

Letter to Bob Greenblat & Dave Rellinger

Congratulations on the job you did in Chicago. Everyone out here in the Bay area was extremely impressed. I have talked to many apolitical people who were completly turned off by the establishment due to the demonstrations outside and the antics inside the convention. Concrete evidence of this is provided by a tremendous upsurge in Peace & Freedom registrations.

As I suppose you can tell; among other things, I am working for Peace and Freedom Party and am a member of the State steering committee. The reason that I am writing you at this time is that I assume that during this period you are involved in sidcusions about future program and I wanted to acquaint you with a proposal that was submitted to the Calif. Peace & Freedom Convention two weeks ago and passed. The proposal is entitled a Dual Focus For the Fall Elections and I have inclosed a copy.

Calif. P&F will be working to implement the proposal as part of the activity that will be going on around the election. Copies of the proposal have been sent to contacts in P&F groups in other states, including N.Y. However we have not yet heard from them and so I don't know if other states are going to adopt it as a program.

Although the proposal was written for submission to Peace and Freedom Party and a large part of it concerns it's effect on the building of P&F, the writers of the proposal feel that all groups on the radical left should participate and work on it. That the political reasons behind the proposal are valid for the entire movement.

I would appreciate it if you would read over the proposal and discuss it and let me know what you think of it. You might also talk to people from N.Y. P&F. Also I would appreciate it if you would let me know the kinds of actions that you are planning for the future.

for peace and freedom

Bruce Hartford
State Steering Comm
Peace & Freedom Party

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE

THIS IS ABOUT THE SUGGESTION PRESENTED BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER TO THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION IN ANN ARBOR THAT THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION IN ANN ARBOR NOMINATE YIPPIE (YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY) LEADER JERRY RUBIN FOR ITS VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. PLEASE TAKE TIME TO READ IT BEFORE SATURDAY.

Those who have been around long enough will recall that before being sanctified by the California Election Code last January 2nd, we were in the business of creating the Peace and Freedom Movement, and electoral activity - the Peace and Freedom Party - was seen as an organizing tool, valid only in so far as it developed the Peace and Freedom Movement, and functioned as an electoral arm of the larger movement in the streets. Yet the nature of our participation in electoral politics has become increasingly unclear.

Apparently the framework of our thinking is now contained within the limits which define the establishment parties, whereas in organizing the movement our framework would be solely ^{within} the limits of the imagination of the participants. Briefly, we consider the Peace and Freedom Party has become the end in itself, and the concept of the movement now receives little more than lip service.

Examples of this attitude occurred with frightening frequency at the national convention, when speaker after speaker pressed a button called "I am committed to building the Peace and Freedom Party," and was certain to get a self-satisfied round of applause, as if the "party" was an institution which deserved to be perpetuated in a vacuum, like a ^{civic} ~~stock~~ repertory company.

We think that it is the party uber alles attitude to Peace and Freedom which will result in its becoming "yet one more small sectarian party," rather than any statements which we might or might not make about supporting the NLF, or not supporting the NLF, or running a

Yippie for vice-president or Granny Goose for governor. Why? Precisely because we call for a total sweeping change in America and the necessity for people to gain control over the institutions which affect their lives, (All power to the people), and then whap!, we worry about respectability and image and how legal we are and will you please vote for our candidates -- we put ourselves in a very vulnerable position. Come November, 98.5% of the electorate will have exercised its control over our institution by voting against the Peace and Freedom Party, and then there's no Peace and Freedom Movement left in sight because we've been ignoring it since January 2nd. (We protest that we really don't care about the size of the vote, but people don't believe us, since in fact we don't behave that way.)

A party is not an electoral expression of a movement when that party does not draw its energies from movement people and is not fluid enough to respond to the movement in the streets... ..The prime exception to this was our nomination of Cleaver for President, since he does represent a segment of the movement in the streets, but there was a strong tendency, having done that, to run for cover into the arms of a reasonably "credible" candidate (by establishment party definitions) for vice-president.

It's quite obvious that the Peace and Freedom Party has been singularly incapable of relating to those masses of young people who make up the movement in the streets, including the Yippies, the hippies and the up against the wall/MOTHERFUCKERS, et al. We are worrying about changing dissident Democrats into members of the Peace and Freedom Party, which is fine, but we make no effort to move toward the disaffected, alienated and apolitical youth into the Peace and Freedom Movement.

Any major changes in this society are going to come about as a result of the efforts of that 58% of the population which is under 26 and getting younger all the time, not from a handful of McCarthyites, and not, (from the way things are going) from the "working class." There is a youth revolution going on in this country now which supercedes all sectarian boundaries, and we are not part of it, and we do not understand it.

Although it is argued that there is no guarantee that the youth of the country will be even more liberal than its parents, let alone radical, look at the following statistics, which indicate that there's at least a fighting chance that they will be:

1. Of the 20,000 people who originally registered into the Peace and Freedom Party in San Francisco, 2,000 were former Republicans, 7,000 were former Democrats, and 11,000 had no previous registration in any party.

2. 54.7% of those casting votes in a mock-election booth set up by the Young Republicans at a youth fair in the L. A. area last Easter, chose Peace and Freedom as the party they preferred.

We think the masses of youth in this country are far more fertile ground for organizing for real change than those with one foot in and one foot out of either the Democratic Party or the labor unions, since the youth has already seriously questioned, rejected, and/or dropped out of the mainstream of American society. People organized into the Peace and Freedom Movement become Party members automatically if they are old enough to vote, but the reverse is not true--witness the tens of thousands who registered into the Party and haven't been heard of since. Thus while the Party may grow out of the Movement, the movement has not, so far, grown out of the party.

Our one concession in the direction of the "younger generation," (with the generation gap defined in terms of the dynamics from which the individual's life-style emanates, e. g., civil rights, the free speech movement, the hippies, etc.) was our attempt to get the 18-year-old vote on the ballot. We have to ask ourselves how we could get 105,000 adults to make the effort of changing their voter registration, and then get barely more than that number to sign their names on a relatively non-controversial petition. It certainly wasn't because of opposition. No, it was because we (the over-21 year-olds, to whom it was an academic "good thing" to do) ran it for the under-21 year-olds, ^{unwitting} . It was ~~paternalism~~ because we meant to work with them on it, but paternalism, because we did not reach them. We did not begin with them in the first place. We have no coalition with our own youth.

It appears that the Peace and Freedom Party has no spokesmen capable of addressing themselves to even the vaguely-political youth, let alone the hundreds of thousands who have dropped out in opposition to the mental imprisonment and soul-destruction of white people by the power elite, to the slavery of sacrificing life and limbs in their wars, and to dissipating a lifetime in the production of their profits. We do not relate to these youth and yet their struggle is our struggle, no matter how different the form that struggle takes.

To those who are accusing us at this point of a cultural analysis with no politics, we'd say that it is careful cultural analysis which backs up the political position of the Black Panther Party, and they and

their position are being listened to and responded to, almost before they have begun to speak.

If nothing else, it is evident that Jerry Rubin is one of the people who have talked to significant segments of the disenchanting youth of the white society, and the tragedy of the PFP convention was not that the delegates opposed his nomination, but that the entire opposition was based on their opinion of Jerry Rubin's personality, and at no time did the delegates have two minutes' serious discussion of the organizing concept behind such a nomination. Instead, there was shrieking about how Rubin "would not build the Peace and Freedom Party"--which may be true, but on the other hand he, or someone with a similar orientation, could possibly do a hell of a lot for the Peace and Freedom Movement. No one expects Eldridge Cleaver or any other candidate to single-handedly pull hordes of people into the Peace and Freedom Party-- that is the job of organizers, organizing around that candidacy to pull people into the movement.

A lot of people who affiliated themselves one way or another with Cleaver's "Yippie Caucus" were not necessarily in favor of Rubin the personality, but were groping toward a long overdue reach into that segment of society to which Rubin speaks.

The opposition to the idea of Rubin as candidate also complained that the Yippies are apolitical. Nevertheless, the mere suggestion of a Yippie-type campaign (guerilla theater, street action, "fuck your rules") resulted in such disruption and frantic re-alignment amongst our own serious radicals at the convention, that it's interesting to think what this kind of approach would do to the minds of the establishment when done in the name of a real political party on the ballot yet.

There was also, in the opposition, talk about how "hippies are like this," "hippies are like that," "I never met one who.." and "I can only speak about the ones I know," etc. We'd ask the people who think in those terms to replace "hippie" with "nigger" and take a look at what they're saying.

And, finally, about the search for a credible candidate- we say stop trying fantastically to project a "serious" image through the distortions of mass media to querulous political consumers. Let's begin instead to talk seriously with the one segment of society actively trying to get out from under the institutions that are crushing us.

All power to the people, black power to black people, Panther Party power to the Black Panther Party, Yippie power to the Yippies, and Peace and Freedom Movement power to the Peace and Freedom Party, which needs it badly.

Herb Siegel, LA

Norma Whittaker, LA

Mary Johnson, LA

Carl Loeber, San Rafael

Terry Johnson, LA

Rick Davidson, LA

Charles Brittin, LA

Ed Pearl, LA

Richard Cates, LA

Barbara Brittin, LA

Lindy Rollo, New York

Pat Nave, LA

Gail Cates, LA

FOLLOWING ARE SOME STATEMENTS FROM
up against the wall/MOTHERFUCKERS

SELF-DEFENSE IS PREPARATION AGAINST ATTACK.
SELF-DEFENSE IS THE RESPONSE TO ANY ATTACK.
SELF-DEFENSE IS THE REPRISAL FOR AN ATTACK.

WE MUST DEFINE OURSELVES FOR OURSELVES IN THE
LANGUAGE AND GESTURES OF OUR OWN DISCOVERIES

WE MUST LEARN TO RECOGNIZE EACH OTHER AND TO KNOW
THAT ANYONE WHO IS NOT WITH US IS THE ENEMY

WE MUST LEARN TO FIGHT AS WELL AS SEEK TO LOVE

WE MUST TAKE UP THE GUN AS WELL AS THE JOINT

WE MUST DEFEND OUR COMMUNITY AND OUR OWN HUMANITY

AFFINITY GROUP=A STREET GANG WITH AN ANALYSIS

In the present struggle forms of organization must come into being that are appropriate to the changed conditions that are the real content of our times. These must be forms that are tenacious enough to resist repression; forms which can grow secretly, learning to manifest themselves in a large variety of ways, lest their mode of operation be co-opted by the opposition, or they simply be smashed. The affinity group is the seed/germ/essence of organization. It is coming-together out of mutual Need or Desire; cohesive historical groups unite out of the shared necessities of the struggle for survival, while dreaming of the possibility of love. In the pre-revolutionary period affinity groups must assemble to project a revolutionary consciousness and to develop forms for particular struggles. In the revolutionary period itself they will emerge as armed cadres at the center of conflict, and in the post-revolutionary period suggest forms for the new everyday life.

This network or "Federation" (of affinity groups) must be characterized by a structural looseness which guarantees the identity and self-determination of each affinity group, as well as an organizational reality which allows maximum concerted actions directed toward total revolution.

The concept of the affinity group in now way denies the validity of mass actions, rather, this idea increases the revolutionary possibilities of those actions. The active minority is able, because it is theoretically more conscious and better prepared tactically, to light the first fuse and make the first breakthroughs. But that's all. The others can follow or not follow. ..The active minority plays the role of a permanent fermenting agent, encouraging action without claiming to lead...In certain objective situations -- with the help of the active minority

more/

--spontaneity finds its place in social movement. It is spontaneity which permits the thrust forward, and not the slogans or directives of leaders. The affinity group is the source of both spontaneity and new forms of struggle.

"TO PUT THOUGHT UNDERGROUND....SO THAT WILDNESS CAN COME
ABOVE GROUND."

"MY UTOPIA IS AN ENVIRONMENT THAT WORKS SO WELL THAT WE CAN
RUN WILD IN IT."

UNTIL OUR MOST FANTASTIC DEMANDS ARE MET, FANTASY WILL BE AT WAR WITH SOCIETY. SOCIETY WILL ATTEMPT THE SUPPRESSION OF FANTASY, BUT FANTASY WILL SPRING UP AGAIN AND AGAIN, INFECTING THE YOUTH, WAGING URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE, SABOTAGING THE SMOOTH FUNCTIONING OF BUREAUCRACIES, WAYLAYING THE TYPIST ON HER WAY TO THE WATER-COOLER, KIDNAPPING THE EXECUTIVE BETWEEN OFFICE AND HOME, CREEPING INTO THE BEDROOMS OF RESPECTABLE FAMILIES, HIDING IN THE CHAMBERS OF HIGH OFFICE, GRADUALLY TIGHTENING ITS CONTROL, EVENTUALLY EMERGING INTO THE STREETS, WAGING PITCHED BATTLES AND WINNING (ITS VICTORY IS INEVITABLE).

WE ARE THE VANGUARD OF FANTASY
WHERE WE LIVE IS LIBERATED TERRITORY IN WHICH FANTASY MOVES ABOUT FREELY AT ALL HOURS OF THE DAY, FROM WHICH IT MOUNTS ITS ATTACK ON OCCUPIED TERRITORY.
EACH DAY BRINGS NEW AREAS UNDER OUR CONTROL
EACH DAY A NEW VICTORY IS REPORTED
EACH DAY FANTASY DISCOVERS NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZATION
EACH DAY IT FURTHER CONSOLIDATES ITS CONTROL, HAS LESS TO FEAR, CAN AFFORD TO SPEND MORE TIME IN SELF DISCOVERY...
EVEN IN THE MIDST OF BATTLES IT PLANS THE CITIES OF THE FUTURE.

WE ARE FULL OF OPTIMISM
WE ARE THE FUTURE

(all excerpts from various editions of the RAT, published in New York on the lower east side.)

NOTES ON PHONE CONVERSATION WITH CARLOS APONTE (FROM NEW YORK) 8/7/68

Carlos requested that the members of the California delegation to the National Convention in Ann Arbor be requested to think about some sort of declaration being made at that convention regarding Chicago. He also suggested that they think about "participation" at Chicago. He says that New York and Michigan are already thinking about this and some sort of proposal will almost surely be made. He feels that it is important that Peace & Freedom be visible at Chicago and suggests the possibility that some California people consider the possibility of going directly to Chicago from Ann Arbor to set up arrangements for any kind of P&F participation decided on.

Carlos advised that New York P&F has been making contact with farm workers in New York and attempting to organize them. They (N.Y. P&F) plan to bring representatives from N.Y. farm workers to the National Convention and Carlos suggested that Calif. P&F attempt to get someone from Chavez' group to attend on behalf of Calif. farm workers - with the intention of setting up something like a national "Farm Workers Caucus" and at least getting some dialogue going.

Further, Carlos is concerned to know what press arrangement are being made for the National Convention. (I have forwarded a packet of information to Carlos, including a copy of the National Organizing newspaper, containing the Michigan phone number - so that he can contact them directly) Carlos said he would like to concentrate on contacting the underground and international press. He said he wanted to notify the international press to tell them what we are doing and that our own "establishment media" do not give us objective coverage and that our convention is more important in terms of new developments than either the Republican or Democratic Conventions.

I asked him about the possibility of cooperation between Peace and Freedom and Freedom and Peace in New York. He said that P&F's idea of cooperation was essentially that P&F take the P&F name and P&F adopt their program and platform and support their candidates. He also said that their organization in upstate New York is coming apart and their members are defecting to P&F there.

Louise Monaco

P.S.: I am submitting this report because I happened to be around when Carlos called and promised him that I would relay our conversation. The views, therefore, expressed herein do not necessarily reflect those of the writer, etc.....

[Handwritten notes and scribbles at the bottom of the page, including "NY", "P&F", and other illegible text.]

11 present
12
13
14
X

① 2+

- ③ National Org - Conv.
- Org (Dem Big up)

② State Cent Comm - Conv.

① Senate Campaign ? - What Conv. take up?

Funds conv.
State finance
Panther Sit L.A.

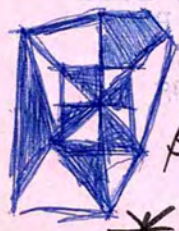


- Loomis
- Wilcox
- Dallas
- Krenn
- Macom
- Swain
- Marston
- Bullock
- Barber

① Campaign A - NEW PARTY
Part not run state Calif
hold nat. conf

B - SENATORIA CAMP

NO \$
Going 2 make \$ marketing
written leaflet



Barlow Staff till school
\$15,000 Paul spent

No resources for jail-welfare etc
* leaflet for McCarthy conv/post conv.

MFDP

②A We legally like Rep Party
We need not hold conv 24 aug.

24

③A NAT CONV
off 313 761

- 1- Dem Primary is election
- 2- evers Hodding Carter

MYD

stur, come pres

HOW TO MAKE A "LEGAL" AFFIDAVIT

Begin the affidavit with your name, address, party registration, and, if you can remember, your voting place or precinct number. Please include the names of any officials you can remember. Quote or paraphrase statements you heard made by the officials at your polling place. Cite any newspaper articles or TV-radio announcements you may have heard regarding write-in candidates.

If you voted and had no trouble whatsoever writing-in Peace and Freedom candidates, please write out an affidavit saying for whom you voted and how you voted for them (did you use a lever or write in?). The whole procedure is below:

First, IF YOU VOTED, state for whom you voted;

Second, IF YOU WROTE IN, say whose name you wrote in;

Third, IF YOU DID NOT WRITE IN, say why you didn't, what prevented or discouraged you, whether you had any trouble with precinct officials;

Fourth, IF YOU DIDN'T VOTE, say why you didn't, what statements in the press or on radio or TV by the registrar of voters or what you learned in person from his employees either in his office or over the phone stopped you from voting;

Fifth, IF YOU HAD ANY TROUBLE WITH OFFICIALS AT YOUR POLLING PLACE, state the details.

All affidavits must begin with the following phrase: I declare, under penalty of perjury that the following (or the) above) is true.

Please explain carefully what you did and what difficulties you experienced, and what you intended to do-- or would have done-- had you been able to vote without any trouble and if the registrar's office had issued correct instructions.

Be sure to date and sign the affidavit. You can write the affidavit out in longhand or type it, as you wish. Any paper will do.

We need these affidavits immediately. Mail them to the

Campaign & Registration Committee

attn: Denis Mosgofian

or Ken Rose

55 Colton St.

SF 94103

HELP US WITH SPECIAL PROJECTS: We are launching a number of projects-- support for the Rent Control and Tax Relief initiative, direct action boycotts aimed at exposing particular forms of exploitation and their relation to the war, a summer registration drive and a police control program.. We are going on with these campaigns right now and we need your help. Send money or volunteer your work at the address above.

TO ALL PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY REGISTRANTS:

During the period just prior to and on the day of the primary election of June 4, the Registrar of Voters Office issued statements regarding write-in candidates that discouraged numerous Peace and Freedom registrants from either voting at all or from writing-in. Moreover, the precinct trainers in City Hall instructed precinct officials that there was only one write-in candidate in San Francisco, Republican Al Graf of the 20th Assembly District.

On election day, the Peace and Freedom Office received scores of calls from members experiencing difficulty writing-in from precinct officials.

Peace and Freedom has filed suit in Federal court charging the Registrar of Voters and his staff with depriving our candidates and members of our voting rights. We are demanding that all our write-in candidates be certified as having received sufficient votes to have their names placed on the November ballot. Our basis is that the action of the city registrar's office prevented our candidates from being elected. Further, we are seeking damages to recover the costs of our campaigns since they were, in effect, rendered pointless; their point was to establish focal points around which we could organize through November and be able to reach people in every area of town with our program.

As it is, only one write-in candidate made the November ballot, Kathleen Cleaver in the 18th Assembly District. We need to get the rest on the ballot. Our case against City Hall is very strong, but we want to take no chances of having insufficient evidence to convince the court of our strength and the degree to which our members were intimidated from writing in. Therefore we need many more affidavits than we have at present.

Our first formal hearing is Wednesday, June 26th, at 10 A.M. in the federal building., Law and Motion court, Judge Harris presiding. If you can come without losing a day's pay, please do. Dress neatly. Thanks.

We have a second request. We need to know just who wrote-in and who did not, and whether those who did experienced any trouble. Also, we must learn why those who did not write-in did not do so. We need affidavits from every P&F voter.

On the next page is the information we need to know, as well as the affidavit form.

THANK YOU,

Dennis Mosgofian
Dennis Mosgofian
Campaign & Registrations Commit
P & F P

PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY OF HAWAII
1174 W. King Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

Bruce Hartford
State Steering Committee
California Peace and Freedom Party
55 Colton Street
San Francisco 94103 California

Dear Bruce:

The Peace and Freedom Party of Hawaii in Honolulu County on Wednesday, September 4, 1968, approved the proposal of the California State Convention, April 24, entitled, A Dual Focus For the Fall Elections. The PFPH voted to carry out the policy of the proposal. It decided that because of tactical considerations, among which will be an effort to draw in some other peace groups, it might vary the actual time of the demonstration. This is not because of any insistence on individualism, but arises out of long practice that has proven effective in timing with mainland demonstrations.

The Honolulu action must be submitted to the PFPH organizations in the other three counties of Hawaii for consideration and action. This will be done immediately.

Fraternally,

Morton Vicker

Morton Vicker,
Field Representative

September 5, 1968
MV/bj

PEACE & FREEDOM PARTY OF HAWAII
1174 KEOKE RD
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

Hi Bruce

Thought I would include a more personal note and ask a couple of favors. Communication with the mainland and especially California has never been very good. Now with the shifting of national organizing, and Hyland's new status (whatever the hell that is) it is nil. there is much that needs to be transmitted. I hope some of it is on its way. All I ask of you is that you send us, and put us on permanently, a contact list, ~~or~~ Huey Newton, etc. any pertinent information, U.S.W.

The P&F is on the ballot here. We have filed for the U.S. Senate, the House and several local offices. The Lt. Governor threatens to disqualify Cleaver, as I understand he has in California. We are trying to get the dope on what is happening in California on that ~~but~~ so we will have some guidelines to action if the same thing happens here on September 11. Also we can't find out who is the VP candidate.

You get the drift. So would you do what you can. Also let us know who and where wants information from us. We have some interesting things to pass on.

This is a funny place. About three years behind everything on the mainland, especially politically. But the people are good. And friendly. However, personally it doesn't grab me very much and I may be splitting to the mainland soon. I have been asked to stay until after the elections. Don't think I will.

Thank you

mort vicker

Forgot to enclose this in other letter.

m v

Sept. 28, 1968

TO AVOID THE WORKING CLASS...

SF County P & F members are faced with developing an independent radical reform program to begin to provide some community leadership for the struggles of the people of San Francisco. In This Context a proposal for police control is being put forth which could mislead the movement into supporting the government and away from a hard-hitting fight against US Imperialism and racism. We all want to stop the cops and the question is how do we really do that.

The police proposal suggests that after a wee bit of petitioning, and the Board of Supervisors sets up the special election for us, we'll get out the vote and be in control of the cops. A get-rich-quick scheme -- and peaceful too -- to state power. No fuss, no muss, no bother -- just ask for it by name: state power. The police, and the rest of the military, are simply what keeps the ruling class in power. And they -- the US ruling class -- have nothing to lose but their power, their fortunes and their lives. All we have to do is to decide to work hard and get lots of signatures.

THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

The proposal is misleading in the following ways. First, it disguises the true nature of the police by suggesting that we can rule the cops. The cops are the main domestic armed extension of the ruling class and their task is to guarantee the capitalist class their rule. Without the police et al, the ruling class could not hold state power a month. Without Imperialism's military, the NLF would have wrenched Vietnam free from imperialist control and long ago.

The police are the ruling class' ultimate line of defense against the people's resistance to exploitation and oppression. To control the police is to hold ultimate power. The only control the people can have over the cops short of holding state power is through armed self-defense, for which at this point there isn't the political consciousness among the people outside the black community.

Second, because the proposal is built on a false notion of the nature of the police, it reinforces illusions in bourgeois democracy more so than other reform efforts such as the drive for workers' rent and tax relief and control, which too faces creating some of the same illusions. The police proposal falsely tells people they can peacefully gain a measure of power over the cops by mere voting and setting up local boards. People, especially white working people, cannot be organized simply against the cops, simply around a defensive posture. Since the proposal is not intended to organize for self-defense the main reliance for police control is placed on the ruling class's electoral machinery.

Third, it essentially puts forth the idea that we can be one happy family, and that the people can peacefully co-exist with the murderers and their cops who rule this country because it suggests that apart from the working class arming itself, a few radicals can take over. "The boards will rule the cops, and they will have to listen to us."

Fourth, it will aid the local ruling class to rule more easily as they need some vehicle for diverting protest against the cops off them and onto some powerless "community control" body. Because any such boards, apart from local self-defense boards arising out of the people's need, will not physically control the cops, these boards will be one more buffer between the oppressed and their oppressors. And radicals will be the cops, and being isolated from the working class, will have only the system's law and order to enforce.

POLICE CONTROL, OR HOW TO AVOID FIGHTING RACISM

The Black Panther Party has correctly put forth the only means of controlling the cops: armed self-defense. The authors opportunistically argue this ballot proposal will be the main way white radicals can support the Black Liberation Struggle. They choose to ignore what many, including the BPP, GFLP, have said: that the main task of all white independent radicals and revolutionary communists is to fight racism among white working people where it has its base though not its source, and to point out that Imperialism and the government are the common enemy of all working people, black and white.

Racism must be destroyed, and to do this we must link ourselves up and join in common struggle with the white working people in our communities and on the job. This is a long fight but we must do it. We have no choice.

A REFORM IS A REFORM IS A REFORM...OR IS IT?

The police control proposal is put forth as if it were just like any other reform measure, like say, the drive for workers' controlled rent control and tax relief. However, the military arm of the state is not same as the housing or education questions. Since the two reforms appear similar, and do have aspects in common, we should examine carefully in light of the political purpose for reform struggle.

RENT AND TAX REFORM

The rent and tax control drive is aimed at helping working people defend their housing interests and fight for their housing needs. Full control over housing by the people will, however, not be won until the people hold state power, but unions of tenants and owners can organize to defend themselves against gouging landlords and banks and

realtors, and advance a fight for decent and lower cost housing, rents and taxes. The critical element in a reform struggle is that it must develop in people the consciousness of their own power, and this is only possible where a measure of success can be won by the peoples' own struggle against the ruling class. There can be no gaining control over the police by the radical few, and there is no working class movement desiring such control. The housing victories will be limited, even over the long haul, but victories there will be. Our role is to help create among the people the need for the whole pie, state power.

It is not enough for a reform struggle, even rent control etc., to teach the need for state power if that struggle does not also teach people that it is possible for them to win. Winning is the only means of producing the confidence that is required to carry out the struggle to higher levels. The critical difference between the two reforms lies here: in the nature of the aspect of the system to be reformed. The police are the political mainstay of the ruling class, and short of community armed self-defense, no control can be won. However, we must take every opportunity to expose the role of the police, while not falling prey to illusions about the possibility of the cops enforcing the people's interests, like having them through such boards arrest slumlords, other cops, gouging merchants and strikebreaking scabs. Or of getting them not to smash black rebellions.

RADICAL REFORM FOR CYNACISM

The proposal's main effect will be ultimate demoralization and cynacism among many activists and new political forces about the working class' ability to change their political attitudes and desire to fight against the system, racism and the cops. Without the serious intention, and constant emphasis on, carrying the rent and tax reform drive to the level of tenants and owners organizing themselves, the drive would produce the same results in the movement, and what's worse, it would produce increased cynacism about the ability of people to fight city hall in tens of thousands of San Franciscans. Only through such organizing can an effective defense and increased fight be waged. No such serious organizing is possible among white working people, or even, we suggest, among black and latino working people, around the police control board concept. They either don't want it, or know better already.

SO WHY PUT THIS POLICE PROPOSAL FORTH?

It is possible that some of the people supporting this are simply not certain that the police can't be controlled without armed self-defense and ultimately state power. But this lack of certainty does not exist in the minds of the proposals authors, Ric Hyland, Terrance Hallinan and the Communist(so-called)PartyUSA, Brian Heron and other opportunists in P & F.

This proposal is put forth under the guise of fighting police repression but its main purpose is to give its authors political and organizational leadership of P & F and the movement. This, in order to mislead the movement away from carrying out the main task P & F has of linking up with working people's struggles to help forge a united student-worker anti-imperialist movement. The proposal simply utilizes the ready-made base of anti-cop sentiment and frustration over US imperialism in Vietnam.

HOW TO HELP THE RULING CLASS RULE AND GAIN LEFT WING PRESTIGE AT THE SAME TIME

Who is this proposal aimed at serving? The proposal is aimed mainly at hippies and black people. But there can be no reliance on the state for protection from the state, as the Huey Newton trial has shown, and the only protection for all the people lies in building a working class movement and base that will be when necessary defend itself. For the black people, some white radicals propose a step backward from the correct slogan of armed self-defense. This is racism and opportunism since to gain prestige and leadership in the movement they argue the need for police control boards under the correct principle of supporting the black liberation struggle.

Our task is to support the black liberation movement by fighting the ruling class' weapon of racism among white working people. This proposal has no such intention, and only helps divert the movement and help the ruling class rule.

PEACEFUL TRANSITION: STATE POWER WITHOUT A FIGHT

The political line behind this proposal is the revisionist line of co-existence between the people and the ruling class, and the possibility of taking power without a base among the workers and without a fight. Hallinan's recent "attack" on the evil tactical squad exposes the CP's opportunism and their constant betrayal of the working class and the black liberation movement.

While Hallinan denounced the tac squad and called for its abolition, he was careful to cover his rear by proclaiming, not once but many times, and as the main reason for their abolition, that the tac squad was marking the finest tradition of the SF Police Department. The CP's interest is not to smash the system and build working class power, but to soften the blows of system on the people by helping it improve its image. And who else but forces within the movement could tell the ruling class how best to improve its image. These same revisionist forces are presently calling P & F people and telling them, "Well, we probably(!) can't vote for HHH, but at least we can still vote for Willie Brown."

Is this misleadership any different from the Soviet revisionists telling the US government that it is a shame for them to carry on so in Vietnam and that it should listen to the American people and ... yes... stop the bombing and negotiate? Or from the Soviet leadership telling the Vietnamese, to whom they provide lots of aid, to negotiate with the US? Or the Soviets constantly telling the US that it is losing prestige abroad?

We all want to stop the cops, and that means we must get out and work among the bulk of our society, the white working class. We must reject this proposal as opportunist and misleading for the people and the movement. And see it for what it is, an unprincipled ploy for political leadership. It will be two steps backward, none forward.

WHERE IT'S AT.



October 1, 1968 issued by San Francisco Peace and Freedom Party Independent Caucus

County Votes New Structure; Election Set For Saturday

CONSPIRACY?.....

WE NEED A MILLION

Yes. The Independent Caucus did effect a change it thought was badly needed. It did so by contacting as many PFM activists as it could personally. Then it organized open discussion of the problems facing PFM in San Francisco and working out solutions to them.

It also mailed 1,200 letters to new and old registrants. Below are two paragraphs which are the guts of the letters.

"There is considerable feeling in San Francisco Peace and Freedom that our organization could function more efficiently and democratically than it has. Peace and Freedom, unlike the majority American political parties, is an experimental form which seeks, above all, to express the political will of the membership. We are now seeking a structure which will enable us to do this and

(continued on page 2)

The San Francisco Peace and Freedom Movement County Convention voted overwhelmingly in favor of a new structure last Saturday. The majority proposal of the structure workshop carried by a vote of 75 to 43 to eight.

But there is business on the agenda yet to be completed. The convention reconvenes next Saturday at 55 Colton St. at 10 AM to elect officers and staff and to discuss implementation of the issues.

The convention, which was scheduled to complete its business in one day, was slowed by the tactics of the elements which opposed the majority report issued by the structure workshop. A minority element insisted that a defined structure is irrelevant to building the P&F movement.

The structure adopted established a coordinating committee composed of delegates from five grass roots area groups and nine issue-oriented working committees.

The issue committees approved are anti-war, urban affairs, racism, students, education, labor, culture, elections and legislative, and police control.

Each issue committee will send one delegate to the coordinating committee and each area group two.

A paid staff of four, which will run the office, supervise publications, direct fund raising and finances and conduct field organizational work, was also approved. The staff members

will be responsible to the coordinating council, but will not have a vote. An official county spokesman, also under the direction of the coordinating council, will present party policy to the public and the press. This officer will have a vote on the coordinating council only in the case of a tie.

The elections and policy discussion were to have been concluded at last Saturday's convention. However, fruitless attempts by incumbent supporters, who were in the minority, to emasculate the adopted structure delayed the proceedings. They contended that the establishment of a "...structure" was "bureaucratic power grabbing" by the grass roots members present.

The epitome of hysterical name-calling came from the minority opposition when a Rivoli St. housewife made the motion at 5:30 to recess the convention. The motion was motivated by a babysitting problem. And she was accused of leading a "power grab!"

CONSPIRACY?.....

WE NEED A MILLION

(continued from page one)

to maintain a coordinated, functioning political presence in San Francisco.

The enclosed structural proposal is the majority report of the pre-convention party structure workshop which convened at Colton St. Saturday, September 21. We hope that you will read it, and will bring it, with questions or suggested modifications to the convention on Saturday. We welcome you to the Peace and Freedom community and urge you to join us to make your voice heard."

At the convention itself a leaflet explaining the position was issued by the Independent Caucus. Below is the final section of the leaflet.

"--- Without a workable structure there is no way for the rank and file to develop a program.

----- Without a workable structure there is no way to mobilize our forces to carry out a program.

----- Without a workable structure the Movement ends up being run by cliques if it's run at all.

Indeed, the Independent Caucus is not trying to hide its light under a bushel.

All labor and materials for paper donated by the Indep. Caucus. Volunteer Staff: S. Bond, S. Fain, D. Fowler C. & J. Gallagher, M. Slaughter D. Adams, M. Vickers, L. Wren

RAISING THE RHETORICAL FOG

Everyone knows that political verbiage is defined by connotation. Hence, "law 'n' order" reads "THEM."

Within Peace & Freedom, words show the same proclivity for definition by overtone. Thus, in the spirit of burning the fog from P&F vocabulary, we submit the following lexicon as an introductory catechism, definitive but not exhaustive.

For openers, please note that P&F words are either semantically "good" or "bad." "Bad" words stem from ideologically impure viewpoints (A P&F hymnal would footnote verses containing these words as "not to be given credence; inserted only for the sake of the rhyme scheme"). "Good" words, however, inspire the spirit, and are akin to such Establishment words as "motherhood," "hot dog," "Coca-Cola."

We have catalogued ten bad and eighteen good words below.

BAD WORDS

chairman--malevolent dictator (exception: Chairman Mao).
organizer--autocratic authoritarian. Descendent of Simon Legre
liberal--a wishy-washy, lacrymose, button-down junior exec.; opposite of organizer.
progress--far inferior to "dialectic--" thesis, antithesis, synthesis. Qualitative change... now you're talking.
structure--like the shell of a snail, it impedes movement.
leadership--multiple chairmen (see "chairman").
mandate--tyranny of the majority.
accountability--the exploitative tool of hydra-headed ldrshp..
dues--a) country club membership; b) poll tax.
implementation--logically prior to accountability, it is the corrupt practice of leadership.

GOOD WORDS

cadre--the brotherhood of equals.
mf--two halves of a righteously ethnic words; can be used with devastating effect to praise, assail or let off steam.
rap--not to be confused with H. Rap. The traditionally negative overtones help one remember that straight, logical thinking is the basis of rapping.
participatory democracy--much better than "filibuster."
movement--used to purport direction; actually means stasis.
do your thing--don't tread on me.
confrontation--back to the dialectical thing: call 'em mf to their face and get qualitative change.
anarchy--the absolute opposite and negation of chairman, organizer, liberal, progress, etc.

Class is now over. If you didn't quite get the definitions on one reading try flash cards.

During the summer months, a weekly newsletter, NEXUS, was published for Peace and Freedom members by the Marina Union. It contained announcements of forthcoming meetings and political commentary,

and was mailed free to anyone who requested it. NEXUS demonstrated the vigorous commitment of independent individuals to Peace and Freedom during a summer of crisis when S.F.. P&F was officially silent.

STEPPED UP ACTIVITY AT OUTGOING COUNCIL LAID TO NEW OUTLOOK

Direct action on Peace & Freedom issues was initiated at Monday night's interim county council meeting. The issue committees, which were adopted as part of the new county structure voted in at the county convention, are already drawing PFP'ers who want to be actively involved in political

The group decided that the two areas requiring immediate action this week are anti-war and elections.

Plans to actively support the G.I. October 12 March include a mailing of leaflets to the PFP constituency urging attendance and leafletting of the spectators at the march. Also under consideration is a plan to help the G.I.'s with a follow-up leafletting of the airport and bus terminal. The G.I. sponsoring group hopes to reach as many enlisted men as possible during the protest weekend.

A PFP fund raising party will follow the march. It will be held at the Committee Theater Backroom (through the lobby), 836 Montgomery St. from 5-10 p.m. Billed as "Fraternalize with the G.I.s...Take a G.I. to Dinner," the party will provide a gourmet dinner and entertainment for \$3.50 for civilians and \$1.00 for G.I.s and children under 12. Slated for entertainment are John Handy, Singing Sam Jordan, the Committee and the Pitchel Players. Anyone willing to donate food or to help with arrangements should contact Marie Chapman at EV6-1960.

The elections committee announced a meeting of the Paul Jacobs and K. Cleaver campaign forces to be held at 55 Colton St., Wed. Night at 7:30.

JOIN IN G.I. MARCH ON OCTOBER 12, CONVENTION URGES

One of the first items on the agenda of last Saturday's county Convention was an announcement of the G.I. and Veterans March for Peace.

George Johnson and M. Parisi of the march committee spoke about the history and goals of the march. A motion that the S.F. P&F Movement support the march was made. The 180 convention participants passed it unanimously.

The March will start at 11:00 am, Oct. 12 at the Panhandle and progress to Civic Center, for a 2 pm rally. P&F members interested in leafletting for the march should obtain leaflets at 55 Colton St. or at the march office at the Sacred Heart Church., 546 Fillmore St. 552-2939.

MONEY IS THE ROOT OF ALL
CAMPAIGN LEAFLETS, BUTTONS,
BUMPER STICKERS, AND POS-
TERS. SEND CONTRIBUTIONS

TO: Jacobs for Senate
593 Market, rm 512

OR

Cleaver for Assembly
c/o Peace & Freedom
55 Colton Street

Anyone interested in working on the campaigns is urged to contact Cathy Gallagher or Linda Wren.

Plans were also made for a post-convention bash to be held next Sat., Oct. 5, at a location to be announced at the convention.

A report by the fundraiser revealed that PFM is currently in the red and is in desperate need of funds.

ALL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS SEEN AS BEING SPURRED BY NEWLY STRUCTURED GROUPS

With only five weeks remaining before election day, San Francisco Peace & Freedom Movement is finally moving to support its candidates. Following the adoption of the structure last Saturday which will create a city-wide Election and Legislative issue group representatives of the Paul Jacobs for US Senate and K. Cleaver for Assembly Campaigns were approached by a group of P&Fers wanting to work on electoral action. As a result, a meeting was scheduled for Wed. evening at the Colton St. Headquarters.

One of the major proposals to be discussed at the meeting was the call for a San Francisco Peace and Freedom candidates rally in mid-October. As little or nothing has been done to aid the campaigns by the County organization to date, spokesmen for the Cleaver and Jacobs campaigns confessed some doubt as to its chances for success. This they said would depend to a great extent on whether or not the County organization is serious about supporting the P&F campaigns.

In addition to the candidates' rally, other agenda items at the meeting were to be fund raising, campus organizations, precinct organizations, and development and distribution of literature.

A report from the group will be given at the continued session of the convention this Saturday.

WHO IS THE INDEPENDENT CAUCUS?

by Sharon Fain

The Independent Caucus is composed of Peace & Freedom members from various neighborhood groups, many no longer functioning; members of the State Steering Committee and the National Organizing Committee; and staff members from the three P&F election campaigns.

We first sought each other out during the summer, when many of us felt extremely concerned about the state of P&F and our ability to work within it. Discussion took place in the neighborhood groups that still met and a city wide meeting of activists to establish communication was held.

The following positions evolved:

1) P&F in San Francisco was not functioning democratically. Participation in policy-making was not possible for most of the membership, especially for working people, housewives, artists, and low-income persons who cannot give all their time to political activity.

2) Intra-party communication and the organization of work has been poor. The office did not coordinate the activities of groups and channel information. Neither did it function as the nucleus of a community which welcomed and supported peace and freedom people.

3) Priorities for action on peace, black liberation, community control of police, and other issues vital in the mandate of P&F have been disregarded.

4) Our survival and our effectiveness require a permanent, consistent, emphatic political presence in San Francisco. P&F cannot afford confused silence, and must not speak the "line" of any political elite which does not take direction from the P & F membership.

In the weeks preceding the convention numerous open meetings were held to discuss how P&F could be organized to avoid these pitfalls of the past. We finally drafted a structure and took it to the pre-convention structure workshop, where it was reported out as the majority report.

We mailed 1200 copies of our proposed structure, with a cover letter explaining our position, to new registrants and to those who voted in the primary election. At the convention this structure proposal was adopted.

We call ourselves the Independent Caucus because all of us consider P&F to be our primary political affiliation. We have no loyalties that conflict with building Peace & Freedom.

The group, with an informal membership of about 70, is extremely diverse in age, lifestyle, political orientation and occupation. There are housewives, students, nurses, actors, chemists, longshoremen, university professors, yippies, printers, social workers, P&F organizers, file clerks, and poets.

We all believe that P&F could unify the radical left, and also be the organizational home of the emerging street culture.

To do this, the party must be strong, consistent, well organized, and deeply rooted in the community, and must be able to absorb all persons who truly wish to work for Peace and Freedom.

We hope to involve inactive members, new registrants, "turned-off" activists -- all of you -- in the building of Peace and Freedom.

BAY AREA PFM MEMBERS
TAKE PART IN GRAPE STRIKE RALLY

Fifty members of San Francisco and Alameda County Peace & Freedom marched with several thousand supporters of the grape workers to the rally in the S.F. Civic Center last month to mark the third anniversary of the strike in Delano. This joint activity by the S.F. and Alameda P&F was organized by Manuel Sunshine, chairman of the SFPFM Labor Committee, and by the Alameda County Labor Committee.

The UFWOC is still picketing the Mayfair Markets to get them to stop selling grapes. Members who want to help the grape workers in the name of P&F should phone Cathie Murg Nava at the UFWOC office in the Labor Temple: 621-8821 or 751-5566

S. F. County Fund-Raising/Finance Report
week ending 6-24-68

I. Bank balance....65.44

II. Checks written this week

Best Lock & Key.....7.88
Pat Farbman..... 40.00 (repayment of 60.00 loan from Upper West. Add.
Colton St. retained 20.00 for July dues)
Gestetner Corp..... 41.67... Ink, paper, stencils and service call
Bob Pilgrim..... 25.00... installment on Gestetner (balance due 125.00)
TOTAL SPENT THIS WEEK.....114.55

III. S.F.COUNT BILLS PAST DUE (followed by original date & am't. incurred)

125.00.....Bob Pilgrim..balance due on Gestetner(April-300.00)
175.20..... International Exchange Press
5-3-68 1M Newspapers
5-10-68 2M " "
127.74..... Waller Press... 15M Election Issues
27.56..... Gestetner Corp., repairs (May)
~~177.50..... Shell Rentals...sound truck, registration drive(Dec.67...422.50)~~
~~150.27..... Bindweed Press...60M Flyers for reg. drive(12-31-67...305.27)~~
15.00..... Ash er Paper Co...supplies (May)
37.80.....Weekly (National) Guardian...ad for Far From Vietnam (Feb.68)
33.00..... Berkeley Graphic Arts.. anti-cop leaflets (Feb.68)
~~190.96..... Western Union...telegrams for Registrar's dinner, Connies
Restaurant, (12-27-68)~~

1060.13.....current debt

IV. PROJECTED EXPENSES FOR THIS WEEK))(ENDING JULY 1st)

RENT.....100.00 (for July, due 7-1-68)
PHONE.....undetermined.. bill will be mailed to us on 7-1-68
State P & F P.... recommendation of the co-chairmen that nothing be
allotted this week, in view of #I above.
FUND RAISING (see VI)

85
20
70
25
200

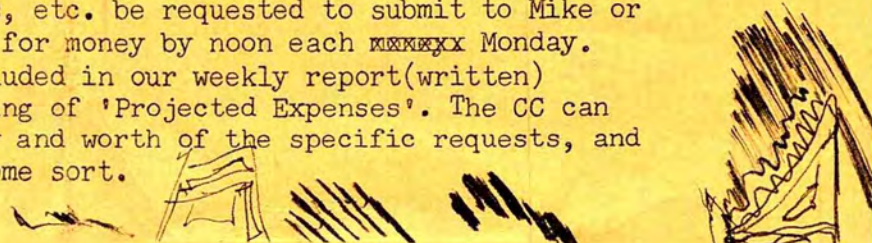
V. DUES...two NHGs have already paid their July Dues ,Upper West. Addition
and Bernal Hts,

VI. FUND RAISING MEETING 6-18-68

1. Movies...beginning July 12; we set up a PFM film club on a regular ~~xxx~~ basis such as twice a month. We need a hall lowest estimate so far is 85\$; projectors are 20\$; films (2) ~~xxx~~ from 70\$.
2. Book Bazaar... tentatively for Aug. 10 at Colton St. There are no immediate expenses, except for a door and lock for NHG room for storing books.
3. Direct mail fund raising letter to all registrants who voted in the primary. The list will be available from the Registrar sometime in July.

VII. It is the recommendation of the committee that the following procedure be adopted for spending money.

1. All committees, individuals, etc. be requested to submit to Mike or Harry a written, brief request for money by noon each ~~xxxxx~~ Monday.
2. These requests will be included in our weekly report(written) to the CC, under the heading of 'Projected Expenses'. The CC can then decide on the urgency and worth of the specific requests, and give them a priority of some sort.



3. Mike Rubin and/or Harry Orr can, then, in the coming week, honor these requests in terms of priorities given and money available.

VIII. GESTETNER

With all the organizations currently sharing the premises, there is a problem concerning the use of the machine. When it needs repairs, S.F. County pays the bill. Gayle Justice, the office mgr., suggested the following:

1. All NHG/SIG allowed unlimited use of the machine, but be limited to two reams of paper per mo. Beyond that, they buy their own.
2. Other organizations such as the State Office, Nat. Org. Office, Poor People's Campaign, et al shall pay the County \$1.50 each time they use the machine, at least 'til it's paid for. At that time some other arrangement can be worked out.

- IX. Beginning next week, we will try to include a list of money taken in as well as expended. Also, at the end of each month, Mike ~~or~~ or I will let the county know what groups have not paid their dues, in the hope that the body can coerce delinquent members to do so (or, at the very least, intimidate them, start a floor fight and discussion, and spend four hours thrashing out the principle of NHG dues for the thirteenth time).

Respectfully,

Harry Orr
Mike Rubin

