defense. Comfort and others were protesting a bill by Assemblyman Don Mulford that would disarm the black community, allowing only police and armed forces to carry loaded guns in public. Since black communities are under continuous attack by the police and militia, this measure denies black citizens the right of self-defense.

Total bail set for the demonstrators is \$30,000.00. Donations are urgently needed. Send checks to Black Panther Party Bail Fund, c/o Comfort, 6914 Lockwood Street, Oakland, California 94621. (see article on Comfort, page 4, this issue).

JR. HIGH STUDENTS STRIKE

Los Angeles, California

Students at Bancroft Junior High School in this city protested and sat-in over complaints about the student code of behavior. Most of the complaints concerned the rules governing dress and grooming, which the protesting students would like to see radically altered.

Protests started Wednesday, April 19, when a leaflet (printed secretly at the school printshop) announced a protest rally and called for a sit-in strike in the courtyard after lunch. During the morning a Mr. Engel, head of the L.A. School Board's Security Section, was at Bancroft checking the situation.

Reaction

By eleven o'clock another leaflet announced "The Protest's A Bust" - the principle of Bancroft, Mr. Paul Schwartz, had accomplished a last minute cancellation by consulting with some of the more militant students and inviting those interested to meet with him after school for discussion.

More than a hundred students came to the after school discussion, but the militant students were not satisfied by the results. Mr. Schwartz repeated earlier assurances that dress and grooming code revision was under consideration and asked the students to use established channels to voice their complaints - the Student Council, elective leadership class, homeroom discussions, etc.

Leadership

The strike has no formal leaders. Some of the students named as influential activists say that they discourage formal leaders because amorphous leadership prevents the emergence of vulnerable martyrs who could be heavily disciplined by the administration.

Cause

Mr. Schwartz tends to lay much of the blame for the unrest on the school's underground paper, the Cens*red. An edi-

torial that appeared in that publication's third issue called on the students to protest.

The editorial reads in part: "...Wear whatever the hell you please, and do whatever you want, you have to show the administration that you want to be yourself. . ." Many Cens*red staff members are among those suspended.

The Code of Dress which the students are protesting contains the following standards: Girls: natural hair, modest dresses, tie shoes, and bobby socks. Forbidden are casual clothes such as shifts, stockings of any kind, tennis shoes, and makeup other than lipstick.

Rule #1 for boys states, "Hair should be cut closely at the sides and back." Sunglasses are forbidden for all. Last week the administration made a concession on the girls' rules: buckled shoes are now permitted.

Some students would also like to revise Rule #4 of School Discipline Policy which states, "Do not indulge in fondling or handholding."

More Protests

On Thursday, the students, convinced that the administration had not showed any concrete willingness to act upon urgently felt student grievances, passed out another leaflet, saying "Sit in today. Don't go to 5th period."

That noon about 125 students chanted "We Want Rights" as at least 100 other students milled around. Most of the participants left the rally after lunch to go to class. But about 40 stayed outside for most of 5th period.

About ten students were suspended as a result of the strike. By Monday the number had risen to 38. The suspended students may be reinstated only after the school administration sits in conference with their parents. So far, there has been no unified response among the parents.

Aftermath

Mr. Scharz has stated that he considers the militant students entirely unrepresentative of the student body of over 1600. He thinks that the students have "learned a lesson."

The activist cadres at Bancroft hold that the communication channels that now exist are unrepresentative and dominated by the administration. The central complaint is that these "regular channels" do not guarantee any real student voice in the regulation of student behavior, that is, in the setting of student policy.

Late word from Los Angeles has it that three more students have been expelled from the school.

ON BEING FUCKED OVER

i don't know bout you, but for me
i think it's better, braver to cry out, be angry, shout...
i think it's harder, nobler to utter a tone of indignation
than be silent, moan...

(unlike the t.v. indian)

if my hands, legs were tied
I'd scream, yell

spit

and if my mean mouth were fused shut

(for the sake of a scene)

dammit I'd grunt like hell.

BY FRANK JONES

Member of JOIN Community Union, Chicago

DAMN VIETNAM

Mark Comfort, victim of many unjust jailings and arrests, father of four, Black Power advocate and fighter for Human Rights has long been against the war in Vietnam.

He has put his feelings on a 45 record, a Folk song against the war in Vietnam.

He needs money for defense. Help fight injustice. Get your organization to help by selling this record.

Organizations can order 100 for a \$75.00 donation and make money for their treasury while helping Mark Comfort fight his legal battle.

Please make checks payable to—Mark Comfort Defense Fund.

Mail to 6914 Lockwood St., Oakland, Calif. 94621

Here is my order for "Damn Vietnam" by Mark Comfort.

Proceeds to go to Mark Comfort Defense Fund and/or Oakland Direct Action Committee.

1 @ \$1.25 don. or 100 @ \$75.00

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SUNFLOWER ELECTIONS LOST

SUNFLOWER, MISS. -- Otis Brown, Jr. lost the mayoralty election in this town by a vote of 194 to 123. However, the black voter registration is 185 compared to 153 for whites.

A Federal court suit is being prepared to challenge the election on the grounds that it was not "fair and impartial". The federal gov't appointed two white poll watchers for the election. The Sunflower MFDP is filing the suit.

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(May-June 1967 issue)

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LONELY STRUGGLE IN APPALACHIA

WOMEN FIGHT TO SAVE UNION



THE HOME of the union's shop steward burned mysteriously after the strike began.



THE UNION strike office

"We haven't received one dime from the international, and the company can't understand why we're still on strike. They don't understand that we're not asking for more money; we just want to be treated like humans. If you lose what self respect you got, then it seems to me you don't have much of anything left."

BLUE RIDGE, Ga. — Seven months ago, 450 workers walked out of a clothing factory in this small north Georgia community. They were members of the first union ever organized in the county, and they were refusing to put up any longer with unbearable working conditions.

Since then, they have been fighting alone. More than 400 have still not returned to work in the factory and 225 have been unable to find other jobs. There has been no publicity in the local or outside press. Their union — the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) — has given no financial or moral support. They claim they cannot legally do so, because the contract is still in force.

During this period, the company claims to have lost an average of \$15,000 a day.

But neither side will give in — because the fight is really about more than the fate of one factory and a few hundred workers in a small mountain town. The question is whether companies are to be allowed to come into Appalachian communities to exploit cheap labor and low tax rates. And the answers found here may affect labor relations in similar towns and factories throughout the mountains.

HISTORY OF THE STRIKE

The seeds of the struggle were planted seven years ago, when Levi Strauss and Company (the firm which makes levis) first moved into Blue Ridge. They had their pick of workers because few jobs for women are available in the region. During the last seven years, the company has sifted through 3,800 employees to select the 560 highly skilled workers — including about 500 women — who were on the job when the strike began August 10.

The job shortage also meant that workers had to put up with bad working conditions, because if they were fired there was nowhere else to work. The workers say the factory has been run like a sweat shop since it opened.

By 1965, the women had decided they needed a union. Many are married to members of the Chemical Workers' Union, who are employed at Copperhill, Tenn., just across the state line. Chemical workers did the organizational leg work, and employees voted two-to-one to become a local of the ILGWU.

"In the Opinion of Management. . ."

company, and a key phrase in most of its clauses is "in the opinion of management." This makes management the sole judge of its own fairness except in cases involving local or federal laws, and it nullifies most complaints.

Another problem is that, in order to have a grievance arbitrated, management must sign the grievance form. The plant manager claims he has no authority to do so. During the two years the contract was in force, only two grievances actually came to arbitration.

The women say they knew the contract was weak, but they accepted it in the hope that when it expired they would be in a good bargaining position to demand a stronger one.

But the company had no intention of cooperating with them, or even of allowing the union to exist. Only minutes after he signed the first contract, the area manager told the union committee that he would break the union before the agreement expired.

Working conditions at Levi had always been bad. "I reckon they found out that they could make people mad, and they'd work harder to let off steam," one woman said. "So they tried to keep us mad all the time."

After the contract was signed conditions became even worse.

Some of the harassment was also designed to keep the workers from earning more than the minimum wage. First, an "average" production level was set by timing the fastest workers. In order to earn more than the minimum wage, a worker had to beat this production level five times a week. If she failed to top production even once, she forfeited the increase, although she might have turned out 150 per cent each of the four preceding days.

Management usually saw to it that nobody beat production five days running. A section head would toss back work with no visible mistakes, over and over, to be redone. A machine would mysteriously break down and need repairs. A woman would be given an unfamiliar job to do on a strange machine.

One of the best workers said she only managed to beat production eight weeks out of 50 last year. The shop steward, Mrs. Darlene Davis, has worked at her job for six years. But her income for eight months of work last year was only \$1,531 — less than the minimum wage, since she worked 54 hours most weeks.

Workers were forbidden to be absent without a doctor's excuse. After three unexcused absences, they were fired. Inability to find a babysitter so they could work overtime on Saturday was no excuse. They were forbidden to talk to each other during working hours. In one section, they were forbidden to use the bathroom without a doctor's note saying they had a kidney infection.

And always the section heads picked on the women who had to work and couldn't fight back. After the contract was signed, they began to pick on the strongest union members too.

The workers put up with this. They had no alternative, under the contract, and they hoped to negotiate a better one in 1967.

THE WALK-OUT

The breaking point came when management violated the seniority clause by bringing in an inexperienced worker to operate a new machine. "We knew there'd be no end to the dirty tricks they'd pull if we put up with this," one woman said. All 300 union members and 150 people who had never joined walked out. The company promptly labelled it a wildcat strike.

Looking back, Mrs. Davis says she thinks the company was deliberately trying to provoke a walkout:

"They was bound and determined to break the union, and that's the only reason they pulled the caper that they did and we came out on strike. They wanted us to come out on a wildcat strike, and if we had of known it then we could have sued them for breaking the contract. But we didn't know. They had everybody worked up in such a state of mind that you couldn't think straight."

The strike has become a fight to the finish. According to the women, the company boasted it would starve or freeze them out — but the workers have set up an around-the-clock picket from a small trailer, a few hundred yards from the factory gate, that shows no sign of flagging.

Many women who thought they needed their salaries have discovered they can manage without them. Those who can't have found other jobs, or are being helped by fellow workers with jobs. Some of the women have to travel as much as 100 miles a day to work, but they are determined not to go back to Levi until the strike is settled.

PRODUCTION SLUMPS

Meanwhile, the company has only managed to recruit 290 scabs. Most are not very skilled — people who had already been rejected when they applied for jobs

before the strike. The Blue Ridge plant used to be more efficient than any of Levi's other 11 factories. Now, a large part of the slacks they produce are sent back to be redone, because the workmanship is so poor.

Levi has filed suits against both the ILGWU and the Chemical Workers' international unions, charging they have conspired to deprive the company of its profits. Both suits are for five million dollars. The company has also filed \$250,000 suits against both locals. It seems unlikely that they can win any of these.

There is speculation that if the strike is not settled soon, the company will close down the plant and move out of Blue Ridge, and many of the women think this is probably the best thing that can happen. But although they have learned they can manage without the plant, they are still determined to try to win.

"The reason I'm still fighting is, I hope that our kids never have to work there — or anybody, as far as that goes. I'd like to think that something I do now would be better that place for other people that have to work there, in years to come," says Mrs. Davis.

"Why, the colored people in any part of the country have more rights and are treated better than we were at Levi. And that's all we ask — to be treated as well as the colored people. I don't have anything against them; I believe in them getting their rights. And that's all we're asking for, to be treated fair."

(All the workers at the Blue Ridge plant are white — it is in a virtually all-white county. This is one of the counties in the hill country of the South which flew the Union flag throughout the Civil War).

A settlement of the strike would not be expensive, since the strikers are not asking for more money — just for better working conditions. Why, then, does Levi refuse to negotiate?

One woman suggested the answer when she discussed city officials' attitudes. "The mayor of Blue Ridge is against us because he's manager of a hosiery mill down the road," she said. "He's afraid if we win this strike that his plant will organize."

In a sense, Levi is a bulwark of anti-unionism. If the strike is crushed, labor organizing in the mountains may be set back for years. Workers who already have contracts may stop making serious attempts to enforce them. But if the women win, it will provide an example for workers through Appalachia.

CONTINUED ON P. 10

TEXAS SO. CON'T. FROM P. 1

started smashing tables and chairs and breaking dishes. Rev. Kirkpatrick, hearing of the action in the cafeteria, appealed to the students with a megaphone, saying, "This movement must remain within the bounds of reason. . . We do not support the destruction of State property. We do support students when they dump slop on the floor because we support their just demand for decent food, but we do not support the destruction of State property."

GIRLS BOYCOTT CURFEW

The girls decided they would boycott the dormitories until 11 p.m. in protest against the curfew. Being 15 minutes late results in automatic expulsion. They set up a record player in the street and brought out sandwiches and soft drinks. A street dance was held until 11.

The result was clear. As Rev. Kirkpatrick said, "We have overcome the fear of the white man's puppets, the Uncle Tom TSU administration. We have brought about unity among the sisters and brothers on TSU campus, which is something the white man has always tried to prevent. We have let the white man's administration know that they are our servants and not our masters."

LEADERS ARRESTED

At midnight, Houston police, together with FBI and Harris County deputies, raided the YMCA and arrested two of the movement's leaders, Rev. Kirkpatrick and Franklin Alexander. Alexander first went into hiding, but gave himself up voluntarily when he heard of Kirkpatrick's arrest. Bail was set at \$25,000 for each man. Among the charges was that "the defendants met unlawfully and did thereafter seriously and publically threaten to kill any police officer who might undertake to arrest any demonstrators."

When the news of the arrests hit the campus after midnight a meeting was held to decide strategy. The girls, locked in their dorms, broke down the doors and left to join the meeting.

The following day an open letter from the Administration to the students was circulated, saying in part, "The student organizations, including Friends of SNCC, should appoint three representatives to confer with the very top echelons of the University concerning the student demands. Friends of SNCC will be included as a student organization if it turns in a list of its leaders to Dean Jones. . ."

The students, who were occupying the main auditorium for an all-day meeting, instead decided to invite the Administration to come there and present its position to the assembled student body. A delegation of 200 students from the University of Houston marched to the auditorium to express their support.

TSU President Pierce, "visibly shaken", appeared and reread the Administration letter. Asked if he would do anything to get Rev. Kirkpatrick and Franklin Alexander released, he replied, "No."

BLOCK COURTHOUSE

At that point the students walked out and started marching down Wheeler Street. As the march passed the north side of the University of Houston campus, 20 police cars with six cops in each car pulled up beside the line. A squad car pulled in front of the marchers and stopped them. Two policemen got out, one armed with a shotgun, the other with a submachine gun, grabbed Lee Otis Johnson and pushed him in a patrol car.

The demonstrators moved to the Harris County Courthouse and sat down, blocking the entrance. At 7, it was announced that President Pierce would drop all charges against the three arrested men. The student remained in front of the courthouse all night.

The next morning, Pierce dropped the charges and the demonstrators returned to the campus. Later they learned that the DA had filed the charges again and refused to release Kirkpatrick, Alexander and Johnson from jail. However the bond was reduced from \$25,000 to \$1,000 each.

NASHVILLE CON'T. FROM P. 1

BLACKS FIGHT BACK

The riot cops again broke up the demonstration and billy-clubbed the students into the dorms. But this time when they tried to enter, they were forced to withdraw at gun point by the students inside. After that the cops were content to just cordon off the area.

The incidents just described came out of more than just the arrest of the one black student at the University Dinner Club. They began when Stokely Carmichael was invited to speak at Vanderbilt, a white college in Nashville. The Tennessee State Legislature passed a resolution demanding that Vanderbilt withdraw its invitation to Carmichael. The students at Vanderbilt protested that resolution on the grounds of "academic freedom". They won the battle and the invitation was not withdrawn.

VIGILANTES

Then the Nashville newspapers began rapping about Carmichael and how he would cause a riot if he came. One newspaper, *The Banner*, even called for vigilante groups to be formed to handle the "nigras". For two weeks the *Banner* rapped on impending riots in their editorials.

During those two weeks before the Vanderbilt talk on Saturday afternoon April 8, Carmichael and other SNCC field secretaries began an organizing drive on the two black campuses -- Fisk and Tennessee State. The SNCC/workers were refused access to meeting halls at both campuses. They held meetings and workshops at people's homes and out on the fields at the campuses. Finally, without official permission, meetings were permitted inside the Tennessee State gym.

ISSUES

The SNCC workers talked about who controlled black colleges, the fact that over fifty percent of the department heads at Fisk were white, the fact that the faculty at State did not receive tenure and thus could be fired at any time, and the fact that neither college would allow any course on Afro-American history.

Then the discussions centered on the restrictive dorm rules, the throughfare that passed down the center of campus and the girl that was run over by a truck recently.

STUDENT CONTROL

The speech at Vanderbilt was to conclude this organizing drive. At the beginning of the speech Carmichael talked about *The Banner* editorials and read one of the worst calling for vigilantes. He talked about how colleges were instruments of social control and not education. He talked about the need for black students and white students to take power in their colleges and to begin to direct their own education.

The speech got a standing ovation from both the black and white students. Some blacks were surprised that the white, mostly southern, students received Carmichael with such enthusiasm. That enthusiasm also gave them hope, for it was also these same white students that roundly booed Senator Storm Thurman when he came to speak.

One thing is clear about the Nashville rebellion. The cops and the newspapers set up the whole confrontation. They wanted a riot and they made sure they got one. On Saturday night before any incidents had occurred, the "riot squad" was formed up at a farmers' market a quarter of a mile from Fisk. The press, radio, and television were there too.

VIETNAM AND NASHVILLE

The parallel between the action of the white power structure of Nashville and that of the Johnson Administration's in response to the April 15th Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam is instructive. Johnson claims that the anti-war movement is actually prolonging the war, and just to prove it he escalates the bombing of Hanoi - Haiphong several days after the mobilization. The city fathers of Nashville and their newspapers, especially



SNCC WORKERS, Ernest Stephens, George Ware, and Simeuel Schutz, were charged with "inciting to riot" upon entering town.

The *Banner*, claim that black people organizing for control of their communities and their lives means that there will be a riot which will prolong the "negro's

just struggle for betterment". And just to prove it, they send a bus through a student demonstration to set everything into motion. ♦

LONELY STRUGGLE CON'T. FROM P. 9

DON'T BUY LEVI'S!

We call on interested persons and organizations to:

- stop buying levis
- form local boycott committees. Publicize this by demonstrations, leaflets, mailings, etc. and pressure your local stores to stop carrying Levi products til the strike is settled
- money is urgently needed both to sustain the workers and help carry on the boycott. Make cheques out to the Committee for the Blue Ridge Strikers and mail them to the committee's office at 610 West 116th Street, #53, New York, N.Y. 10027
- keep in touch. Let us know what is being done in your area and send in your address so we can mail bulletins and action memos to you

The Committee for the Blue Ridge Strikers
610 West 116th Street, #53
New York, N.Y. 10027

This story is reprinted from the *Southern Patriot*, published monthly by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Subscriptions to the *Patriot* are \$3; they may be ordered from:

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Advertisement

"Persistently challenging. . ."
Nat Hentoff

"ATROCITY LITERATURE HAS BECOME A SURROGATE FOR PORNOGRAPHY among members of the American peace movement set.

Internally divided over matters of interpretation and approach, as well as just generally frustrated, the anti-war activists have retreated from foreign policy issues, leaving a burning concern with napalm, bombings, and immolations.

Instead of public rhetoric to expose the Administration and attract a broad following, much of the movement has become fixated on moralizing condemnation of the rain of fire American planes drop daily on Vietnamese villages. Moral outrage has provided morale for the movement, a hook to beat the horse of U.S. involvement, and the kicks of catharsis.

However, homiletics, like "peace research" are no substitute for the politicizations of opposition. Serious doubts must surround the efficacy of atrocity-pornography in reaching the larger public. The question arises as to whether such doting on torture and terror do not mistake the symbols of American arrogance and the signs of brutalization for the deeper syndrome of dehumanization, the union of technos and thanatos that pervades the present era.

There is mounting evidence to suggest that both peace-niks and the polly in general have become jaded by constant exposure to the "brutalization of violence." Though their reactions take different forms, the basic psychic undertone remains much the same."

From the current issue

THE ACTIVIST

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RADICAL THEATER ... WHO DOES IT SPEAK TO?

By Ellen Elizabeth Estrin
and Michael B. Folsom

The last issue of THE MOVEMENT reported the activities of the JOIN (Jobs Or Income Now) theater project in Chicago. This theater is made up of community people involved in organizing group welfare rights, jobs, and other issues. They improvise skits, based on the everyday experience of the poor. These short "dramas" are simple in plot and language; the "actors" are organizers and community people with little or no experience on the stage.

The JOIN theater is political, not only because the skits deal with political and social problems, but also because the theater itself is a political tool. This is "radical theater" because it immediately serves the organization of radical politics. It is amateur theater, created for the moment without pretensions to art, sophistication, or permanence. It is what used to be called "agitprop" (agitation and propaganda) theater.

MIME TROUPE

Another kind of "radical theater" is Ronnie Davis' San Francisco Mime Troupe. The Mime Troupe -- the world's largest permanent floating radical theater project in California -- has a professional commitment to the craft of theater as well as to the politics of revolt. The Mime Troupe often adopts the tactics of political organizers. It takes its theater into parks, into the streets, and to political rallies. Its repertory of full-length dramatic pieces, like the JOIN project, are often simple, popular, and impromptu in style -- though more ambitious. The Troupe's "Civil Rights in a Cracker-Barrel" and "Vaudeville Show" use the conventions of old-time mass entertainment to talk and act out radical politics. When the Troupe tackles an established drama, like Moliere's Tartuffe or Sartre's Condemned of Altona, it shamelessly cuts, revised, or blows up the original to suit its political intentions.

The Mime Troupe has, not yet at least, created new and lasting dramatic works, radical or otherwise. It is still more like the JOIN project than "professional" theater. When Ronnie Davis, and company are acting in the park, or fighting the Commissioner of Parks for permission to play outdoors, then the radical and commercial press takes note. That's news and/or politics. But we seldom consider what the Troupe is trying to do on stage. We have never dared suggest that it might be just as important to urge people to attend this theater as it is to urge them to organize politically. The political movement has done precious little to feed talent into such activity or to encourage a great audience for such art.

GREAT ART

The closer "radical theater" comes to great art, the less relevant the movement seems to think it is. Very often radical dramatists unintentionally encourage this opinion by writing plays which do not speak in the language or about problems meaningful in the street. Political activists often have a very narrow conception of what the "common folk" can understand or consider relevant. We live in a society which, has taught most people to enjoy only the shoddiest of dramatic "art" through TV and Hollywood. The "theater" with its high prices and its sense of being a thing for the elite, is no longer a vehicle for popular art. But there is such a thing as great "radical theater," and we give in to the anti-intellectualism of our society by failing to insist that this, too, is important socially, politically and aesthetically.

MOTHER COURAGE

Bertold Brecht was the greatest dramatist of this century. He was a fine poet and a Communist.

"Ah, what an age it is," Brecht wrote, "When to speak of trees is almost a



CAROL CAMPBELL as "Mother Courage", Evann Walker as "Katrin"

crime. For it is a kind of silence about injustice!" During Germany's rise to fascism, and her final capitulation to it, Brecht could not talk just "of trees" because his obligation to mankind would not allow it. He wrote some simple didactic plays for workers to perform, but most of his energy went into putting all the wisdom, skill and understanding of his art into the creation of dramas which require the best professional actors, yet at the same time speak of the most elementary human problems.

Brecht's is a rational theater, which demands that the audience understand their problems, not to discourage people but to make them more able to overcome those problems. Brecht never condescended to preach easy solutions. He assumed that the least educated of his audience could tackle perplexing realities. Brecht sought to propel his audience into action by making them understand the world, he never tried to mystify his audience.

Mother Courage, which Brecht wrote in 1939, is playing now in San Francisco, at The Playhouse Theater, Beach & Hyde, Friday & Saturday, and it deserves to be seen. It is at the same time high drama and relevant. It is the best kind of "radical theater" because it is great art which speaks to everyone.

Mother Courage is a story of war. The Mother and children live off war. They sell goods out of a canteen wagon to soldiers during the religious wars in Europe during the seventeenth century. Mother Courage hates war, but her only morality is survival. She has her children & herself to support, and has no choice.

The Thirty Years' War through which she lives is every war -- the Second World War Brecht saw coming, the Vietnam War we struggle against now. Mother Courage is the People, the only important hero and also the victim, who finds ways to live while their masters botch up the world. She is the driver of a napalm

truck, the longshoreman loading tanks, and her children are cannonfodder. For such people morality is not simple. They do not burn draft cards or go to jail or starve their children for principle. Neither can they escape. Brecht's play speaks to their problems, not to the problems of the activist with his moral questions about burning draft cards, paying income tax, and asking workers to go on relief instead of building bombers.

FACTS OF LIFE

Brecht would find no paradox in the fact that Harry Bridges' longshore union officially condemns the Vietnam war while its workers benefit from increased military shipping. Brecht does not preach morality which defies the facts of life; the facts of life are insufferable -- "courage" can't solve the problems of mankind. It just won't work.

At one point Mother Courage's son is caught by the "enemy," and is to be executed. She has the choice of selling her canteen wagon to ransom the son, or letting him die. If she sells the wagon she and her daughter are left with no way to live. She tries to compromise and bargain down the price of ransom, so both she, her daughter and her son might survive. Brecht constructs the scene so that the audience has no clear way to make a moral judgment for or against the Mother. As time runs short she finally decides to pay all the ransom. The audience breathes relief. The son is saved! But the decision is too late, the drums roll and the execution of the son takes place. The prostitute who tried to arrange the deal runs on stage and yells, "Now you've done it -- with your nagging. You can keep your wagon now. He's got eleven bullets in him." And the audience feels a second relief. The son is dead, but the others can survive.

Mother Courage's grief is great, but her ordeal is not over. The soldiers carry the body to the canteen wagon for identification. If Mother Courage recog-

nizes her boy and claims him for decent burial, she would admit that she was associated with the "enemy." The soldiers say, "Look at him. You know him?" Mother Courage shakes her head. "What?," say the soldiers, "Lift him up. Throw him on the garbage dump. He has no one that knows him."

You cannot escape war. If you join it, like the son, you get killed. If you oppose it, as the mother's mute daughter does by trying to warn a town which is about to be attacked, you get killed. And if you go along with it like Mother Courage, you lose everything meaningful to you. The mother sings:

The war takes hold and will not quit.
But though it last three generations
We shall get nothing out of it.
Starvation, filth and cold enslave us.
The army robs us of our pay.
But:

Christians awake! The winter's gone!
The snows depart, the dead sleep on.
And though you may not long survive
Get out of bed and look alive!

Brecht presents us with an intolerable situation (which in many ways is our own intolerable situation), and he offers it to clearly stated and complete that we have all the equipment for understanding how and why it is intolerable. Brecht does not tell us how to change the situation, (that is our job) but insists we must!

Mother Courage is a play for those people who most need it, and who are least likely to see it. The fact that Brecht is not shown in the parks, but rather in a theater for a middle class audience, severely hampers his purpose. Brecht can teach people a hell of a lot about the disastrous limitations of their world and their everyday actions because his art makes them understandable.

OTHER RADICAL THEATRE

In conclusion, there are other kinds of radical theater which are not so pertinent. In their differing ways, Barbara Garson's MacBird and Peter Weiss' Marat Sade, the most notable recent "radical" dramas, fail because they are works of self-indulgence. They are, respectively, a lot of fun and grotesque challenge to the imagination of a radical audience. But they speak only to the educated, only to intellectuals. You can't enjoy the fun of Barbara Garson's essentially trivial parody of Shakespeare if you haven't read Shakespeare. You cannot begin to appreciate the involved complexities of Weiss' drama, if you know nothing of the French Revolution, if you have not been trained in the philosophical squabbles of the last 150 years, and if you have not the intellectual patience and concern to watch a confused radical work out his confusions. MacBird is a joke for radical intellectuals, Marat/Sade a puzzle. Both treat issues of terrible concern for life of mankind, but neither treats those issues as they are discovered in the daily lives of men. The same limitations are often true of the works of Ronnie Davis' Mime Troupe.

Brecht is the example. A theater is possible which is radical in its concerns, political in its effects, and consummate in its art. We should not settle for less.

"No restless ideas
can break down the walls
I never believed the pen alone
could destroy institutions
However hard we try to bring in the new
it comes into being only
in the midst of clumsy deals
We're all so clogged with dead ideas
passed from generation to generation
that even the best of us
don't know the way out
We invented the Revolution
but we don't know how to run it. . .
We stand here more oppressed than when
we begun
and they think that the Revolution's been
won!"

Marat/Sade by Peter Weiss

NOTES FROM CHICAGO MICHAEL JAMES

BEYOND THE POWER STRUCTURE

The March issue of THE MOVEMENT reported on Chicago's new Union of Organizers and the School of Community Organization it has established to train new organizers. SCO is currently recruiting "students" for the first organizer training session beginning July 1st.

The Center for Radical Research (CRR) of SCO has been set up to involve University students and professors in the slow process of building independent radical organizations of poor people in Chicago. More importantly, CRR will begin to develop an efficient information and intelligence network that the Movement here in Chicago so desperately needs.

Movement activists know about the "power structure," "slum lords," "rotten welfare," and "police brutality." And we know the names of people who are spokesmen for the complex of institutions we attack — "The Daley Machine," "Johnson's War," etc. But we do not yet know enough specifics about how these institutions really work. It is hoped that CRR will begin to translate what we generally refer to as "The Power Structure" into a concrete body of knowledge that can constantly develop and contribute to a larger and more effective Movement that attacks that "Power Structure."

FOUR INITIAL TASKS

CRR has set forth four initial tasks: (1) To develop an information manual covering the institutions that community organizations attack and the many specific problems organizers encounter daily. The manual, which will constantly grow and be improved, will be of great aid to organizers in their work. (2) To create a dispatching service for all Movement groups in the city that can distribute news on organizing efforts, information on the Movement in other places, and report on the research being conducted by CRR. Out of this service is planned the establishment of a citywide Movement newspaper by the fall. (3) The production of research papers on the most oppressive and obnoxious city agencies and departments that community groups deal with. These papers will include studies of the Welfare, Police and Urban Renewal Departments, as well as all agencies and institutions that attempt to control Chicago's "restless ghetto youth." (4) CRR will also initiate specific research projects to be used by individual community organizations to help them make their organizing efforts more effective. Such projects will include title searches ("just who owns such and such a block") and power studies of specific wards.

A FREE UNIVERSITY

CRR is attempting to recruit 200 university students for its program, beginning June 13, and ending August 25. Participants will spend a lot of their time helping the four tasks listed above become a reality. They will also participate in a sort of Free University — to be a student you must be doing research. Everyone participating in the research program will take three "courses" or "seminars" a week. The courses, with a "class" size of 10-15, will run from 3 to 10 weeks, each meeting once a week. Free housing will be guaranteed for all those who apply before May 15th.

The courses and teachers include: History of the Civil Rights Movement; Draft Counseling (Alice Lynd, author of a new book on the subject); American History from the Bottom Up (Jessie Lemish, recently refused tenure at the University of Chicago); Power in America (Todd Gitlin); Organizing the University (Gregg Calvert); History of Radical Movements (Staughton Lynd); The War in Vietnam; Negro History; Organizing the Poor; Radicalism and Modern Theology; Contemporary Women in America; Class in America (Richie Rothstein), etc.

BLACK STUDENTS

The School recently sent a staff member on a tour of Southern Negro Colleges to recruit 50 Black college students to work with existing community organizations this summer. Volunteers will receive a ten-day orientation session in an effort to train them in Welfare Union organizing. The expressed intent of this summer volunteer project is to help organizations of the poor develop a city wide offensive in order to seek havoc this summer with Chicago's oppressive Welfare Department.

SCO is also looking for 15 Blacks who want to be among the first 30 people trained as organizers during the first session of the School (July 1st). These people should expect to stay in the city for at least 15 months as members of the first new com-

cannot support themselves. This is the way that members of Chicago's community organizations and the staff of SCO support themselves. Some people have found that friendly professors or older radicals who are now in business can provide good part-time jobs. Others work one or two days a week for day-labor agency. SCO has a staff member currently arranging part-time work. We feel that we must begin to support ourselves, for we cannot depend on sympathetic liberals to provide all the resources for the movement we are trying to build. Here in Chicago organizers are attempting to become financially self-sustaining. It seems to be working.

We need people to join with us in laying the groundwork for building and sustaining a growing Movement. We need people to do research, work for the summer as volunteers with existing organizations, and come to work as full-time organizers for at least 15 months. Brochures on both the training program of the School of Community Organiza-



Photo: Fred Hecht

tion, and the summer seminar and research program of the Center for Radical Research are available from either THE MOVEMENT, 449 14th St., San Francisco, or from SCO, 3100W. Warren Ave., Chicago, Illinois. ◆

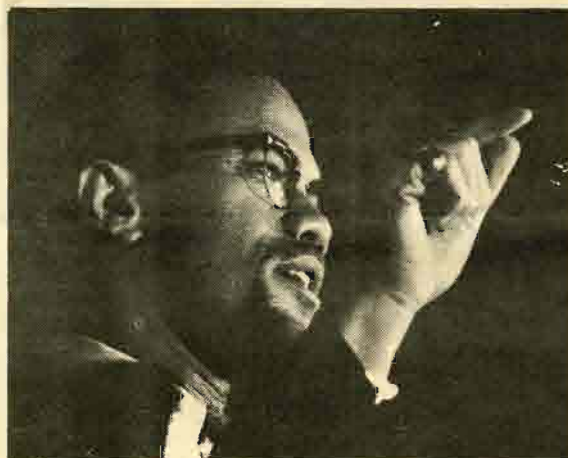
munity union of the many that the Union of Organizers hopes to establish in the next few years.

SELF SUPPORT

Participants in the research program or the organizer training program will be helped in finding part-time jobs if they

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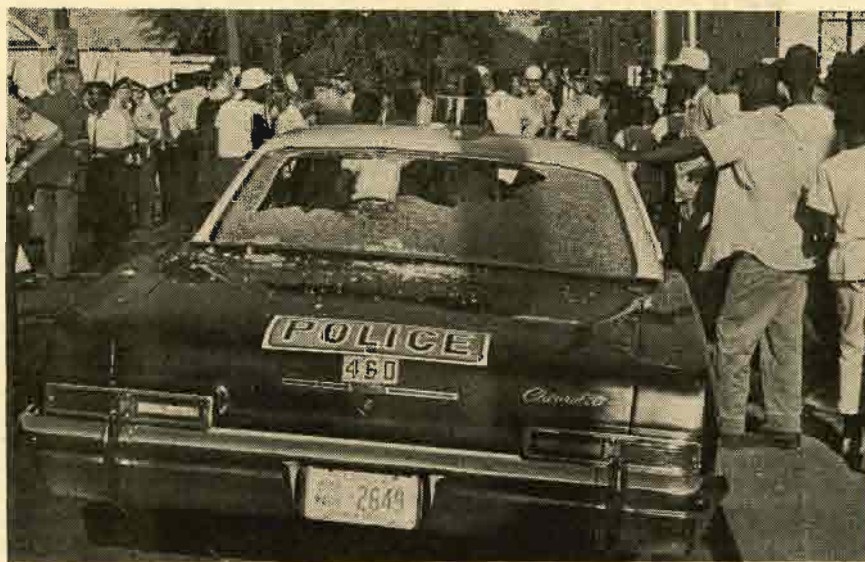
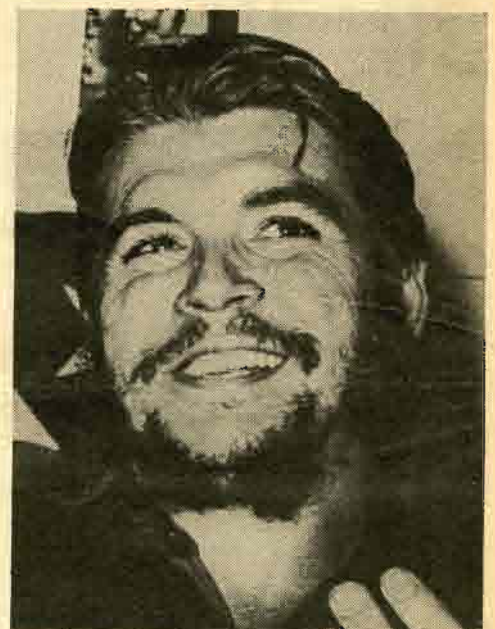
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