



# PEACE & FREEDOM NEWS

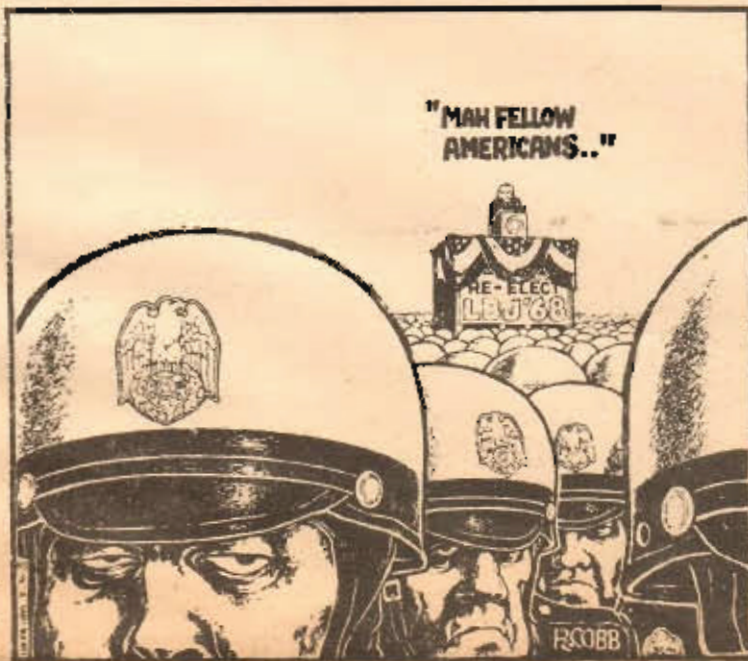
192 MARCH 4, 1968

## FOUNDING CONVENTION SET

### 3000 Expected in Richmond

### Senate Candidates Emerge

### Speak Before San Diego PFP



Reprinted, courtesy Sawyer Press

Three possible contenders for the Peace and Freedom Party nomination for United States Senate emerged from the San Diego County Convention over the weekend of February 24th and 25th.

Paul Jacobs, William Mack, and Hugh Manes each accepted an invitation to speak before the San Diego convention as "someone whom people had been considering as a possible Peace and Freedom Senatorial candidate." Robert Scheer also spoke in San Diego, but has since decided not to run for U.S. Senate.

Of the three, only Mack and Manes were announced candidates, but Jacobs has been widely talked about throughout the state as well. Certainly other candidates may appear by the time of the Richmond convention but Peace and Freedom News thought it would be useful at this time to ask each of the three to submit a short statement based on the presentation that he made in San Diego.

Paul Jacobs, well-known authority on problems of labor and poverty, is the author of "Prel-

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### CONVENTION FACTS:

**WHAT:**  
Peace and Freedom Movement Founding Convention.

**WHERE:**  
Richmond Memorial Auditorium, Civic Center, Richmond, California.

**WHEN:**  
March 16-18, 1968. Convention opens 9 a.m. Saturday, March 16.

**WHO:**  
1000 Delegates and Alternates representing California Peace and Freedom registrants; up to 2000 observers.

**IMPORTANT BUSINESS**  
Endorsement of U.S. Senate Candidate, adoption of policy statement and platform, forming a Peace and Freedom organization.

### PFP DEBATES HUEY NEWTON CASE

### BLACK PANTHERS & PFM

*Ed. Note - In response to many requests, Bob Avakian of Alameda County, who has worked closely with the Panthers, has been asked to explain the history of the Black Panther Party and its relation to the several Bay Area Peace and Freedom organizations.*

An unprecedented coalition has been formed in the Bay Area between the Peace and Freedom Movement and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. This cooperation has been the source of considerable curiosity and even agitation among the constituencies of both groups.

Many white people are asking: how can the Peace and Freedom Movement align itself with people who are anti-white, carry guns, and are intent upon shooting up white people? And many black people are asking the Panthers: how can you trust these "hunkies" after our long and bitter experience of being oppressed and lied to by white people?

These questions reflect a fundamental misunderstanding of both organizations and of the kind of coalition that has been formed between them.

#### NOT RACISTS

The Panthers are not racists: as their Chairman, Bobby Seale, has repeatedly stated: "We refuse to stoop to the low level of Ku Klux Klansmen or other racists to hate a person because of the color of his skin; we hate something all right, but it is this racist oppression we're subjected to: the gross unemployment,

By MIKE ALLEN

The California Peace and Freedom Movement will hold its founding convention on March 16 to 18 in Richmond, California. The convention marks the beginning of a national Peace and Freedom movement which has registered some 105,000 members in California, and which aims to be on the ballot in at least half of the states in the United States in the November general election.

Expected are some 1000 delegates and alternates, and up to 2200 observers. The delegates

are being elected in county and local area groups, each county being allotted one delegate for every 200 registrants in that county.

Important issues and decisions face the convention. A Peace and Freedom candidate for U.S. Senate will be endorsed. To date, four potential candidates are being discussed (see story p. 6).

Basic political issues will be debated, and it is expected that a comprehensive platform and a basic policy statement will emerge. An organizational structure for a "peace and freedom movement," which allows broad-based participation, and which controls the official party structure, will also be decided upon. Another task facing the convention is to decide on the means of selecting a presidential and vice presidential candidate, and how this choice is to be coordinated with the PFP efforts being organized in other states. A unique proposal for ratification of decisions calls for major decisions on platform and structure to be taken back to local groups, voted on, and tallied, before they become binding decisions of the Peace and Freedom Movement.

The shape of the organization will be in the hands of the convention. The interim state organization which is planning the convention will end at the convention.

The founding strength of the PF movement in California is certain to be a big factor in

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BLACK PANTHER Chairman Bobby Seale addressing Free Huey demonstrators at Alameda County courthouse.

-PHOTO BY CRAWFORD

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NEWS

## Los Angeles Proposal

# 18 YEAR OLD VOTE

by Lewis McCammon

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Peace and Freedom News is a single issue pre-convention publication.

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Many PFM members in L.A. County have given thought to the question: what can we do between the March convention and the June primary that will concretely strengthen and further organize the party as well as be a positive step toward our goals of peace and freedom?

To many the answer seemed: undertake a statewide initiative drive to get the 18-year-old vote on the November ballot. The advantages were obvious: draft age men are far more in favor of ending Vietnam-type wars and more militant in their demands for freedom at home than those several decades their seniors.

Some were initially discouraged by the requirement of obtaining 530,000 valid signatures by June 7. Despite the magnitude of the task, however, people wanted to do it. At the February 18 L.A. County Council meeting, a tally of the votes of individual club members revealed that members were overwhelmingly in favor of undertaking the drive on a state-wide basis. The vote was: 955, yes; 59, no.

Where such a will existed, members soon set to finding a way to organize a successful

drive. Consideration is now being given to a plan for blowing the nation's mind by getting 1,000,000 signatures in one day (probably on May 4 or so) with 20,000 precinct workers getting 50 signatures each. Six or seven hard weeks would be spent organizing our registrants for the effort. Tables on and off campuses would collect some signatures before the big push, but would function mainly to publicize the drive and recruit additional workers. During the massive days of protest on April 26-27, many more people could be recruited to work on the drive under PFM leadership.

As regards political emphasis, we must use the war-related aspect forcefully rather than try to sweep it under the rug. It may be better not to use the old paternalistic appeal of "Don't you think we ought to give them the vote since they are subject to the draft?" but rather to attack aggressively the heart of the issue by asking hawks, "Are you afraid to give draft age people the vote because of how they would vote?"

The precinct-basis orientation of the drive (because the election code states that we must supply

the precinct number in which each signer is registered) and the involvement of many heretofore inactive registrants would make PFM the most strongly organized grass-roots political group in the state. The whole nation could see that we were a power with which to be reckoned and that we obviously intended to be permanent since we were putting so much effort into a

measure that would increase our voting strength two years hence.

L.A. wants to know how much PFM support a statewide 18-year-old vote initiative drive has in the rest of the state and has called for a referendum of club members in other counties on whether or not to undertake it. If you like the idea, speak out and start thinking about how to implement it.

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## BLACK PANTHERS & PFM...

to attend meetings to discuss actual implementation. When asked about the reasons for this, people repeatedly gave one answer: fear of the police. Black people knew that identification with such a group would single them out for even more severe police intimidation and terror than that to which they were normally subjected.

### PANTHERS FORMED

It was at this point, in October, 1966, that Bobby and Huey decid-

ed to take action on point seven of the Panther program: self-defense against police violence. They borrowed enough money to buy an old car and a couple of guns, and they initiated armed patrols of the police.

They would drive through the ghetto at night, and if they saw a policeman stop a black man or woman, they would get out of their car and stand a few feet away as the law provides. If the policeman did not overstep his authority, they would not interfere — although they would follow him to the police station to make sure there was no brutality and they would bail the suspect out and explain to him about the Panthers and the purpose of the armed patrols. If the policeman got out of line — like abusing a black teenager, searching him illegally, or calling him "nigger" — they would inform him that he was acting illegally, and that the black community was fed up with this kind of intimidation and would not stand for it any longer. They would then tell the suspect who they were and inform him of his rights.

The armed patrols won the Panthers a number of immediate recruits from the ghetto, and they succeeded in partially neutralizing police terror against black people. But the Panthers themselves were repeatedly subjected to police harassment — often in their own homes. Huey Newton was arrested several times on phony charges. His picture was posted in Bay Area police stations; the make and license number of every car he was known to travel in was distributed to every Oakland policeman.

### HUEY ARRESTED

Then, on October 28, 1967, at 3 a.m. in the Oakland ghetto, Huey was recognized and pulled over by an Oakland policeman who immediately called a second cop for cover. A gunfight apparently broke out; one policeman was killed, another seriously wounded, and Huey was shot in the stomach. An Alameda County Grand Jury has charged him with murder and assault to commit murder.

Exactly what happened that morning is unclear, although the wounded policeman testified before the Grand Jury that he did not remember seeing a gun in Newton's hand at the time of the shooting. But from all we know about Huey — his political program, his emphasis on self-defense, his knowledge of the law (he was a law student for one year) and about the Oakland police, we can only conclude that, if

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## Second Demonstration Planned

# STOP THE DRAFT WEEK

There will be a second Stop the Draft Week (STDW) in Oakland on April 22-26. The first STDW of October 17-20 involved up to 10,000 people who jammed the streets in an attempt to close the Oakland Induction Center. It ushered in a "new" type of demonstration in which participants attempted to defend themselves from police attack and maintain mobility rather than submitting to arrest.

Whether or not Peace and Freedom groups decide to support such actions as STDW, it is important to know the political and tactical plans for the demonstration. STDW opposes the draft in any form for the Vietnam war or similar wars for the expansion of the U.S. empire. Through STDW, young men who are now facing the draft in isolation will begin to realize that there are large numbers of people willing to support them, even to the point of risking arrest or police attack.

While there is general agreement on the political goals of STDW, the tactics are not yet established. No one knows just how to deal with the police violence that will surely result from another massive demonstration. Recently during demonstrations in which there was no intention to break the law, S.F. police broke up into small groups and chased, clubbed, and gassed demonstrators many blocks from the original demonstration. They have run motorcycles on the sidewalk to attack demonstrators and have even fired pistols.

In response, some people urge a return to tactical non-violence. People should wear protective clothing, but STDW should be publicized as non-violent and should consist of a sit-in or another similar tactic. Others say that non-violent demonstrators

are no guarantee of non-violent police. STDW must devise new tactics to combat police violence.

### PFM & STDW

The Peace and Freedom Movement has not yet decided how it will relate to direct action projects such as the next STDW. But several viewpoints are emerging, and I will attempt briefly to outline them.

Some people maintain that PFM must disassociate itself from demonstrations, especially violent ones such as STDW, because it will alienate potential voters. We want to attract all people disenchanted with the war, some of whom disapprove of demonstrations. Individuals in PFM could participate, but PFM should not lend its name as an organization. The primary purpose of a political party is to participate in the electoral process, not in leading demonstrations.

The other persuasion argues that PFM grew out of the anti-war, anti-draft movements and has never been solely concerned with elections. PFM is a new kind of organization and must experiment in new areas of activity if it is to succeed.

While demonstrations may alienate some people, not supporting them will alienate many students and other young people that we hope to organize. Three years ago, anti-war marches "alienated" people. Today, many of those people consider marches commonplace.

The so-called violence of STDW consisted of people wearing hard hats and other protective clothing to defend themselves from police. Self-defense helps prevent violence by minimizing the physical harm done to demonstrators. PFM, as an organization, should support and where

possible lead direct action and STDW in particular.

The Vietnam War is escalating once again. The federal government has initiated a nation-wide crackdown on leaders of the anti-war movement. We of PFM must

decide what our response is to be. Will we stay within the bounds of electoral activity or will we also participate in other political action? The issue is crucial to the building of a broad-based political movement.



THE LAST STOP THE DRAFT WEEK

— PHOTO BY JEFF BLANKFORT

## STDW Leaders Indicted

Seven leaders of the first Stop the Draft Week (STDW) have been indicted in Alameda County for conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor. The announcement came only shortly after the indictment of Dr. Spock and four other Boston anti-draft leaders made national news.

Oakland D.A. Frank Coakley has made it clear that this move is an attempt to intimidate the anti-war movement. "The indictment procedure in such instances," he stated, "is a new one, a new policy we have adopted, and should serve as a warning and notice to people who would violate the law . . ."

The Oakland seven plan a rigorous political and legal defense.

Their lawyers will challenge the constitutionality of the conspiracy laws, especially as they apply to misdemeanors.

Politically, the defendants assert that the only effective way to combat the growing repression in this country is to continue organizing against the war and the draft. All of the defendants plan to participate in the next STDW, and to encourage others to do the same.

Defense committees are forming across the state. If you are interested in giving political or financial support to the Oakland seven, write to the STDW Defense Committee, 6468 Benvenue, Berkeley.

## PANTHERS...

Huey did shoot a policeman, he did so in self-defense. But we also recognize that this will never be believed by the kind of jury that will sit on Huey's case: the Grand Jury consisted entirely of wealthy white people over the age of fifty. It is impossible for Huey to get a fair trial, because no jury of his peers — young black people from the ghetto — has ever been empaneled in this country.

### PANTHERS & PFM

The Panthers recognized that they needed white support in mounting a political and legal defense for Huey. During the last few weeks of the PFP registration drive (before it was clear that we would qualify) the Panthers approached the Alameda and S.F. County Organizing Committees and offered to help register black people into the PFP, if we would agree to raise the Huey Newton case among our white constituents. At that time the coalition was formed around the demand of a fair trial for Huey Newton. Since then, however, many Alameda and S.F. area groups (and several other counties) have voted to support the demand that Huey Newton be set free. This was done in recognition of the fact that a fair trial is impossible.

Discussions are currently taking place between the Panthers and the PFM on the question of Huey Newton running in the PFP primary in the 7th C.D., which takes in Berkeley and half of Oakland and is 50% black.

### COALITION

The Panthers have not joined the PFM any more than we have joined the Panthers. We have followed the formula of specific coalitions for specific situations. The Panthers are moving to build a mass party of black people — outside the system and its two parties, and the Peace and Freedom Party is a good transitional vehicle for moving black people from the Democratic Party. And, since we recognize the Democratic Party as one of the prime weapons of the power structure, it is also in our interest to see it deprived of one of the main components of its contradictory coalition: the black vote. The coalitions between the Panthers and the PFM in Alameda and S.F. have established a new, healthy kind of relationship between black revolutionaries and white radicals. Each organization maintains its own identity and serves the interests of its own constituency, but where these interests coincide, there is a basis for cooperation on a truly equal basis.

## Senatorial Guidelines Set

AS part of an effort to make Peace and Freedom Movement candidates and spokesmen responsible to the membership, the Interim State Steering Committee has made the following requests of candidates for U.S. Senate:

- (1) That they conduct their campaign for the nomination within the Peace and Freedom Movement rather than through the establishment media, with the aim of securing the endorsement of the state convention.
- (2) That they accept the decision of the convention on pre-primary endorsement, agreeing to support the candidate endorsed by the convention; and that they raise funds for the PFM senatorial campaign, regardless of candidate, rather than for their personal campaigns.
- (3) That they refrain from filing nomination papers until the convention has made its endorsement, or declined to do so.

The aim of these guidelines is to avoid personality-centered organization built around candidates, and to build instead an issue-centered movement in which candidates play a subordinate role.

## PFP Pres. Primary ?

By TOM CONDIT

Although several possible candidates were projected, the Peace and Freedom Party was not built around a declared presidential candidate. Because the California registration drive had to take place much earlier than it does in other states, it is not yet clear what candidates will emerge. Three people who have been talked about are Dick Gregory, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Paul Goodman. Gregory has already declared himself a write-in candidate for President.

California election law, in one of several contradictions, has no provisions to enable a new party to have a presidential primary. In order to get around this, a proposal has been offered to hold massive presidential endorsing meetings simultaneously in north and south, connected by telephone hookup, at which candidates would present themselves.

It is also possible that there will be a national nominating convention, at some point after Peace and Freedom parties qualify for the ballot in other states. The alternatives open to us should become much clearer in the next couple of months.

## The 'Practical' Alternative?

# MC CARTHY

By MIKE PARKER

The consensus is now officially dead. The growing anti-war sentiment has made it now possible, or politic, for all kinds of "respectable" politicians to suggest that they too are against the war, or at least a losing war.

One of the more recent additions to the list of doves is Sen. Eugene McCarthy, who plans to run against Lyndon Johnson in the Democratic Party primaries. In California he is being supported by the CDC Peace Slate. Such a campaign may seem attractive. Many people who have worked actively for peace sincerely believe that support to respectable, establishment liberals with a dove-like stance offers a practical means for ending the war and solving the crises of American society. The Peace and Freedom Movement, it follows, is a nice idealistic gesture

# Peace & Freedom Parties Forming in Other States

The overwhelming registration drive in California has set the stage for a national Peace and Freedom Party.

Getting on the ballot in most other states is expected to be considerably easier than it was in California, where 66,000 registrations into the new party were required.

While this makes a national Peace and Freedom Party a possibility, there is a question of whether these groups will emerge as mass board-based organizations such as the movement in California. This remains to be

seen. But the interest is there.

Several California organizers have made national trips and have assisted out-of-state groups. To date, trips have been made to the Pacific Northwest and the Midwest, and last week a PF organizer left for New York state. Out-of-state correspondence has poured into the state office, asking for information and help in organizing PF groups. Many efforts are only now getting underway, since in most states election laws set a later deadline than does California for qualifying for the ballot.

In New York, a Peace and Freedom registration drive was officially launched two weeks ago. Local clubs are being formed throughout the state. In Washington, where it is easy for a new party to qualify, new groups of primarily younger people are springing up alongside an already existent Peace and Freedom Party. Further south, an organizing drive is underway in Oregon. In addition, Kentucky, Colorado, Virginia, and North Carolina are organizing campaigns.

While at this time there are no specific plans for a national convention, it appears likely that such a convention would take place if the efforts in other states are successful.

## 'Party' vs. 'Movement'

Most Peace and Freedom organizations are now calling themselves P&F Movement rather than P&F Party. The reason is that the structure of a political party, which is rigidly dictated by state laws, is not a structure suitable for a mass organization with democratic decision-making. For example, a political party cannot have a convention of delegates elected by the regis-

trants; the Peace and Freedom Movement can. P&F Movement organization can also involve people who are excluded by law from voting: 18- to 21-year-olds, and convicted felons.

While we must have at least a nominal party structure, as required by state law, we should aim to make it a purely formal in-name-only body that rubber stamps the decisions of the democratically structured PFM.

## 18 Year Olds!

Note: 18-21 year olds

You are eligible to participate and vote in Peace and Freedom Movement groups. This applies to convicted felons, as well.

## PFM ENTERS LOCAL RACES

Two hundred eighty-two PFP members were among the 877 persons who filed declarations of intent to run for the 100 state legislative seats up for election in November. The largest number came from Los Angeles County, where at least 135 PFP members took out papers before the February deadline.

Many declarations were taken out by people as yet undecided about being candidates, but who did so to insure their fellow PFP

members a wide choice in who will represent them. Between now and the final filing deadline on March 22nd, PFM groups across the state will be meeting to plan their campaigns and select candidates for pre-primary endorsement. Candidates for California's 38 congressional seats, who were not required to file the preliminary declarations, will also be under consideration.

### WILL SUPPORT JOHNSON?

McCarthy makes no secret of his opposition to such "irregular movements." He has publicly stated that having lost the nomination to Johnson, he will then support LBJ, and will continue to steer his followers into regular Democratic Party politics.

The war in Vietnam, the racial crisis, and other issues facing America will not be over when McCarthy loses at the Democratic Convention. We will need the peace movement then even more than now. It is not being "practical" to support McCarthy. This is the most impractical action that could be taken, for it undercuts our most important need — fundamentally challenging American foreign policy and the power behind it.

### NEGOTIATIONS VS. WITHDRAWAL

The war in Vietnam is no acci-

ties which is currently reflected in a tendency to withdraw in either frustration or cynicism, to talk of non-participation and to make threats of support for a third party or other irregular political movements."

### ALQUIST BILL

State Senator Alfred Alquist has introduced "fair play" legislation that would remove this obstacle, and would permit any PFP member to run in a PFP primary. The bill has passed in the Senate election and reapportionment committee, and is under consideration in the Senate. Although the bill seems to have a fair to good chance to pass the Senate, passage in the Assembly seems to be much tougher. PF members are encouraged to write their state senators and assemblymen urging a yes vote on the Alquist bill (Senate Bill 241).

If the bill does not pass, it would still be possible to run candidates who do not qualify for the primary ballot by running them as write-ins in the primary. If they then win the primary and receive 1% of the votes, their names would go on the November ballot.

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# McCarthy...

dent. It is a direct result of U.S. foreign policy which supports reactionary regimes all over the world. It is only a matter of time until the population of some other country decides that it no longer will stand for an American puppet regime and will go into revolt against it. If the peace movement succeeds only in ending the war in Vietnam, it will have failed. Unless we can end the foreign policy which has produced Vietnams, we can expect many more.

McCarthy, however, agrees with the basic principles underlying American foreign policy. He just feels that in the particular case of Vietnam, the costs outweigh the benefits to be gained.

This question of the principles behind U.S. foreign policy is precisely the issue which separates the negotiations position of the CDC and the immediate withdrawal position of the PFM. The difference is not, as some believe, simply a matter of degree. The withdrawal position is short-hand for the right of self-determination and, therefore, opposition to U.S. military intervention. The negotiation position recognizes the legitimacy of U.S. intervention — it implies that the U.S. has something to negotiate in Vietnam. It does not challenge the basic assumptions of present U.S. foreign policy; it only disagrees on the tactics for implementing that policy. This is why McCarthy can call for ne-

gotiations in Vietnam and support U.S. military intervention in Thailand at the same time.

## JOHNSON OR MCCARTHY?

In fact, McCarthy sounds almost the same as Johnson: his speech launching his "peace campaign" could just as well have been given by Johnson; "I am not," he explained, "for peace at any price but for an honorable, rational, and political solution to this war; a solution which I believe will enhance our world position, encourage the respect of our allies and potential adversaries, which will permit us to give the necessary attention to our other commitments abroad — both military and nonmilitary."

And at his November 30 press conference he said: "So far as the bombing last January, I did not particularly join in urging bombing not be resumed or that it be stopped at that time because there was no evidence of intent to negotiate..."

## LESSER EVIL

And so it happens year after year. In 1964 millions voted for someone they wrongly believed to be a peace candidate, so much did they fear the more open war candidate. True, there was a difference between Johnson and Goldwater, but the difference was over the implementation of a common foreign policy.

We all have to make choices in life and often we must choose

the lesser evil. But we will always have to choose the lesser evil so long as we refuse to create our own alternative.

Alternatives do not come ready-made. They have to be built. The Peace and Freedom presidential candidate will not win in 1968; neither will McCarthy win the nomination. But the PFM, growing out of the anti-war movement, can be the beginning of building a real second party — one which represents and defends the interests of the black community, workers and others deprived of a decent life by this society. The time is now for the left to stop trying to accommodate its programs to a faltering establishment liberalism, and to put forward its own alternatives.

# Statement on McCarthy

Solidifying the 105,100 Peace and Freedom Party registrants into a permanent, radical political party is more important and meaningful than the gesture of a "peace" campaign for McCarthy or the CDC slate or any other candidate who fails to take the essential step of breaking with the warmakers.

Given the strength of Johnson's control over the Democratic Party structure, a challenge to the war within that structure is doomed to failure and constitutes an attempt to reduce peace voters into meaningless activity.

Neither McCarthy nor the CDC has taken a clear position demanding immediate withdrawal from Vietnam or supporting the Black Liberation Movement and similar movements of oppressed minorities in America. Peace and Freedom has.

Neither McCarthy nor the CDC has given any assurances that they will not take their supporters back into regular Democratic Party activities when their campaigns end in June. Peace and Freedom has.

The polarization of the country on the issues of war and black liberation makes the rapid growth of a mass radical political party both possible and necessary at this time. The creation of such a party and of the neighborhood club system through which it will function requires the mass participation of the people who are registered. Any re-registration into the Democratic Party takes people out of this essential activity to engage in another futile gesture.

(Passed by State Steering Committee)

# PFP DIRECT ACTION

A growing wave of repression against black militants, the anti-war movement, and other dissenters from the Great Society has spurred local PFM groups to action — organizing demonstrations aimed at educating people about what's really happening in this country.

San Francisco PFM held a three-hour rally at the Civic Center February 23, after a po-

lice riot against hippies in the Haight-Ashbury resulted in dozens of arrests and injuries. SF-PFM neighborhood groups have voted to demand that the Alloto regime abolish the police Tactical Squad, create a civilian review board, and drop all charges against demonstrators.

Down south, a police campaign to rid Venice (in LA) of hippies and radicals resulted in over 150

arrests and beatings within 72 hours (February 5, 6 and 7). Venice PFM called an emergency meeting, and about 200 members marched on the Venice Precinct Station, picketing and presenting a list of demands to the police. After the demonstration, members returned to Peace and Freedom House and formed the Venice Survival Committee.

# JACOBS, MACK, AND MANES,

ude to Riot."

William Mack is a teacher and the president of his AFT local in Los Angeles County.

Hugh Manes, a Los Angeles attorney who defended many of the Watts victims, visited North Vietnam and testified before the War Crimes Tribunal.

## Jacobs

Two basic alternatives confront us in choosing a candidate: shall the campaign be oriented around an individual in the traditional electoral sense of attempting to persuade the general public to vote for our candidate or shall it be focused on issues with the understanding that the primary purpose of the campaign is to build the movement's institutions and educate our own constituency?

I opt for the latter choice. I believe we should conduct the campaign, knowing that we will lose and without any illusions concerning the importance of winning, even in the sense of piling up as big a vote as possible to show "them" how sizable a bloc we represent.

We will win very little if we pursue any other course than using the campaign to build the institutions of the Peace and Freedom movement. This means, for example, that the candidate should spend a great part of his time with our clubs, neighborhood groups and area councils. That means using the candidate to create new clubs in areas where none exist now. That means utilizing our slender financial resources more for organizing than for TV commercials.

This policy does not suggest that we neglect building the public

image of the P and F movement; we should take advantage of every opportunity to present our program to the public, but we must not become overwhelmed by the "importance" of such opportunities.

So, too, the immediate issue of the Vietnam War must be seen in the same context. At some point the war will end but the movement must continue because another war like it will break out unless fundamental and radical changes are made in the nature of American society. And such changes cannot take place within either the traditional two-party system or in the traditional pattern of radical politics. Innovations in the basic arrangements of society are required for such changes, not election campaigns built around individuals, no matter how charismatic they may be or how successful in attracting votes.

The issue of attitudes towards the Communists has been raised as a criterion with which to judge the candidates. I think the issue is of no relevance today but, for the record, I would have no objection to the participation of Communists in the campaigns of the Peace and Freedom movement. Indeed, I think we ought to have representation from every segment of the left, including the radical one of which I consider myself a part and a conservative group, such as the Communists are today.

I think also that the presentation of the movement's ideas through an election campaign must be the primary responsibility of a campaign committee committed to using the campaign to organize the movement around the issues. If we do otherwise, we run the danger of ending the

campaign with defeat, a gigantic debt, useless billboards or ads on the front of buses and no institutions of future change.

## Mack

The Peace and Freedom Party is an historically new type of party, differing on the one hand from the Leninist-Stalinist type of party which has dominated the political life of the "Communist" movement for fifty years, and on the other hand from the Democratic-Republican type of party which has dominated the political life of the United States for a hundred years.

The Leninist-Stalinist type of party was, and is, organized from the top, exerting its authority through select committees. The Peace and Freedom Party, emerging from the movements for peace and freedom, is organizing itself from the bottom and proposes not to relinquish its authority to any select committee.

The Democratic-Republican type of party has been run by individuals powerful because they possessed money, military authority, social, professional, or personal prominence. The Peace and Freedom Party proposes to be dominated by no individuals, including its candidates for public office.

A first qualification for a candidate for public office in the new party is a proven commitment to the movement.

For thirty years I have been identified with every significant radical movement in California. I was already a part of the radical student movement in Berkeley in

1939. I helped organize the defense of Festus Coleman in Oakland in 1941. I was for seven years a militant in Local 261, San Francisco construction laborers union, helping organize for black representation in the leadership. I was injured in a picket line at Union Square in San Francisco, demonstrating against the "Welcome Home" to General MacArthur. I was a delegate to the American Peace Mobilization in Washington, D.C., during the Korean War.

After I resigned from the Communist Party in 1957, I entered the public school system as a teacher. My credential was revoked by the State Board in 1960. After seven years of litigation, my credential was restored to me on instruction of the civil courts. That case was an important part of the challenge to the constitutionality of the Levering Act and its infamous oath.

I am now President of Local 1426, American Federation of Teachers, and a member of the state executive council of the CFT.

Since making my decision early in January to be a candidate for the most important public office in the new party, I have consulted with hundreds of Peace and Freedom Party members, been elected a delegate to the Richmond convention, and have addressed the Marin and San Diego County conventions.

I am unequivocally committed to immediate withdrawal from Vietnam without negotiation and the immediate cessation of American aggression throughout the world.

I am unequivocally committed to the immediate liberation of the black people of the United States, as well as the liberation

of all other ethnic minorities.

I am unequivocally committed to liberation of our youth and all the American people from Victorian concepts of education and culture.

I have begun to make these views known in public speeches and on television.

If I win majority support of the new party, I will, as a candidate for United States Senator in the general election, bring the message of the new party to a much wider audience.

## Manes

Last January, the Peace and Freedom Party found itself on the ballot — sans candidates, with little or no organization, and without an ideology or program, save that implicit in the name.

Since then, many thousands who were panicked into Peace and Freedom by Wallace have repatriated to the Democratic Party on the premise that Johnson is the cause of war, repression and poverty, rather than the system which produced him and his technological counterparts: Nixon, McCarthy, Goldwater and Reagan.

It is just as well that they have gone, for they take with them all those establishment hang-ups that have for so long deterred peace and freedom in this country. (Witness the betrayal of the MFP by the ADA types at the 1964 Democratic Convention.) Those of us who remain are thus free to build, shape, and direct a radical movement within an electoral process rigged to exclude it.

# Registration Campaign - Last Days

which is working to protect the Venice community from new police assaults. VSC is holding rallies, printing a newspaper (the Human Eye), gathering and distributing free food, and generally trying to increase communication among residents.

And in Marin County, PFM organized a demonstration at San Quentin in support of prisoners on strike. Speakers and rock groups, including the Grateful Dead, came with hundreds of others, to help the prisoners publicize their demands for fairer parole procedures, better training programs, and more humane treatment from guards.



STATUE of bearded hippie ex-President decorated with signs left by San Francisco PFM demonstrators at Civic Center.

By most reasonable criteria (lack of money, lack of liberal support, and until the last few weeks, almost no registration work among blacks), the PFP should never have made it on the ballot. But by midnight January 2, 105,000 voters had registered as affiliated with the Peace and Freedom Party.

The PFP probably had not gathered the required 66,059 registrations by as late as December 30.

LA's problems early in the registration drive arose because it was, after all, Los Angeles, thousands of square miles of sprawling suburbs without a central city. By mid-December, campaign leaders decided that since there were few places where Peace and Freedom could go to the masses of people, the masses would have to come to PFP. Open-air concert-rallies drew thousands together for entire evenings, in such places as Gen. Douglas MacArthur Park. Up to 1,000 registrations could be secured in this way at each event. And of course, the places in LA where people congregate outside their automobiles (Sunset Strip, Fairfax Ave., Hollywood Blvd.) were systematically blanketed with registrars.

The strategy for the final two weeks in LA was announced at a

registrar's dinner, at which Les Alsenman became so confident of success that he summarily raised LA's quota from 20,000 to 27,000. Fortified with predictions of victory and also with 400 lbs. of spaghetti, about 200 deputy registrars then stormed the better half of West Hollywood in search of sympathetic voters.

By the last weeks of December, regional dispatching centers had been set up in Santa Monica, Hollywood, West LA and Pasadena. Important cultural centers, such as the Free Press Bookstore and Kazoo, were manned 14 to 16 hours daily.

As the campaign down south neared the deadline, the famous Venice Blitz broke all previous daily records, and netted the Party over 1,000 new members in a single day. The final figure for Los Angeles County: 36,788.

If any date could be selected as the turning point of the registration drive in the North, it probably would be December 18. Several factors contributed to changing the pace of the campaign around that time. Hundreds of college students had been recruited to work in a "Christmas Blitz" beginning December 18.

Berkeley registrations jumped to 500 to 600 per day on December 23 and 24, but then fell off on December 25 (Christmas) and

26. After Christmas, the active Berkeley registrar force of about 200 resumed the campaign with full force. Registrations on December 27 and 28 topped 800, and on December 29 more than 1,000 PFP registrations were reported to the office. It was about this time that many workers started to think that we really had a chance to get the 67,000 registrations. Plans were made for a final drive on December 30 and 31; a slump was anticipated on January 1 and 2, like the slump on December 25 and 26. Registrars were dispatched to the co-ops and other shopping centers in Berkeley beginning at 10 a.m. and were kept on duty until 9 or 10 p.m. Nightclubs and theaters were covered after 9 p.m. Telegraph Avenue was saturated, and the Peace and Freedom Bus was mobilized for rallies and mobile sound. Over 1,200 registrations were turned in on December 30.

Meanwhile, San Francisco called a registrars meeting at a Haight-Ashbury restaurant, and about 200 workers showed up and were told about the strategy for the final five days. Theaters, shopping centers, movies, etc. which had been covered in the last week would continue to be covered by registrars. A final fifty-hour marathon in a church and the San Francisco PFP's cavernous office was be-

gun, with continuous hard-rock music, beer and chaos. San Francisco predicted 20,000 registrations by January 2.

The last day of the registration drive was chaotic in Berkeley and San Francisco. Twenty-three thousand leaflets announcing the "Final Hours" of the campaign were distributed on campuses in Alameda and San Francisco counties. About 1,000 people registered on the Berkeley campus. The office on Grove Street was jammed with people from about 2 p.m. until past midnight. Over 400 people came to the office to register. Reports came in about firehouses crowded with people seeking to register to vote. By midnight (the official deadline) nearly 3,500 PFP registrations had been reported to the Berkeley office for Alameda County. By 2 a.m. a statewide telephone survey of other offices phoned the results: 87,500 Californians had registered Peace and Freedom by the deadline, by unofficial count. On January 4, the Los Angeles Times made it certain for any remaining doubters. In a front page story, the Times reported, "On a late tide of holiday registrations, the Peace and Freedom Party will qualify for the 1968 California ballot, an unofficial check of voting registrars in 17 of the state's largest counties showed Wednesday."

## ISSUE STATEMENTS

Some may ask, Why bother? Because most of us are instinctively humanist, and therefore, deeply concerned for the welfare of our fellow man; because most of us are activists, dedicated to the liberation and dignity of humanity; because we recognize that ours is a system which depends for its survival on war, repression and poverty; because we sense that, as Americans, most of us are the beneficiaries of that system - regardless of how passive or unwilling our role therein, and because thereby we are, and will remain oppressors for as long as we tolerate the suffering which that system causes; because most of us understand that to effect radical fundamental changes of that system requires first, an understanding of how and why it functions as it does, and second, an ideology which promises meaningful alternatives (as distinguished from reforms), which inspires optimism, esprit and confidence in a future, which ensures a logical, consistent and dynamic program, and which provides a basis for developing coherent action relevant to the needs of oppressed people and the events affecting them.

It is axiomatic that experiences and events, rather than ideology, radicalize people. Yet, ideology gives direction to people, to action, and hence, to change. Within the context of "participatory democracy," the "Free Huey Newton" campaign exemplifies that process, for through it, we begin to grasp the dimensions of injustice in American society, and hence, in its courtrooms; we begin to see the callous indifference, the pompous and misplaced "objec-

tivity," the banality and sophistry rooted in traditional concepts of "fair trial" as applied to a black man charged with killing a white cop.

The fact is, Peace and Freedom Party has an ideology, if only we heed the implications of its name. Most of us were drawn into the Party as a gut reaction to U.S. aggression in Vietnam and racism at home. But peace in Vietnam does not and cannot mean an enduring meaningful peace as long as it remains the public policy of this country to "strengthen friendly foreign countries (defined as non-Communist countries) by encouraging the development of their free economic institutions and productive capabilities and by minimizing or eliminating barriers to the flow of private investment capital." (Title 22, United States Code Annotated, s. 2151).

Private capital is invested for private profit. Private profit demands stabilization of, and hence, private control over human and material resources, money supply and prices (See: Galbraith, "The New Industrial State"). Such control is facilitated with the cooperation of friendly governments, which are either purchased (e.g. South Vietnam, Brazil, Venezuela) or instituted by force of (our) arms (e.g. Dominican Republic, Guatemala). The response of the power structure to street protest in the ghetto, at Century City and in Hue teaches us the universality and source of oppression.

Peace and Freedom will come, therefore, only by emancipating our minds from the myths and shibboleths of "free enterprise," toward the end that capital may be made to serve human

need rather than human greed.

To this end, do I pledge my candidacy for United States Senate.

**Attend  
the  
Convention !**

## State Office Opens

A state office was opened February 10 in Alameda County, responsible for convention planning and statewide coordination. Address inquiries to:  
PF State Office  
2860 Telegraph  
Berkeley, Calif. 94705  
415/841-8484, 841-8480

Office staff:  
Tom Condit, Coordinator  
Dorothy DeCoster, Secretary  
Andy Truskier, Funds Organizer  
Reese Erlich, Alan Lachman,  
Tom Cipolla, State Travelers



PFP WORKERS toured the state in the PFP bus during the last few days of the campaign.

## Give Now to Peace & Freedom

This period, in which we must work to consolidate strong organizations in all local areas, is a very critical one. In addition to building locally, we must assure the success of the state convention. Funds are necessary for many tasks. Please contribute as much as you can now.

The coupon below may be sent to the state office, or to your local county office, as you wish. In either case, funds will be shared between state and local county activities.

Contributed to the Peace and Freedom Movement:

1. Cash contribution of \$ .....
2. Monthly pledge of \$2 .. \$5 .. \$10 .. \$25 .. \$ .....

\_\_\_\_\_ Please send monthly reminder

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

COUNTY .....

# Counties Report on Structure, Candidates; Over 8,000 Attending Neighborhood Clubs

## ALAMEDA

Across the street from Provo Park in Berkeley, the multi-colored office where it all began last June now functions as the central office of sixteen area groups in the county.

Each area chapter includes about 1,250 registrants. Since Feb. 8, around 1,500 people have attended these local meetings.

Area groups elect delegates to a County Council, now consisting of 50 members. If the proposed constitution is ratified, the CC will essentially make interim policy decisions for the county pending cumulative voting by all area chapter members.

PFM activities have centered on demonstrations for Huey Newton and for other Black Panthers facing increased police harassment in Oakland and Berkeley. And another Stop the Draft is coming up soon. The most interesting local candidacies are those of Huey Newton, Black Panther Party Minister of Defense, who may run for the 7th C.D. seat, and Mario Savio who has filed in the 11th State Senate district. A general meeting of the PFM has been called for March 10, where all local candidates, plus U.S. Senate candidates, will appear.

## CONTRA COSTA

Convention held Feb. 17 in Richmond endorsed three PFM candidates, elected 12 delegates and twelve alternates to state convention, voted for "Free Huey," demanded immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, supported the 18-year-old vote referendum.

Fifteen neighborhood groups have been formed in the county.

## FRESNO

As yet there are no candidates for office. They are mainly concerned with Mexican-American farm worker problems, and are working with the CDC on local issues. On April 3 they expect to have 10 resisters turning in draft cards. Since the registration drive ended, about 50 Mexican-Americans have registered.

## HUMBOLDT

Plans being made now to coordinate endorsement of candidates with adjacent counties. Still about 400 P&F registrants up here.

## LOS ANGELES

With the largest number of registrants, Los Angeles faces the biggest organizing task. There are now sixty functioning neighborhood groups, extending east to the San Gabriel Valley, west to Malibu, north to Sunland and south to Long Beach. Total participation is around 2,500, with attendance in the area groups ranging from 20 to over 200.

Regional councils are forming in the San Fernando Valley, San Gabriel Valley, Central L.A. and West L.A.

Neighborhood groups have elected a total of around 90 delegates to a County Council (representation based on local membership: approximately one delegate for every 30 members of a local chapter). County steering committee of eleven has been elected by the County Council. Policy decisions of the C.C. are referred to neighborhood chapters for ratification or rejection by PFM members (cumulative voting).

In the electoral scene, 90 members have filed Declarations of Intent to run for State Assembly in 23 of the county's 31 A.D.'s. And in nine of eleven State Senatorial districts, 52 members have declared intention to run. Endorsing conventions to choose among the 142 possible candidates for the legislature have not yet been called.

Neighborhood groups will elect delegates to the state convention. Apportionment will be based on County Council membership: two convention delegates for every Council delegate. Several remaining delegate seats will be filled by members elected by the County Council.

LA's greatest contribution to date is, perhaps, the money raised: \$6,800 from a county-wide mailing to all registrants.

## MARIN

Over 300 PFM members gathered for the Marin Co. convention on Feb. 17-19. A platform was voted on and candidates for

Twenty-eight ways to organize a new political movement certainly would be proposed at any college chapter meeting of SDS, but Californians in the Peace and Freedom Party are making history, of sorts, by implementing all of them, simultaneously.

Presumably united on the big political issues that brought them together in the first place, the 28 or so active county chapters of the Peace and Freedom Movement are developing locally their own solutions to the problems of structure and decision-making within their organizations. The results so far are hardly uniform, as the capsule reports on this page indicate. Differences in political style and in level of commitment range from the super-democracy of San Francisco (All Power to the Neighborhood Councils!), to the highly detailed County Council/Steering Committee/Area Group/Interest Group/Minority Group relationships proposed in the (still unratified) Alameda County Constitution, to the unique solution in Merced

State Assembly were nominated to run against each other in the June primary. Unlike most of the other counties, Marin decided against holding a pre-primary endorsing convention to select a single PFM candidate for each office.

The weekend convention also elected 30 delegates and alternates to the state convention. Marin's platform, which its delegation will bring to the convention, calls for such things as: withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam in twelve months, abolition of the draft, socialized medicine, abortions, guaranteed annual income, free Huey, unilateral disarmament by U.S., and free public transportation for everybody, by bus, plane or train.

The county organization planned the demonstration last month at San Quentin, in support of striking prisoners.

## MENDOCINO

Only information available indicates a 16% increase in P&F registrations since Jan. 2 -- from 56 to 65.

## MONTEREY

After a county convention on Feb. 17, 14 members of the Monterey County steering committee filed declarations of intent to run for state senate and assembly seats. An endorsing convention will meet in March. The convention and began work on policy resolutions for the county PFM. The county voted in favor of the 18-year-old vote, immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, and abolition of the CIA.

## NAPA

McCarthyism reported very rampant here, with a big dropoff in registrations anticipated (perhaps 75%). But even at its peak, P&F registration was only 74. Meeting early in March to select a convention delegate.

## RIVERSIDE

Around 800 voters in P&F here. Convention March 2 and 3, where platform, candidates and convention delegates were the main business. Riverside PFM has one candidate each for Congress and Assembly. They are also doing some anti-draft counseling with the Resistance, and have established a policy of mailing all available literature on PFM to all their registrants. Interesting development on minority representation problem -- they have decided to institute a county "bicameral" structure when the proportion of minority people in Riverside PFP equals 15%, the proportion they hold in the county's general population.

County, where conviction and principle succumbed to expediency, and all eight P&F registrants have decided to go to work for Eugene McCarthy.

The overall scene in the state is impressive, considering the short time the local groups have had in which to organize. Two months ago, only organizing committees for the PFP existed in the larger counties. Probably fewer than 2,000 activists participated throughout the state in these committees. On the basis of the latest county reports, between 8,000 and 10,000 people are now involved in the decision-making chain that is beginning to emerge -- a chain whose strongest links are the neighborhood groups that have been formed, particularly in the four largest counties. Probably more people are involved in determining policy and candidates of the PFP, in a meaningful way, than the total number of people in California with comparable power in the big parties. And viewed percentage-wise, that statement becomes thirty or forty times as significant.

## SACRAMENTO

Sacramento has a council of 14 people as a decision-making body. At their convention a resolution was passed protesting sumptuary laws, and the candidacy of Thomas Hersant for the Assembly was endorsed. One of the main projects is the organization of neighborhoods not previously organized or politically aware.

## SAN BERNARDINO

County convention was held on Feb. 10 and 11, and George Romandy was endorsed for U.S. Congress. The convention dealt mainly with county policy. San Bernardino PFM holds an auction every Sunday, netting \$15 to \$35 each week. Dance/benefit in Riverside on March 9, with 2 or 3 bands and a light show.

## SAN DIEGO

The southernmost county with over 7,000 registrants is strong organizationally. Many localities have area groups that meet regularly in members' homes, and send delegates to county-wide committees. These neighborhood groups have been extremely important in broadening participation in the community.

Most functions are organized by assembly district. The 80th district has its own office in La Jolla, is sponsoring an art show (to raise bread) and is conducting a school in new politics.

A county convention Feb. 24-25 decided on platform, candidates, structure. Platform calls for supporting the NLF, nationalizing some industries, abolishing

CIA, HUAC and J. Edgar Hoover. County structure consists of a steering committee (five officers, who have no vote, plus representatives from the neighborhood groups) and a "general assembly" of delegates from the area groups.

## SAN FRANCISCO

Neighborhood clubs decide all policy here, with a County Council (two representatives from each neighborhood) functioning principally as a messenger, relaying local proposals and votes to other clubs. No official policy statements are issued by the County Council in the name of SF-PFM, unless a majority of neighborhood club members have voted in favor of a policy.

Twenty-seven members have filed declarations of intent to run for the legislature. Among them are Kathleen Cleaver, wife of the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. Mrs. Cleaver is seeking PFM endorsement to run against Wille

counseling table and a sky-diver, if outside the city limits. The convention covered mostly national problems: consumers' rights, government regulation of individual freedom, ecology, the war, the draft, the military-industrial complex, etc.

## SAN MATEO

County has endorsed David Ransom for Congress, to run against Paul McCloskey. Two people have filed intents for State Assembly. At the convention, Feb. 24 and 25, only local issues were discussed; foreign policy and national issues were left for discussion until the ratification procedure post-convention. A special project is the circulation of a petition to get the Board of Supervisors elected by district instead of at large, a move which will benefit minority neighborhoods. A strongly-supported resolution to support the "Free Huey" movement was passed at the convention.

## SANTA CRUZ

Convention was held on Jan. 27 and Feb. 3. Sixteen policy statements were approved, including Free Huey P. Newton, U.S. Get out of Vietnam, and abolish the draft. Twenty-four members were elected to a county steering committee.

## SOLANO

Convention met March 3 in Vallejo, but results too late for inclusion here. No candidates expected to run. Reports that there is a Black Panther group at Solano Junior College, but "no coalition with them" as yet.

## SONOMA

Registrations here are reported several hundred higher today than on Jan. 2 (1,161), and one-third of the registrants are participating in area groups in the county -- 400 to 500 people involved.

The area groups will choose a candidate for the 1st Senatorial District, from among those who filed Declarations of Intent. Other electoral districts overlap with adjacent counties, and joint endorsing meetings will have to be called. County convention was held late February, where members worked to "Free Huey Newton!" Sonoma PFM voted to support the AFT demonstration at Sonoma State College last month.

## VENTURA

Convention was held Saturday, March 2, too late for inclusion of results in this issue of P&F News.

County organizing efforts have concentrated on area and school clubs. The best clubs so far are those at Oxnard and at Ventura College, with clubs now forming at Moorpark College and Calif. Lutheran College. Continuing to register new P&F voters, and preparing to open a campaign to lure potential McCarthyites into PFP.

## YOLO

Membership of around fifty actives (314 registrants) is based in Davis (UC). Convention held March 5 to write platform and endorse candidates. State Convention delegates were also chosen there (two regulars and two alternates). Results of county convention arrived too late for inclusion.

Brown, the Democrat who now holds the 18th A.D. seat. She is competing for the P&F nomination with Leonard Glazer, who was recently released from state prison after serving three years and three months on a marijuana possession conviction. Glazer wants to run in order to challenge the law which deprives convicted marijuana users (and other felons) of their civil rights (including the right to vote.)

In one of its major policy decisions, SF-PFM voted last month to demand the immediate release of imprisoned Black Panther leader Huey Newton. The vote changed SF's position from merely demanding a "fair trial" to demanding that Newton be set free.

## SAN LUIS OBISPO

There are 100 registrants in the county. Three people have filed for the assembly seat. First organizational meeting was held on Feb. 21.

## SANTA BARBARA

Convention held Feb. 18. County steering committee has been set up with representatives from the supervisorial districts, and from the student group at UCSB. Santa Barbara PFM has two Assembly candidates. For raising money, they have shown a movie, "Tell Me Lies," at the Magic Lantern Theater.

## SANTA CLARA

County convention held March 2 and 3. There are three PFM candidates for the 22nd Assembly District. Planning a "Peace Rock" which will include food booths, artists' work, a draft