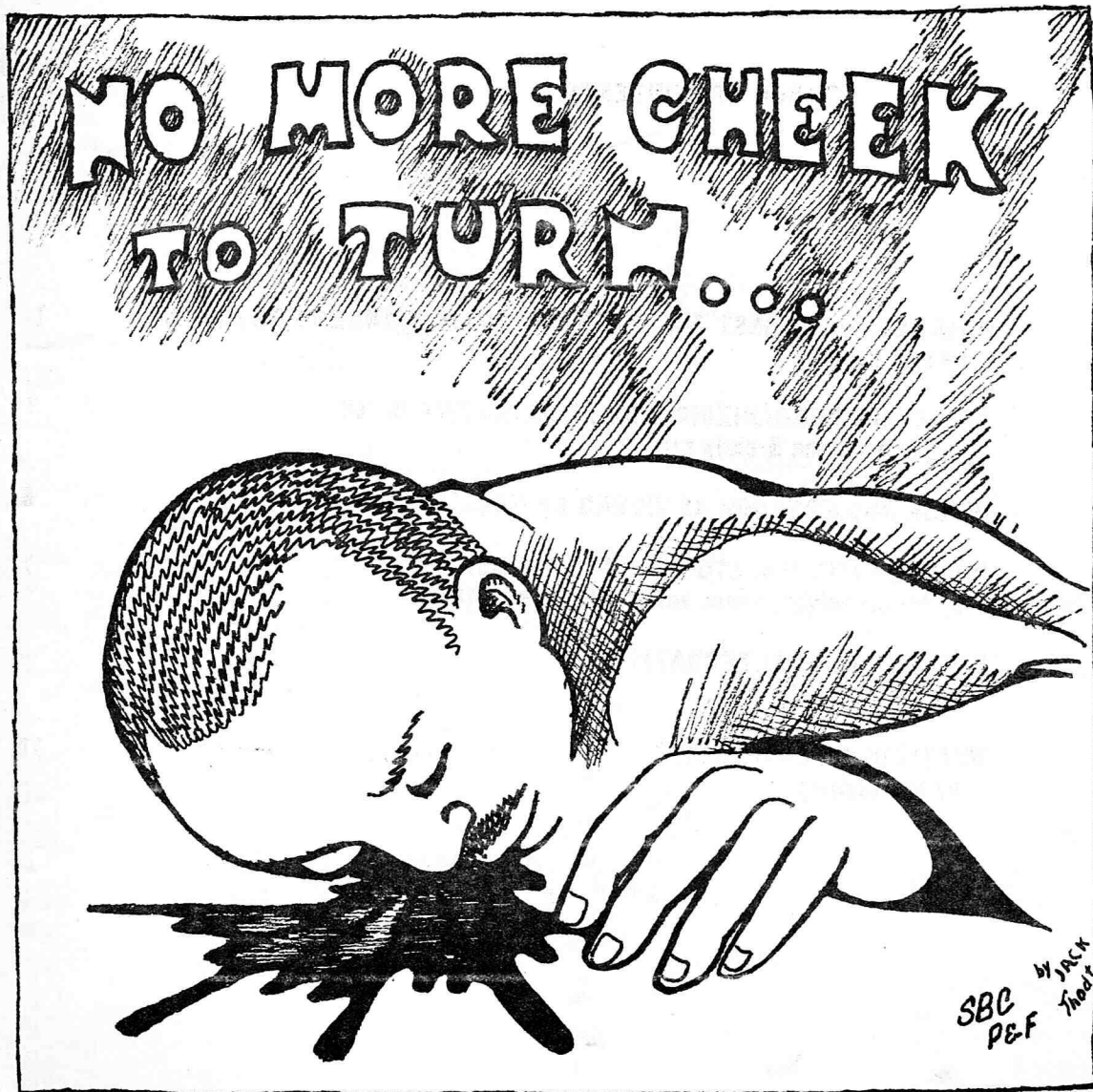


PEACE AND FREEDOM REVIEW



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MASS ACTION AGAINST THE WAR AND RACISM PLANNED FOR APRIL 27

by carl frank

A massive Bay Area outpouring of protest around a 5-point program is being organized in San Francisco on April 27. This is being done in response to calls by the Student Mobilization Committee and the National Mobilization Committee for massive demonstrations against the Vietnam war in every city in the world on that day.

This action is seen as one in which every group and tendency in the radical movement can unite for the common cause of making the largest possible manifestation of the opposition of the American people to the war-makers and their policies. It is very evident that opposition to the war among rank-and-file Americans has greatly increased recently, due largely to the dramatic Tet offensive of the NLF which exposed the lies of the U.S. government about the "steady progress of our military effort there". Other factors adding to the anti-war sentiment include the continuing death tolls of the American youth who are being sent to Vietnam and the talk of another tax increase to finance the war.

Given this sentiment, it seems quite possible that the April 27 demonstration can be as large or larger than last year's April 15th action. Johnson's statement that he is not running should be viewed not only as a victory for the anti-war movement, but also as a challenge to push on to further victories.

The plans for the San Francisco action include a march from the Golden Gate Park panhandle to the Civic Center followed by a rally there. Speakers already confirmed for the rally include Vanessa Redgrave, the British film star who led the demonstrations which stormed the U.S. Embassy in London recently as well as Jeanette Rankin, leader of the militant womans' march on Washington, and Rear Admiral Arnold True (Ret.).

The demonstration, which will be the culmination of 10 days of intensive anti-war activities including an International Student Strike, is being organized by the April 27th Mobilization Committee. This is a coalition of Bay Area Peace groups, anti-war organizations and anti-war activists. Every local group of the Peace and Freedom Movement is being urged to participate in building the demonstration. The Colton Street Office of the April 27th Mobilization Committee is open every day from 10:00 A.M. on. The telephone number for further information is 552-2283. The working committee meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 P. M., at 55 Colton Street in San Francisco.

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING: THE ALTERNATIVE IN '68

Peace and Freedom Party stands for a radical politics to replace the Democrat-Republican machine. Obviously, this means much more than candidates and votes and all the election rigmarole, a process rigidly controlled so as to keep the present system in good standing. One of our political differences with the Dem-Rep liberals must be that we refuse to rely on elections as our main way of working for change, that we work hard to break illusions people hold about votes being a form of power for the people.

This idea has been declared policy since P & F was conceived. It has been expressed again and again. Here is a quote from the single brochure widely used during the successful registration campaign:

What people say and do between elections is, in the final analysis, much more important than what levers they pull in that half-minute they spend voting every few years.

When you register Peace and Freedom, you ought to think of it not only as a step toward getting a party on the ballot but as a step toward getting with people in your neighborhood or place of work who want to act for peace and freedom.

This sounds good, and few P & F people would say they disagree with it. Yet, this concept, that all our energy should be directed toward developing a radical movement where we live and work, is being sharply attacked in P & F. Not that many speak against the importance of neighborhood work, for example, but that they refuse to do it. Action, not words, is what really counts. So where is the big action now?

Everyone knows that much of the fast action these days is in the way of getting up a national candidate. This doubtful tactic is usually presented in grand terms--larger perspective, nationwide organizing, serious alternative on a national level, welding together movements in various states, while encouraging local initiative, etc., etc. Superficial and verbal brilliance is a characteristic of traditional American electioneering.

But really--how new, how different, how radical and how much a real alternative to old politics is P & F election work? Let us be sharply critical, so that our work doesn't fall apart or worse, so that our movement doesn't go the way that most have in the past: accomodation with the most ruthless, vicious system on earth, U. S. imperialism.

Let's Be Critical

P & F has failed to make clear whether we seek to build a serious political alternative, however difficult, or whether, instead P & F might aim weakly to do something like tugging at the "mainstream" in a left direction. You can't embrace the CDC and PFP both. To support Phil Drath in the Demo primary is simply to work against the movement—yes, even if that support of Democratic Party *doves* is of the critical kind. The fact is that many people in P & F still see RFK as somehow better than Johnson—in spite of the fact that it is always the candidates with liberal faces who pose the most serious threat to P & F's growth.

At present P & F has no state-wide policy about alliance with nice-looking Democrats. And a great many P & F people still see only the hope of influencing the big parties—by "doing our thing."

Our Convention failed to clarify this and many other questions, indicating how far we have to go in breaking with traditional U.S. capitalist politics.

Endorsement of Paul Jacobs as a \$200-a-week candidate for U.S. Senate replaced discussion of political principles on the agenda. Workshop discussions, in which all delegates could participate to help shape policy, were shelved.

The old middle-class pattern of white liberal guilt sanctioned a cop-out by the whites on their basic task of organizing a radical movement based among white workers—a base from which to combat the racism fostered by the system. Many whites in P & F still hope to somehow get off the hook by rushing to "support" Black liberation—in exactly the same way that the liberals used to support (and control) CORE and NAACP. When Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense called on the whites to fight racism among white people, everyone cheered. Yet, what are most white P & F members doing about it—even planning to do about it? Damn little.

There was a lot of hypocrisy in Richmond that weekend.

And while there was widespread disgust at old-style (and new-style) attempts at manipulation of votes and procedures throughout the convention, an all-out effort against it was never made. Key aspects of the convention were rigged.

Then came the familiar calls for unity—"regardless of political differences." This, as a way of obscuring politics, is the traditional technique of capitalist politics. LBJ was calling unity just this week. The Democratic Convention will do it too. But when we call for unity, let it be to *unite on a principled stand*, for a new society to replace the present system.

In the San Francisco County organization too, we have experienced all these weaknesses. We still have to contend with "militants" who like to wheel and deal while leaving the essential work of building a base for our politics to lesser figures. This sort of "division of labor," in which P & F leaders are largely those farthest removed from working people in word, thought and deed, is typical of enemy organizations like the Democratic Party, but it will destroy P & F unless we correct it. How correct it? By demanding that everybody of P & F direct himself first to the "grassroots" work of politicizing and organizing neighbors and co-workers.

For whites this means, primarily, organizing this struggle of white workers against the system.

In all the problems facing P & F and on every question there are two sides shaping up—two possible general directions. A future for P & F depends on opposing the strong tendency toward opportunism--toward surrender on the question of putting our political principles into action among ordinary working people.

One current form of this gravitational pull toward traditional big money politics is the to-do about national P & F candidates, national organizing and all the big and little wheels and deals that go that way. This is not to say that it is forever wrong to run candidates for national office, under any circumstances. But such a campaign will encourage many of the worst developments in P & F, emphasis on votes and press clippings, giving more authority to opportunists in leadership, etc.

A nation-wide movement requires an organized base, which means real people who are part of P & F and in motion against aspects of the system—as opposed to a movement of press releases and election oratory. What we need is not votes but millions of people fighting to change the system.

The best argument for P & F Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates is that this will help organize the movement in far-flung areas, presenting a political voice of opposition to liberal imperialists like RFK.

Certainly a strong national organizing effort is needed right now—but not just any effort. P & F organizing on all levels should not encourage the Get-out-the-vote approach. People in and out of P & F are still entranced with the illusion of power represented by the ballot. Radicals are continually led into the establishment-blessed election trap.

To avoid becoming a supporter of the U.S. political system by showing how it tolerates symbolic dissent within a rigged election structure, we should tell the truth to people; elections are not a source of power for the people. Local candidates, who can work closely with, and who are, real organizers can help weaken the Demo-Reps. But a P & F Presidential campaign under present conditions would inevitably obscure the real alternative in '68—a movement based not on television but in the communities where life goes on.

The only honest way we can emphasize the P & F perspective—as declared in the January 28 *Policy Guidelines* and in the actions of many hard workers—will be to actively encourage a boycott of the Presidential election. Also, the basic issues are not nation-wide, and organizing work should be encouraged in all parts of the country. If we run a Presidential candidate this year—before building solid organizations of deeds not words, we will only be endorsing the illusory power in the vote, a very popular lie in this corrupt political system.

Look at last year's *Proposition P* campaign and similar campaigns across the country. They all received about a 40% vote of opposition to the government's war policy. But what was built on that foundation of votes? Nothing at all! In fact many people were left demoralized.

The argument that we need a Presidential candidate is really a repeat of the "Third Ticket" argument—which was earlier rejected in California because it ran against the aims of independent politics, encouraging alliances with liberal Democrats, and helping the Kennedy forces. One of the reasons the NCNP takes the "Third Ticket" approach is precisely because the politics of national candidates are not controlled by community organizations but by "national organizers" (persons typically less committed to consistent and revolutionary base-building who make themselves available) or by government agencies or finks with dollars and "inside contacts."

Instead of putting up national "standard bearers," we must create a movement of standard bearers. Instead of playing politics we should be building a base, which by definition is "from below." Instead of white Florence Nightingales trying to officiate over the Black liberation movement like anxious old maid aunts, we need white radicals who will commit themselves to organizing white working people against imperialism.

Right now in San Francisco many P & F people are starting to take up this work in a serious way. They are joining with others in campaigns for good schools, to stop redevelopment, to control the police, to lower rents and taxes for working people. They are breaking out of middle-class isolation.

When we wake up on the morning of November 6th we want an alternative to looking back on our success.

PEACE AND FREEDOM AS VIEWED BY PAUL JACOBS

I accepted the Peace and Freedom nomination for a combination of reasons.

The internal and external crises of our country are of a dimension far beyond the solving capacities of either the Democratic or Republican parties. Only fundamental and radical changes in our domestic and foreign policies can possibly avert disaster for ourselves and the world: the Peace and Freedom movement is the only political group attempting to develop alternatives that are not committed in advance to any rigid ideologies.

In its internal life America is deeply divided by the history and practice of white racism. For nearly 400 years, black, brown, and red Americans have been enslaved and exploited by whites; physical and cultural genocide has been leveled against them. The ghettos of America are its own underdeveloped lands whose inhabitants have little or no control over their lives. But, today, these Americans are in various stages of revolt against their oppressors: the Peace and Freedom movement allies itself with our ethnic and national minorities to achieve their legitimate aspirations.

So, too, the domestic crisis of America is one which affects every poor white person and the daily lives of every city and rural dweller. The wide gap between America's rhetoric and its reality must be narrowed and that task cannot be carried out in the traditional ways of the two party system.

Our foreign policy must also be revolutionized. One part of our history is the sordid saga of imperialism and expansionism, sanctified by religion and reinforced by chauvinism. Today, we have become hysterical and indiscriminate world, justifying that mission by a hysterical and indiscriminate anti-communism in whose name we support the oppressors of the world, rather than the oppressed. For many years I have been concerned with issues such as these.

In recent years, this concern has been expressed primarily through my writings. But that is no longer enough because there is so much to do and so little time in which to do it. To survive, we must build a new movement and create new political institutions through which Americans can control their own lives and futures.

The Peace and Freedom movement offers that hope to America. To help carry out that task, I have become a candidate.

'MODEL CITIES' or STOP PEOPLE REMOVAL
by
Bernal Heights Peace and Freedom Committee

Redevelopment (people removal) was defeated last year at the planning grant stage by the Mission District residents. This year City Hall is introducing Redevelopment under the title *Model Cities*.

This year the Administration seeks an enlarged Downtown Complex that will become a Wall Street of the West, free of the visible poor.

Big Business needs the Mission's low paid workers for its sweat shops in the hotels, restaurants, hospitals and garment and laundry businesses. But these workers live on land which is ideal for speculation and development—land that Big Business wants for high rise apartment buildings (like the \$10,000,000 one going up at 21st and Capp), high office buildings and BART stations. In the name of "progress", therefore, the people must be dispersed (relocated).

The residents of Inner Mission are keenly aware that Redevelopment is threatening their homes. The bulldozers are chopping up South of Market and Western Addition every day, Embarcadero and A-1 have already been destroyed, and all near-downtown areas such as Potrero, Bernal and Eureka Valley are in danger.

To make People Removal as smooth an operation as possible, City Hall wants it to appear as though the residents agree to their dispersal, and to this end the Community Coalition has been set up. In theory, this committee is supposed to represent the community, and give expression to the community's sentiments on Redevelopment, but in reality, the so-called community representatives have been hand-picked by Alioto. The Coalition is led by an employee of a private redevelopment firm and includes four EOC officials who are on the Federal payroll. Its Steering Committee of QT represents those groups which will support the Administration, they are the "safe" ones selected from the 58 group Mission Council on Redevelopment (MCOR) which defeated Redevelopment last year. Tenant-oriented groups like Bernal Heights Peace and Freedom and Mission Tenants Union have been denied seats on the Community Coalition Steering Committee.

The opposition is presently centered in the S.F. Committee for the Right to Vote led by Mary Hall and Jack Bartalini, which represents small business interests. They broke with the Coalition Committee 3 weeks ago and are sending out questionnaires that show clearly that residents demand veto power over all Redevelopment. Bernal Heights Peace and Freedom is going to continue to fight for a positive neighborhood program that includes: NEW SCHOOLS TO REPLACE DILAPIDATED OVERCROWDED ONES; NEIGHBORHOOD PARKS; A NEIGHBORHOOD VETO ON ALL REDEVELOPMENT; A REVAMPED COUNTY HOSPITAL WITH AN ADEQUATE STAFF; LOW COST HOUSING TO BE BUILT ON VACANT LAND WITH JOBS PROVIDED FOR MINORITY YOUNG PEOPLE AND JOBLESS CONSTRUCTION WORKERS; RENT CONTROL AND REDUCED HOMEOWNERS' TAX.

Peace and Freedom has a unique opportunity to fight for an end to People Removal and for some of the positive programs outlined above. We can begin to link up P & F neighborhood groups with other organizations and people in areas of actual or potential redevelopment threats and to plan strategy to defeat this Domestic Imperialism, and begin to develop confidence in our ability to organize for People's Power.

Bernal Heights Peace and Freedom has a Redevelopment Committee that seeks to unify homeowners, tenants, small businessmen, intellectuals and working people for these goals. Those interested in joining with us in their areas and city-wide please call:

Bill Buchanan
647-5320

Linda Edminston
647-2184

Alex Stein
282-9004

Ron Loomis
285-6747

KENNEDY IS NO ALTERNATIVE

by
fred alexander

The Vietnamese war is not a product of Johnson alone. Rather Johnson is the manifestation of the brutal forces which are inherent in the economically and politically exploitive United Statesean System. By recognizing this, one also recognizes that a man cannot be a peace candidate unless he directs himself toward changing that system which needs war to survive.

The following glimpse of Robert F. Kennedy certainly indicates that he not only has avoided working toward productive change, but has been and is now directed in exactly the opposite direction. His career is highlighted with regressive positions on those very issues which are the sham of Justice in America.

RFK was counsel to Senator Joseph "witch-hunter" McCarthy. As Attorney General he carried out a personal vendetta against teamster James Hoffa. He remained silent in the face of the Warren report which obscured the facts of the assassination of his brother. He supports the proposed Appalachia Regional Commission in New York (golf course, swimming pool, ice skating rink, bird sanctuary). This project will be financed by Federal funds which Bobby originally claimed would help poverty stricken factory and farm workers. Can anyone really consider Kennedy as a peace candidate? He was an advisor to John F. Kennedy, when the first 17,000 "advisors" were sent to Vietnam. In that same advisory position he approved the men who have carried on this war (Rostow, Rusk, McNamara).

In March 1966, RFK responded to pulling out of Vietnam with "...would be catastrophic for American interests. That's so unacceptable that it hardly needs to be discussed." (U.S. News and World Report, March 14, 1968, p. 68). That was two years ago. Has his position changed as all that since then? January 30, 1968, RFK stated that he would not oppose Johnson "under any foreseeable circumstances." (U.S. News and World Report, April 1, 1968, p. 32). During those two years, he has voted for every war appropriation bill. He voted against the February 1967 "stop the bombing" proposal. His slight opposition has only been vocal and in preparation for wresting the Presidency for himself. What then, has made it timely for Robert F. Kennedy to enter the presidential race?

On March 12th McCarthy won 42% of the Democratic vote in the New Hampshire primary. The next day RFK was "reassessing" his position. Two days after that he announced his candidacy. Kennedy is not against the war. He is only for RFK gaining the Presidency. This is political opportunism of the lowest degree. Now that the nation is becoming polarized on a great moral question, he is trying to step in and take control. He sees the political opportunity that will not be present in 1972. He has to make his move now.

On March 17th when asked about supporting the Democratic nominee should it be Johnson, Kennedy replied that he had "reservations" (U.S. News and World Report, April 1, 1968, p. 32), about supporting LBJ. After five years of war, "peace" candidate Robert F. Kennedy still couldn't decide whether or not to support killer LBJ. He couldn't decide, because to Kennedy political longevity is more important than peace, and party unity is of a higher morality than stopping a criminal war.

To be a peace candidate, Kennedy would have to change his whole political philosophy. His actions do not differ in substance from LBJ's. RFK is not an alternative. A vote for RFK is a vote for those same principles of Johnson's which necessitate war.

The only way a real alternative can be built is by boycotting the Republicemo party completely and organizing around the truly meaningful principles of the Peace and Freedom Party. By understanding that, one understands the meaninglessness of casting a vote for anyone except P.F.P.

WHAT'S IN A CONVENTION?

by
bob slattery

None of us, really—not even those responsible for planning it—knew what to expect when we went to the Convention. There were fears of being co-opted. Would “liberal” forces try to make us into just another third-ticket pressure group, without serious effect, aimed at the same old establishment political arena? There were uncertainties about participatory democracy. And *what* would happen when the Black-Brown representation issue hit the floor?

The Mime Troupe had tellingly started to define us almost before we knew it: a punctuated rendition of the Star Spangled Banner, replete with screams of agony at “bombs bursting in air!” After the adoption of rules and agenda, we broke for afternoon workshops on *general principles*. They were amazingly successful, all things considered. With only minor exceptions, the *first-session* workshops met their objectives in the four or five hours allotted. Each produced a few paragraphs in its subject area which could go to the Convention floor for discussion and modification as necessary, from whence they would hopefully emerge as *principled* positions to help define the Party (subject, of course, to ratification at the local level.)

If Huey Newton had not been stopped by two Oakland policemen on the morning of October 28th 1967, then another minority liberation issue would undoubtedly have been before us under “special issues.” (I assume familiarity with the Newton case and its significance. If you don’t know about it, find out now.—the S.F. Peace and Freedom office has an excellent pamphlet available that contains the whole story.) But it is hard to conceive of another case that would have put to us so sharply the questions now involved in the most monumental blight on our history—racial slavery, economically based, socially enforced and perpetuated to the present moment.

Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers presented the Panther’s 10-point program and the demand that Huey Newton be set free immediately. The Convention body adopted both positions as Peace and Freedom policy.

The solution to the problem of minority representation within the Party was put forward the next morning by the Black-Brown caucus. They introduced a sense motion (the details of which are being worked out by a Coalition Committee and the new State Steering Committee) proclaiming their intent to stay with the Party under a coalition on “non-negotiable issues of self-determination.” And they “invite all members of oppressed national minorities to join the Black-Brown caucus and to register Peace and Freedom.

Of course the agenda was shot to hell. We got something done on Stop the Draft Week, the Panther Program, G. I. Rights. We undertook the initiative drive for the 18-year-old vote. The second workshop sessions on platform planks had to be all but abandoned. When we got back on some sort of schedule and into the plenary on organizing principles, we knew the time problem was too much for us, and really got through only one "general principle," formally on foreign policy but encompassing many other areas in a thoroughgoing and radical analysis of our society. We heard the nominations, voting to do so before tackling the question of whether to make an endorsement at all. Then, close to mid-night, unannounced and unexpected, in walked Reies Tijerina.

There was really no question by this time where we were with respect to our original expectations and fears. We had shown our strength, we had worked together in a truly participatory way to some splendid achievements; survived tough moments. We certainly hadn't been co-opted by anybody. Reies Tijerina put a head on it. A great public presence, the most important (and perhaps most militant) figure in the emerging Brown liberation movement, Tijerina was there to announce himself as a Peace and Freedom candidate for vice-president. It was just what we needed—ideologically, historically, and dramatically. Though not all of his remarks will be accepted uncritically. The standing ovation given him was also a moment when the Convention realized what the Peace and Freedom Party now is: a new long-range force in America, securely and broadly based, set on a course that will lead to fundamental change of the society. And if that course isn't humanistic socialism it's so close that we're only arguing over terms.

The last day belonged to the candidate for U.S. Senator, and ultimately to the successful one, Paul Jacobs. There will be a lot of print devoted to Paul, and thus I won't spend any of it in this issue. He won't please everyone, but he obviously has what it takes, and we're lucky to have him. The last day also belonged to Jack Weinberg, who chaired the candidacy proceedings and the fantastic fund-raising session that followed. Always responsive; relaxed, human, witty and tough by turns; and always taking responsibility when needed Jack's performance was a masterful one. The standing ovation given him was well deserved.

We went home exhausted, not completely unscathed, but we knew we had made it.

THIS ISSUE WAS EDITED BY AN AD HOC EDITORIAL BOARD COMPRISED OF A COMMITTEE OF TWO: *Miss Connie Pohle and Mrs. Stella Pilgrim.* HENCEFORTH (UNTIL WE HEAR FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS) OUR EDITORIAL BOARD WILL BE A FIVE-MEMBER COMMITTEE COMPRISED OF: *Miss Connie Pohle, Mrs. Stella Pilgrim, Mr. John Crowell, Mr. Chris Reisman, and Mr. Fred Alexander.*

THE PURPOSE AND FUNCTION OF THIS JOURNAL IS TWO-FOLD: HOPEFULLY TO SERVE AS AN EDUCATIONAL PUBLICATION AND AS A PUBLIC FORUM FOR DISCUSSION OF ISSUES WHICH ARE BEING DEBATED BY THE MEMBERSHIP.

THIS JOURNAL WILL BE ISSUED ONCE MONTHLY ---ON THE 15th OF EACH MONTH. PLEASE SUBMIT YOUR ARTICLES BY THE 1st OF EVERY MONTH.

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*MISS CONNIE POHLE
850 STANYAN STREET, APT. 1
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.*