

NAMELESS

35 cents

VOL. 1, NO. 5

NEWSPRINT



Cover by P  ta Gilleran

CONTENTS

When one does 95% of a Nameless Newsprint in a 48 hour time span, one soon loses the desire to doll up the paper with a lot of frills & extras. So, you will have to make do without this little section.

GOODNIGHT —

LHST

Re-enlistments of whites in the U.S. Army dropped from 20% in 1966 to 12.8% in 1967. The drop in the re-enlistments of Afro-Americans was even sharper—from 66.5% in 1966 to 31.7% in 1967. While the rate of re-enlistments dropped in all branches of the armed forces, it was less sharp in the others. A spokesman for the Department of Defense said he could offer no definite explanation, but thought it might have something to do with the war in Vietnam.

NAMELESS NEWSPRINT

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EDITORIAL READ!!



The winds are changing. We appeal to you again for more subscriptions to Nameless Newsprint, but not with the familiar incantation of financial distress. In view of recent developments and changes within the Newspaper's communicative stretch, it is becoming increasingly clear that any "concerned" LRYer must subscribe to this publication, if his concern is to be nurtured, represented, and challenged adequately. At midwinter meetings in Chicago the LRY Executive Committee officially recognized this unanticipated (and unequalled) swell of success in communications by cancelling further publication and distribution of the LRY local group packet, and putting full thrust of effort and soul behind the Nameless Newsprint. The advantages of this centralization reach further than the obvious benefits of wider distribution of material and a needed cut in printing expenses; in order to measure up to the critical appraisal of such a widespread and varied readership, LRY must not only abandon its tradition of hip, off-set graphic boredom, but it must also launch and follow up each of its programs with thoroughly-considered and active motive and intent.

Perhaps the most momentous program which the Newspaper will be covering in future issues is The Youth Front. The manifesto and send-off literature of the Front were published in Nameless Newsprint #4. Anyone worth his denominational salt who hasn't read this material should make effort to do so immediately. Where necessary, we will send copies of #4 upon request. I have much to say now about the Youth Front, but first an announcement that constitutes the very crux of the matter:

(With extreme pleasure) I announce the following candidacies:

Mr. Lawrence Ladd for the UUA Commission on Appraisal

Miss Patty Johns for the UUA Program Committee

Mr. Gregory Sweigert for the UUA Board of Trustees

Larry and Patty have the weighty endorsement of the UUA Nominating Committee. Greg, however, is running by petition. Through meetings of Youth Front core leaders and UUA top administration, we were able to obtain legal consultation on the issue of candidates for the Board of Trustees who are under 21 years of age, which happily provided Greg with proper footing to launch his campaign.

Here we have it: three youth candidates for UUA control positions - the ultimate working objective of our pledge to the denomination. The success of this campaign would be an invaluable complement to LRY's push for a return to active membership in our respective churches. However, youth candidacy cannot expect a meaningful impact unless it is reinforced by an overwhelming response from the LRY community-at-large in terms of ending the boycott of our "nowhere" churches. We will be relying almost exclusively on two major programs, which are equally crucial and intimately connected, in the realization of an honest youth contention to the July General Assembly and to the denomination as a whole. The two programs are:

1) YOUTH DELEGATES TO THE 1969 GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Know now that we are arranging free housing for all youth delegates to G.A. in July. Dependent upon the success of Program #2, we will also provide meals and partial travel reimbursement. The Youth Caucus (all LRYers and SRLers attending G.A.) will meet daily during the Assembly to discuss and insure youth representation at all functions, expenses therewith being paid by the Front. We are also arranging technicalities of a fast-moving communications network which will keep the entire Assembly posted on the Front's actions. From there we have to rely upon you. Only you can negotiate delegateships with you churches. Time is running low...

2) W.C. FIELDS PROGRAM

Again, as in 1968, LRY will donate one half of its W.C. Fields proceeds to the UUA Annual Fund. This year we are projecting a gift of \$6,000, a full thousand over last year's realization. With the other \$6,000 in hand, LRY could move ahead to make delegateship for youth of minimal expense to the individual. That adds up to 12,000 dollars. W.C. Fields national fund-raising day is February 16. Figure it from there. What say we put the proverbial faith to work, and see where it gets us.

With you,

Debbie Mendelsohn
Secretary, Continental LRY

N E M S

NOTES:

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BIAFRA

All that needs to be said is that latest reports set the death by starvation rate at 25,000 per week. There are many agencies which will channel your donations.

BOYCOTTS

The AFL-CIO has called for a national boycott on California grapes. The purpose of the boycott is to force grape field owners in California to recognize the union which the grape pickers have formed and which has been on strike since 1965. The companies have been overlooking the strike because they have been easily able to obtain more workers from Mexico as they lose men to the union. What can you do???? DON'T BUY GRAPES!!! And publicize the strike in your area.

There is also a boycott of United Fruit products. The United Fruit Company is the largest land-holder in Latin America, and it is raping the region of its natural resources. The boycott also includes Baskin and Robbins Ice Cream and A&W root beer, as these manufacturers use imports from United Fruit to flavor their products.

UNITY BANK, INC.

Continental LRY, in accordance with a recent decision of the Executive Committee, has transferred its account from a

hunky, establishment bank to the Unity Bank of Roxbury, Massachusetts, a black-owned, black-run venture. LRY is urging the UUA to take similar action.

DEBBIE !!

LRY BUTTONS
W.C. Fields is alive and well at 25 Beacon St. has taken on a fresh, new face: blue lettering on orange background. And now there is an LRY button: LRY in serene, sky-blue letters on a hip-purple background. Both 25¢ apiece. All proceeds to W.C. Fields Fund 1969.

FRANK ZAPPA

has a lot to say to you and me



HIGH SCHOOL ORG. DAVE BRYCE

Since LRY is basically a high school organization, it is time we took a long-overdue look at the high school situation. So in this brief article we will critically view the conditions and contents of secondary schooling, rather than the more important issues of the Vietnam war, draft resistance, and black liberation. But note: these issues are all intimately connected.

Molding the thoughts of the American student by his schools and colleges has, over the years, tended to uphold the institutional status of racism and militarism in this country. We are being prevented from dealing with these twin oppressions/evils by the educational system of this nation, and we feel the time has come to combat it. How can we expect to deal with the stupendous moral conflicts facing our world when our perspective becomes increasingly more distorted and limited as we grow and mature under the diseased and antiquated values which predominate our educational system?

What do we mean when we say students are oppressed? We mean that high schools overtly exercise control over the students' lives by enforcing arbitrary dress codes, smoking regulations, etc. In most cases the environment of a school is contrary to a comfortable, healthy learning atmosphere. More covertly, both extremes -- the rat-trap ghetto school and the sterile suburban box-school -- are not suited to the natural human desire to explore new and different fields. Furthermore, most schools are based on a rigid authoritarian structure, allowing minimal room, if any, for the growth of a free, questing mind, which is truly vital if the learning experience is to be of any value to the individual. Apparently those administrative, authoritarian forces feel that young people are not ready to take on any responsibility for themselves; that they must be directed in everything they do. LRY is one organization which has given youth a chance to determine and effect their own directions -- educational, social, and religious -- under an almost completely autonomous structure. LRY is an experience in responsibility for oneself, both individually and organizationally. Those of us who have had the benefits of this experience are reinforced by a rightful confidence in our own values and judgements. Still, LRY is one of those extra-curricular activities or interests for which the average high school schedule has allowed little or no time.

We draw a line between rights and privileges. Privileges are granted by those in power with varying conditions attached, and may be withdrawn at any time without explanation or need. They are used to make the student toe the line for fear of rocking the boat, and losing what they already have. One year in Westport, Conn., a "liberal" principal did away with many long-standing rules, including the dress code. However, he demanded that the students show their responsibility. By that, he meant that the students still had to follow the same old guidelines, because "any responsible person would accept them as minimal standards". In order to protect their new-found "freedom", the students, except for a small minority who saw through the sham, diligently proved themselves to be highly responsible fools. Obviously, fighting the establishment does not necessarily mean only the faculty and administration.

Rights are unconditional. They are accepted as untouchable both on legal grounds, and by the belief of the general populace of the situation in which one lives and operates. As conditions of society change, so do the rights of the individual. In the U.S. we are just now beginning to change our emphasis from property rights to human rights. Everyone, I think, will agree that a student has a right to get a good education. But what is a good education, and what is education? The traditional, ambiguous, liberal line is: a good education is one which broadens the knowledge and interests of the student; one which teaches him to question, search, and discover. We can interpret this and accept it insofar as that which the student is forced to learn will be of no value to him after the hastily memorized facts are spilled out for the last time onto a compulsory exam. In high school, as it is presently constituted, the student learns primarily to accept facts as they are presented, and to accept a curriculum which may have no meaning to his life. A truly educational institution would be one in which the student chooses his own curriculum according to his own needs and desires. He would lead himself into further questioning of ideas, and of the ideas behind ideas, and he could not help but get involved in other areas of study, not because he has to, but because he wants to.

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FULLBAC STATEMENT

FULLBAC, a national Unitarian Universalist action group organized to support black empowerment and to combat white racism, issues the following statement in support of the forthcoming demonstration against the continued presence of the National Guard in Wilmington:

FULLBAC abhors the continued military occupation of Wilmington's black community, the political arrests of black leadership, corporate efforts at black co-optation and the silence of white liberals, seeing these as setting a damaging precedent that moves that city even further into a repressive police state.

We are concerned not only for Wilmington's black community, but for the entire American society, for what has

CONCERN

The place is Wilmington: for ten months occupied by the National Guard. For ten months subjected to minimal martial law, Black leaders being busted on trumped up charges and held at unreasonable bonds as political prisoners. Did I say Wilmington? Excuse me, for its Wilmington's black ghetto that is under occupation, not its law abiding slumbering outskirts. By the time you may be reading this, the Guard may be pulling out of the black community as the result of action taken by the newly inaugurated Governor Russell Peterson, a fellow Unitarian Universalist. Seemingly another accolade for the human rights cause, but a deeper feeling inside causes me to wonder.

Now is the time for a bit of examination. We can dig a fellow Uni-Uni who makes his way up through the political circus and becomes, say for instance, Governor of Delaware. It does a bit to distinguish the church and inflate the Unitarian ego. But we then examine what sort of a person this gentleman is by his reactions to various situations, if we are to claim him a friend to our ideals (religious and personal). On January 2, 1969, then Governor elect Peterson said that he would not announce a decision on the Guard until sometime after his inauguration. He also threatened to extend the period of Guard occupation if S.D.S. and other groups protested in Wilmington. In response to this statement, the White Coalition circulated a press release calling for a public commitment from Peterson to remove the Guard and condemned his statement as racist. Well, Governor???

How about the silence of white liberals. Which condition needs the repudiation more: the occupation of the ghetto, or the liberal's unwillingness to speak out. Be clean for Gene, let's work through existing channels, don't rock the boat, surely you don't want to embarrass the Governor with this silly demonstration. The "let's not get involved for it will work out through powers that be," attitude. Well, existing channels have not removed the Guard for ten months; but now the Wilmington white community newspapers asks why the January 21st demonstration at the Governor inauguration as he has implied that he intends to remove the Guard. Some educators hold that people learn by example. Perhaps the demonstration will cause some to start questioning; as the demonstrators who are putting their bodies where others put their rhetoric offer an example to the nation as well as the Unitarian Universalists both in and outside of Delaware. If you are not disturbed that the police state in Wilmington has gone virtually unchallenged; that there has been no legal opposition to the "authority" under which the Guard remains on duty; that no legal defense for Blacks arrested for political reasons has been mounted; that the Wilmington story had been neglected completely by the mass media until September, nearly five months after the appearance of the Guard; that liberal silence and inaction has flourished in a church which prides itself as being socially committed; then baby you dropped out of human society, not the long haired S.D.S. organizer who lives on twenty bucks a week.

WILMINGTON

happened in that fortress city could be the harbinger of what could happen in hundreds of communities across the country. We think it crucial, therefore, that this encroachment upon civilian liberties be held up as a national example of what happens when fear, hysteria takes hold of a community's life. And we think it is not enough to remove the guard quietly and swiftly from the black community. It is essential that this tactic be publicly repudiated.

We, therefore, call upon fellow Unitarian Universalist Governor-elect Russell Petersen to repudiate the ten month military occupation and urge him to make a public acknowledgement that the guard presence was a serious violation of individual and community liberties and we further urge him to publicly guarantee that during his term in office he will not allow the Delaware National Guard to be used in this way.

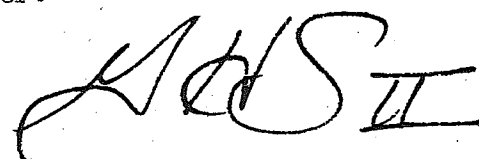
Where were the liberals when a call went out to Wilmington churches requesting warm buildings for demonstrators to group before marching last Winter to protest the military occupation of the ghetto? Two responses: one from a Black Methodist minister, and the other from a Roman Catholic priest. Even then the priest was under pressure from his Bishop and had to insist that no connection with his church be made.

The response of the white community in Wilmington needs to bear the force of national focus. Do we remain silent, passive - oh things will work out when the Governor takes office, he's a friend of mine you know.

How does the Black man feel about living in a police state? Municipal Court judge Leonard Williams - "Every Black man who's worth his salt, when he leaves his job in the evening and sees the convoys, something happens to him." A warning from a local citizen to a photographer from a nationally known black journal - "You'd better not go out there and take any pictures. When I did, they pulled me over, snatched my camera and destroyed my film." Another citizen - "Anyone who wants to know what a racist means by 'law and order' need only come to Wilmington." A WYEC (Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council) worker - "With the Guard here, there's a loss of dignity and communications and everything, man. How long would a white community allow a black army to patrol their streets."

What you have read will no doubt contribute a lot of spice to the coffee hour in Wilmington. I dare say we might even get a few letters to the editor and certainly the LRY group in Wilmington will be put on the spot. Do they think and live in the suburbs? They will be answering these questions first to themselves, and then to the adult community of the church. But this article asks a greater question to all of LRY. Where is your gut at? If LRY is to remain on the cutting edge of the directions of our movement, it is going to take LRY guts coupled with LRY action. That is of course dependent on whether or not LRYers have guts enough to stick with the Uni-Uni movement...committed to it. Being involved, keeping the faith, baby. Well, LRY???

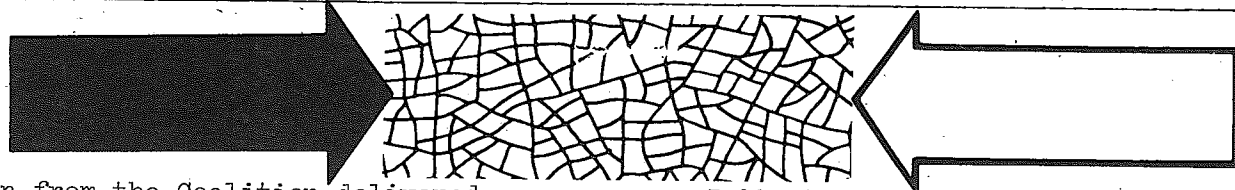
My parents tell the story of a Uni-Uni minister who, on certain Sunday mornings when all the controversial topics had been rhetorically put to death (on previous Sunday mornings), would set his voice into a flowing monotone midway through his address. The parishioners still fighting to remain conscious, were slowly soothed into slumber as he neared the finale of the sermon. Then, with the finesse of a screaming banshee he bellowed, "WAKE UP, YOU'RE ALL ASLEEP!", and concluded his message with a frightened but attentive audience. LRY - you've a lot of work to do in your own house, and even more in the church. UUA - we may be the insurgent pot that called the kettle black, maybe we can clean up together.



The American Way

- April 4: Doctor Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee
- April 8: The National Guard entered Wilmington to quell a small disorder involving fewer than 100 Blacks. Property damage was minor and there were no deaths.
- April 11: Mayor Babiarz of Wilmington removed the curfew imposed in connection with the disorders.
- April 27: Several anti-war demonstrators were arrested for violating the city ordinance passed after the outbreak of the disorders prohibiting assemblies of 10 or more persons. In October, the city dropped charges, apparently to prevent a legal challenge of the ordinance.
- April 29: An untrained clerk-typist National Guardsman killed Douglas Henry Jr. with a shotgun during a routine stop-and-frisk. A week later, with the approval of the Governor, the state House of Representatives passed a bill providing legal immunity for Guardsmen on duty. The bill never moved beyond the House passage.
- May 2: Mayor Babiarz formally removed the state of emergency in Wilmington and New Castle County. Governor Terry refused to remove the Guard.
- May 16: The Governor ordered an all white State Police force unit armed with automatic weapons, gas, and dogs to evict students from a Delaware State University administration building. Governor Terry then closed the predominately black campus.
- July 4: The Governor's inciteful statements about a (non-existent) Black Liberation Army led to expectations of a full riot on Independence Day. There was no violence, but his rhetoric of a subversive black army was still forced upon the public.
- July 16: The mayor ordered two platoons of city police to be used on weekends due to the purported increase in crime in the black community.
- August 16: The mayor ordered extra police on daytime duty, due to a purported increase of crimes during daylight hours.
- August 25: Four WYEAC leaders were arrested on illegal entry and several other charges after they had sought refuge in a house when their van was fired upon. At their sentencing, Judge Herlihy said that there was no evidence of shooting - the newspapers reported 10 bullet hole in the WYEAC van, 11 empty cartridges on the lawn of the house were the WYEAC leaders sought refuge, a crowd of 120 people at the scene, sounds of gunfire heard by the National Guard and police when they arrived on the scene.
- Sept. 1: The cost for extra duty police for the 10-day period of August 19-29 was \$7590, about \$760 daily. The cost of four month occupation by National Guard and State Police: \$400,000
- Sept. 3: To justify the still unsupported myth of an organized black army, the police began a weeklong with the arrest of six black youths at the Cherry Island firing range and subsequent raids turned up several weapons and 3000 rounds of ammunition. Public officials attacked the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council (WYEAC) for its connections with the black army. WYEAC was an organization of ex-street gangs funded by OEO and local groups. WYEAC helped maintain calm during the Wilmington disorder in July 1967, and it is considered a moderating force in the community. None of the local groups felt there was sufficient reason to terminate funds, but the Governor announced that he would block any further OEO money designated for WYEAC. The six black youths were charged on ten counts and their bail was set at \$49,000 each.
- Sept. 26: In response to about 40 parents, the Governor and Mayor immediately appropriate \$200,000 to staff the public school system with security guards.
- Sept. 28: Black UAW union members held a meeting to consider forming a separate union. White workers at the Newark Chrysler plant had posted Wallace signs around the facilities despite a company rule against such action. Numerous fights had occurred, and blacks attempting to remove signs were fired. Governor Terry publicly accepted the support of the Wallace-ites.
- Sept. 29: The White Vigilantes of North America held organizational meetings and publicly called for whites to arm themselves for defense. The organization had formed a junior league for white students.
- Oct. 2: A state legislature committee recommended sterilization of welfare mothers after giving birth to two illegitimate children. Two weeks earlier, the Republican candidate for Lt. Governor had proposed a similar plan. Last March, during a welfare rights demonstration at the state capitol, the State Police, with tape covering their badge numbers, brutally attacked women and children.
- Oct. 8-9: U.S. Senator McClellan held hearings on WYEAC. The only pre-investigation activities were between McClellan's staff and opponents of WYEAC. WYEAC had invited an objective investigation of its record but was not even consulted.
- Oct. 23: The White Coalition for Justice Without Repression, which was formed to check reactionary and fearful trends in Wilmington's white areas, protested the continuing repression of black leadership in the city and demanded the removal of the National Guard.
- Oct. 29: Two white FBI agents arrested Robert Barber, a suspected army deserter. Barber was freed by a group of young black men and the agents were beaten. A dragnet operation in the Northeast by the FBI, National Guard, State Police, and City Police and resulted in dozens of blacks being picked up. Nine were arrested and charged with assault on a federal officer. The Evening Journal and Morning News immediately began using headlines associating the suspects with WYEAC.
- Nov. 1: Some 60 clergy issued a statement against the Guard. The City Solicitor announced a probe about the accuracy of the information on the bail statements on 66 young blacks out on bail and said the probe was directed against those people "we consider dangerous to the public safety - people we've had so much trouble with I know them like I know my own family."
- Nov. 3: The White Coalition sponsored a demonstration against fears in the white community and the continued presence of the Guard in the city. Operation Free Streets completed a petition drive in the black community with an estimated 10,000 signatures against the Guard, burned the signatures, and proclaimed that other tactics must be adopted.
- Nov. 5: Governor Terry was narrowly defeated, losing due to his heart attack just before the election day. DuPont-financed Republican effort won city hall (Mayor-elect Haskell - for the Guard) and the Governorship (Governor-elect Peterson - silent on the Guard)
- Nov. 15: Thirteen young blacks were indicted for allegedly assaulting FBI agents.
- Nov. 18: Police attempted to arrest a black gang for questioning about a gas station robbery. One of the youths ran and was shot in the neck. Parents of the others found out indirectly that they were arrested: the police refused to provide information. Coalition members went to the police station to assist the gang, but the Guard harassed them. At 11:30, Bill Hallman's house was surrounded by the Guard, City Police, and State Police on the pretext that they were looking for a robbery suspect. Six White Coalition people went to the scene: police obtained a search warrant and withdrew the troops. The Guard and police harassed a group of mothers three times that night.
- Nov. 27: Coalition sponsored a special Thanksgiving service proclaiming that Wilmington was occupied by troops. On Thanksgiving Day, a

(continued on the next page)



delegation from the Coalition delivered a message to the state from the Governor's mansion proclaiming there could be no more silent toleration of the continued police state in Wilmington.

- Dec. 4: Governor Terry violently lashed out at the clergy in Wilmington who had asked for the Guard's removal. He said those who are asking for the Guard's withdrawal are preaching "near revolution". Coalition responded that afternoon with 40 of its members on a television special for Channel 12. The clergy put out a second statement re-affirming their opposition and defending their right to speak on such issues.
- Dec. 6: Bishops Lord (Methodist), Mardiga (Catholic), and Mead (Episcopalian) met in Wilmington to decide what could be done. The White Coalition sent a delegate who was accepted into the meeting, prepared a kit of materials on the crisis including all newsclippings from national press, and presented six suggestions for action. The Bishops responded favorably.
- Dec. 9: Two young black men were beaten by police after they were arrested. According to the Morning News, "Police said the two resisted and had to be subdued."
- Dec. 9-10: The Coalition delivered letters and press materials on Wilmington to 32 delegates and two governors at national education conference in Wilmington and picketed the conference.
- Dec. 17: John Tate Jr., co-owner of Etat's African Shop was shot in a scuffle with police after a chase. One policeman reported to have head lacerations from Tate; Tate was in serious condition at the hospital. Leroy Tate, the brother of John and co-owner of the shop was arrested the next day on charge of receiving stolen goods.
- Dec. 23: Governor Terry told Mayor Babiarz that he would remove the Guard for Christmas if Babiarz would substitute City Police units. Babiarz responded that he felt the Guard was not needed but that he would not cooperate with Terry's plan.
- Dec. 24: During Christmas eve services, the White Coalition leafletted 15 churches and performed Guerilla theatre acts at two others protesting the continued presence of the Guard.
- Dec 27: The White Coalition high school group performed Guerilla theatre attacking DuPont's involvement in police repression and the presence of the Guard. Two of the group were arrested.
- Jan. 2: Our fellow Unitarian Universalist, Governor Peterson said that he would not announce his decision on the Guard until sometime after his inauguration. He also threatened to extend the period of the Guard occupation if S.D.S. or other groups protested in Wilmington. The White Coalition responded with a press release and letters to 700 Wilmington people asking for a public commitment from Peterson to remove the Guard and condemning his statement as racist.
- Jan. 7: At installation of Mayor Haskell, he notes that his offices are preparing a report to the Governor (Peterson) which will recommend the removal of the Guard.
- Jan. 12: Representatives of National FULLBAC, National BUUC, LRY-SRL, the Laymen's League, Greater Boston FULLBAC, and the Youth Front meet to support a call issued by People Against Racism and Communications Network for a demonstration and rally at Rodney Square, Wilmington, Delaware at Governor Peterson's inauguration. This group also issues the "FULLBAC STATEMENT".
- Jan. 14: Greater Boston FULLBAC calls for a sympathy demonstration for Wilmington Blacks at Commonwealth National Guard Armory.
- Jan. 20: An LRY resource team leaves for demonstration and rap with Wilmington LRYers. This team is joined staff and members of the Laymen's League, Student Religious Liberals, the Black Unitarian Universalist Caucus, FULLBAC, and the Youth Front.

Following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. last April, the black community of Wilmington, Delaware, expressed its bitterness and grief in what is by now the traditional way: like their brothers in cities throughout America, black Wilmingtonians took to the streets.

Compared to what happened in other cities, the outbreak was mild. There were no deaths and no major injuries. Property damage was estimated at less than \$250,000. The reaction to the disturbances on the part of elected officials, however, was anything but mild.

On March 29, 1968, almost a week before the King murder, Delaware Governor Charles Terry said he had "police intelligence reports" of expected disorders, and placed Guard units on alert in Wilmington and Dover. On April 9, the morning after the first post-assassination uprisings in Wilmington, Terry responded to Mayor John Babiarz' call for 500 Guardsmen by mobilizing, for the first time in Delaware history, the entire 4,000-man strength of the Delaware Army and Air National Guard. More than 3,500 armed men responded.

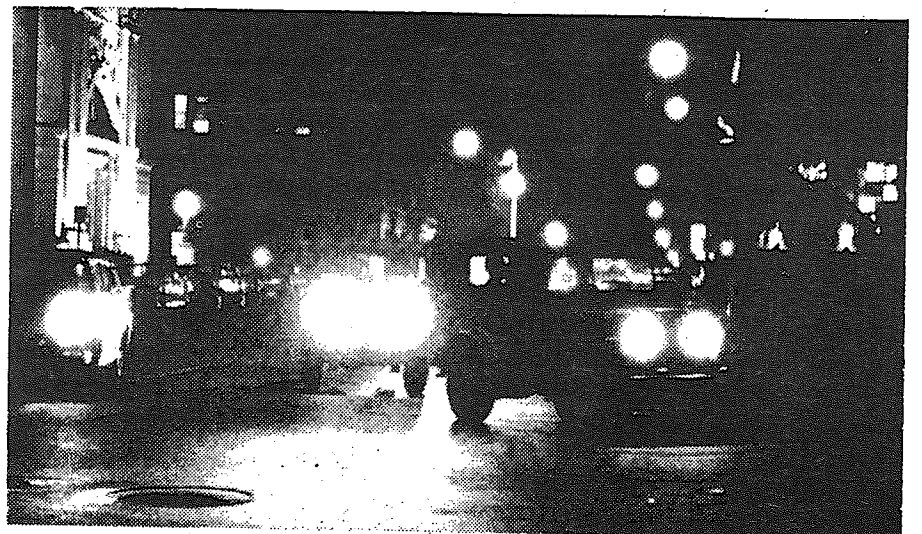
Between April 8 and 13, more than 370 persons were arrested, including 67 juveniles, and 157 persons were jailed. Mayor Babiarz put the total number of arrests as high as 714. Most of these arrests were curfew violations, but many were arrested under the Emergency Riot Act passed August 4, 1967, following Delaware's first black rebellion.

This Emergency Act had been voted by both houses of the state legislature and signed by the governor in a single day. According to this law, those arrested for damaging property during a declared emergency may be punished by not less than three and no more than ten years in prison without any chance of parole in the first three years. Persons 16 years of age or over are to be considered adults and treated accordingly. But one need not destroy property to be considered guilty under this act. Merely urging someone to destroy property, even if that person does nothing, makes one liable for the full penalty!

Mayor Babiarz lifted a city-wide curfew and declared the situation under control on Easter Sunday, April 14. But the Governor refused to withdraw the troops, saying that he had "intelligence reports" forecasting violence the next day. There was none.

On April 29, Douglas Henry, Jr., a black man accused of burglary, was shot and killed in the custody of police by an inexperienced clerk-typist in the Guard. No charges were filed against the Guardsman, but the state legislature passed a bill absolving the Delaware National Guard from any civil or criminal action resulting from deeds performed in the line of duty while under state mobilization orders.

In the face of such action at the state level, Mayor Babiarz formally ended the emergency on May 1. To support his action, the Mayor withdrew city police from their joint patrols with the Guardsmen. Governor Terry still refused to remove the Guard. The legal basis for his action is unclear and never has been challenged in the courts. It is also unclear whether or not the Emergency Riot Act is still in effect, but persons have been arrested and charged under its provisions since the Mayor's announcement.



Since spring the situation has changed very little. Troops -- somewhat less than 50 men in radio-equipped jeeps -- still patrol the city's black community every night, only now they ride with Delaware State Troopers (since the Guard does not have the power to arrest). Ostensibly the Guardsmen are present for the purpose of riot prevention, and their only task is to disperse assemblies which could be the focus for larger, more hostile gatherings. From the point of view of the ghetto resident however, it all adds up to a white occupation army. The Wilmington police force has fewer than 10 blacks among its ranks; the National Guard is 97% white.

The police have taken advantage of the Guard's presence to decimate the young grass roots leadership of the ghetto. The harassment of black militant leaders has been going on in Wilmington for some time. One notable case in February 1968, three young blacks were charged with assault and battery on a police officer, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct. They were acquitted on seven of the ten charges and the city chose not to prosecute them on the other charges because -- as the City Solicitor admitted in court -- one of the policemen gave false testimony. The policeman took advantage of the Fifth Amendment fourteen times, and is still on the Wilmington police payroll.

The April rebellion provided a rationale for handling the harassment problem in a different way. With the National Guard patrolling the streets, any organizing on the part of the blacks could be termed a violation of law and order. Indeed, the logic of the situation encouraged the police to use their powers of arrest indiscriminately: the more arrests they made, the more convincing would be the argument that the Guard was needed; the more the Guard was needed, the longer it would stay; the longer it stayed, the more the police would be free to work at the destruction of the indigenous black leadership.

On June 6, 1968, 27 young blacks, none older than 17, were at a party in a private home. Police entered without a search warrant and arrested everyone present for disorderly conduct. The apartment was searched for alcohol and marijuana, but nothing was found. At police headquarters, the girls were forced to strip in front of male officers. After being placed in cells, they started singing "We Shall Overcome". An officer told them to shut up and when they persisted, they were maced. Several were hospitalized. The case against them was dismissed in court; the police involved were never disciplined, and not a word appeared in the press.

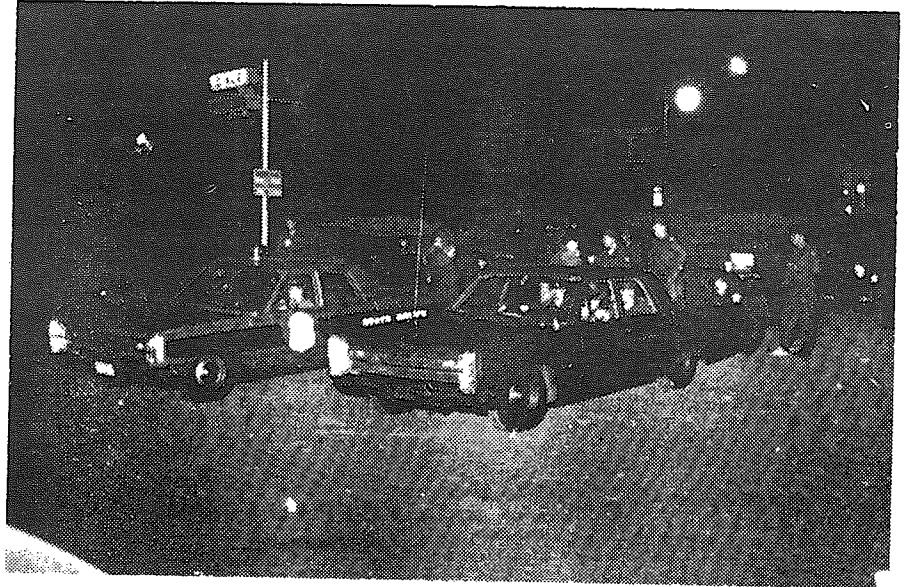
More serious are the incidents involving leaders of the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council (WYEAC). WYEAC was formed in the summer of 1966 after the death of a local gang leader. It was originally a loose coalition of "gang" youth supported by local church-related agencies. During Wilmington's first rebellion (July 28 and 29, 1967) WYEAC proved its worth by spending three days and nights in the streets cooling things off.

In July 1967, WYEAC received its first federal funds for a ten-week summer project. The goals were to "change the relationship between the official establishment of Wilmington and the youth who believe that Wilmington does not care for them and in turn don't give a damn for Wilmington". For the following year WYEAC was to operate on a \$289,625 budget of which \$100,00 came from federal OEO funds, \$22,854 from Wilmington churches and private agencies, and \$166,771 to be raised by the Greater Wilmington Development Council (GWDC) from individuals, foundations, and corporations. The budget for the coming year was to have included \$318,000 from OEO and \$140,000 from GWDC.

On August 25 the police were in northeast Wilmington on a supposed tip-off. They heard several shots fired and heard saw several patrol cars, state police cars, and National Guard jeeps, converging on a van belonging to WYEAC. The police found seven persons in the home of Mrs. Lois Brown, and arrested them for unlawful entry. The four men were prominent in WYEAC. The seven claim they were being fired at and had fled for cover. There were ten bullet holes in the van, but it is a mystery who fired them. Mrs. Brown stated that she would not have objected to the entry of these persons into her home had she known of the shooting. Nevertheless, the seven were found guilty and are now on bail while their case is being appealed.

On Labor Day weekend another incident occurred which was crucial in the inflation of the white fear psychosis and the continuance of the Guard's presence. Cherry Island

marsh is a deserted area near the city borders. Local people go there occasionally to shoot rats on the dump piles. On August 30, 6 black youths -- all WYEAC members -- were arrested while shooting at Cherry Island. The six were wearing buttons, available from any psychedelic shop, saying: "I'm already drafted in the Black Liberation Army". Immediately their activities were depicted as "practicing guerilla warfare tactics", and the belief spread that there really was a Black Liberation Army in Wilmington. Within the next few days, raids were made on the homes of the six, and on WYEAC offices. The raids netted 2,000 rounds of ammunition shotgun shells, 1350 rounds of .22 calibre cartridges, an 18-inch machete, a shotgun, and a starter pistol. That is hardly the weaponry of a Liberation Army. The pistol was the only weapon found in the WYEAC offices; everything else was found in the homes of the six. Bail was set at \$48,000 on 10 charges of illegal possession of firearms, discharging of firearms, and possession of marijuana.



On October 30, a further incident involving WYEAC occurred. Robert Barber, one of those arrested at Cherry Island, was picked up by the FBI on suspicion of being a deserter from the U.S. Army. The two FBI agents were attacked by Barber's friends and Barber was freed. A police dragnet led to the arrest of thirteen persons. It was no coincidence that among the first persons arrested were three WYEAC staff members, four former WYEAC staff members, and three of the Cherry Island six. The police had carefully scrutinized WYEAC payroll records for their list of suspects. Clearly, the intent was not so much to find out who beat the FBI agents as to secure the incarceration of certain blacks known to be politically active.

At present it is unknown exactly how many blacks have been arrested in Wilmington or how many are still in jail. A cursory review of newspaper articles indicates at least 130 names whose arrests for such charges as "disorderly conduct," "breach of the peace", "resisting arrest", "failure to move on", and so forth, could have represented political harassment. Many have been arrested a number of times. The court records are poor and nobody in the clerk's office knows for sure the number remaining in jail! There are at least 30 -- there could be many more.

On August, George Johnson of the Community Action Program wrote to Marceo Hubbard, Chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, Eastern Region, complaining of police harassment and documenting eight cases of police brutality. Johnson's report was apparently ignored. Indeed the arrests over the summer completely discredited WYEAC's program and destroyed the WYEAC leadership. When the program first began to get governmental funds, Mrs. Thomas Herlihy, Jr., resigned from Wilmington's anti-poverty agency because she was opposed to the street-gang types WYEAC represented. Her husband, Judge Thomas Herlihy, Jr., successfully vindicated his wife's position as the municipal judge who presided over the bail hearings, arraignments, and trials of the persons arrested in the WYEAC van incident, the Cherry Island incident, and the FBI assault.

These cases created in the white community an image of WYEAC as a group of cynical street toughs who used public monies to finance armed insurrection. Although WYEAC has claimed a membership of over 2,000 and denied involvement with any so-called "Black Liberation Army", the repeated harassment and arrest of its leadership led many to believe the project a complete failure. On October 1, 1968, OEO stated that it would not renew its grants to the organization.

Even though federal monies had already been cut off, the McClellan Committee nevertheless scheduled hearings on WYEAC for October 8 to 11. They heard no members of the group nor did they contact anyone who had been a member. Relying solely on reports of their own investigators and on witnesses (like Mrs. Herlihy) sympathetic to the local Democratic party which was hostile to WYEAC, McClellan's group simply put the weight of the federal government behind the local efforts of suppression.

The only feeble voice raised in opposition to the efforts and aims of the McClellan investigation was that of GWDC. It supported WYEAC publicly while privately cooperating in police investigations of the organization, and despite its public posture, rescinded its own WYEAC funding.

GWDC represents an eight-year-old effort by Wilmington's monied interests to solve community problems. While it allies itself with the black community on some issues, it does so only in ways which are compatible with the cooperative interests of those who finance it. It does not so much seek economic independence or political maturity for Wilmington's blacks, as that they should become better employees and more capable consumers: poverty is unacceptable so so much as it is inhuman or causes suffering, as because it involves decreased purchasing power and increased potential for social disruption.

In Wilmington, corporate interests can be summed up in a single word: du Pont. The du Pont family represents the largest private concentration of wealth in the country, with a fortune worth upwards of 7.5 billion dollars. Both of Wilmington's newspapers and its main radio station are owned by the du Ponts and the city sky line is dominated by the du Pont building, the Nemours building, the Delaware Trust Company, the Farmers' Bank building, and the Wilmington Trust Company, all either owned or controlled by the du Ponts. Two of the four city high schools were built by private du Pont money and are named for members of the family. Of the 250,000 people in New Castle County, 30,000 were employed directly by the du Pont Company. The other major employers in town are Hercules Powder Company and Atlas Chemical Company, both du Pont spin-offs resulting from government anti-trust litigation earlier in the century. Both Chrysler and General Motors (which the du Pont Company used to control) have assembly plants in Wilmington.

With such a large concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a single family, there are no independent political forces in Wilmington. Centuries of paternalistic largesse have created a psychology of dependency for everyone: "they" will take care of things. Others hesitate to speak out or work on independent projects for fear of conflict with du Pont's all-wise and all-knowing plans.

GWDC's overall planning strategy for the city puts heavy stress on attracting new industry, building bigger and better shopping centers, constructing a super highway which will allow people easier access to the suburbs, and creating a new technical college. Its efforts in education have been nil. A two-year study of racial imbalance in Wilmington's schools is still on the drawing board. In housing it has recently developed plans for predominately moderate income housing in northeastern Wilmington which the present black residents of the area could not afford. GWDC's major ghetto effort had been the Neighborhood Improvement Association, which sponsors sweep-up campaigns and block beautification programs to gild the ghetto.



James Sills, executive director of the Association of Greater Wilmington Centers and recently elected a member of the City Council, has pointed out: "In our Wilmington community, GWDC, with its expanding social consciousness, does not genuinely represent a large number of Wilmington business firms, contrary to the impression of some. Moreover, those that are represented, such as du Pont, Hercules, and Atlas, have exhibited no real inclination to use the influence and power of their economic institutions to attack the 'gut issues' of our times...The concern for making profit is at the heart of the question of the social responsibility of the business community. Fearful of having its profit-making patterns adversely affected, the business community, both locally and nationally, has made only a superficial investment in certain 'experimental and demonstration projects'...The American business world has achieved success and bigness to a large extent from the flagrant exploitation of the black man, first through slavery and subsequently through economic bondage. The notion that America had achieved economic power only through 'rugged individualism' ignores the many historical sins that have been perpetrated upon black citizens, American Indians, and poor whites."

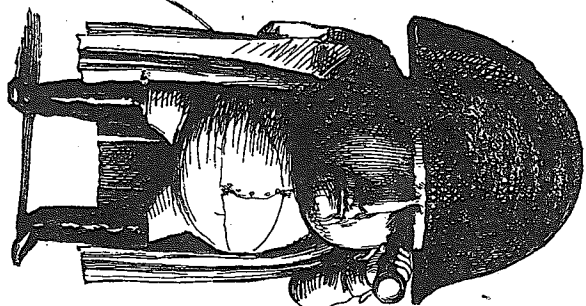
For those who look to the large corporation to save our cities, then, Wilmington should be an object lesson. Despite the pretenses of the Urban Coalition and the theology of urban uplift espoused by Nixon's ghetto guru, Daniel P. Moynihan, continued paternalism and economic dependency cannot solve the problems of America's black community. Corporate imperialism for America's poor, like imperialism everywhere, leads to military solutions.

A group of white Wilmingtonians has recently formed an organization known as the White Coalition for Justice Without Repression, in response to the presence of the Guard. Their efforts to mobilize public opinion against the Guard have been hampered by the apathy of persons like the white storekeeper who said, "Why get upset. It's only a few soldiers". On the other hand, influential citizens who have spoken out have been met with remarkable hostility from the power structure: when sixty clergymen issued a statement calling for the removal of the Guard, Governor Terry denounced them in a vitriolic attack which suggested that they stick to their pastoral duties and stop preaching "what is next to revolution". In conjunction with the Black United Council, the White Coalition has been pressing three basic demands which may be summarized as 1) removal of the National Guard; 2) release of black political prisoners; and 3) severance of du Pont control over community affairs. Governor-elect Russell W. Peterson, for many years a du Pont executive, has refused to address himself to these demands. He has repeatedly insisted that he will disclose his intentions with respect to Guard only after his inauguration on January 21. There are indications that he will eventually remove the Guard, if only to save money and to disassociate himself from his predecessor whose style has been blunt and bossy. But if the Guard leaves without the larger issues having been raised, the experiment in military suppression will have succeeded.

To prevent this happening, a demonstration has been called in Wilmington for January 21 -- the day the new governor is to be inaugurated in Dover. The demonstration will take place in Wilmington's Rodney Square, which is dominated on one side by the Municipal Building and on the other side by du Pont headquarters. That is where the current struggle must be focused. The demonstration is sponsored by two national organizations, People Against Racism and Communications Network, who have been working in Wilmington and are in contact with both the White Coalition and the United Council.

Hopefully this demonstration will strengthen the position of those in Delaware who believe that the use of military force in response to human problems is not acceptable. It can also help to assure that what has happened in Wilmington will not be ignored elsewhere as demonstrators return to the struggle against repression in their own communities. Wilmington may represent only the first example of what the partisans of law and order have in mind for all of us. For the problems of Wilmington, there are no outsiders.

The next issue of the Nameless Newsprint will carry thorough literary and photographic coverage of the vents in Wilmington, Delaware, on January 21, Inauguration Day.



THE WAR AGAINST THE YOUNG

An effort to answer the question:

"Why are we so hung up on the younger generation?"

By Stephen H. Fritchman

Delivered December 8, 1968

First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles

This sermon was happily inspired by the reading of "The War Against the Young" by Richard Poirier in The Atlantic for October, 1968. I am indebted to Professor Poirier for many insights, as indicated, but he is in no way responsible for other conclusions found herein.

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Some of the advice received from the hardened veterans of preaching in our theological seminaries sticks to the ribs over the years. At Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in the late twenties urged his students to limit themselves to one single area of concentration to stay with it that day. So, like the French impressionists who took a single section of the landscape, no more than the eye could easily take, I would limit our thinking together to the difficulties the adult generation face in understanding the so-called "youth generation"... a pejorative phrase, as we shall discover very soon.

I am glad there are young men and women here today, students and non-students, but my words are aimed at their parents, uncles and aunts, grandparents, teachers, and friends over forty. I feel very strongly about this subject and have at least twice cancelled doing a sermon on it, because I felt disqualified in many ways to reveal my ignorance and my anger. But there is a place for the older adult's commentary, especially as it judges, not the young people, but their parents, neighbors, teachers and employers. I do not pretend that I can, by ESP or X-ray, or even protracted conversation, get into the heads of twenty year olds, but I can report what I have found in some forty years of adult exploration, professionally and privately, into the country of the young.

History this week prepared us for today's theme. Many events are in the forefront of our minds: The Walker Report on the police violence last August during the Democratic convention, the acidulous remarks of Thomas Hayden, one of the organizers of the youth protest in Chicago, remarks made to the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities in Washington last Tuesday; the development of the Hayakawa Formula for Campus Peace at California State, San Francisco.

The clippings filed in the folder for today's address fell out in a veritable avalanche to remind me that the war against the young is global, not at all limited to the borders of the United States. For example, here are some of the headlines that fell into my hands. They give us perspective for our thinking today.

MEXICO CITY-- As many of the 150,000 striking striking students trickle back to classes after Mexico's dramatic and tragic school walkout, the Mexican student movement enters a new phase."

"STUDENT WARS SEEN AIMED AT VALUE SYSTEM

Tokyo-- The worldwide student upheaval is a rebellion of young technologists against the modern industrial economy which created them but whose goals no longer attract, Professor John Kenneth Galbraith said Wednesday.

'I am one of the very few people in the world pleased to see this happen,' Galbraith told a luncheon meeting of the Foreign Correspondents Club of Japan."

"STUDENTS GET NEW POWER IN MEXICO

Win Recognition as Political Force on Heels of Strike

"GREEK REGIME CLAMPS DOWN ON EDUCATION

LONDON-- The Greek junta is taking stiffer measures against liberal-minded students in the universities, including the establishment of 'police' squads in most colleges. A new breed of security guards will replace janitors and hall porters."

"AYUB KAHN REDRESSES GRIEVANCES OF STUDENTS

Pakistan Leader Offers Major Concessions in Bid to End Anti-Regime Demonstrations

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan-- President Mohammed Ayub Kahn announced major concessions to dissident students Sunday to try to end three weeks of anti-government demonstrations."

"TURK STUDENTS CURSE U. S. ENVOY

ANKARA-- About 750 Turkish students shouting 'Damn America' jammed Ankara's airport Thursday in a demonstration against the arrival here of the new U. S. Ambassador, Robert W. Komer, a former official in Vietnam. But Komer got off the jetliner at the end of the runway and avoided them.

The students were protesting Komer's involvement with the CIA and the war in Vietnam. Three student organizations have been distributing pamphlets in Ankara calling Komer 'the butcher of Vietnam' and protesting his '12 years service with the CIA.'

The documentation could take our entire hour. The war against the young is going on in every major country in the world. This fact does not get us off the hook; it simply extends the dimensions of the problem. In this congregation, there may well be young people, adults, parents, teachers, other clergy, workers, professionals who will take sharp issue with what is said. Of course, one needs to say: "I may be wrong." But whether you think I am wrong or not, do not brush this discussion aside. We, the older generation, have been doing that long enough.

As you will see from the order of service, I was greatly impressed with an article in The Atlantic for last October. It was entitled, "The War Against the young," and was written by Professor Richard Poirier of the English Department of Rutgers University, an editor of The Partisan Review, and author of A World Elsewhere. I borrowed his title for this sermon and I shall present some of his ideas, add some of my own, and will hope that you all may find the October Atlantic Monthly in your friendly neighborhood library... or better still, write for a copy from Boston. I doubt if you can find better use for seventy-five cents, now that the collection has been taken here.

As the clippings I have just read indicate, campus after campus blazes and blows. The hot minority of the disenchanted grows in anger and in numbers. What is most needed is not repression, but understanding, and a far harder commitment to real, uncompromising change of much that is out-dated, mindless, and irrelevant. We adults in America are in great danger of losing the best of our natural resources-- "youth in its best and truest form of rebellion and hope."



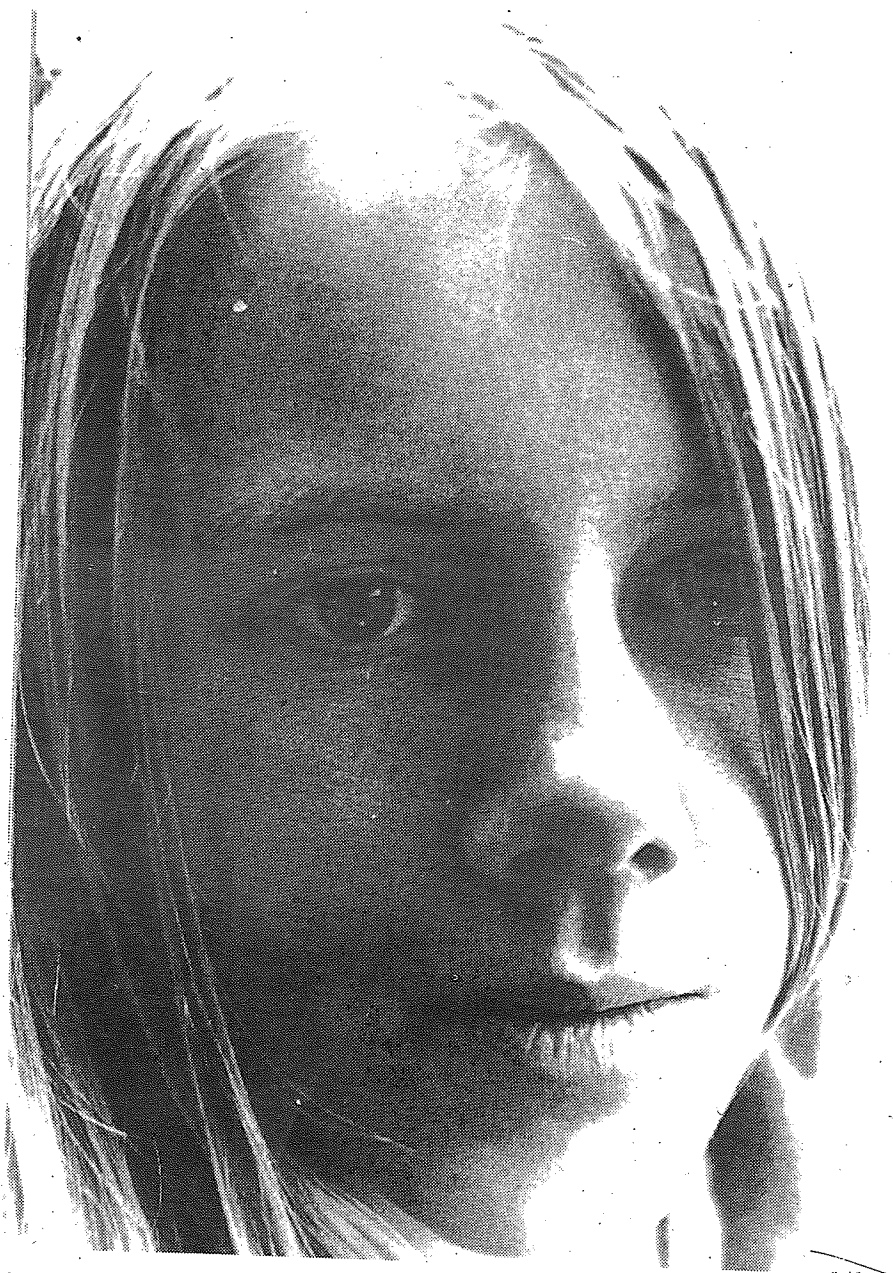
Dr. Poirier reminds us that for many years Americans have indulged and pampered their youth and exempted them from participation in our social institutions. We have offered them economic bribes to become conformists to what now exists, when they have sufficiently demonstrated their docility. We have used many varieties of psychological coercion to make them surrender their critical faculties and join the team. If their independence continued, we brought in a whole armament of prevention devices-- put-downs, tongue lashings, disinheritances, private and public, withheld scholarships, research opportunities, jobs, promotions... the works.

The brutality of this process is familiar to every student who has ever tried to keep both his intellectual and moral conscience alert as he sought aid from his parents, loan funds, or foundations for his education. I know because I write scores of letters to accompany student applications and the interviews with these students are heart breaking as they demonstrate how merciless is the academic insitution to the student who will trim neither his hair nor his convictions. On the other hand, there is certainly something obscene in the promises made to young people if only they leave the education system intact. The war against the young is one of attrition-- not open warfare unless race enters in.

A great deal of this struggle is cultural, not political, as the older generation, and especially the administrators, try to make it. Our young people are trying to secure an education that is not a re-hash of cultural values rejected, in reality, by their parents and neighbors, but honored in the breach with degrees and other decorations accumulated over the years. These students resent the antiseptic purity of the curriculum, untouched by the actual practices of our commercial, governmental, and social institutions. College has been too often an episode, not a preparation for admission into our institutions. Most of the militant students, and some of the faculty, and administrators know that any solutions will require radical changes in the historical and psychological assumptions which are the foundations of our American system. This fact must be understood today. It was true as expressed several years ago in the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. It is true now as Archie Chapman, Chairman of the Black Student Union, talks to 800 persons at a campus rally at San Fernando Valley State College a few days ago. He spoke for millions of students in America when he said: "The whole American society needs to be re-evaluated and changed to eliminate racism if the country is to survive" ... and racism is only one of the factors to be changed.

Dr. Poirier is right. "One of the hardest things for the older generation to accept from the student generation is its passion, its refusal to speak in 'cool' language about hot matters." It is disturbing to parents, whose children used to be moderate in their discussion of public issues, to see them now, in their late teens and twenties, reject the soft vocabularies when they talk about the war in Vietnam, or the "Americanization" of Mexico, or the dehumanization of the American Indian or the horrors of urban life for people without jobs or the chance to get them in fair competition or the smothering nature of our schools and colleges today. Professor Poirier makes this point very firmly. Parents who have made it in the suburban world of success become furious with Paul Goodman who talks of "the spirit of overkill" in the establishments of our country. These parents resent the eloquence and target hitting power of an Andrew Kopkind exposing the hypocrisy of governors and Presidents. Young people simply refuse to be gentle or genteel in describing the accumulation of squalor, blood and suffering in our present world. The honesty is painful to endure, but far healthier than the passivity of the "silent generation" of a decade ago.

Professor Poirier also helps us to see our adult behavior without veils. Our writers, and journalists especially, enjoy talking about the future. The year 2000 especially seems to fascinate them. This is a subtle, but quite real form of putting brash youth down, a kind of suppression especially popular with social scientists on the campuses of the land. Professor Brzezinski of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University, and recently of the U. S. Department of State, is an example of this futurism, this fascination with the long transition. It keeps one from worrying too much about Mr. Nixon's choice of New Chief Justice, and similar immediate concerns. To be sure, no one is saying that the revolution in America, in terms of transferring power



to new and more popular segments of the population, is just over the horizon. It is not. Even Dr. Herbert Marcuse, philosopher of the student generation, in his books and articles, sees a real transfer of power to another class as being at least 100 years away... primarily because the American labor force has been "taken", robbed of its power to radically change our institutions as could have come in the 30's. But Marcuse is preaching postponement, far from it. He is not, like the established leadership in the university or business, advising students to conform and get inside the present power structure, thus solidifying their future personal welfare in a technological society. Professor Poirier is probably right when he says that Vice President Hubert Humphrey lost the young people in the presidential campaign by refusing to discuss the past or the present; he offered instead ideal drawings of the future, abstracted from the stuff of daily life which the students know very well must be faced if it is to be significantly changed. These young people resent the counterposing of rational and revolutionary. They ask with unsparing candor what is admirable about a "rationality" that suffers and tolerates the abominable arrangements which give us fabulous wealth and grinding poverty side by side, and so greatly imbalanced in history's richest nation.

These students ask, "What is so rational about voting an increase of money for Vietnam on that same hot July day this year that cut down to the bone appropriations for summer employment for young Negroes and Puerto Ricans?" The dismissal of critical issues of race, unemployment and war as matters too complex for impetuous youth to understand or share in solving only intensifies the war against the young. Whose interests are best served by stressing the great "complexity" of a peace conference in Paris or of providing medical care for the dismissed workers from the plantations of the Southern states? Students today are not fools, and they know social problems are complex, but they also know that they are soluble and that rationality can be on the side of human values, peoples' needs... and they will not be put down by the Brzezinskis in the land. This is why black and white students are insisting on a return to a medieval concept of the university, a place where students ran the place, chose courses and teachers-- a breakaway from the cotton-wool syndrome in American education which considers college students to be infants, nursery-bound, unfit to make judgements. A black high school student this week stood before the Los Angeles Board of Education (on TV) and



told men three times his age what was profoundly wrong with Fremont High School, giving chapter and verse. It was eloquent, it was true, and it led to a definite change in attitude by the Board.

The war against the young is also seen in the effort to rehabilitate Woodrow Wilson's academic and ephemeral concept of a university as "a free place, a little world, a home for sagacious men." For all its eloquence of phrase, the concept is not rational. Our ignoring the world which the students will soon have to inhabit and manage often leaves them utterly unequipped for the task. These advocates of Woodrow Wilson's academic grove of sagacious scholars are really trying to persuade the young people to end their noisy protests about the draft, about ROTC units on campus, about germ warfare and the CIA, about the military-industrial conspiracy to postpone a people's welfare state.

As one recalls the past few months of political campaigning and the embarrassing absence of candidates or issues worthy of a great 20th century nation-state, the arguments against student involvement in the political and social process become meaningless. It could not be worse, and it could conceivably be immensely better if the youth and student population, now nearly one-half of our total population, could have a voice and a vote.

As we saw earlier, the students of East and West, capitalist and socialist societies are in revolt in Prague, Glasgow, Paris, Mexico City and so many other places primarily because they have local motivations, local causes, economic, political, and educational. But it all adds up to a planet-wide and simultaneous response of impressive dimensions, of great imagination, and these young men and women, on all continents, see the interconnection of issues and have an awareness of their wider context. The youth in South Vietnam colleges (my morning paper told me this week) are insisting, even under their dictatorial government, that they should have a voice in settling the character of the nation which shall come out of this fearful war and the present peace talks. They resent the war against youth by the Vietnamese elite and their American collaborators, just as much as do students in Brazil and England and the United States.

While we all lose sleep at night worrying about the threat of the streets and our great cities burning to

their foundations, the youth (also troubled by such thoughts) reply: "More terrifying than disorders in our streets are the disorders in the heads of those handling the levers of power." And they are right. The rebellion of youth is against the disorder which we adults so often call order. It is the "order" maintained by the police power on a campus presided over by a semanticist as president (who knows how words are used to becloud issues as well as solve them), and by a Governor who rejoices at a show of mace, pistols and nightsticks as the way to make that disorder by government and administration carry the name of order. If the young show less than full respect for authority, it is primarily because the elected authority on campus and in the State House refuses to see the need for major assaults on the problems of the real worlds the youth inhabit. The excuses for inaction do not impress 20-year olds, nor the downgraded intellectuals who teach them. Professor Poirier is especially convincing, in his article in *The Atlantic*, on the way history is used to put down the dissenting youth of America. They are told that revolutions have always failed in England and America, that the Abolitionists failed, that the Chartists and Luddites failed, that the Populists and Socialists all failed and that it is really absurd to follow the dead end streets of history. It really is the Original Sin myth brought up to the twentieth century and used against the reformer and the revolutionary. George Kennan is used to remind the young that human nature is weak and cannot be pressed too hard... and that participatory democracy is a dangerous opening of the door to facism. This, and much more like it, is daily sent into the American bloodstream for youth to ponder. "Do not expect too much." Is this the best we Americans can say to our sons and daughters?

It is important that we appreciate the new factors in what is called the revolution of youth. Their emergence as an historical force has no parallel or precedent. These young people have practically no political structures, like a church or a labor union or a political party. They are continuously fluid because every four or six years they leave the body of youth and move on into adult structures, for better or worse. They are not a stable block of citizens like the blacks or the Mexican Americans who maintain their identity. Yet these young men and women are shaking the world today. They want in-- and with power.

Above all else they are resisting the cliches about youth, the concept that adults have the right inherited to shape and direct their lives. This is why I speak about a war against the young. Twenty-five or thirty years ago the crusade of young Americans was against alien, foreign enemies-- fascists in Germany, Italy and Japan. A small percentage of us spent any time at all on domestic devils who made life miserable for masses of workers, farmers and youth. A crusade against fascism was easier to mobilize people to share in than today's crusade against monstrously inadequate institutions within our own borders. This is even a less popular crusade for affluent middle-class Americans and over-mortgaged labor unionists to admit has any merit. The generation gap is no mere metaphor. Men and women of my age complain about the strangeness of youth-- their dress, their speech, their hair, their morals-- and find it impossible to look in the mirror and behold the strangeness of adults. My contemporaries say youth has no program, but youths reply: "But look at yours. Building Bunker Hill apartments for the rich (Ed's. note-- an L. A. core city building project similar in effect to the "revitalizing" of the hubs of Boston, St. Louis, Houston, etc.) by tearing down the housing of the old and poor and not caring at all where they can find new homes on their social security or welfare incomes. Is this a program worthy of adults? And," point out the young people, "you adults have the power to change these patterns and refuse to do so. It would interfere with bank rates, investment portfolios and party bosses." What actually happens is that the candor and bluntness of youth exposes the shodiness of our programs for serving human beings in all of their many needs.

Large sections of American power groups-- financial, administrative, educational, the media of radio and TV, film and press-- have spent decades forcing young people not to take themselves seriously. Now that they do, it causes consternation-- even panic. One result of the present youth rebellion is that the collegiate image has been pulverized. Joe College and the raccoon coat, Bet-

ty Co-ed and her sports car by the dormitory window, still exist but as a sad vestigial survival of a campus culture unable to sustain itself as a serious force in our world. The rebels are still a minority, but they are shaking the entire structure of education today around the world. The Mexican student, for example, is compelling a federal administration to make decisions about student power that can topple the government, and the same is true of many other nations. In 1972, youth may exert enormous influence on presidential and congressional elections here in the United States.

The adults carry on a war against the young partly because they resent being deprived of a powerless group whose lives they can manipulate and pattern in their own image. They resent the influence many young people have achieved in the entertainment and allied industries and in the arts. They resent the absence of deference to adult authority. They resent youth's refusal of the heroic role of sacrificial lamb to the Moloch of war for endless generations. I am still shocked when I meet mothers who convince me by their behavior that they would rather have a picture of a dead son in uniform, framed in gold on the mantle, than a live son resisting the war and waiting out four years in a federal penitentiary. Move over, Clytemnestra! This evil and crippling idealization of youth, the manipulated, the docile hero is ending. I hope it never returns.

What is the war against youth about? It is centered around the adult world's desire to maintain a myth, the myth that young people should wait in the wings quietly for their entrance into an adulterated and failing and corrupt culture. The adults bitterly resent the refusal by young men and women to play this infamous role. Among some adults there is an ill-disguised jealousy of the courage and stamina of these young people who despise hypocrisy, who resent the fig leaves we hang over injustice and exploitation in the name of free enterprise. We should be very glad that our youth are in such large numbers rejecting the exhausted myth which kept them out of significant participation in the family, in the church, in the school, in government. Dr. Poirier is right. It is not enough to occasionally elect a youthful president to preside over an increasingly bankrupt society. We must give the franchise to youth at 18, and even more, give them a part in the reconstruction of the systems, complex or simple, which now deny them their voice and share in planning for today as well as tomorrow. Their exuberance, impulsiveness, and imagination are deeply needed if we are not to become another Roman Empire of self-destructive adults. The war against the young must end.

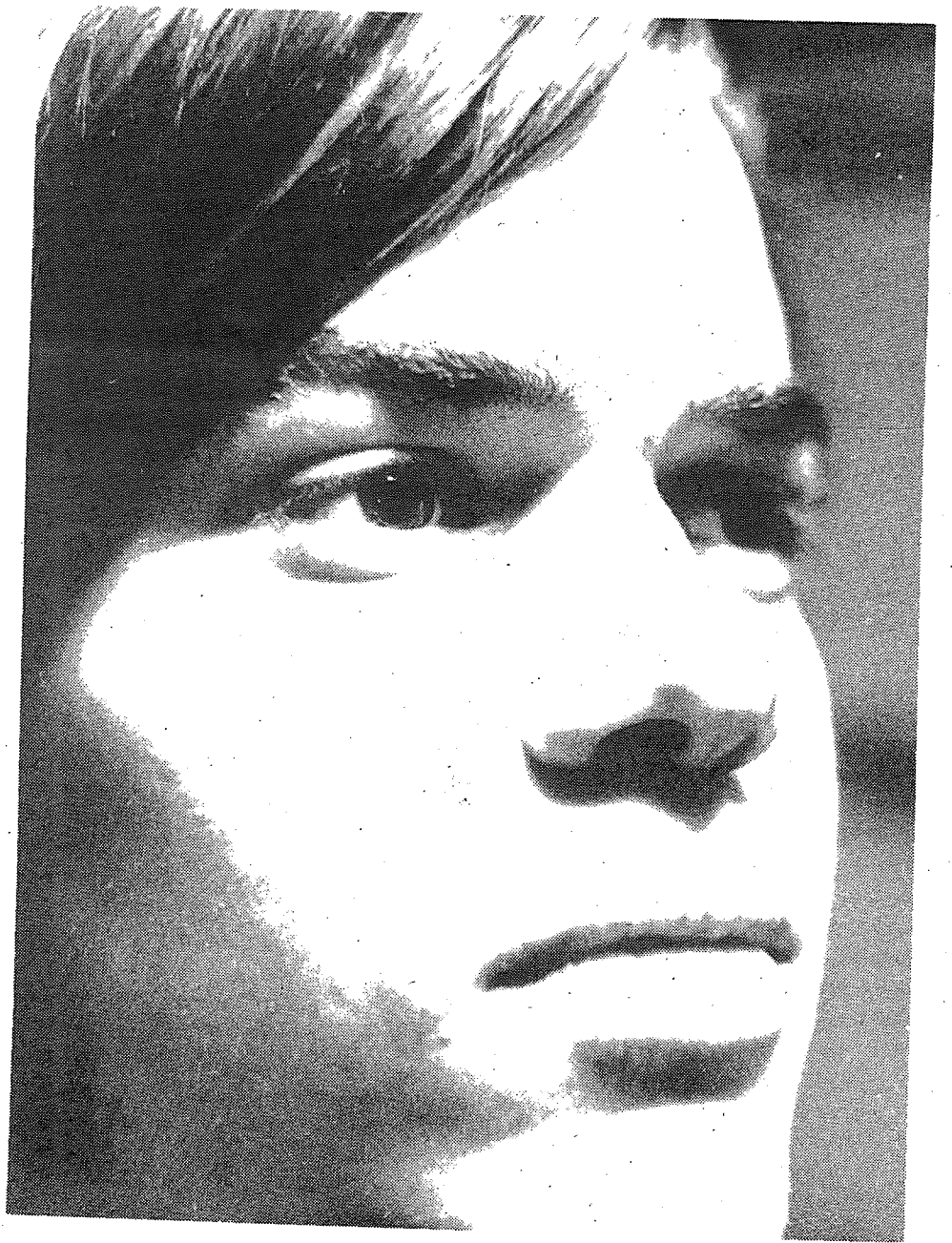
Let me conclude with this concern: Some may ask, "Do you approve of the militant actions of these youth with their confrontation tactics at Columbia or San Francisco?" And my reply is basically, yes. We of the older generation have given them the back of our hand for years-- told them to go back and sit down, ignored their requests for a place in the dialogue of democracy, rejected their proposals for curricula and professors who will really teach them how to be thinking adults and participating citizens. We have brutally insisted on their renewing the old contracts with the rich and poor, exempt and drafted, white and black, each in his own corner. We have denied them recourse to any tactic except confrontation.

Dr. Carlton Goodlet, with whom I once travelled to Warsaw for a peace conference, is a man of great goodwill

and non-violence. When the police stopped him and other San Francisco black civic leaders this week on the San Francisco State College campus, he said: "We are not here for violence, but for discussions with Dr. Hayakawa: here to see our own sons and daughters do not get killed, and if they do, we are here to die with them."

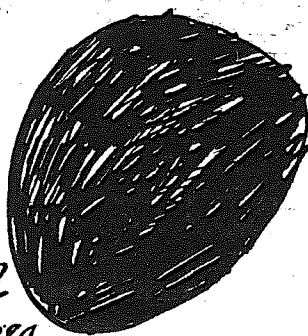
In the war against the young, the Governor (Reagan) in the name of the law and order insists that the old regime stand unaltered except in his mild terms of peripheral reform... and the young are saying, "It is too late. Let the youth into the council chambers, into the academic chambers to share in the thinking and planning now!"

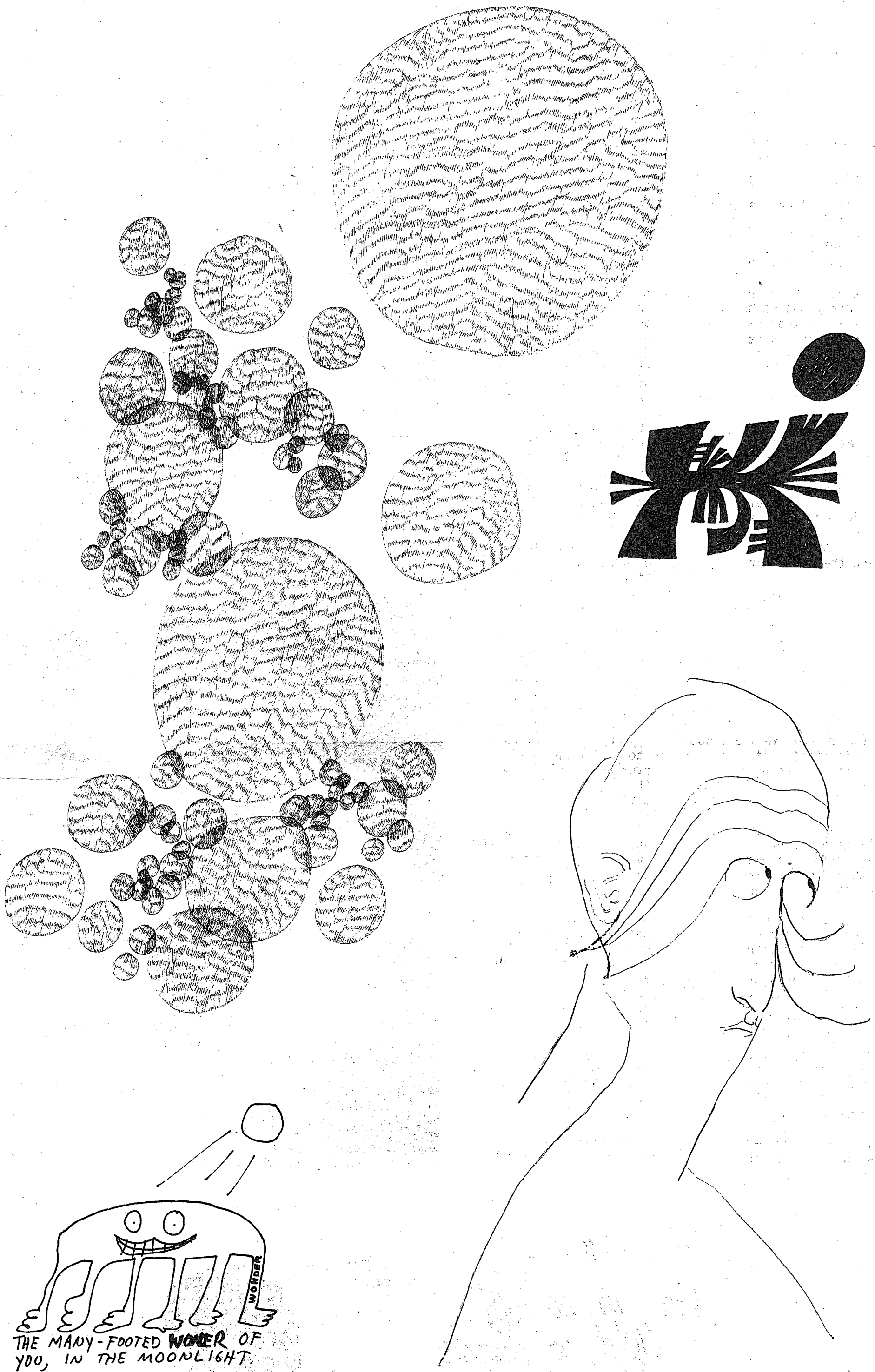
With our gross mismanagement of the world testifying to our failures, we have no right to say the young people have nothing to add. They have their lives and their chance to possess the fruits of knowledge to their advantage and ours. They will not be put down. Yes, they can err in tactics, in choice of methods, as we adults err day after day in City Hall, in Sacramento and Washington. I do not think the youth must be maced and clubbed because they read and learn some lessons from Rusk, Yorty, (L. A. Police Chief) Reddin and LBJ. I only hope they have a chance to use the tools of freedom without violence, and that is up to us much more than it is up to them.

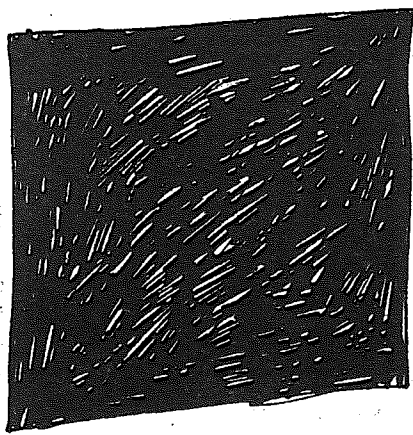


The all-meaning circle:
No in, no out;
No light, no shade.
Here all saints are born.

Shoichi 1202-1280







Coming, going, the waterfowl/
Leaves not a trace,
Nor does it need a
guide.

Dogen 1200-1253



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PERPETUAL TIVA

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Printed in NEW YORK U.S.A. 1967

(High School Organizing, from page 3)

WHAT CAN YOU DO?? ORGANIZE!!

- Talk first to those whom you know are either sympathetic with the cause or sincerely dissatisfied with school. From there pull together a core of sure workers. With those who are less committed, talk first about free education, and then about organization if they are in agreement with the theory.
- Preliminary meetings should be held in people's homes, local churches, town commons, after school or during lunch. Later you might form a political science club in the school or after with a sympathetic faculty member as advisor, or you might have to open an office outside of school, but it is very important that facilities for letter writing and mimeographing be available.
- It is important to have as many faculty and administration people on your side as possible. To find out where they stand, begin a conversation about how difficult you find it to operate within the current educational system, and suggest what might replace it and why. You may be surprised with how many agree with you, even administrators. Often these people feel themselves caught in a system which they feel they cannot change because they are not aware of how much support for change really exists.
- One way to sway an administrator is to support his ego. If he has done anything at all in the way of liberalization, let him know that you approve and that you would like to help him move in that direction.
- Student governments have a reputation for being administration controlled, do-nothing organizations. Activating them into doing something would take more genius than my little brain can focus in on; however, I will offer a few suggestions that might help you get started on the problem. Talk to the Student Government leaders, let them know of your dissatisfaction, and suggest ways in which they might win your allegiance - such as publicizing and pushing your program in their meetings. You might try running your own candidates for positions in Student Government or as representatives, to either give your officers support in student affairs, or to be your own spokesman. As a last resort, you may wish to discredit your Student Government for not supporting student rights.
- Leaflets or an underground newspaper should be distributed throughout the school and the community, fully and articulately describing your position, and carrying a column for replies and new ideas. Perhaps you will be able to use the regular school newspaper for this purpose. The paper should be simple so as to keep the cost down. If possible, use a church mimeograph.

CHANGING CURRICULUM

In order to change curriculum, you may ask for a one day trial where you would set the curriculum for the day. You might want to set aside part of the part for an assembly where everyone could have a free discussion as to how the day went. If at all possible, a week long trial would be better. For the trial week, students could sign up subjects they wished to study, and when the class got together they could choose the mode of study. For the rest of that week they could follow up on their subject, with any individual wishing to do independent research could be assigned a faculty advisor to report back too at the end of the week. The classes which remained together could be free-wheeling discussion groups. There should be no grading for the entire week. At the end of the week, the class could evaluate itself, and each student could hand in a personal evaluation of his own efforts for the week: all to be considered by the groups faculty advisor. It should be remembered that participation in discussion does not mean that a student is learning, nor does lack of participation. Only the student can accurately gauge his learning for any period of time, although an outsider can often tell whether he is being honest with himself. All of this should be stressed from the very beginning.

Perhaps the least liked, but most effective form of change is direct confrontation; such as a strike. This should be used only as a last resort, and only when your position has been well publicized. It is also wise to be sure you will keep the bulk of your support, should a confrontation erupt. It is very important that people know not only what you want, but all of the attempts that you have tried to get it with.

In all cases of change, from fighting such things as dress codes, to confrontation tactics, be sure you know the legal implications and what laws you stand on. These vary from state to state, and often county to county. It would be wise to talk with an ACLU lawyer in your area before trying to talk your school system on.

One last note. Support in the community, outside the school may be very important to the success of your movement. Liberal ministers, lawyers, politicians, etc...

It would also help to keep us informed as to your activities in educational reform. If you are about to begin such a program, or are already involved in one; we would very much like to hear about it and possibly publicize it through the Nameless Newsprint. If you break into print, be sure to forward a copy to the LRY Office, we may be able to offer our resources for your assistance. ■

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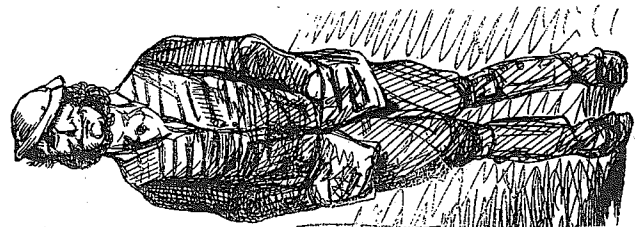
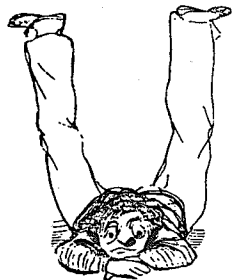
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