

NEW LEFT NOTES

SDS · 1608 W · MADISON · CHICAGO · ILL.

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 27

let the people decide

JULY 24, 1967

NEWARK RIOTS - NCUP VIEWS

There's a Change Gonna Come

as reported by Steve Block, NCUP

Background

One of Mayor Hugh Addonizio's favorite boasts used to be that Newark had never had a riot, and that, therefore, it had no social problems--its black people were happy. This has now proved, even to Addonizio, not to be the case.

Tensions in Newark have been rising all spring and summer, and have been centered around two issues. First, the mayor lured the New Jersey State School of Medicine and Dentistry to Newark, and a major part of the bait he used was the promise of 150 acres located in the heart of the Central Ward, the worst part of the ghetto. About 20,000 black people will be displaced as a result; and, as always, there are no real plans for finding or providing new homes for them. The black community has been furious and militant all spring and summer about this.

Secondly, the secretary of the Board of Education resigned. In appointing a successor, the mayor and the other powers-that-be chose a white City Councilman, James Callahan, for the post. Callahan has no college education and no business or financial experience. (The job consists mainly of handling the money.) The black community opposed him in favor of Wilbur Parker, a black CPA who works for the city in a financial capacity. This was one of the most blatant, obvious cases ever of choosing an unqualified white man over a very well-qualified black man.

What happened

The spark that set off the worst riot since Watts came Wednesday night, July 12. Two cops beat up a black cab-driver, with a crowd of people looking on. (Were they stupid, or did they want a riot?) More people congregated and threw round bricks and bottles, but the disturbance did not reach riot proportions.

On Thursday night, however, all hell broke loose. Almost all the breaking of windows and looting occurred then. At 3 a.m., after six hours of this, 2500 State Troopers and National Guardsmen were called in. It seemed clear that the riot would have died out that day if the troops had not come. On Thursday night there was a holiday atmosphere and people were really digging it all, but Friday and the troops brought strong feelings of hostility. Friday night the troops began shooting directly at people. Up to that morning there had been only one death; that night there were around eight. Then on Saturday night sniper fire began, and continued through Sunday. It was also at this time that the troopers were breaking into "soul brother" stores that had been left alone by looters until then. Finally, at 3 p.m. Monday, the troops were withdrawn; and after that things quieted down.

Officially, 27 people died; it may well have been more. The official number of arrests and injuries is 1500; this figure is almost certainly low. Property damage, of course, is huge.

Newark and Vietnam

There were parallels to Vietnam in the fighting. The American troops were centered in certain places. The open spots, like Broad Street, were not hit very much; the people worked where they could easily retreat into their homes. The National Guard sometimes fired at noises and figures that might have been snipers, but turned out to be the State Troopers. And although the National Guardsmen acted frightened and withdrawn, the State Troopers egged people on and tried to rile them with a show of strength. The people in the streets made these connections, especially those who had relatives over there. They screamed at the troops such things as "What about Vietnam?"

In the aftermath

The riot touched the lives of everyone in the ghetto; anyone who did not participate had at least one relative or friend who did. It was a reflection of community action—a real racial rebellion. Black consciousness in Newark has been heightened; concepts of black power and black unity now really seem to make sense and to be important. As a result, organizing will probably become much more easy and natural. There is already a fantastic amount of activity; maybe it's finally true in Newark that "there's a change gonna come."

draft conf.

There is going to be a national conference for draft resistance organizers in Madison, Wisconsin from August 11 to August 13. The purpose of the conference is to provide a chance for all those people around the country who have been actively working with draft resistance to have a personal exchange of ideas and experiences. There is no intention of having any type of national coordinating body come out of this. The program for the Conference is being set up by the Boston Draft Resistance Group and some people in SDS. We in Madison are providing the physical facilities. We will be passing on more information about it in the near future, as it is only in the planning stage now. If you have questions, ideas, plans, etc., contact the Clearing House or BDRU, 138 River, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

'Almost a Happening'

The following is a transcript of a taped interview with Eric Mann, a staff member of the Newark Community Union Project. N-Cup (as it is called) is a three year old "new left" attempt to do grass-roots organizing in Newark black ghetto. It will help you to understand the transcript to know that Eric is white and from a middle-class background. The interview was taped over the telephone on Monday July 17th. This interview originally appeared in Left Out News, the newspaper of 49th Ward CIPA in Chicago.

A NEW LOOK AT "VIOLENCE"

Q. What are the causes of this kind of violence and can it do any good for the cause of black people in America?

A. I think it does a lot of good for several reasons, both psychological and economic. To begin with you must understand that there are many kinds of violence, some more subtle than others. The landlord doesn't in fact put rats and roaches in peoples' homes to bite them and ruin their lives. Nonetheless, by charging a certain rent and doing no repairs, he creates a situation in which rats and roaches obviously exist. But people don't understand the "violence" of the landlord, they only see the violence of the tenant. A store owner who is giving you rotten meat doesn't throw the meat in your face, he hands it to you nicely, but he is taking a hell of a lot of your money for some very bad meat. This is not seen as a violent act but it has to be seen as a violent act in order to understand how and why people respond. People buy a bedroom set for \$400 and three weeks later it is literally falling apart. Most people do not see that act of selling inferior furniture as an aggressive act. As a result most people do not see any violence perpetrated against people in my neighborhood except on the issue of police brutality.

On the issue of police brutality when violence is directly perpetrated, people just don't want to believe it. What I am trying to say is that it is not just police brutality that provokes people, that's just what sets off a riot. It's a whole series of very civil types of actions that build up a whole set of aggressions in people and that are the causes of riots. The bosses don't seem angry, the store owner don't seem angry, the judges don't seem angry but in fact the reason that they don't seem angry is that they are on top. They are the perpetrators and not the victims of violence.

FRENZY OR PURPOSE?

Q. How would you characterize what was going on? Was it just wild undirected destruction?

A. No, quite the opposite, one of the most striking things about the riot was the purposefulness. By direct contrast to the picture of rioting as savage unthinking frenzied people, in fact the riot was in many ways an example of group consciousness that was very very surprising. I'll give you a specific example. The black

stores weren't touched. Now that's a pretty amazing fact. It only takes one person out of maybe three or four thousand people in the streets to destroy a store window. So what is amazing is not that 80% of the people decided not to break into the black stores or even 90% or 99% or 100%, every single goddam person in the middle of a frenzied riot makes the same decision not to break those stores.

NOT BITTERNESS, BUT SATISFACTION

The next thing that really moved me was the reaction that people gave me when I came home. I was in New York the night the riots started. I stayed over and came back the next morning. I walked down my street and was somewhat tense about how people would react to me. The reaction was just like it's always been, very friendly. People came over and talked to me and said hello. I think that it is essential that people should understand that despite what middle-class Negroes would like to say, that the riots are started by a few hooligans and that most of the people in the community don't like them, it really isn't true. The riots were probably the most popular action that has ever been taken in this community. When I walked up my street it was like walking into a block party. People were laughing, kids were walking around with new clothes, with new toys. People had a lot of food in their homes, and television sets. The primary demands were quite obviously economic and psychological, not political. It was the idea that "we did it" that "we screwed all those stores that were taking advantage of us," and also that we got some of the things we wanted and needed. And rather than a mood of hatred and violence prevailing frankly it was almost like a happening. When I walked down the street about ten people said: "Come on in, I want to talk to you, I want to show you what I've got." It was really astounding. So I think that what is essential is that people understand that it is not a question of finding the moderates in the black community that can control a handful of hooligans, but in fact the riots were supported by 80% or 90% of the people. It was a very popular action.

NOT SIMPLY ANTI-WHITE

Q. Then you don't think that this was simply racism?

A. No, because they didn't respond to me that way.

Q. You were there during the course of the riots?

A. Right. Frankly, I was somewhat afraid of being shot by a sniper since I was of course not known to every single person in the community, but I was more afraid of being shot by the national guard or state police.

(continued to p. 6)

Letters:

on the convention

July 4, 1967

The Editor
New Left Notes
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill.

To the Editor:

On the next to the last day of the National Convention, SDS had an exercise in participatory propaganda. The registration files were missing, and the rumor was that they had been sequestered away by a FBI/CIA agent. There was talk about a suspicious convention delegate: he had a red beard.

After the NC was dismissed that night, the body marched off across the University of Michigan campus to confront the suspicious delegate, who had been trailed to his pad by some super-sleuth leftist with latent J. Edgar Hoover tendencies.

The witch trial lasted but half a minute. Two hard-core Trot friends recognized and cleared the accused before the crowd of some 200 self-appointed inquisitors.

This incident could easily be dismissed as some sort of a Provo prank. It did have a decidedly Hippy Happening redolence about it. And I doubt many people took the action seriously.

Yet it does suggest a sub-rosa layer of distrust. This is particularly unfortunate as SDS has in the past distinguished itself by its openness—both ideological and psychological. Perhaps more than anything else it has been this basic psychological openness, characteristic of the organization, which has been a source of strength and hope for radicalism. If brother is going to accuse brother, then SDS is threatened. An even greater danger than actual government subversion is the paranoia that the suspicion of such subversion generates. If there are those who wish to destroy SDS, then surely such fraternal suspicions are doing their work for them. Our own psychological hang-ups can erode the organization from within.

Peace,

Roger D. Harris
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss. 39174

To the Editor of New Left Notes:

I'd like to briefly give my impressions of the convention. The body as a whole was unwilling to deal with the realities of power in America and instead used slogans as a substitute for the difficult task of program formulation. In particular, people freely tossed around revolutionary rhetoric but did not consider how to organize for a long-term domestic resistance movement capable of blunting the American imperial thrust (which would seem the most fruitful way to precipitate conditions in which radical change might

be possible here).

In particular, questions of the following type were not considered, nor did answers to them seem to underlie the discussion:

1. What kinds of resistance will most hamper the war machine?
 - a. Direct resistance (anti-draft; strike in defense factories; sabotage; or what?)
 - b. Indirect resistance (organizing around local issues in ways that force the system to use resources to co-opt or to suppress the demands, and thereby to divert them from foreign policy uses?)
2. Should our organizing efforts be based on a class analysis of American society and thus try to organize self-conscious classes; or an analysis of American society as composed of large organizations and institutions with particularistic conflicts of their own that can be used as a basis for organizing "pockets of resistance" (and such movements trying to drive the military off campuses) or what?
3. Given an answer to 2., what does it imply for our strategy? (Considerations include who to reach out to, where to get our resources, which groups to work with, and what styles of actions to take.)
4. Related to all the above points, where is the United States at, where is it going, and what does this imply for our strategy?

Our failure to deal seriously with these questions (rather than to adopt a cowboys-and-Indians view of the world in which a revolutionary working class will come in the nick of time to rescue people of the third world from the American Capitalists' attacks) is inexcusable. Our campus-based programs are in danger of being co-opted by the liberals, the black movement is being both suppressed and co-opted at the same time, and union militancy is largely apolitical; yet we are apparently too radical to spend the time to work out a way to help these movements change the society.

Sam Friedman
1112 Maiden Lane Ct apt 109
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105



Brothers and Sisters,

Thought you'd like this from the offices of the Alianza. Local SDSers are now working with the Alianza, which in turn has support of Denver radical Mexican leader Corky Gonzales (he's working out of Alianza offices here).

Was at an Alianza meeting where an identification by a left Catholic priest between the Vietnamese peasants' fight for land and freedom from Yanquis and landlords and Alianza's fight in N.M. brought rousing cheers!

Viva Tijerina!
Jim Kennedy

P.S. I'll try to do a story for NLN on what really happened. I may get an interview with Tijerina—was promised such by Alianza leaders as soon as he is out on bail (to be set Wednesday the 12th, probably at \$50,000—Judge "took it under advisement"). And as of now the State will seek the death penalty for him.

west side proj.

N.Y. Regional Report
by Jeff Jones

The West Side Project is a draft resistance project run by Columbia and City College SDS people in the Morningside Heights area. It is nominally a part of Columbia Vietnam Summer, a coalition of liberals and radicals.

The project's aim is to develop draft resistance among potential draft victims. To this end about 20 organizers have been doing street work with local Puerto Rican, black, and, to a lesser extent, white working-class draft age men.

The project has tried several different organizing tactics and, since community organizing around the draft is a new direction for the movement, the project is still in the stage of experimenting to find which are the most effective ways of organizing large scale, community based, draft resistance programs. Members of the project have spent several mornings during the last few weeks at the Whitehall Street Induction Center talking with guys going to their pre-induction physicals about the alternatives that exist to military service.

Another, seemingly more effective tactic, has been leafleting and talking with guys in the neighborhoods, trying to talk to them before they are called down to Whitehall. Through contacts with the National Lawyers Guild, it has been possible to offer free legal counsel in some of the more immediate cases. Through the neighborhood contacts, we hope to organize groups to form draft unions to undertake collective action against the local draft board and in support of other guys from the community who are called to their inductions. Some of the collective actions that have been discussed include demonstrations against local draft boards and at the induction center, street rallies and demonstrations at the homes of draft board members (who are generally businessmen). Other actions directed against the draft itself have been discussed, for example, filing enough legitimate C.O. applications on the same day to bring the selection process of the local board to a halt for an indefinite length of time.

Members of the project have also begun to establish a West Side Project Newsletter to serve as a means of communication with the neighborhood contacts that are made. Hopefully, guys will write articles about their experiences with the local draft boards.

We are hoping that the project will eventually be run by local leadership. If the community can take over and collectively attempt to resist the draft, a good base for general political action can be built. As the project grows, it is hoped that it can expand further into the middle-class sector of the community so that middle-class electoral politics types will get into direct actions against the Selective Service System, either at

the local boards, the induction centers, or in the communities.

In terms of the future, the West Side Project is seen as more than a summer organizing project. It will play an integral part in programs of freshman orientation and student radicalization at Columbia and City College, by being a vehicle to show new students how the system controls the lives of people, and the greater intensity of its control over non-white groups. Also, if a wide enough base can be established in the community at the level of draft-resistance, it might become possible to finally relate student protests at the University against complicity with the war to the people in the neighborhoods, and the student might also begin to have an effective voice in the community struggle against University expansion into, and control over, surrounding communities.

help wanted

DON'T MOURN...ORGANIZE

The American Friends Service Committee is looking for people to organize in a farm labor program in Chester County, Pa. The pay comes to about \$50.00 every two weeks and people may work anywhere from one summer to two years. The need is most urgent for a few black organizers, male or female, to develop social action organizations in the two or three definable black neighborhoods and volunteers who can speak Spanish well and have some knowledge of Puerto Rican culture.

The county, although in transition from a rural to an urban area, is noted for and sustained by its mushroom-growing industry. This crop has a peculiar growing season with the busy months being from September to June and summer being the off-season. There are a few large growers (150 employees) and many smaller ones. Borden Dairy Co. and Campbells Soup Co. are somehow involved.

The people who do the picking and work in the four or five canneries can be divided into three distinct groups. First, in terms of numbers are Puerto Ricans, second are Afro-Americans, and third are an increasing community of Southern whites from Virginia and North Carolina. They usually live in shacks or trailers on the grower's property, work 10 to 12 hours a day, earn from \$1.00 to \$1.45 per hour, have no employment insurance, no medical compensation, and are ununionized.

For further information write to Joe Anthony, c/o A.F.S.C. Farm Labor Program, 101 North Union St., Kennett Square Pa. 19343 or call 215/444-0314.

Sample of leaflet distributed at a meeting by and/or at the General Office Alianza Federal de Mercedes 1010 3rd NW Albuquerque, N.M.

new left notes

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
Carl Davidson, Inter-organizational secretary; Robert Pardun, Internal Education secretary; Mike Spiegel, National secretary.
National Office: 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206 Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312/666-3874)
New York City: Rm. 436, 17E. 22nd St., New York City, N.Y. 10003
Niagra Regional Coordinating Committee: PO Box 57-31, River Campus Station, Rochester, N. Y.
Southern California: PO Box 85396, Los Angeles, California 90072
New England: 39 Lee St., Apt. 3A, Cambridge, Mass.

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FREE PEOPLE BORN OCT. 19, 1514

**U. S. A. IS TRESPASSING IN NEW MEXICO.
U. S. A. HAS NO TITLE FOR NEW MEXICO.
THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO IS A FRAUD
and INVALID.
ESTADOS UNIDOS NO TIENE JURISDICCION en N. MEX.**

**ALL TRESPASSERS MUST GET OUT OF NEW MEXICO NOW!
ALL PIRATES GO HOME.
All SPANISH and INDIAN PUEBLOS are FREE FOREVER.
All TRESPASSERS WILL BE PUNISHED BY LAW.
VIVAN LOS PUEBLOS REPUBLICAS LIBRES DE NUEVO MEX.**

**Document 129 of State Department Exposes the U. S. A. Crime
Against ALL Spanish and Indian Rights and Freedom**

LAS INDIAS BORN APRIL 17, 1492

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NAT. SEC. REPORT

US & THEM

FINANCIAL SITUATION

We find ourselves in trying times, brethren and sistren, for the n.o. must do battle with bill collectors who are hammering at the door, crawling in the windows, and generally breathing down our necks as we make valiant attempts to stave them off. Nonetheless, until the revolution, each and every one of the bills must somehow find its way into the "paid" file, and checks must go out to the corporate capitalist vampires. The movement has been successful in making clear to the rich liberals "which side we're on," and consequently, the basis of the financing of sds must come from ourselves. I've given a schematic breakdown of where some of our money must eventually find its way on page 5. For those of you with a morbid curiosity and a rightful desire to know where the hell all that cash is going and why, there follows a rough outline in explanation: (1) The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) debt for past printing has been hanging over our heads for quite some time — it was once much larger but now stands at \$650. The reason that it goes at the top of the list and must now be faced post haste is because upon my arrival at the n.o., I was informed that they had called us and threatened legal action if more of the green was not forthcoming. We sent them \$250, bringing the debt down to the present \$650 — but we've got to pay that soon. (2) The compositing equipment, with which we make up NLN and our literature, requires a maintenance contract. Since none of the people at the n.o. find ourselves able to deal with the complex technological idiosyncrasies of the equipment, we pay \$580 a year to have all repairs done on the equipment and small parts replaced. We must pay that now to carry us through next June. (3) The arrangements for the purchase of the REC house have been settled, and part of those arrangements is the immediate payment of \$500. In addition, we must raise, within six months, \$10,000, in order to exercise the option to buy the house which has been written into the contract. (4) The print shop and those who are working for NLN have made it clear that it is absolutely essential that we purchase a headliner, which strangely enough, is a machine that makes headlines. It has been done by hand in the past. While recognizing the dignity of manual labor, their request seems only reasonable, considering the slave hours they work and our expanded production, and thus the purchase was approved by the NAC. A headliner costs \$300. (5) There is a back bill due on printin of NLN. We are getting a lot of pressure to pay. The bill is \$210. (6) Our phone bill is a mere pittance — we owe the bastards at AT&T about \$500. (7) We are rented our office space at an incredibly low price by people who believe in sds — they should be paid the back rent of \$500. (8) We are in arrears on our payment toward a lease/purchase agreement on a typewriter, and are still paying for the compositing equipment — that comes to about \$150.

On the credit side, we have \$3,300 in the bank, but much of that is in special accounts, the money having been given with the understanding that it would be used for particular purposes, i.e. \$965 is in the draft resistance account, \$350 is to be used for the summer T-O institutes for materials, and \$891 is in the "book" account. The last is to go toward repayment of a loan we were given to buy copies of Containment and Change in bulk — out of money we receive from the sale of the book, the first \$3,000 is to go toward paying off the loan. Thus, we have many to sell before we can pay back the loan. With these three special accounts deducted from our total amount in the bank, we have \$1,094 left to pay off our total debts of \$16,499 (subtracting the \$891 in the book account from our total outstanding debt of \$17,390).

We are in financial trouble, and the support must come from you!

ON THE NSA

Enough of the capitalistic crap, necessary as it may be during this stage of historical development. In this issue of NLN is an article by John Fuerst and Jeff Jones of the New York regional office concerning strategy for the approaching NSA Congress, following the resolution passed at the Convention. All people who are interested in attending the Congress should send a note to the n.o. so that we can be in touch and make coordinated plans (the delegation is not positively set at 25, though that should be the minimum — we may want all we can muster). At its meeting during the weekend of August 5, the NIC will make final strategy plans. People should submit position papers on strategy for the Congress to NLN in order to keep people informed and aid the NIC in making those strategy plans. (As an impetus for submitting your name to be in the delegation, people may be interested in knowing that rumor has it that Hubert will be there.)

Mike Spiegel

FORWARD TO THE DESTRUCTION OF

THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Brothers Fuerst and Jones

The June National Council's decision to send an SDS delegation to the annual NSA Congress may come as a surprise to SDS members who were not present at the N.C. The article in Ramparts exposing NSA's connection to the CIA and the national press coverage which followed have already discredited NSA in the eyes of American radicals and among foreign student organizations. It is clear, both from these events and from the elitist internal structure of NSA, that SDS has no business trying to take over NSA or trying to force the Congress to take radical positions on international or domestic issues. To control NSA would be to run an organization which by its structure (student governments and not student bodies comprise the membership) is unable to do anything but play the pluralist and elitist game of American national politics. For us to push radical resolutions through the

Congress would be playing with hollow parliamentarianism as NSA officers never need to follow any of the programmatic suggestions of the Congress once the Congress is adjourned.

The strategy conceived by the N.C. follows a different course. The strategy is based on SDS opposition to both the NSA's domestic and international policies and to NSA's internal organization. The opposition to NSA's international policies is more fundamental than the obvious disgust with which SDS viewed the unraveling of the CIA connections. SDS should never have been surprised at these connections; for, rather than subverting a group of innocent and well-intentioned college boys, the CIA was supporting an organization which from the start was involved in cold war international student politics. Although the tensions which forced the NSA to leave the International Union of Students in the early years of the cold war and to become instrumental in the formation of the anti-communist International Student Congress have to a large extent been smoothed over by the Soviet-American rapprochement, NSA's foreign policy at its best never goes beyond a neutralist and civil libertarian support for radical foreign student unions. Even though the CIA surely used the NSA's connection with left elements among the South Vietnamese students in order to get files on future troublemakers, the connection by itself shows NSA's international bent. Never did NSA consider contacting students in North Vietnam or student cadres inside the NLF. Rather NSA stayed within the broad definitions of American policy in Vietnam and maintained contact with those students who promised a middle path between Communism and dictatorship, a middle path based on the creation of a new and better indigenous elite.

This is a frequent pattern, for in Latin America as in South Vietnam, NSA relations with indigenous "progressive" forces means relations with future liberal elites and not with potential or actual social revolutionaries. NSA's first major foreign policy action after the CIA had been exposed and after the NSA officers had become "clean" was to send Gene Groves, the NSA president, to the Negotiation Now! steering committee as the representative of the student community. Then NSA worked on the letter of the 200 student "leaders", a letter which, though it was valuable, was used to show that responsible students could be responsibly and reasonably opposed to the war in Vietnam (even if they were only slightly opposed). NSA is helping to form a group known as the American Students for a Reasonable Settlement in Vietnam, a group whose purpose seems to be the cooptation of Vietnam Summer from the right. Between Congresses, NSA seems to accept the premise that the United States should have a continuing, if moderated, role in Vietnam.

NSA's domestic policy has also followed the same pattern of corporate liberal politics. Even though last year's Congress passed an almost-radical resolution in support of the Black Power movement, NSA's president sits on the President's Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a group which mediates between Johnson and the civil rights movement by coopting moderate civil rights leaders and making them part of the governmental process. On campuses, NSA follows the line of the local student governments to a large extent and frequently serves as a mediating force between campus radicals (SDS) and the administration. On the draft, NSA officers have caught onto the idea of "voluntary" national service which came out of the Moderator magazine conference on the draft. As Greg Calvert noted in his report on this conference, voluntary service means that everyone

FROM SLAVERY TO...?

THE PLOT TO DESTROY BLACK MILITANCY

By Larry Neal

The Black Man in America is in grave danger. The inherent racism of this country is beginning to manifest itself in very overt forms—forms approaching the point of legality. We have seen Minister Muhammad Ali denied his rights to practice Islam. This is, in fact, a refusal on the part of the white power structure to recognize the legitimacy of the Black Man's religion. It is a denial of the Black Man's right to self-determination. Further, the United States in general is moving towards a policy of all out containment of militant black action and thought. And it should not surprise us. As Minister Muhammad Ali pointed out, we have been warned that these things would happen.

The conviction of Muhammad Ali and the frame-up of seventeen brothers and sisters in New York and Philadelphia is a most recent reminder that Black America is facing its hour of confrontation with the sick and dying beast that is white American culture. In the absence of a real crime against the state of New York, the district attorney of Queens, probably acting on information from the FBI and/or New York City's Bureau of Special Service, has attempted to destroy in one blow a wide grouping of persons accused of belonging to the Revolutionary Action Movement. Further, in order to confuse the black community, they have accused these so-called RAM members of plotting the assassinations of Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young. This move, on the part of the white power structure comes at a time when many people are warning of a long hot summer. And it is aimed at destroying any intellectual and grass roots leadership who might offer guidance to black people in case of a confrontation. It is a move aimed at destroying a theoretical base of power in the black community. Mr. Herman Ferguson, an assistant Jr. High School principal, has been active in his community to implement Afro-American history. He has tried to raise the general level of teaching in his school and has worked for the upgrading of black administrators in the New York Public School System. There is only one "Negro" principal in the entire New York city educational system. And in keeping with the Devil's tricknology,

the principal is a Negro woman. Therefore, what is under attack is the new mood of African-American. The concept of Black Power—essential to the elevation of our race—is also under attack. Ferguson belonged to a black rifle club: that is also under attack. The latter is particularly ironic since there are over one thousand white rifle clubs in Queens alone, many of them controlled by right wing organizations and individuals. All of this sums up to be an attack on black militancy—a plot on the part of District Attorney Mackell to make political gains at the expense of black community cohesiveness.

And the so-called Negro leadership, i.e. Wilkins, Young, and Farmer walked right into the trap. They all began reacting to the charges as if they had, in fact, been proven true. The white man comes running to them, microphones and cameras in hand, and these leaders cannot resist the urge to join in the accusations of their own brothers and sisters. Leaders who loved and respected their own would have had no comment, or would have cautioned the white news media against putting our brothers and sisters on trial by press. From this vantage point, it all seems very simple. It is a tendency of the oppressed mind to justify the correctness of its positions to the white slave masters. Wilkins, Young, and Farmer, therefore, have aided the white power structure in the destruction of black unity. Perhaps, that is their role, as it was Tshombe's role to wreck Congolese unity when Lumumba was trying to pull his country together after the Belgians granted the Congolese people a paper independence. It is clear from the manner in which Wilkins, Young, and Farmer confronted this situation that they are spiritually warped individuals intent more on pleasing white power than on unifying black people. All of this places the black community in grave danger. Now it is possible for white right wing fanatics to murder semi-militant Negro leaders with impunity. The act can be blamed on organizations like RAM (which has been merely an educational movement in the last few years). Now black militants of all kinds

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FIGHTING IN A BUSH LEAGUE

(reprinted from BDRG Newsletter #1)

Boston Draft Resistance Group
138 River Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts
617/547-7919

The Boston Draft Resistance Group is, to put it gently, on the move. A series of extremely entertaining and provocative raids on the Boston Army Base have given us valuable experience in working with draftees and demystifying the nature of power as it affects the guys who are being forced to fight. We now have six full-time staff workers and counselors, and upwards of forty part-time volunteers. For the past week we have been counseling an average of five young men daily on the legal alternatives to military service, and discussing with them the political significance of the draft resistance movement. On the basis of three weeks of serious organizing -- on street corners, at draft boards, inside the Army Base, at teen age and hippy hangouts, and most recently, in door-to-door canvassing -- we are beginning to establish a real presence in the community. Word about the BDRG is getting around the local grapevines. So far community response has been sympathetic, and a surprisingly large percentage of our clients have been black and/or working class. In terms of defending our own members and friends against induction, we are, from the moment of the war in Vietnam, backed by support demonstrations, has played a part in at least postponing the inductions of Paul Hamburg, John Babin, Roger Rosenblatt, Russ Rothman, and Bob Schwartz. The situation could change overnight, and changes of draft delinquency (penalty: instant induction) could be brought against the lot of us. We're playing in a rough league.

At this point, the potential of draft resistance in the Boston area seems literally unlimited. However, the BDRG will need all the courage, cunning and tenacity it can muster over the coming months. We have no intention of squandering our still limited human and financial resources in acts of foolish bravado. At the same time, it is clear that draft resistance represents a serious intensification of anti-war activity, and as such presents new pitfalls as well as new opportunities. We can expect official hostility to be directly proportional to our impact on the war effort. Our difficult task in the next few months will be to maintain a balance between defiance and dialogue, to inspire draft-age guys with our audacity, and not alienate them through insolence.

DIRECT ACTION

As the military-industrial complex goes, the Boston Army Base is a pretty bush-league operation, considering its crucial role in the lives and deaths of the young men of Boston. Jutting out into the grim waters of Boston Bay, it's a conglomeration of warehouses, offices, recruiting and induction chambers. At ten-minute intervals, a public bus leaves South Station, carrying army personnel, civilian workers, inductees, pre-inductees, and the BDRG to their appointed tasks. There is thus public access to the interior of the Base -- a fact of considerable legal significance, as we have lately learned. The security (?), guards are civilian, with what seems to be a median age of 86, who can often be bullied and/or cajoled. As far as we have allowed ourselves to be sluggishly evicted, although not without making a vivid impact on incoming draftees, and passers-by. Our purpose is, in the classical formula, to instruct, to inspire, and to delight. A snatch of dialogue from a recent raid may give a sense of the atmosphere.) A civilian goon grabbed one of us by the shirt, muttering dire threats.

GOON: "Listen, buddy..."

RESISTOR: "If you don't get your hands off me in one second I'll have you booked for assault."

GOON: "Well... don't get sore. But you guys better watch it."

RESISTOR: "We do."

We do our best to find out the dates when specific draft boards in the area are holding physicals. Many boards send their clients in on public transportation, which gives a long chance to work with them on the ride in. The SSS in Boston is slowly wising up, however, and getting more tight-lipped with such information. Pre-inductees can generally be reached boarding the bus at South Station between 6:30 and 7:30, with particularly heavy traffic on Mondays. South Station, in the early a.m., is a good focus for general anti-war and draft work, because of the large numbers of workers passing through. (Recently, a cab-driver asked for a supply of leaflets to share with other cabbies. They plan to keep a stock in their hacks for further distribution.)

Response over the past month has been astonishingly encouraging, both from the inductees and secure civilians. Only very seldom do we meet with anything worse than indifference. Working guys in Boston are extremely sensitive to the futility of the war, and to the government's obvious dishonesty. Johnson is not convincing these young men that Marshal Ky's skin is worth their lives, nor is he likely to. We've been working on this gut-level reluctance to kill and die for nothing, and saving the details of the Geneva Accords for later. The first thing we picked up was the sharp sense of the immediacy the war has for working kids. A draftee for the South Shore, for instance, told us that although he didn't like the war, 99% of his high school buddies were over there and he thought he owed them something. We agreed with him, and explained that we were on their side -- we want to see them come home alive, instead of in boxes. It made sense to him.

Our leaflets and conversations convey a few very simple ideas. 1) If you're worried about going to fight the Vietnam war, you're not alone. More and more guys are coming to feel this war isn't worth one American life, and the draft resistance movement can stop it. 2) You have legal alternatives to the draft. (Most workingclass pre-inductees are absolutely ignorant about their rights under the draft.) The BDRG will provide free counseling and legal aid in resisting the draft, and stick with you down the line. 3) We support the boys in Vietnam. We need them to build a decent society right here.

One problem we have yet to solve is what to say to the man who has already been drafted and who seems irrevocably headed into the army despite his doubts. We very much need a pamphlet aimed at them, preferably a well-produced booklet on the legal rights of servicemen, which could have some claim to a draftee's attention regardless of his political. The cases of Levy, Petrick, and the Fort Hood Three should be publicized; so should the recent stories of individual GI's sentenced to prison terms for murders committed (apparently) under orders. The moral should be to think twice before committing war crimes.

The nucleus of BDRG's organizing activity is the counseling service it offers on the draft. At the moment we have four reasonably qualified counselors -- we need more. Anyone seriously planning to work with guys threatened by the draft will have to master at least the essential features of draft law and its alternatives. This means, minimally, studying the Handbook for Conscientious Objectors, the National Lawyers' Guild Handbook on Civil Liberties, and the material in the BDRG office on Canada.

For information on future direct action plans, call the office.

down in johnson country

POLICE VANISH AS MARINES ATTACK ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATORS

(Houston, Texas, July 9, 1967)—Over 200 Marine Reservists attacked 40 peace marchers in a veterans' group-sponsored 'Support Our Boys' parade here today. Members of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Students for a Democratic Society; Southern Christian Leadership Conference Texas Field Secretary Reverend F. D. Kirkpatrick; and other citizens, had joined the support parade under a banner saying "Support Our Boys in Vietnam—Bring Them Home Now." Many carried placards echoing this sentiment: "Loyal Americans in Opposition to the Vietnam War".

Immediately upon joining the parade line-up, the peace advocates were assailed by hecklers, many carrying John Birch signs, Confederate flags. The parade captains, confused by the presence of anti-war marchers, finally decided to isolate the group from the rest of the marchers. A parade captain announced to the peace contingent that it would be preceded by a car and motorcycle, and followed by the rest of the parade cars. The peace group agreed to this.

Then, according to reports in the Houston Post (July 10), Major Bill Sherburne, a Marine attached to no unit at the parade, ordered a company of battle-clad Marines, members of the Marine Reserve, First Battalion, 23rd Marines, to assemble in front of the peace demonstrators and hold them back. The police were not present at the time. It was clear to the peace marchers that the Marines and police had agreed that the Marine company would destroy the peace group's demonstration. The apparent agreement between the Marines and the Police Department was implied in the remark of Lt. Col. Hugh Hardy (Houston Chronicle, July 10), "When there is a call for patriotism, those who exhibit other than patriotism are inviting action jeopardizing their well-being. I'm really happy and proud of our men."

The heckling immediately turned into a scuffle as Marines jumped at the sign-holders and ripped the banner and signs from their hands. The demonstrators tried to remain peaceful, despite these provocations, and to move toward Fannin Street, the main route of the parade. However, the Marines marked time, blocked the way of the demonstrators, and continued to taunt and heckle them as they tried, in vain, to parade.

The main body of paraders was one-fourth of a mile down the road when the peace group finally worked its way to Fannin Street. At that point, motorcycle policemen escorted the parade cars past the peace group. In the presence of numerous witnesses, two peace marchers, SNCC leader Lee Otis Johnson, and Margery Shroyer, a peace activist, pled for protection from intimidation by Marines. However, according to the Houston Post report (July 10), "Despite obvious friction between the Marines and peaceniks, even before the fighting began, no police were assigned to patrol that portion of the parade." "Not knowing who the peaceniks were," Police Inspector Leroy Mouser asked, "then how could we stick with them?" "We were here to keep the peace and run the parade," Mouser said.

As soon as the entire parade had gone past—Marines still holding back peace marchers—a Marine was reported (Houston Chronicle, June 10) to have yelled, "The Fuzz are gone. Let's get 'em!"

The entire company turned and attacked. Outnumbered almost ten to one, the peace demonstrators, including several girls, tried to protect themselves. At least ten were injured. As many as a dozen Marines jumped on each man, especially on the Negroes, kicking and thumping them on their heads and bodies. Most of the demonstrators fought back and put several Marines out of action. Still no police appeared.

When the fighting began to die down, the Company Commander ordered his men back into ranks. At that point about eight

police officers arrived and made token efforts to separate the already bloodied combatants. The Marine Commander double-timed his men to the other side of the park. Some Marines reappeared with foot-long bayonets, but didn't have the opportunity to use them.

The peace demonstrators gathered to see if anyone needed emergency attention. One of the demonstrators, Daniel Schact, talked to five officers, asked their help, and expressed surprise that they had not been present when they were needed. Police officers thereupon arrested him, and refused to tell him why he was being arrested. When asked by other demonstrators why the arrest was being made, one policeman violently pushed two girls to the ground, causing a serious knee injury to one of them. They then drove their prisoner to the jail and booked him on charges of loitering and failure to move on. Bond was set at \$100. Leaders of the peace march indicate that complaints are being lodged against the Police Department, the Marine Corps, and other persons and authorities responsible for permitting the Marine attack. Complaints have also been lodged with the Justice Department.

on Aug. 6:

ON AUGUST 6TH, HIROSHIMA DAY, THE ATLANTA ALLIANCE FOR PEACE IS SPONSORING WHAT WE HOPE TO BE THE LARGEST SOUTHERN DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE WAR. WE ARE AT THIS TIME SENDING OUT A SOUTH-WIDE CALL TO THIRTEEN SOUTHERN STATES. WE ARE LOCALLY CANVASSING AND LEAFLETING THE GRASS ROOTS WHITE AND BLACK COMMUNITIES.

WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANYTHING THAT YOU COULD DO TO ASSIST US IN MAKING THIS DEMONSTRATION SUCCESSFUL. IF YOU WOULD LIKE MORE CALLS, LEAFLETS, OR INFORMATION, CONTACT TOM BOUCK AT SCLC 334 AUBURN AVENUE NORTHEAST ATLANTA 30303 OR AC 404 522-1420.

and

The June 23 Movement is calling for nationwide demonstrations to be held on Sunday, August 6th in support of those arrested at the Los Angeles Protest March. These arrests and the beatings represent another attempt by the authorities to intimidate any protest against the war in Vietnam. If those arrested are convicted they will be used as "examples" of what happens to dissenters who deviate from the safe line of "loyal opposition".

We affirm a direct relationship between the barbaric U.S. military policy abroad and the manner of suppressing dissent by violent Police State tactics at home. We recognize that the Peace Movement faces the same enemy as Black people fighting for their liberation and Workers who are fighting for their rights.

Join with us by demonstrating on August 6, Hiroshima day, in front of your local Police building.

Carry signs supporting the June 23 Movement calling for a dismissal of charges against those arrested on June 23, and calling for the U.S. to get out of Vietnam Now!

We would appreciate any suggestions, information about any other possible contacts, and permission to use your groups name as supporting us.

We are looking forward to your support!

Demonstration Committee
June 23 Movement
P.O. Box 1604 Santa Monica, California

so you think you've got
problems dept.

report from new mexico

Jerry Madison
Albuquerque

For the first time in most of our memories, there's something boiling in this area. Several weeks ago, an amorphous, overlapping coalition of University of New Mexico SDS, a local group called Students Against the War, and a handful of unattached radicals and religious dissenters decided to attempt to seek out potential radicals in the Albuquerque high schools, using the draft as a rallying issue. Owing to the embryonic nature of the movement in this area, we decided to employ an educational/informational/constitutional-right-of-dissent type of approach; our primary goal being to radicalize the "straight" people in a step-by-step way. We gathered together some literature about the draft, and compiled a two page handout explaining alternatives to conscription and giving addresses, local and national, where more information could be obtained. It was decided to set up a "booth" (using two old cars and a piece of plywood) to display our literature across the street from Highland High, which lies (pun intended) in a middle class, "heights" area.

On Tuesday, May 16, six of us — Dr. Roger Anderson (a professor and SDS advisor), Larry Russell, Jerry Wasser and Mary Ann Kochanski (UNM students), and my wife Mary and I — turned up at the school just before classes were to let out. Due to lack of materials, (like plywood), we decided simply to leaflet the students and attempt to communicate verbally with them. We positioned ourselves and our "Draft Information Here" sign under a tree on the school grounds, expecting little more than a sunburn.

When we had been there five to ten minutes, three school officials came marching out to us (I could have sworn they were in step), and asked us courteously if we had permission to be there; we replied we didn't. They then asked us to leave the grounds. We asked where the grounds ended. They said the curb (the line later proved to be nine and a half feet inside the curb). Not wanting any incidents at this stage of the game, we moved to the gutter of the street, next to the curb, where we waited with our sign.

A few minutes later, the kids began pouring out, and we talked and leafleted busily; many of our leaflets were taken, some by girls with concerned faces. About this time, one of the kids we had leafleted, we believe a non-student (outside agitator? CIA? Scoutmaster?), flagged down a passing squad car and talked a moment with the cop inside. He then came out, handed me his leaflet, and walked away chucking. The cop came over — a type-cast redneck if ever there was one. He ordered us to beat it. We asked him what law we were violating. "Move or face jail!" he angrily informed us. We asked again. He got purple. We finally moved across the street to a vacant lot. By this time, the cop was grumbling to some of the students. A crowd of several hundred was gathering, many of them hostile, and screaming the time-honored commie-coward litany. A pile of our leaflets was gleefully burned by some wags in the crowd.

Things were getting out of hand, and we were, in true British understatement, having some difficulty communicating with anyone. We were being pelted with our stuff, and I was shoved about by a student who'd lost a brother in Viet Nam; we tried to explain that that was

one reason we were there, but we were hooted down angrily. Students who tried to take our leaflets to read had them grabbed out of their hands and thrown back at us. Officer Ford (the cop) was deep in earnest conversation with some of them.

We decided at the time that it would be best if we left, to try another time, and worked our halting way to the truck. But Officer Ford took Dr. Anderson's license for no valid reason and we were stuck there. By this time, the press was there, and two more cops, and the crowd seemed ready to turn into a mob. The truck was rocked briefly by some of the students; I pointed this out to a nearby cameraman, which made Officer Ford quite angry. He took my license too, while he wrote something from it down on a scratch pad.

The cops had a conference and we were busted for vagrancy. We were booked, mugged, fingerprinted, and ushered to the tank, which, as usual, was full of Mexicans and Indians (we were almost the only whites there). Upon our release an hour or so later, we learned from our lawyer, Charles Driscoll (a fiery civil-liberties-type who wishes to be referred to as "dynamic"), that we had been illegally detained so the FBI could go through our wallets. A meeting held the next evening (the biggest in this town in a long time), it was decided to "hit" another school before our trial to let The Man know that we hadn't been intimidated.

The next Tuesday, May 23, about 25 of us were on hand at Albuquerque High, a predominantly Spanish-speaking school on Central Avenue (Route 66), the main street of Albuquerque. It was early morning, and we figured to catch the students going to classes. We notified the police that we'd be there, and when. What resulted was a small riot, involving up to 200 students, which left five of us beaten by a mob, and stopped all westbound traffic on Central. We made the UPI wire, and network TV. We even had some sympathetic press in Albuquerque; one reporter was nearly fired for not slandering us in his article. Out of the confusion emerged the fact (reported in the Albuquerque Tribune) that the police had been notified to stay clear of the area until actual bloodshed was reported. Larry Russell and I were spared a worse beating than we got due to the casual arrival of four or five squad cars. Also, a woman teacher was reported to have been egging the students on; and due possibly to some perversity of Fate, every effort the principal made to establish his vaunted "law and order" (out of our hearing) resulted in another outbreak of one-sided fighting. At least one of our people was hit by flying chunks of concrete. To date, no condemnation of the violence has been issued by the School Board or any other usually vocal segment of the community. There have been some good letters to the editors, but the majority were from VFW-DAR types, and there's no need to dwell upon the details of their verbal diarrhea.

The controversy was still bubbling when Dr. Anderson, Jerry, Larry, and I went to trial on the vagrancy charge. Though our lawyer destroyed the testimony of "Officer" Ford and generally carried on like Clarence Darrow, we were convicted and sentenced to ten dollars a day each, suspended. Obviously, the judge just wanted the whole thing

(continued to p. 6)



ROUGH OUTLINE OF THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

(See p.3 for a full explanation)

OUTSTANDING DEBTS

Must pay within two weeks
 \$650 to TWO for printing
 \$580 to Friden corp. for maintenance contract on equipment
 \$500 for REC house
 \$300 for headliner
 \$210 printing bill on NLN
 \$500 back phone bill
 \$500 back rent
 \$150 owed on rental lease of office equipment (typewriters)

TOTAL DUE: \$17,390
 plus weekly expenses to keep staff alive, postage, etc. minus \$891 in book account to pay off part of the \$4,000 under "loan."

AMOUNT PRESENTLY IN BANK BUT:

\$965 reserved for anti-draft
 \$350 reserved for T-O's
 \$891 reserved to go toward paying back book loan

Must pay within six months

\$10,000 purchase of REC house

\$2206

\$3,300 in bank
 \$2,206 accounted for

Other major outstanding debts

\$4000 on loan

\$1,094

TOTAL IN ACCOUNT FOR USE IN PAYING BILLS

n. s. a.

(continued from p. 3)

will have a choice of how and when they will serve America, but everyone will serve. The acceptance of voluntary service by Groves precludes the possibility of abolishing universal service and diverts attention on the campus from a radical analysis of the ways in which the draft both serves as a national tool for carrying out wars of revolution and has the potential for serving as a totalitarian tool for manpower control.

Behind these policies and programs is an internal structure which prevents NSA from playing a radical role either in the lives of American students or in the conduct of American politics. The isolation of local student governments from their student bodies is notorious; and NSA, being composed of these local student governments, is one step further removed from any sort of meaningful participation. It is an organization whose rank and file are the local campus leaders, who are responsible to little beyond themselves—and their campus administrations. This structure represents the ideal organization in the American pluralist democracy—NSA is able to represent the "interests" of American students in the councils of state without the students' having the opportunity of controlling NSA. People are represented without having power over those who are the representatives, NSA's structure assures stability, reasonability, and a semblance of democracy.

SDS's ROLE

SDS has alternatives to offer to both the policies and the structure of NSA. SDS has an analysis of American foreign policy which sees that the war in Vietnam is an extension of American economic and social life, that the war in Vietnam is a symptom of American imperialism. And we have begun to sketch out a program of grass roots organizing which can lead to an anti-imperialist movement. SDS has an analysis of American capitalism and of the liberal devices which the system uses to maintain its hegemony, and we have begun to develop strategies and programs of organizing which can attack the institutions—such as the draft, the universities, and the War on Poverty—which develop and perpetuate capitalism's hegemony. We have a conception of democratic social organization and of people's control which can oppose NSA's elitism.

The NSA Congress provides an opportunity to present the SDS analysis and SDS programs such as the student strike and draft resistance to students from campuses all over the country. The exciting thing about the NSA Congress is that most of the delegates are open to an SDS analysis and find themselves in student government out of honest feelings

to do what they can do in reforming their campuses and America. These are potential SDS members who have not been reached on their campuses due to their isolation or to their inability to see beyond their immediate job in student government. Our job is to present radical alternatives to NSA's liberal program, to form contacts on new campuses for the fall, to spread the ideas of draft resistance and build for the student strike, and to destroy NSA by making SDS a radical and democratic alternative.

Most of the SDS work at the Congress will be informal political work. SDS members must talk up at the symposia and workshops which NSA has planned and must present alternatives to the NSA or government speakers. Perhaps more important is the work which SDS members can do during meals, in the lounges, and at parties. Congress delegates spend all day and night discussing political issues, and SDS members can present a radical viewpoint to most of the delegates who may never have been exposed to such views.

There is some formal political work which must be done. We have begun soliciting and urgently need good position papers on the draft, the War on Poverty, the war in Vietnam and American foreign policy, black power and the radical civil rights movement, and the structure and uses of American universities. All these papers should begin from a radical or socialist perspective and analyze the problems they are concerned with inside this broad framework. Finally SDS will be holding daily forums, panel discussions, and workshops in all these areas; it would be politically useful if any SDS people who are invited by NSA to be resource people or speakers were to refuse the NSA invitation and instead speak under SDS sponsorship.

To make all this happen we need 25 people who can spend from August 10 to at least August 18 at College Park, Maryland, where the Congress will be held. If people cannot make the full Congress, they can still come for the beginning or end of the Congress. All people interested in joining the SDS delegation should inform the National

Office within the next week so that the National Interim Committee can form the delegation as soon as possible.

WANTED TO CONTACT:

VIETNAM VETERANS ACTIVE IN SDS

Several Vietnam Veterans around the country are thinking of organizing an independent group, Veterans of Vietnam Opposed to the War, to work and propagandize against the war as veterans of the conflict; it's an effective organizing tool for getting people out against the war

Please contact: Tom Cleaver (Vietnam: '64-'65), 1403 8th Street, Greeley, Colo. 80631

George Vizard

Robert Pardun
Internal Education Secretary

On Sunday, July 23, at about 8:00 A.M., George Vizard was shot and killed in Austin, Texas. George had been active in SDS in Austin for three years and was probably the most visible person there, as a result of his militant activity around civil rights, the war in Vietnam, and student power. The Austin police force is remarkably non-violent and on most occasions refuses to arrest anyone. However, George was arrested on several occasions and had become sort of a symbol both to the SDS chapter and to the people of Austin.

The last time George was arrested was in the student union of the University of Texas. There had been a demonstration the day before to meet HH Humphrey, who came to visit the illustrious legislature of Texas. The demonstrators were on one side of a police line and HHH was on the other. At one point a high school student walked through the police line, grabbed a picket sign, and hit one of the demonstrators in the eye with it. The police did nothing. George yelled at the cops, "One of these days we'll carry guns and protect ourselves." That was more than the cops could take, so they tried to arrest George. He was rushed to safety by the other SDS people. The next day, while George was sitting in the student union, six police officers came in and told him he was under arrest for using abusive language. He went limp and in the hassle that followed he and two other people were arrested. An injunction was filed against the three (all non-students). It prohibited their entering the University campus, on the grounds that their activities

against American foreign policy were not in the best interests of the university. That was George's last arrest.

On the night before George was shot, he was the main speaker at a meeting of the DuBois clubs. His speech concerned the rising tide of political violence in Texas.

No one knows for sure what happened last Sunday morning. Supposedly, two men walked into the drive-in grocery where he was working, began to gather up groceries, and then took George into the cold storage locker and shot him three times in the back with a .38. It appears that \$300 was taken from the safe and that there was another armed robbery somewhere in the city earlier in the morning. It is absolutely certain, knowing George, that he would never have defended petty bourgeois property from robbers.

Was it a political murder? At this point it is impossible to tell. The obvious way to cover a political murder would be with robbery. The Klan and the Minutemen are very present in Austin, Texas is a violent state, and in many ways the tolerance level is very low when it comes to SDS, DuBois, and the new left in general. If it was political, we must look at the press and power structure as the main assassins. It is they who constantly call us subversive and play the communists up as inhuman conspirators leading the country into dictatorship. It is they who build a society which is intolerant of political dissent and which makes killing a "commie" a moral thing to do. The society is built on violence, both overt and subtle, and it breeds violence internally as well as abroad. We must remember that the enemy is not only the man who pulled the trigger but also the society which makes murder a valid way of stopping political dissent.

Because of George and his wife Marianne's political activities, they were forced to live on whatever George could earn at minimal wages. If any of you can help, please write to Marianne Vizard, c/o Tom Mantle, 1604 Sabine, Austin, Texas.



"A WOMAN'S WORK IS NEVER DONE"

SDS LIT. LIST

GENERAL SDS ITEMS

- () SDS Constitution (free)
- () Port Huron Statement (50¢)
- () Excerpts for Port Huron Statement (10¢)
- () SDS Resolution on SNCC (free)
- () Movement Fund-Raising Guide (5¢)
- () Trapped in a System/Carl Oglesby (10¢)
- () Democracy is Nothing if it is Not dangerous/Carl Oglesby (free)
- () The New Radicals and Participatory Democracy/Stoughton Lynd (10¢)
- () Alienation and Participation/Martin Oppenheimer (10¢)
- () December Conference (1965), Assorted Working Papers (20¢)

STUDENT ISSUES

- () Toward a Student Syndicalist Movement/Carl Davidson (15¢)
- () The Multiversity: Crucible of the New Working Class/Carl Davidson (15¢)
- () New Voices on Campus (10¢)
- () High School Reform: Toward a Student Movement/Mark Kleiman (10¢)
- () Student Social Action/Tom Hayden (10¢)

DOMESTIC ISSUES

- () The Bruns Strike - A Case of Student Participation in Labor/Clark Kissinger (10¢)
- () Eastern Kentucky in Perspective/Mike Zweig (10¢)
- () Proposals for an Economic Redevelopment Program in Eastern Kentucky/Robert Heifitz (10¢)
- () Of, By, and for the Poor: The New Generation of Student Organizers/Andrew Kopkind (10¢)
- () Notes on the Welfare State/Bob Ross (10¢)
- () The Care and Feeding of Power Structures/Jack Minnis (10¢)
- () Power in America: Study Guide/Jim Jacobs (15¢)
- () Notes on the Need for a Socialist Party/James Weinstein (10¢)
- () Tenant Housing Manual (\$1.00)

THE DRAFT

- () Guide to Conscientious Objection/Paul Lauter (10¢)
- () SDS Draft Resistance (free)
- () Position on Selective Service/UC-SDS (5¢)
- () Draft Resistance Pamphlet (50¢)

FOREIGN POLICY

- () Vietnam and the Unions/ice Webb (10¢)
- () Viet Reports: 1-4, 2-1, 2-4-5 (10¢ each)
- () A Green Beret Blasts the War/Donald Duncan (25¢)
- () The US in Vietnam/G.McT. Kihn & J.W. Lewis (10¢)
- () LIBERATION, "North Vietnam Eyewitness Report"/Dave Dellinger (75¢)
- () Counter-Insurgency and the New Foreign Relation/Roger Hagen (10¢)
- () AFRICA TODAY: South African Crisis and U.S. Policy (1.00)
- () The University, Continental Bank, and Apartheid (5¢)
- () Anti-Interventionism and Anti-Imperialism/Gitlin-Waskow correspondence (10¢)
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- () Commit LBJ, Not the USA
- () Do you want your kids in these boxes?
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- () Stokely Carmichael: HELL NO, WE WON'T GO! (45¢)
- () Malcolm X: HE WAS READY. ARE YOU? (45¢)
- () Muhammed Ali: OUR FIGHT IS HERE. (30¢)

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- () RESIST (15¢)
- () Student Power, Organize (25¢)
- () Not with MY life you don't (25¢)

Our policy is to fill orders only when payment is received in advance. Experience has shown that otherwise we rarely get paid at all.
Bulk discount: 20% on orders of 50 to 100.
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Chapter discount: 50%
Please enclose money for postage.)

PRAXIS

Despite all the arguments about the theoretical perspective of Praxis, SDS's nascent political and theoretical supplement to NLN, we are still very interested in publishing articles of all sorts from the membership and friends. Many of the term papers people wrote during June would probably be valuable for other chapter people to see, and Praxis can serve as that vehicle. If you wish to submit material, term papers or not, please send them to: Praxis, SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612.

HOW MANY RADIOS DO YOU OWN?

In between the many decisions of cataclysmic historical importance made in the national office there is some time devoted to rather tedious work such as folding pamphlets, collating pamphlets, stapling pamphlets, addressing New Left Notes, tying New Left Notes, filing publications and correspondence, doing changes of address and entering new subscriptions, cleaning up, filling literature orders, and other odd and sundry chores. For those in between times, it would help morale if we could have the noise of our generations' music. If you have more radios than you can listen to at one time, why not pack one up and send it off to us? We wouldn't ask except, you see, we have no money to buy one.

FTA

ANATOMY OF A FRAME-UP

JULY 24, 1967 NEW LEFT NOTES 7

Louise Crowley
Seattle, Wash.

Floyd Wayne Turner is the perfect patsy: an inarticulate, individualistic young militant in any number of impolitic causes, with little education, a low income, and no protective organizational ties. In addition, Floyd has an emotional affinity to the Canadian Doukhobors, which impels him suddenly to disrobe on occasions of ultimate protest—thereby embarrassing his allies fully as much as he disconcerts his enemies. Between Floyd and cops there is undisguised hostility on both sides, but the cops alone have power to implement it; and they arrest him on any pretext or none, for jaywalking, loitering, or just plain "suspicion." The judge before whom he normally appears has become accustomed to the situation. "Two days, suspended," he says almost automatically when Floyd walks into Police Court.

This spring, Floyd drew a different judge.

Just as Floyd Turner's chief interest in life is disrupting the status quo, Judge Evans D. Manolides' mission is to uphold it in all its aspects. One upholds Law and Order, of course, by upholding the police. If the police arrest a man, that man must be guilty.

This spring, Judge Manolides drew Floyd Turner, who wasn't guilty and had witnesses to prove it. Nevertheless, the Judge rose to the occasion. Though another man confessed before him to the "crime" of which Floyd was accused, zealot Manolides sentenced zealot Turner to six months in the King County Jail.

The afternoon of May 12, peace demonstrators had confronted Washington Governor Dan Evans' review of the University of Washington ROTC in Seattle. Most were U. of W. students. One demonstrator was arrested for characterizing the Vietnam war with appropriate obscenity, and two were assaulted by pro-war students. That evening, still smarting from these indignities, a number of them formed a recognizable clique at a party unconnected with the afternoon's demonstration. One carried a small American flag, waving it about and urging that it be burned in protest. Few of the people present paid much attention to him. The mood in general was festive and easy-going; everyone was in accord with the students' indignations and an impromptu collection quickly raised the arrested demonstrator's bail, but the flag-waver was ignored for most of the evening. I was at the party, and so was Floyd.

About 10:00 o'clock, when those of us who paid any attention to it were tired both of the flag and of the young student's insistence, Stan Iverson finally told the boy to quit talking about burning his flag, and led him out the door to get the burning over with. No one opposed the idea; only a few followed them out of doors in mild interest, and Floyd was not among them. Most people there were not even aware of the incident. No one thought of the act as a "desecration," and only the flag-waver thought of it as a protest; burning is the Flag Code's approved way to get rid of an unwanted flag, after all. A little later, the boy who had carried the flag returned with the burned stick, ignored as before, and the flag-burning was soon dismissed from mind. To realistic Stan, a piece of cloth is a piece of cloth.

The party went on, pleasant but noisy, for the sound of electric guitars had attracted a crowd of neighborhood youngsters and the old house was filled far beyond the sponsors' expectations. The landlord of an apartment house across the street called police to complain of the noise. It got even noisier: an old piano was brought up to the front lawn, and with Floyd counting the beats, enthusiastic kids smashed it to pulpwood. About 11:30 I walked home, happily relaxed in the warm spring night and without a thought for the burned flag. Police investigated the neighboring landlord's complaint shortly before twelve, but found the party breaking up by then. No charges were filed.

Some ten days later, Charles Carroll, King County Prosecutor, charge Turner with "desecration of the flag," a gross misdemeanor under Washington state law (and thus, a federal offense). Radio newscasts announced Floyd's arrest before it happened, stating that it grew out of the incident at the May 12th party. Bail was \$1,000. Floyd heard this on the transistor radio he carries with him everywhere, and came to us, his friends, for clarification; he did not understand why he had been charged, since he had left the party to help fetch the piano before the flag was burned and had not returned until Police arrested him, with quite necessary bluster, at our house while we were engaged in efforts to get his bail reduced. His trial was set for June 2nd.

By then, Stanley Stapp, publisher of a community weekly in Seattle's North End, and Mrs. Stapp had seen Turner's picture in a newspaper article about the arrest. They had witnessed the incident; realizing that the wrong man had been arrested, they volunteered their testimony to the defense. At the trial they and another eyewitness, Walter Charnley, testified that Floyd Turner was not among the group participating in the burning. All three described the youth who earlier had waved the flag about as being the one who held it for burning—the specific act of which Floyd was accused. He is, as all three testified, stocky and dark, of Asian descent; Floyd is slight and blond. Richard Beyer, with whom Floyd had gone to fetch the piano, told the approximate times of their departure and return; clearly, they were away from the party throughout the burning, the time of which was fixed by other witnesses. Stan appeared, to add what should have been the clincher: he testified that he himself had ignited the flag, and that Floyd was not present either as a participant or as a spectator in the small group surrounding him.

The prosecution's sole witness to the flag-burning was Louis Scott, the neighbor who had called police on the night of the party. He testified—without seeming to observe that spectators found this behavior puzzling—that he had watched the party through binoculars from the time the first people arrived to prepare for it, at about 5:30 p.m. He said that Turner, whom he identified from a photo shown him by police after the party, was moving nervously through groups of people outside the house, carrying the flag, for most of the evening; and that after the piano had been demolished and shortly before the party broke up, Turner had held the flag while another man (whom he could not identify even with Iverson present in the courtroom) set it alight. His testimony was in direct contradiction to that of all other witnesses (and to my own knowledge) that the flag was burned at least an hour before the piano was broken up. No other witness—and none of the people we have questioned since—had seen Floyd holding the flag at any time, though all were in and about the house where the party was held. Scott said that the flag was ignited with a cigarette lighter; Iverson, that he had used matches. At one point, Scott stated that he could see a raised emblem on the light; at another point, that the night was so dark at the time of the burning he could scarcely distinguish light clothing from dark. Questioned about the inconsistencies and contradictions, Scott took refuge in religious witness: the judge would have to believe him, because he was a God-fearing man. The judge did.

Other prosecution witnesses were police officers who testified that at another demonstration a week later they had heard Floyd brag of having burned a flag and announce his intention to burn another. This they construed as a "confession," though Floyd's habit of exaggerating his activities is well known to police and was explained to the court. A newscameraman present on that occasion corroborated the policemen's testimony.

The prosecutor was nonpulsed by Stan's voluntary avowal of the flag-burning, and Judge Manolides stepped into the breach. He questioned Stan extensively about his

reasons for burning the flag, and the philosophy that motivated them. Stan explained that he was an anarchist, and regarded all governments as tyrannical, and national flags therefore as symbolic of tyranny. In addition, he felt that the flag of the United States was at the moment a symbol also of militarism and the oppression of weaker nations; but in any case a symbol only, not to be confused with the real thing—his act was simply a negation of flag-fetishism. Asked how he, as an anarchist, felt about obedience to law, he replied that those laws which did not conflict with the dictates of his conscience he obeyed without question, because the behavior enjoined by them was that enjoined by his own morality. On occasions, he said, obedience or non-obedience became a matter of expediency—for example, sometimes deliberate disobedience was the only way to force the test of a law's constitutionality. On other occasions, a law might be in irreconcilable conflict with his moral principles, in which case he would be bound in conscience to disobey it. When Judge Manolides asked specifically about the flag-desecration law, he answered that at the time he burned the flag he was not aware that burning constituted desecration, and still doubtful; but that in any case the law was of dubious constitutionality. The judge then asked whether he felt bound to obey perjury laws. Stan explained that though he questioned the efficacy of putting people in jail for lying, he considered it highly immoral to bear false witness or to be untruthful in any matter of substance.

No transcript is kept of Justice Court trials in King County, so the exact words of Judge Manolides' summation are tragically lost. In essence, it was as follows: All defense testimony other than Iverson's is irrelevant. The person described by defense witnesses as having held the flag is not present in this courtroom, hence cannot be presumed to exist. (Malthusians take note: the population problem has just been conjured away.) Iverson's testimony is utterly worthless: the man is an admitted anarchist, with no respect for law by definition; therefore he cannot be expected to co-operate with legal procedures, nor feel bound by the law against perjury. Disapproving of the flag-desecration statute, he would go to any lengths, including false confession, to obstruct efforts to gain a conviction under it. Nothing he says can be believed. Mr. Scott, on the other hand, is a devout, respectable man, deeply troubled by the sacrilegious act he witnessed at close range, in ample light with fine binoculars. His truthfulness is attested by his religiosity; defense witnesses, most of whom took secular oaths, did not so establish theirs. The defendant himself confessed, in the presence of police officers, whose veracity is unquestionable. There is far too much flag-burning going on in this country. Freedom is not the right to do as one wills, but the freedom to do what is right. There are two reasons, and two reasons only, for sentencing wrongdoers: wrongdoing must be punished, and potential wrongdoing must be deterred by the example of stern punishment. Floyd Turner will burn no more flags for six months. Let others contemplating such acts observe that they will be punished by the maximum sentence allowable.

While a bewildered Floyd was asking his attorney why the police didn't turn him loose and arrest Stan, Manolides added a \$500 fine to his jail sentence and set the appeal bond at \$3,000. Iverson was not charged, either with flag-desecration or with perjury.

Notice of appeal was filed immediately. When the Superior Court received jurisdiction, Floyd's attorney, Ed Wood of the Legal Services Center, asked for reduction of bail. In denial, Superior Court Judge Mifflin cited the adverse publicity he feared would accrue, should he reduce bail in a case of such emotion-charged nature—thereby admitting an intimidation that clearly violates judicial ethics. In that, Evans Manolides set him ample precedent. Apparently James Mifflin intends to follow it.

Floyd therefore remains in King County Jail, for whether or not a person is guilty of any other crime, that of Being Without Money is heinous enough to warrant incarceration. Last week, one of the judges held a note to the window of Floyd's tank, to inform his patriotic fellow-prisoners that Floyd Turner is a flag-burning, god-loving, Jew-communist peacerat, and Floyd was beaten twice before guards removed him from the bullpen and placed him in a one-man cell for his belated protection.

Because Floyd's plea of innocence did not raise issues within its scope, the American Civil Liberties Union was unable to enter the case until after his flagrantly unjust conviction. It has associated itself with the appeal, and ACLU attorneys are working with Ed Wood, continuing efforts to get bail reduced or, failing that, to secure speedy retrial. In the normal course of events, the appeal can probably not be heard until the fall session of Superior Court. Floyd may well serve the whole of a jail sentence from which retrial will absolve him—too late.

Floyd is my friend, and he's a kid who has troubles enough without a jail term, so it hasn't been easy to write with relative objectivity about what's happening to him. That had to be done, though, as a sort of fact-sheet on his case. The question that remains is: Why? Why was it Floyd who got framed, when by any familiar standards, the more effective revolutionary (for whom no frame would have been necessary: he did burn the flag) would be the one to put behind bars? True, Floyd is more vulnerable than Stan, precisely because he has been ineffective and hence without much support; and true, cops hate him. Those are reasons enough for his being arrested, but not for the bullheaded insistence on convicting him despite all credible testimony, on a charge certain to elicit every bit of the support he does have. Nor for the Superior Court's refusal to lower a bond designed solely to assure his remaining in jail while appeal is pending. Knowing Floyd, it's hard to believe he could be dangerous enough to deserve such concern. Stan, it seems without question, could be; yet Stan was allowed to walk away from the courtroom in which he had just confessed under oath to the same "crime." Perhaps it is just because Stan is an articulate, self-assured, conscious revolutionary capable of defying the act (even when he did it casually and without full intent) that he has not been charged; Stan uses a courtroom in the classic Haymarket tradition, as Manolides observed and as others may remember from earlier encounters.

I'm not immune from the common tendency to fear what I do not understand, though, and my spine prickles at the tenacity with which the State holds onto Floyd Turner. I suspect it knows what it's doing, that the chaotic, disoriented, unpredictable militancy I'd already taken to describing locally by the adjective "floydian" is precisely what it's most intent on curbing. If so, that's what it estimates as its greatest threat. It should know. Let's take its estimate as a working hypothesis, and try it out in the lab.

WANTED: A CAR

The national office's one car, a chevy station wagon, has just about bitten the dust. The manifold now empties its death-dealing fumes directly into the front seat, the transmission is wobbling about, the universal joint whines hideously above five miles an hour. The car is essential for the operation of this office, particularly for getting New Left Notes to the mail.

If you have a used car, old but sturdy, and are willing to donate it to the national office, let us know and we'll send someone to claim it. A station wagon would be preferable, but any car that is fairly dependable will help.

If doing your thing for the movement right now is giving us a car, then please do your thing, because that's where it's at.

Newark

(continued from p. 1)

TWO RIOTS

The reason for this is that essentially there were two riots in Newark. One started by black people and one started by the state police. The first riot was over in two days. It took very few lives, but a hell of a lot of property. It was over, I would say, by Thursday night or at the latest Friday night. The second riot was pure retribution on the part of the national guard and the state police. For instance, the first three days not a black store was touched. It can be documented that systematically starting on Friday night and primarily on Saturday and Sunday night, the state police went to each black store and smashed in its windows. The second thing is that some national guardsmen told me that if they were not relieved yesterday they would have gone on strike. That they came to put down a riot and that the riot was over two days ago. The state police were accosting people, pulling them out of cars and hitting them over the head. A sniper would shoot off a roof. They would shoot one or two shots at the sniper and he would run away. They would then empty 300 rounds into the entire apartment building, shooting from the first to the fifth or sixth floors. Many of the deaths that took place were people who were shot in their homes either looking out their window or sitting in their living room hiding. A woman with ten children who was killed, shot by state police and national guard had twenty bullets in her home. She was killed and the kids found twenty slugs around the house. Now it was quite obvious that there was no sniper in her house. The policy of the national guard was to use the snipers, of which there were very few by Friday or Saturday, to use them as an excuse to generally put down what they understood to be a very popular rebellion and as a result they felt that anybody in the neighborhood was fair game. A kid was killed running with his back to a policeman, with a case of beer in his hands. A man was accosted in a car. They found a

penknife, and asked him what he was doing with a penknife. He said he just carried it and two state policemen took the penknife and cut him up with it. He was taken to the hospital. This was told to me by a national guardsman.

Q. OK Eric, is there anything else that you want to say, that you think is important for people to understand about the nature of the riot?

A. Yeah, I would just say this: that in order to understand the riot you have to assume that poor black people respond emotionally pretty much the way we do, if not exactly the same. Therefore the difference between us and them is not that they have different racial or emotional characteristics, but that they have different situations. And if we are shocked at what they are doing then all that that indicates is the fantastic gulf between us and them in terms of where they're at in their lives and where we're at in ours. And instead of just assuming that our shock is based on a different set of moral standards maybe we should think about the fact that, well I don't know how to say it. I don't dig riots. I am not one of those people who went around rooting for them to happen. I am not a particularly violent person. But after seeing the riots I can only say that they were in some ways, in a very peculiar way, beautiful. And that's not at all because I like to see anybody shot up. I never thought that a riot could be beautiful until I saw what happened to the people in my neighborhood. I saw that they thought that the riot was beautiful because of what it did to them. It gave them a new sense of pride, self-worth. A sense of having the power to affect their lives.

Finally I want to say that you can talk about rats and roaches and not really understand. Only when you can picture what it would take to make you fire a gun, what it would take to make you break into a window. I think that this is a healthy way to think of it rather than to figure that those people just don't operate like us.

The Plot...

(continued from p. 3)

can be arrested on the merest hint that they represent a threat to white power.

The manner in which these brothers and sisters were arrested illustrates that Black people still have no rights that the white man must respect. The arrests occurred early in the morning. The homes of some of those arrested were torn apart. This was particularly true in the case of Merle Stewart and Herman Ferguson. Others were not allowed to contact legal counsel until several hours after the arrest. Further, it is obvious that a frame-up is in process by the District Attorney's allegation that 275 packs of heroin were found in Brother Ferguson's home! This is the most blatant of charges. Nothing in Mr. Ferguson's life points toward a facility for the disposal of narcotics. Anyone who has any knowledge of the drug traffic in New York knows that it is not controlled by Black people. And 275 packs of heroin is enough to keep a lot of dope in circulation; that is a lot of money on the narcotics market. This is a classic plant on the part of the District Attorney or someone in his office. It is based on the contention that if the charge of conspiracy to commit murder and anarchy does not hold up, the dope charge will. If that happens then the District Attorney and those behind him will have succeeded in destroying Brother Ferguson once and for all.

The bails in this case were extraordinarily high. Max Stanford, in Philadelphia, was held on \$100,000 bail! They must want him pretty bad. Ferguson's bail was originally set at \$40,000, as was young Arthur Harris! Many of the people are still in jail awaiting bail money from friends and other resources. It is imperative that the black community give the seventeen people arrested financial and spiritual support. Many of them have families. A committee has been set up to work with the families toward raising the necessary legal and living expenses. Money and letters of support can be sent to Black Defense Committee Inc., P.O. Box 62, New Lots Station, Brooklyn, New York 11207.

New Mexico

(continued from p. 5)

to blow over. He made a little speech before our trial about our "divided city" and said he'd never seen such a long-lived controversy over something like this (which reveals pretty clearly how much work needs to be done here to build any kind of movement for change). As woefully moved as we were by the judge's offended sense of civic unity, we are appealing. The New Mexico CLU has been looking for a long time for a test case like ours with which to challenge the vague laws of New Mexico, and we're it. Our chances in this line don't look too bad — similar cases are now pending in Colorado and Texas.

In addition to the opportunity to challenge this state's medieval vagrancy statutes, we have scored several modest successes. We have radicalized several students within the liberally-oriented SAW group, as well as establishing contact with hitherto isolated groups and individuals in Albuquerque working for social change, both radical and good-liberal. We have secured some rather timid support from the campus religious community, and have been contacted by a small number of straight high school students who witnessed our repression, and have been troubled by what they saw. And, of course, our thing has helped to polarize opinion in the area, which tends to make things a bit less awkward.

Where do we go from here? This summer, most of us who are left are working on underground press and the Vietnam Summer project. We hope to tie our draft work in with it. This September, we hope to reestablish contacts and set up seminars and soul sessions. It's our double goal to try to "organize organizers" in the high schools, and to make a beginning toward community organizing with an informational program. Advice, criticism, and suggestions are all welcome. Send all correspondence to: UNM SDS, c/o the New Mexico Union, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106.

nac minutes

NAC Minutes July 13, 1967

MEMBERS PRESENT: John Rossen, Mike Speigel, Jean Tepperman, Jeff Segal, Earl Silbar, Steve Halliwell

Todd Gitlin declined a NAC post, and Tim McCarthy, first alternate, was put on the NAC in his place. Peter Henig had declined and was replaced by Marilyn Buck, since Mike Knichenko has left the no. Total staff on the NAC remains at three.

Headliner: In order to expedite composition and layout of New Left Notes and other printing jobs, it is essential that a headliner be purchased to replace the laborious presstype method now used. Since we will need a great variety of print sizes and styles, the best deal seems to be a strip printer which can be purchased with ten fonts (type faces) FOR \$300. The NAC approved of the purchase and John Rossen volunteered financing if the funds cannot be found immediately.

Print Shop: A discussion of the changes in the print shop followed. A pending deal will bring a new press into use by the printers. The press will be owned by WSO and will print both their newspaper and NLN using SDS compositing and layout facilities for both papers. The financial relation and administration of the print shop in its expanded form was discussed at some length and the following decisions were approved by the NAC:

- 1) A non-profit organization be set up, title of the machinery involved to remain in the hands of the present owners.
- 2) The administrative decisions of the print operation would be made by a committee composed of one person each from WSO, SDS, and their print shop.
- 3) A full-time person would be hired to keep the books, expedite orders, etc.— it was suggested that that person be

located in this building.

4) Under the reorganized structure, the print shop would pick up all payments on machinery and service.

5) Paying off the cost of the presses to John Rossen would continue by doing his printing.

Cleaver: Tom Cleaver has requested that he be appointed Colorado Regional Field Secretary for the summer. The question was tabled until more staff had had a chance to read his report. It was decided, however, that any appointment would be subject to the ratification of local chapter members.

National Secretary's Report: Mike Speigel reported that the financial situation was worse than the usual crisis, and that pending debts seriously threaten the organization. According to Jeff Segal, acting financial secy, there is \$2817 in the account, of which approximately \$900 is assigned to the draft resistance account and \$1900 is in the account for the REC center, leaving \$17 for office expenses, food allowances, rent, phone, New Left Notes, printing expenses, and repayment of back debts. Though total indebtedness still remains above \$5000, the most pressing are \$650 to T.W.O., who threatens suit for nonpayment of printing bills and the telephone company who is still owed \$400 on last month's bill.

Speigel requested that people considering coming to work in the national office send in notice in the near future.

A NLN editor must be found; for the next six weeks, Marilyn Buck and Karin Ashely will serve as co-editors.

It was decided that three teacher-organizers would be brought on staff at \$7 a week to work part time. The salary is equivalent to the living expenses paid by the Institute.

NEW LEFT NOTES
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NAC MINUTES: July 20, 1967

Present: Segal, Rossen, Silbar, Tepperman.

Also present: Veneziale and Gottlieb
Absent: McCarthy, Pardun, Halliwell, Davidson, Buck;

Agenda: Request for Chicago contributors list by NCNP; consent to hire new staff; expenses for staff; approval of \$500 for REC house; financial report.

1) A request was made by the NCNP housing committee to use our list of Chicago contributors to get housing for the Labor Day NCNP Convention. This request was denied, and instead we are sending them our NLN mailing list for sending them our NLN mailing list for the usual fee of \$5. The reasons for denial

of their original request were: a) our contributor list is considered confidential, regardless of the purposes for which people may wish to use it. b) it would require an unreasonable amount of work to get a Chicago area list from the alphabetically listed files even if we felt we had a mandate to release the lists.
2) Consent was given to hire Marilyn Focal to run the compositing equipment.
3) It was decided to retain the old list of priorities when we are tight on money, i.e. NLN, expenses for staff, phone bill, etc.
4) An outlay of \$500 toward the purchase of the REC house was approved.
5) See the National Secretary's report for a discussion of the financial situation.