

Berkeley: 'The People, Yes!'



Some tactical cop-stopper barricades were set aflame for greater effect. Results seemed to show, however, that it wasn't always strategic. LNS photo

by Allen Young
Liberation News Service, SDS

Berkeley, California, July 4th—Today the residents of Berkeley, most of them young, hip radicals, celebrated the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence under sunny skies on the pavement of Telegraph Avenue. Six days ago, a few blocks south of the University of California campus, thick clouds of acrid tear gas ended a rally on the same street, touching off a wave of anger and a fierce turf battle.

At least three thousand people were involved in some of the mass actions, and several hundred participated in the street actions.

The rebellion was most shattering on Sunday, June 30th, when curfew was declared. Students reacted by breaking dozens of storefront windows. The sound of breaking glass, louder than any political leader at a microphone, was saying "No" to the cops—and to the curfew and to the city fathers. "The people yes" clattered the broken panes.

It all began on Friday, June 28th, with a rally in solidarity with French students and workers sponsored by the Young

Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth division of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist). The YSA refused to apply for a permit for the rally, and the police threatened to stop it should auto traffic be interrupted.

The crowd anticipated trouble, and the monitors tried hard to keep the crowd on the sidewalks.

Eventually the constant drift of pedestrians into the street gave the cops the excuse they were looking for. The City authorities declared the gathering illegal and demanded that the people disperse.

When everyone stood his ground, the cops moved. A helmeted street patrolman seemed grim and nervous, while on a nearby rooftop an overweight plainclothes detective chortled. Tear gas was shot into the crowd after the loudspeaker announcements were greeted with shouts of "No" and "Up Against the Wall Motherfucker".

As the crowds dispersed, fleeing the stinging gas, small groups built barricades and started small fires to "fuck up the cops".

For analytical account of the days in Berkeley. . .

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The next night, Saturday, June 29th, another illegal "rally" was held, and was broken up quickly with an attack of tear gas and clubs.

Then, using a statute passed during the Korean War, the City clamped on a curfew, first on part of the town, then, after the windows were broken, on the entire city.

Before the action on the streets was over, more than a hundred persons had been arrested, some for curfew violation, a few for more serious charges—assault, possession of weapons or drugs, and, in one case, attempted murder.

During the street fighting, Molotov cocktail and other firebombs were used, barricades were built, and bricks and rocks were hurled at cops. The cops, including officials from jurisdictions outside Berkeley, gleefully used stuff from their arsenals, but that was apparently not enough: Several witnesses have presented a formal complaint about cops throwing rocks at pedestrians from a rooftop perch.

Elsewhere in the country, with the imposition of a mysterious de facto press blackout, few people knew about the Berkeley Rebellion.

The day after the windows were broken and a state of disaster was declared, other people were petitioning the City Council for a permit to have a mass meeting on Telegraph Avenue July 4th.

A series of mass meetings followed. After first saying "No", the City Council agreed to allow the rally.

As the rally plans were being made, however, a significant rump group, including Hippies, Anarchists, and some members of Students for a Democratic Society, were repudiating the traditional radical leadership and forming small "affinity groups" to plan on-going communal action in politics and in life itself.

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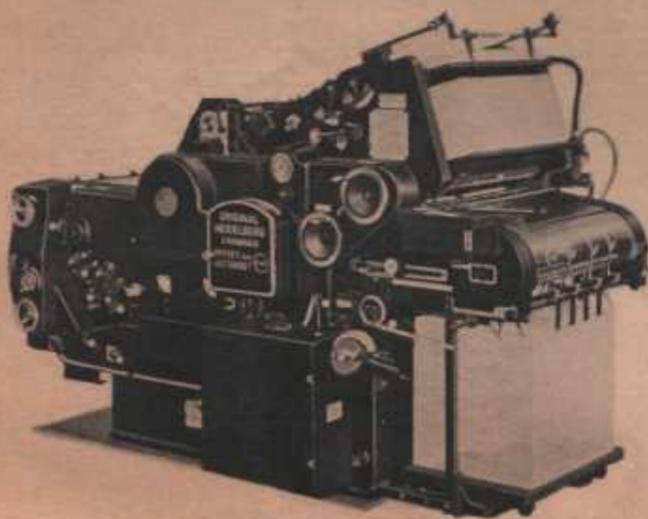
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New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 22

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

July 5th, 1968



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see also note on page three!!

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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

BURKE'S LAWS

June 30th, 1968

Dear Editor:

The Convention failed to do its work, and the membership should be allowed to finish the job.

I propose that each of the tabled resolutions be summarized on a ballot to be printed in New Left Notes, and each reader be allowed to vote on the resolutions. I include some resolutions of my own for debate and consideration.

*

Resolution I

Whereas: None of the legal or moral issues of the War in Vietnam have reached the Supreme Court,

Be it resolved: that all Draft resisters base their defense on Nuremberg and the US Constitution; that they argue that war crimes are being committed and that any attack on our World War II allies for the benefit of our World War II enemies is treason as defined by the Constitution; that where no lawyer will be found to argue these premises, the accused will refuse counsel and argue his own case.

Resolution II

Whereas: Under talk of law and order gun legislation is being pushed to disarm the minorities and the dissenters;

Whereas: Our ancestors knew two hundred years ago that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, and it is still true today,

Be it resolved: that we warn minority groups of the peril of the new gun proposal and oppose it with all our resources.

Sincerely

Paul Burke

NICE LETTER

May 23rd, 1968
Savage, Montana

Dear Students:

Have heard your plea for funds for the new press, but just didn't have the money. We are having a drought here in Eastern Montana. Pastures are short and crops need rain.

Hope many of you will join the poor folks in Washington; your support may help and also educate the people.

Do you think peace in Vietnam will come out of the peace talks in Paris, or is this another of LBJ's political games?

Keep up your great struggle. I feel our hope for a better America depends on our youth.

Yours for Peace,

Marjorie Murray

S.L.P. PLAN

Dear Editor:

I have been receiving your paper for six months. I have been a socialist for eight years. In your last publication an article was written concerning a third party. The Socialist Labor Party founded by Daniel De Leon in 1896 has been on the ballot for years. I have voted socialist for eight years.

This party adheres to a change in government through the ballot box. I know history refutes this idea, but there is a remote possibility to change the government without a violent revolution. If all the Left-wing organizations could get together and study the Marxist philosophy in its true form, as the Socialist Labor Party has been doing for years, I am sure that within ten years we would be a formidable foe to the capitalist ruling class.

There is no sense to socialist-minded people having so many different organizations. Marxism is Marxism, and there is no need to deviate from his teachings. The Republicans and Democrats have no constructive thoughts, and yet they stick together. A Marxist society is the ultimate goal of society, and it is a shame that we cannot put all of our forces together. Please let us try.

Unity,

John Principe
Philadelphia

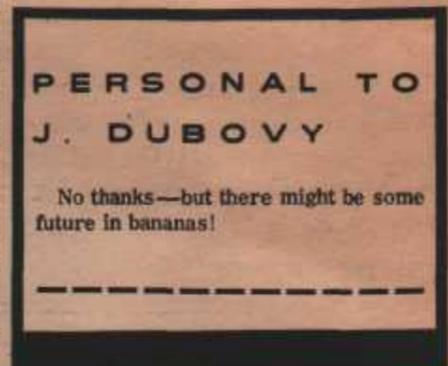
LETTERS-IN-SUPPORT-OF-SEGAL; NO. 1

Dear Jeff:

I am writing to express my support and solidarity with your opposition to and refusal to participate in this country's genocidal war against the people of Vietnam. It might be a long time before the efforts of people against the War have any effect, but it's necessary to keep working. Good luck with the appeal.

For the Revolution

John Wells



SOME THOUGHTS ON STYLE & CONTENT IN WORKING-CLASS ORGANIZING

After reading the Guardian report of the SDS Convention, we felt that we should send some of our thoughts to New Left Notes. Whether or not the Guardian report was accurate is irrelevant, because the type of thinking it described has been floating around SDS for quite a while.

We have been organizing poor and working-class whites for over two years, and maybe that gives us a different perspective from some SDSers. We'd like to briefly share that perspective.

To use Old Left theories today seems absurd. There has never been anything like the United States, economically or politically; so a flexible growing analysis of America is necessary. SDS is moving in this direction, and that's good. But to define class and class-interest in terms of the means of production seems somewhat misleading. It is erroneous to argue that a production worker has as much at stake in the status quo as a bureaucrat in a factory; yet both have the same relationship to the means of production. Furthermore, in terms of real power, a teacher's strike would do far less damage than a strike at General Motors or Gulf Oil. Therefore, it seems important to analyze "how we organize who" in more specific terms than relationship to the means of production. We must carefully examine the life style (alternative culture and/or revolutionary potential) of a group, stake in the status quo, and perceived position in society—to name only a few factors.

Besides reaching an important constituency, working in factories and moving into working-class neighborhoods will help SDS people understand more about America and reinforce their political beliefs and dedication. To be a radical, one must change his life.

Moving from the university to the factory is a radical change in one's life style. The daily exploitation at the factory and in the neighborhood will make the organizer see America for what it is and relate his theory to the reality of millions of American workers (who are not, by the way, economically secure).

In regard to organizing, we believe that all constituencies should and could be organized around economic and non-economic issues. Youth of all classes should be organized around life style, as should workers and teachers. But where is our priority? Where do we go now? All bullshit aside, the industrial working class is a force to be reckoned with. It can effectively cripple the country. Yet this class is moving to the right rapidly. The racism and fascism of this manipulated group (not to mention

their daily exposure to violence compared to the New Working Class's removal from it) could wreck the Movement physically and politically (a democratic revolution without workers?). And since so few people are now reaching out to these workers (who, we are convinced, could move to the Left and remain there permanently), we feel that any program must encourage and emphasize organizing in the working class.

But for us to emphasize working-class organizing does not mean we disagree with a city-wide model of constituency organizing. Not everyone could mentally or physically move into working-class areas. Other constituencies must be reached, because no one can say who will be the vanguard of the Revolution. But one note of caution on a city-wide model: This country is seen from below

as one of middle-classness in both style and content. Middle-class people seem to run everything. People who don't know many words or who aren't used to reading and writing feel left out because they are. They don't run anything. If people are to develop confidence organizationally, they must not be intimidated. Due to the working class's own fears and the arrogance of middle-class people, trying to bring workers together with teachers almost automatically relegates the factory workers to non-leadership (probably alienated) positions. So we would suggest separate but equal organizations coming together on the basis of need.

On the whole, though, we are encouraged by SDS's new direction. But we hope that these off-campus constituencies are not limited to people of middle-class values (regardless of their relationship to the means of production), because that would leave out a very important and exciting group of people. And since it is easier for a college student to organize a radical group of teachers or case workers, while keeping his job, than to move into a reactionary community, the possibility for a cop-out and becoming an "armchair" radical is greater. It's not that bad to live with working people; in fact, it's good. And radicals are needed here. The climate of our neighborhood is in the red, white, and blue of its bumper stickers:

"Wallace for President"

"America, Love It or Leave It"

L and D

PS: We are not and have never been in PLP.

new left notes

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A Message from Michael

Below is the text of a statement made by Mike Klonsky to be broadcast over Radio Habana, as an Independence Day message.

On July 4th, we in the United States celebrate the anniversary of our struggle for independence from the colonial power of the British empire. SDS along with many other young people throughout this country have come to understand that the American Revolution for independence, personal freedom, and self-determination has yet to be fought and won.

Throughout this country, thousands of people are still fighting for those ideals of 1776. They are facing the full force and power of reaction. In Washington, thousands of poor people coming to demonstrate for more food and jobs were beaten savagely by the police, gassed, and put into prison. In the ghettos, black people, demanding self-determination and equality, have instead had their communities invaded by the National Guard and police. Hundreds have been killed in the streets of Harlem, Watts, Detroit, and Cleveland and on the campuses of many black universities.

The student movement now faces the same type of repression. Hundreds of Columbia University students are facing long prison terms because they dared to struggle for an end to university complicity with the racist and destructive system of world imperialism. At this very moment, students at Berkeley are being attacked by police because they wish to demonstrate their support for their brothers in France, fighting against French fascism.

We in SDS understand that the struggles for black liberation in America, for self-determination in Vietnam, and for socialism in Cuba are all part of one struggle, our struggle.

On this 191st anniversary of national independence, we in SDS are asserting our own independence from the oppressive system of American imperialism. We will not serve in the Army to kill our brothers in Vietnam because our fight is here in America, toward the defeat of Capitalism and imperialism.

On the 4th of July, we will not celebrate the freedom which we do not yet have. July 26th has more meaning for many of us than does July 4th. Instead, we will recommit ourselves to the struggle for liberation, peace, and a new America.

reply to halliwell

Roger Taus
Columbia SDS and PL

What's the New Working Class-Student Power line come down to in practice? At Columbia, with two buildings taken by Wednesday, April 24th, and three more in the works, it was "new" working class forces in SDS—outside the buildings—who voted twenty-to-three for leaving the buildings. PL was among those inside fighting for escalating.

Let's look at Halliwell's line as he tries to get out from under his Student Power politics and pin the rap on PL.

In his "Open Letter to the Membership on Columbia's Student Movement" (NLN Convention Issue, June 10th), Halliwell characterizes the PL line on base-building as reformist. "No Student Power issue was too reformist for our PL brothers—curriculum committees in departments, even organizing around dorm hours. Build a base, any old base."

But the base-building proposal put forth by PLers in SDS at the Bloomington NC (December 1967) clearly stated the need for SDS to build an anti-imperialist, pro-working-class base. We see imperialism ripping apart all aspects of people's lives, and want SDS to take up issues most of us have not dared to tackle so far. Instead of Halliwell's fear of "submerging our politics" in struggle around people's day-to-day needs, we should have the courage to win them to our outlook, through mutual experience and political struggle.

Halliwell's "Cities" proposal (National Convention, East Lansing, June 10th through 15th), however, takes up no concrete problems urban workers face: wage cuts, rising prices and taxes, slum housing, lack of hospitals, concentration camp public schooling, dope, and other cultural oppression. This is strange, because it's Halliwell who always tries to come off as the guy concerned with "decisions that affect people's lives".

Yet at the recent Convention, it was Halliwell who proposed to turn SDS from a perspective of becoming a mass-based, anti-imperialist movement with ties to working people into a necessarily small Debrayist cadre to organize the "new" working class. He is saying that mainly students and professionals will make the Revolution: "Since labor has had its class significance altered, it can be integrated into essential

aspects of the bourgeois social structure of America." (Program Proposals, "Overview", Page 2, Halliwell, Bell, Dohrn, National Convention).

This is the old hack argument that the working class is dead. It is paraded around as "New Left"—tres chic. But it is no more than the same old opposition which originated in opposition to Marx himself, specifically his concept that the working class must lead the class struggle to socialism and proletarian dictatorship, that is working-class state power.

Halliwell uses the cliché "Old Left" to hide his real politics.

It is weird to hear Halliwell accuse PL of "popular frontism". In the December NC, Halliwell fought for SDS to work closely with the Mobilization Committee (whose last performance in New York, April 26th, starred Mayor Lindsay, whose cops were readying to attack students at Columbia). PL opposed such pop frontism. We said that instead of forming phony alliances from the top and trying to "influence" other "leaders", we must build a mass, anti-imperialist base from below—in struggle.

"Build a base, any old base" is a fitting interpretation of this line from a guy who made one of his rare appearances at a chapter meeting in December to raise money for his trip to Vietnam. Or is this what Halliwell means in his "Open Letter" by "organizing around the prime contradictions of imperialism"?

PL's line, far from being demolished, was proven to be the hit. What the hell does Halliwell think enabled us to seize buildings and hold out for a week against both the threat and the actuality of police force if not base-building ("two years of educational work around clear-cut radical issues", by his own admission, work in which PLers played a leading role), hitting hard, and above all the worker-student alliance—uniting in action with the very Black community which was the first to rise up in armed rebellion against police terror in 1964? Nobody looked to an alliance with the "new" working class! Everyone looked to Harlem. Does he think our chapter led a struggle of thousands of students for the Liberation School he's leading this summer, or be a use we wanted to stop the gym and force Columbia out of IDA?

The answer is that Halliwell was and is for Student Power: the "liberated" classes

he offered students. That's right: students were "led" back to classes. Halliwell's position—for a counter-institution at Columbia—helped Truman use professors (including "liberated" Roger Hillsman, a former JFK-RFK Viet adviser) to scab on the strike and eventually break it. Promise them a strike against racism and imperialism, but give them classes.

Here, again, in his "Open Letter", we see Halliwell's failure to take the workers' side in sharp class struggle. "PL thought we should just close the place down, as if our strike was a simple protest for change at the University. They failed to realize that as revolutionaries we have an alternative conception of the university and society, and we must work in every situation to build institutions on a new foundation. Re-opening the University was like making a start on that new society; simply closing it down was like workers accepting Capitalism and asking for better wages. Again PL could not get beyond a Student Power position."

As revolutionaries, our task is to fight and defeat US imperialism, not concoct a self-interested "alternative conception" of the university. What we must build in every situation is the political and organizational ability to win our demands—revolutionary advance—not castles of sand like "institutions on a new foundation".

At Columbia, it was crucial to win, because of the clear class issues and masses of people involved, in order to build a movement that serves the people, not just our own selves.

And there it is. Re-open the university. Fuck stopping the gym ("a simple protest for change at the University"). Fuck the people of Harlem. Let Columbia throw them out of their homes. We can always hold a "liberated" class on it. In fact Truman himself would "liberate" Columbia for us if he thought that's all we'd do.

The New Working Class-Student Power line is a complete emasculation of the question of state power and which class in society holds it. What are Halliwell's above remarks if not an expression of class collaboration, of "counter" institutions with the bourgeoisie under their class dictatorship.

We say that there can be no such thing as a university run under "our auspices" while the country is owned and run by

bourgeois dictatorship, and we say that to put forth to students that there can be such a thing is to try to lead them into the welcoming arms of gangsters like Kirk and Truman, whether your institution is "parallel" or "counter". We PLers in SDS want schools run by and in the interests of students and workers under socialism. As with all institutions in class society, the class that holds state-power determines the nature of that institution. We want to lead workers and their allies in overthrowing the bourgeois state that controls, exploits, and takes our people's lives, and we say so openly. We want socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to destroy and bury imperialism.

PL's role at the outset was to escalate, not retreat. We were not after a "liberation" school as being primary. Since Halliwell raises the "Challenge" article I wrote, I'll state again: "People have changed. Many students now want to fight and defeat Columbia's racism. ...This is not a fight for structural reform. NO NEW, FREE, OR DEMOCRATIC UNIVERSITY CAN EXIST UNDER IMPERIALISM."

PL's line—my line—in the strike was to close Columbia down in order to win our demands. We had the forces to do it.

The Columbia Rebellion and Strike was for reforms, not revolution, that is the seizure of state power. But Columbia advanced the understanding and ideology of most of those who took part. That was the revolutionary aspect of the struggle.

Let the real reformists, jet-set tourists, and manipulators speak for themselves. Let's build a movement, and the struggles that are its pulse, that serve and advance the fight to defeat imperialism.

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Education Secretary's Incoming Report : use us !



by Fred Gordon

What is the role of the National Office? The role of the National Office is to be useful to the Movement. "Usefulness" has bounds. It does not mean that the NO formulates its own policy which it seeks to impose on the organization, and it does not mean that the NO has its own analysis of American society which it presents to the press as SDS's position. Usefulness means that first the NO is responsible for the mechanics of "getting out the mail" and running an efficient office. But, beyond that, it has more complex functions. These can be described as (1) defining the issues, both theoretical and practical, which come up in Movement work and seeking to resolve these issues by soliciting debate and making sure that the debate is generally understood; and (2) presenting program possibilities to the Movement by getting people who are involved in Movement work to describe how such work can be done.

Perhaps there are obstacles to the successful fulfillment of these functions that I have not run into yet—some strange noxious gas that rises from the ventilating system of the NO and paralyzes its functions; but so far it seems to me that these tasks are by no means impossible. The failure of the NO to define issues will lead to disasters—and the last National Convention was one such disaster. The Movement was unprepared by previous debate to resolve any of the issues before it, and the one debate that wasted the most of the Convention's time—over PL—was never framed in intelligible terms. Further, if the NO fails to provide the Movement with program, presenting to the national organization what is learned through the experience of individual chapters, then the same mistakes will be repeated again and again by every chapter that begins a new kind of work.

I realize that the NO has tried to get people who are doing work to describe to others how to set up similar projects; there is a real problem in getting people to write. All that I can promise is that this will be done as actively as possible. So far, getting people to write up their work in a form useful to the whole Movement does not seem an impossible task.

I do not want to criticize the previous NO. I am not fully aware right now of the obstacles that it faced. But I do know that many people, particularly in the most active chapters, have despaired of the NO, and so far as they are concerned it might as well not exist. This attitude is intolerable. The thrust of the Movement must be national.

The NO, it seems to me, has an enormously unrealized potential for servicing the Movement in crucial ways. This is no time for "having one's own thing". Use the NO!

I.

Some Issues: P. L., Calvert, & What's at Stake

I do not pretend to have a finger on every conception of where the Movement should go. But it should be clear to everyone that if PL does not have the opportunity to argue the rationality of its position, SDS will repeat the catastrophe of the last NC. I have begun to pull together a debate between the positions of SDS and PL for New Left Notes. What we do not want is twenty or thirty articles that say almost the same thing. We do wish as many people as possible to respond. Some of these articles will be printed. But we demand that the issues be comprehensible to everyone who reads New Left Notes. To this end, we will seek to clarify and unify arguments and positions. This means that there will be an editorial policy for New Left Notes—not in the sense that we will put forth opinions, but rather in the sense that we will seek to state issues as clearly as possible. The paper exists for the readers, and will print only what is useful to them.

On the issue of the basic direction of the Movement, the debate with PL will also include discussion of Greg Calvert's recent series in the Guardian. Calvert represented, I think it safe to say, an opposite position from PL on the issues of Labor, black revolution, and American imperialism. We are now soliciting discussion of Calvert's Guardian series—parts of which will, hopefully, be printed in New Left Notes—as well as discussion of PL's position. This series will be merely the beginning of national discussion of basic direction.

II.

Program

There is very little SDS material which is valuable to people who are setting up new programs. SDS, for example, has put out no pamphlet on how to do Draft counseling, labor organizing, or farm organizing. This means that every chapter that begins a new project has to learn from its own mistakes alone.

Programmatic pamphlets should explain (1) how to do things, (2) the kinds of problems that one runs up against in doing them, and (3) the place of a program described in the wider political context.

I am now trying to solicit such pamphlets, and have promises for at least three, one on hospital organizing, one on community organizing, and one on Draft counseling. We are also seeking to become a clearing house for course critique material. In the end we wish to be able to supply people with sound objections to most courses in high schools and colleges in the social sciences.

This is the beginning of an effort to put out good programmatic literature, and does not necessarily reflect Movement priorities. Write and tell us what kind of literature you need, and we will try to produce it.

III.

Sundry Things

We are looking, of course, for good research on the power structure,

imperialism, labor, and other radical issues. We are seeking translators of French, German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, and Spanish so that we can have some idea of what the New Left is doing abroad. Hopefully, we will be able to farm out small portions of foreign pieces so that no one will be greatly burdened. We are trying to compile a list of people who might be available for reviewing books. Write and tell us what field you are in, and we will send you notices of books for which you can volunteer.

IV.

It goes without saying that the NO should not lose touch with the needs of the Movement. Write us and tell us what your chapters need and what you are doing. The NO is neither elitist nor bureaucratic. Use us!

Brother Cleaver's Out



Encouraging progress continues in the case of Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Minister of Information. As previously reported, Cleaver was arrested April 6th following a shoot-out with Oakland police, and his parole was revoked the following day, without benefit of trial or hearing. There was nothing unusual in such action by the California Adult Authority, which merely pursued the course of politically-based harassment set by Oakland police and other law-enforcement agencies.

What was unusual was the decision by

Solano County Superior Court Judge Raymond J. Sherwin to grant Cleaver a writ of habeas corpus, releasing him on \$50,000 bail, on the grounds that the Adult Authority had revoked parole for purely political—not legal—reasons.

Sherwin has followed up this decision by placing a temporary injunction against a hearing to sustain revocation of parole by the Adult Authority. Judge Sherwin further set July 15th as the date on which the authority must appear before him and show cause why they should not be held in contempt of court. Provision was also made for the levying of a permanent injunction against any such hearing by the Authority.

Eldridge said of this "Establishment ruling": "I have no doubt that there are some people, in all parts of the country, with the courage to do the right thing when they see it."

Sherwin had stated in his decision that "the peril of his (Cleaver's) parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing his political goals—goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries."

"not only was there absence of cause for cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming—to say the least—to the law enforcement of this State."

The move is significant in itself, doubly so because it permits Cleaver to get back into organizing for the release of Huey Newton. The fact remains that, despite the work of men like Judge Sherwin and radical white lawyer Charles Garry—who secured Cleaver's release—efforts of the rest of the Law have been largely successful, in that most of the Panthers' legal and financial resources are still tied up in keeping out of jails. Replenishment of these resources is sorely needed, and contributions should be sent to the Eldridge Cleaver Defense Fund in care of The Black Panther Party, 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

Cleaver will also continue work on his campaign for US President. Tom Hayden will be acting as Cleaver's white campaign manager on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. Joining Cleaver on that ticket are Huey Newton for Congress (in the same district in which Scheer ran his campaign two years ago) and Bobby Seale for State Assemblyman. There is also some talk—which will be taken up in later issues of New Left Notes—of the possibility of Carl Oglesby's joining the ticket as Vice-presidential candidate.

You'll be getting THE MOVEMENT...



The current issue of The Movement (in it a long interview with Black Panther Minister of Defense Huey Newton) is being sent out soon on the New Left Notes mailing list.

*

We're doing this not only because the contents are in themselves important, but also because the paper is.

*

As a fraternal organization, The Movement represents both educational and fraternal resources that people should be aware of and use.

*

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Case Turns at Texas Southern

by Susan Eanet

In Houston, on July 10th, a three-judge Federal panel will begin to hear testimony on the case of Brother Floyd Nichols, one of five accused of the murder of a cop in the May 1966 insurrection at Texas Southern University.

Among other charges, members of the TSU Five are variously charged with "weapons procuring, inciting to riot, murder, conspiracy to riot..." The murder charge arises from the Texas law which states that anyone who was a participant or a "conspirator" in an event may be held liable for any injuries or deaths which consequently occur. This means that by accusing the five brothers of conspiring to incite a riot at TSU, the authorities are automatically holding them responsible for the death of a white cop who was killed by his own ricocheting bullet on the campus.

We met with Floyd Nichols last week to talk about the new developments in the case and about how we could best relate to it. Although the other four brothers are being defended by the Texas naacp, Floyd is going separately into Federal Court July 10th to seek an injunction against State prosecution in a case in which he would ordinarily be tried by a jury in a State court. He is a plaintiff in these proceedings, charging that the State has violated his Constitutional rights and that the statutes under which he is to be tried are themselves unconstitutional on their face. If successful, Nichols will never come to trial. This precedent, set in Louisiana in the late 1950s, means that it may be possible to prevent trial (with its accompanying adverse, hysterical propaganda and excessive financial and legal efforts) when one is charged with frame-up crimes or prosecuted in an illegal manner.

This case is yet another arena in which the Movement is raising a fight against the repressive use of conspiracy indictments, and has bearing in that sense on cases all over the country.

The outcome would also provide a good legal basis for the other four accused brothers; Floyd told us that still more indictments are expected, for other militants in Houston.

A battery of lawyers from around the country are working on the TSU case; however, in such a serious frame-up, public pressure will be a significant factor in determining the fate of the brothers.

Floyd stressed to us the need to establish a state wide Movement defense organization in Texas. He says that in an ordinary misdemeanor bust it can take as much as two or three weeks just to obtain a lawyer in some cities. A Chicano defense group already exists in San Antonio, and a support group has formed for the TSU Five in Houston; however Floyd emphasized that forming an organization around the support of one case, such as his own, would not sustain the kind of political organization which will be needed ever more frequently in the coming months in Texas. Instead, it seems that SDS chapters, Chicano organizations, and black student and community organizations are going to have to organize a defense committee which can issue publicity, obtain legal defense and bail, raise money, and build locally on a steadier basis, around local arrests and frame-ups.

We talked about publicity for the TSU case. The accused brothers have been labeled in the bourgeois press as black nationalist-SNCC-commie-Muslim agitators who were sent into Houston to stir up the campus and community. The Rag and the other underground papers throughout the South have to take up the main work of getting the truth about these cases out to the broad student community.

The conversation with Floyd suggested several organizing ideas to us:

(1) In conjunction with the TSU Five's trial and Huey Newton's trial, a major

shove can be given to our summer organizing programs nationally. Counter genocide demonstrations should be called locally around the country to coincide with important dates in the trials of the brothers.

(2) A fact sheet on the TSU case which can be adapted to local use in leaflets and newspapers is being prepared in the National Office.

(3) As a stimulus to the building of Movement defense organizations in our local areas, educational meetings can be called around this case. Films like the Newsreel release "Weapons for Riot Control" could be shown. The TSU case will be most useful to our own organizing if it is linked to local cases and issues. A local defense organization for the Movement must emphasize the local needs of its constituency.

The Escalation of Resistance

Paul Lauter

Two years ago, no one was organizing Draft resistance. People mainly talked about and acted out individual gestures of conscience: applying for CO and refusing induction. But in two years, what was the symbolic protest of individuals has become the increasingly political action of groups of men and women.

We can now see in two recent developments in the anti-Draft movement the early, and as yet symbolic, states of new and enormously significant forms of struggle. In Baltimore, the Reverend Philip Berrigan and three others poured blood on Draft files; then a few months later, Berrigan, Tom Lewis, and seven

others, including the Reverend Daniel Berrigan, burned large chunks of a Catonsville, Maryland Draft board's files with home-made napalm. A few days later, Suzie Williams and a friend walked into a Boston Board, poured black paint all over files full of records, and walked out again. Authorities had no clue to her identity until she announced herself to the press.

These actions have been dramatic and in small ways rather effective: They have stopped some Boards from drafting altogether and snarled up SSS work related to the Boards. At the same time, they have been very costly: Berrigan and Lewis got six years for the blood spilling alone. But these first stages invite, indeed they perhaps demand, such high losses. They are intended as acts of symbolism and martyrdom. But, if the War continues, they portend organized and ever-increasing acts of sabotage. They show the way, open the means. The pressure of events and fresh initiatives will transform gesture into politics.

Similarly with the development of "sanctuary". On the face of it, asking for "sanctuary" in church from a state that has not hesitated to bomb and burn churches in Vietnam seems absurd, again a gesture. But it has been remarkably effective in at least three respects. In some of the instances so far attempted—notably in New York, Philadelphia, Wellesley, and Providence—it has mobilized adults connected with a church or meeting into far more active and immediate support. It has also been very attractive to AWOL or dissident soldiers. In some instances, they have managed to work out discharge deals with the Army. At the very least, taking sanctuary helps assure soldiers that the Army will not simply "disappear" them—there are now people out there looking out for them, keeping in touch. Beyond that, it has been very effective in engaging high-school students, especially in actions that help develop consciousness and unity against cops and the Army, and with resisters.

But perhaps the most interesting possibilities in the sanctuary idea emerge if one imagines the scene after a college dorm—men's or women's—or even a whole school has offered sanctuary to an AWOL, to a drafted senior, or to a classmate who has been drafted after having been suspended in this spring's actions. At the present stage, sanctuary remains largely symbolic. Men are, and are expected to be, seized by Federal marshals. Resistance to the marshals has also been symbolic, non-violent, and token, except in a few instances. But transported from church to university, the sanctuary idea offers enormous possibilities for organizing real solidarity and resistance beyond anything so far contemplated.

(Incidentally, universities much more even than churches are domains independent of police power: At Harvard the Governor of Massachusetts is stopped at the gate in a commencement-time ceremony and must ask permission to be admitted. Will the Feds ask? Will the Administration comply? Will students deny? Time was, too, the Yale old campus was a sanctuary against which Guardsmen fired cannon to breach defenses.)

In 1956 Vietnamese peasants would drive their cattle into village squares to snarl commerce as a symbolic protest. We are at that stage with respect to sanctuary and the Draft boards. But the history of Draft resistance thus far suggests very clearly the directions things move in from herding symbolic cows.



Platform of the Black Panther Party

- (1) We want freedom; we want power to determine the destiny of our black communities.
- (2) We want full employment for our people.
- (3) We want housing fit for shelter of human beings.
- (4) We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
- (5) We want decent education for our black people in our communities that teaches us the true nature of this decadent, racist society and that teaches black people and our young black brothers and sisters their place in the society, for if they don't know their place in society and the world, they can't relate to anything else.
- (6) We want an end to the robbery by white racist businessmen of black people in their community.
- (7) We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people.
- (8) We want all black men held in city, county, state, and federal jails to be released because they have not had a fair trial because they've been tried by all-white juries, and that's like being tried in Nazi Germany, being a Jew.
- (9) We want black people brought to trial to be tried by members of their peer group, and a peer being one who comes from the same economic, social, religious, historical, and racial background...they would have to choose black people from the black community to sit up on the jury.
- (10) We want land, we want bread, we want housing, we want clothing, we want education, we want justice, we want peace.

Convention Statement on Huey and Panthers

The Black Panther Party has been organizing for the last two years in the Oakland ghetto, around a program of seeking social justice and dignity for the black man. Because they have developed a revolutionary perspective on the liberation of the black community, they have been met with a concentrated program of repression (thinly disguised behind a legalistic veil) including armed police attacks, false arrests, and the revocation of Eldridge Cleaver's parole.

Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther Party Minister of Defense and its chief theoretician, has been held in prison for eight months pending trial on the charge of murdering an Oakland pig. There is no question that his is, above all, a political case. From the confines of his cell, Huey Newton has said that he believes that he is being tried not solely as a black man, but as a revolutionary.

SDS supports the work of the Black Panther Party in fighting for the liberation of black people. We believe that America has no right to try Huey Newton, since the power structure that he is fighting against controls the courts in which he will be tried.

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

In order to implement these beliefs, the SDS National Convention pledges:

- (1) that it will give full support, in whatever manner is needed, to the defense of Huey P. Newton;
- (2) that the SDS membership will work in local areas across the country to build support for Huey Newton's defense;
- (3) that the National Office will co-ordinate a national program of education about and full support for the Black Panther Party.

IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

(1) Charles Garry, attorney for Huey Newton, is currently collecting amicus juriao affidavits. He is getting them from lawyers, criminologists, psychologists, and sociology professors. The argument of the affidavits is that it is impossible to determine through normal questioning of a prospective juror whether that juror is racist. Therefore it is impossible to guarantee the selection of a fair jury. SDS members should attempt to collect affidavits to that effect from sociology professors in their area.

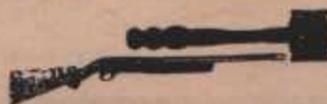
Affidavits should be taken in duplicate. The original copy should be sent to Charles Garry, c/o Karen Wald, 625 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. A duplicate should be sent to The Black Panther Party, 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

(2) Petitions et cetera should be circulated by local chapters discussing Huey Newton's case and demanding that he be set free. Completed petitions should be sent to the Black Panther office at the above address.

(3) Chapters should attempt to raise money for Huey Newton's defense.

(4) Chapters should conduct educational programs, forums, et cetera about the Black Panther Party.

(5) Chapters should do anything else that will achieve the goal of generating political interest and activity around the Black Panther Party and the cases of Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver.



SLID to Resistance - III

BY C. CLARK KISSINGER

This is the final installment in a series of SDS history — 1960 to 1965 — by C. Clark Kissinger, laying out its evolution from the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

SDS entered the 1964-to-1965 school year with twenty-seven chapters and about twelve hundred members on the books. It published a monthly mimeographed discussion bulletin for the membership and sent out a weekly mailing to a select list of about two hundred activists and chapter contacts. It had moved its office out of LID's building into a room over on lower Fifth Avenue, and had three paid staff members in the NO. ERAP maintained a full-time staff and office in Ann Arbor and published the ERAP Newsletter.

Having moved on a course directed at involving students directly in issues of economics and political power at the local level, SDS was nonetheless forced to confront two great new issues: the escalation of the War in Vietnam and the unexpected outbreak of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley. Though caught unprepared, SDS chapters all over the country led the support for the Berkeley movement and heartily endorsed the tough power-structure analysis of the University framed by the Berkeley students (which flowed directly from the Mississippi experience of the FSM leaders). But a certain tension existed about becoming actively involved in the anti-war movement. This tension flowed from SDS's traditional rejection of single-issue organizing and latent belief that America had to be rebuilt first in order to do anything about foreign policy ("the aspect of American politics least subject to democratic control").

At the December NC (held at, would you believe, the Cloakmakers Union hall in New York), FSM leaders spoke and were heartily endorsed. But a proposal to hold a spring march on Washington to call for an end to the War was voted down. A serious argument occurred over this issue; many people were turned off of marches on Washington as a result of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. After a prolonged debate, the motion was reconsidered and the march proposal was approved. In other business the NC reviewed the activities of PEP (which had been pro-Johnson in the elections), and refused to approve any further support. PEP folded a few months later after failing to obtain a grant from the Industrial Unions Department of the AFL-CIO.

In general, the NC and ERAP staff meeting which followed were characterized by a new tone of harshness and quasi-factionalism. Many new people from all over the country were coming into SDS, and it was no longer a small group of intimate friends.

In February of 1965 the United States began the bombing of North Vietnam, and the focus of the New Left began to

swing perceptibly toward the issue of imperialism. At the December NC, the organization had called for an action-education program on economic imperialism, and had chosen the Chase-Manhattan Bank as its first target. In March, SDS organized a large demonstration and sit-in in the New York financial district (six hundred people, forty arrests) and issued a torrent of literature attacking the Chase-Manhattan loans to South Africa. This was immediately followed by the April march on Washington.

In organizing the march SDS followed the principle that anybody who opposed the War was encouraged to participate and organize for the event. (But organizational banners, including SDS's, were banned, and SDS made the decisions.) This meant that for the first time since the Cold War began real live communists (of all shades and descriptions) were accorded equal status with the old-line pacifist and liberal anti-communist peace groups. Naturally the LID (which was still paying the National Secretary's salary) went through the roof, and SANE flatly refused to participate. The march was, however, an enormous success. Twenty-five thousand students marched up the center of the Mall to the Capitol Building to demand an end to the War.

SDS was now nationally known and recognized as the main force on the white New Left. By the end of the school year it had a hundred and twenty-five chapters and over four thousand national members. It was financially independent, with an annual budget of \$60,000. The NO had a dozen staff members and had acquired its first printing press. Looking out from Lower Manhattan toward America, the Spring NC ordered the NO removed from New York City and the June Convention to be held in the Midwest.

The June 1965 National Convention was held at Camp Maplehurst, Kewadin, Michigan. Four hundred SDSers attended this meeting, which was to prove a transition from the old to the new SDS. It was a new campus generation—from the plains of the Southwest as well as from the Ivy League. Beards and Pancho Villa mustaches replaced the clean-shaven look of early SDS. Folks turned on for the first time at an SDS convention. For the first time the members complained about the way their organization functioned. It was suggested that perhaps national officers were unnecessary. The role of the presidency was sharply downgraded and the office of National Secretary was virtually eliminated.

Politically, the convention re-affirmed its commitment to the organization of

local power bases and the multi-issue orientation. It consciously rejected leadership of the anti-war movement at a time when everyone was looking to SDS to call the next big national hoo-hah. It also rejected moves toward resistance, labeling a proposal by the National Secretary to urge soldiers to desert and to court arrest (a la Spock) as "Kissinger's Kamikaze Plan". And finally it destroyed the last vestige of SDS's LID origin by removing the long-ignored communist-exclusion clause from SDS's constitution.

A relative newcomer to SDS, Carl Oglesby, was elected president, and virtually every member of the SDS

"old guard" declined to even run for at-large membership in the NC.

It is my hope that in the not-too-distant future a definitive history of the Movement can be written which will discuss in detail the interaction of experience and the formation of ideology during the Sixties. We really can understand necessary historical processes more clearly by studying what has gone before us, but too often we date the inception of the Movement from the time we joined it.

My apologies to all those dear friends and comrades whose accomplishments and contributions got left out of this short outline. I still love you.

NIC /Regional

Following is a brief regional report from Morgan Spector. He is working in California in a tentative San Francisco-Berkeley-and-environs region, with Nick Gruenberg, Todd Gitlin, Bill Watson, and Paula Dinnerstein. Similar and more extensive reports are being solicited from the rest of the NIC and other regional organizers.

The first fact about the region is that it is essentially divided into two different functional units—the Bay Area and the outlying areas like Sacramento, Hayward and Fresno. Consequently, we have required two different operations here, one concentrating on the Bay Area and one working with the newly developed chapters in the "outback".

There is little to say about the outback chapters, largely because at this time there is nothing happening there, and it is difficult to say just what will survive the summer, as many of the students there tend to leave for more exciting places like San Jose or Chula Vista.

As for the Bay Area, the active chapters are at Stanford, San Francisco State, and Berkeley. Most of the activities of the last year at all of these chapters focused on Draft resistance. The chapters operated as anti-Draft unions during the last summer, and grew out of the strength of those unions. Student activity at both Stanford and Berkeley focused on the War, and protest on the campus itself was held in response to repression of anti-war activists. The Peace and Freedom Party was especially big at Berkeley, and was involved in all of the activities there.

SF State's activities moved away from the War after the October action. People there concentrated on the question of

racism on the campus and tried to form alliances with the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front. Most of these efforts had only minimal success, and it is difficult to assess at this time whether or not any really valuable educational work was done around the various issues that arose during the course of the year. I understand that the work got better as the year progressed, but I had little contact with that campus.

We are currently experimenting with some kind of off-campus organizing in the Castro Valley area of San Francisco. Several of us will be working, and we will aim at starting some movement with young workers, drop-outs, et cetera. The area is a very heterogeneous one, and it is difficult to understand what really goes on there; we'll be starting from scratch.

The region generally presents this problem of having to build from the ground up. There was virtually no educational work done last year, and power in the various chapters has consequently accrued to a few particularly eloquent and loquacious individuals.

It is in part a structural problem. We'd like to start some experimentation in breaking out of the strict committee procedure of handling things. I think we may have some success in this, but it is something we have not yet really gotten into.

In the June 22 issue of the Guardian, Jack A. Smith analyzes the significance of the SDS convention at Michigan State, discusses the Red, the Black, the Factions. Susan Suthem reports on women as a developing force within SDS. Unique, revealing reportage. This issue FREE with every new sub.

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CUBA TRIP

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Berkeley / All the Rules Broken



COMING OR GOING, OFFICER ?

by Arlene Eisen Bergman
the Movement

(Editor's note: Arlene Eisen Bergman has been an activist in the Berkeley area for more than three years.)

Berkeley, California, July 4th (LNS SCN)—Sunday night (June 30th) there was a man playing a guitar walking up University Avenue. He was singing "The Times, They Are A-Changing". Behind him there was a throng of several hundred people. By the time they turned the corner nearly every window on the block was broken.

In twenty-four hours, other people were petitioning the City Council for a permit to have a mass meeting on Telegraph Avenue July 4th.

People have fought hard in the streets. All the rules of previous demonstrations have been broken. The cops used gas on a massive scale. We retaliated, for the first time, by stoning windows. They deployed goon squads in unmarked cars. We set barricades on fire, and someone even had the balls to set a cop on fire. They proclaimed a curfew and established martial law in Berkeley.

When we broke the rules of the demonstration game, we were asserting our right to control our own community. We were challenging the Establishment's definition of "law and order". We were taking what we know is ours.

The demand for freedom of assembly was tacked on afterward. Our struggle in the streets had nothing to do with petitioning our "city fathers" for permission to meet on our own turf.

We have proven that merchants will pressure the City Council into letting us meet on Telly so that business can go on as usual. The problem is that we don't want business to go on as usual. Berkeley's gotta change.

When it all started we were expressing our solidarity with French students. Their goal—to overthrow an oppressive system—is our goal.

There is a possibility of making Berkeley a model for the United States. Berkeley is perhaps the only city in the country where radicals are like "fish in the water".

Our struggle is about people's control over a community. This means that the cops are disarmed and all non-Berkeley forces are withdrawn from the area. This means that the city of Berkeley abolishes its Draft board or appoints a Draft board that refuses to comply with the Selective Service System.

This means that the Trustees' power over the University is delegated to a democratically-elected board of students, faculty members, and community people.

This means that the City Council meetings are open to discussion of these issues and other community needs, and to planning of a new participatory form of city government.

We cannot petition for community control. It is not a demand that can be brought to Mayor Johnson for approval. That would be as absurd as petitioning for his own ouster from office. We don't make trivial demands or petitions. We raise enough hell in this town to demonstrate our power to take control. This is our goal, and until we have reached it, it is meaningless and dangerous to declare victory.

Traditionally we have had massive confrontations with the cops. But people learned a lot these past few days. Sometimes the most effective actions can't be publicized at mass meetings. Most of the time, going en masse into a phalanx of cops is suicide. Probably our biggest tactical advantage last weekend was our ability to break into small groups that could move where the cops could not. Each group was diversionary. Cops had just too much territory to cover.

Some will say that unless we declare victory people will be demoralized. We think there are lots of reasons to be elated—no need to manufacture a plastic victory. We are turned on by the early stages of this struggle. It's good to know that we have the guts to fight back. We have a sense of community and comradeship that we never had before. We have a better understanding of how authority, law, and order ultimately all rest on martial law.

Summer Program Notes

Chris Robinson
New School SDS

The two necessary functions of any summer program are (1) the strengthening of the chapters so that they will be better prepared for the opening of classes in the fall, and (2) the recognition of the political environment in which we find ourselves, with at least a modest attempt to deal with it. In accomplishing each of these there are four topics around which we can focus our activity: the Draft, radical education, the black revolution, and community organizing. Each of these can be the focus for activities on both the regional and chapter levels.

The Draft

Despite the ability of the Johnson peace play and the reduced draft calls to increase people's hopes, there is no sign of a change in the War itself. Given the willingness of the NLF to continue their offensive while negotiating, and given the necessity for the US to keep up their defenses while completing their surrender, there is no sign that the Vietnam situation will cool off in the near future.

Because of this situation we should be able to use the Draft and the War in the following ways:

(1) Locally: Chapters can extend their current anti-Draft activity on campus and in the community through extensive Draft counseling centered in a community apartment or a campus office. If these projects proceed well enough, the chapters will want to initiate an anti-Draft union focused around some form of offensive, communal resistance.

(2) Regionally: Regional or city-wide anti-Draft centers should be formed to co-ordinate the activities of the many existing anti-Draft organizations. This is especially needed in large population centers where the areas of marginal anti-Draft activity can be defined only by a central office which knows what is happening. This would facilitate the formation of counseling centers in neighborhoods that presently have none.

Radical Education

The Movement moves and our political environment changes, so it is natural that none of us has a comprehensive grasp of (or understanding of) our present circumstances. How we act in the fall depends on our evaluation of the political climate and of our own past and present projects. This kind of critical evaluation has been nearly non-existent in the Movement.

(1) Locally: Given the need for increased knowledge and self-criticism, our chapters should become involved in internal education focused on the need of the chapter. This is an especially good project for the small chapter which will have problems maintaining membership over the summer and which usually spends the first two months of fall recouping its losses.

(2) Regionally: Each metropolitan center should form Liberation Schools especially for those members who will be merely summer residents of the city. The areas of study could be suggested by the people involved, who best understand their own needs, or by the specific conditions of the region which demand special research.

The Black Revolution

It should be evident that this summer will be characterized by extreme violence in the nation's ghettos, culminating in generally authorized genocide. We should prepare now! to help our black brothers.

(1) Locally: The chapters should hold meetings structured along the lines of the Vietnam teach-ins. These could most effectively be held in the community (although the campus would do) for the purpose of raising money, educating the white middle class, and putting pressure on the community leaders.

(2) Regionally: In the metropolitan centers we should form emergency organizations which would probably only function when needed. This would involve raising bail money, mobilizing medical and legal aid, and providing housing, food, ammunition, and other needed supplies. These services could best be provided from campuses near the major ghettos. (Note: This sounds like a liberal service project, but it's not. The experience would be radicalizing for the middle-class professionals involved, and could lead to demands for complete police withdrawal and complete home-rule for the ghettos, as happened in Washington DC.)

Community Organizing

It's about time we did some serious work off campus. There are many areas of our society that would be more favorable to radical demands if we had more contact with the people.

(1) Locally: Chapters can set up projects around any of the three topics listed above—or around electoral politics, et cetera—in order to provide a wider exposure for our kind of politics. These projects can focus on low-income white neighborhoods, or on middle-class suburbs. Both targets are potentially valuable.

(2) Regionally: On the larger level there are many kinds of projects that need a broader base to work from than that which a chapter provides. These would include work in or with any of the major labor unions, attempts to unionize non-union workers, and major propaganda efforts.

Conclusion and Implementation

The division into four topics is extremely artificial and must necessarily break down when put into practice. There is no way to separate teach-ins from radical education, and the best kind of anti-Draft work has to involve community organizing. The best summer program would be one in which all of the above are functioning without division. This would provide an organically coherent program at both the regional and local levels.

Implementation is obvious: If you don't get off your ass, there won't be a summer program. Each chapter that will have members during the summer should choose some areas to focus on in order to hold its members together, and should let other chapters in the area know of the project.

The regional projects outlined above also will lie dormant until there is some interest from the grass roots. It is easy to draft a blueprint—but if no one takes an interest in pulling together the projects, there will be no radical activity during the summer, and little to build on in the fall.

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A Letter From Paris

By Eric Gordon Paris, June 25th, 1968
SDS

Let me say that I have not followed the French scene intimately for many years. I have spent only a week in Paris at this writing, and my contact has been with students. I could not explain all the nuances among the dozens of groups and factions—not to mention political parties—if I tried.

But I do know the inadequacy of the American press, and my impressions of one week here may be of at least some help. I do read and speak French, so my report is not based solely on visible evidence. Many readers will regard my judgments as erroneous. I do not feel defensive about them, but I stand by them until I have seen otherwise.

Lest there be any question to that effect, I should say that at least among the students the Parti Communiste Français has no following at all. There are some posters demanding the vote at age eighteen sponsored by the youth branch, but since most students reject the bourgeois electoral process anyway, I do not know who is really influenced by such a demand. Opponents of the PCF do not universally use the term "revisionist". Mostly the PCF is rejected because it is too well enconced within the framework of the present social and political system. Its leaders are too bourgeoisified; they do not fight militantly to achieve radical demands. Its bureaucracy is not distinguishable from that of any other party—Left, Right, or Center. Its call, "(Vote) Communist!", fits within the same category as "Drink Coca-Cola!". Revealing of its true ideology at the present time is its derogatory use of the term "Marxist-Leninists" to designate the "adventurist Maoists". Thus perhaps for the first time a Communist Party has even dropped the perfunctory definition of itself.

The Marxist-Leninists (I do not use quotation marks since there are no other contenders,) are the Groupes de Travail Communistes (Communist Labor Groups) and the Union des Jeunesses Communistes

—Marxistes - Leninistes (Union of Communist Youth). The pro-Chinese Communists worked with other students in the occupation and defense of the Université de Paris and the Sorbonne, but did not as far as I can see exert a dominant influence. When I asked one about the problem of working with fundamental anarchists, he agreed that a serious problem indeed did exist in that respect, but that the problem of struggling against revisionism came foremost.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit has described himself as an anarchist. Whatever he is—although I suppose we should take his own word—he seems, by his own design or otherwise, no longer to be the leader of the student movement in France. Anti-anarchists, at least, seemed to want to impress me by affirming that there is no leader now.

His role in any case was debatable. Some enthusiastic students told me he had an excellent relationship with the factory workers he went out to see, and had discovered them to be as militant as the students. Other more cautious observers on the Left would say only that now the door has been opened to greater worker-student solidarity, but it could not honestly be said that any real victory had been scored yet.

More conservative sympathizers with the workers' demands felt that the students did not understand anything about the workers' complaints or what kind of militancy the workers were willing to adopt. In a number of places, they said, workers told students to beat it—they were not interested in following a rag-tag bunch of "fils de papa" ("Daddy's children") into a political unknown at the risk of job loss.

I am not sure what to believe, although I think it is only realistic to remember that the workers have families to support and that they have not, as far as I can tell, been reading Marx, Lenin, Mao, and Che lately. I am more inclined in the end to take the middle approach, recognizing that in certain instances a good relationship existed, while in others there was hostility.

One program that may encourage a greater degree of exchange between students and workers is the proposed Summer University. Normally during summer vacation the students will keep the University open, offering their courses to anyone who wants to attend. Hopefully, workers will be among them. Another plan is for a long march through France this summer to develop revolutionary sentiment throughout the country. I did not ask toward whom this march would be directed, but it is a fact that so far hardly a moment's thought has been given to the peasant sector in France, which is rather strongly Gaullist.

I asked whether any students had decided against more schooling and opted to take factory jobs to do political work there. One person who was very enthusiastic about the good relations that had developed between students and workers said yes, there were a few, but really the workers were quite militant anyway, and more organizers were not necessary. A member of the pro-Chinese group, however, seemed proud that many of his comrades were those who formed the Communist Labor Groups, and who edited a publication, *Servir le Peuple* (Serve the People), based on experiences at work. In my opinion, I frankly thought the first student was kidding himself—perhaps it was a defense against the intimation of my question.

Posters had a veritable renaissance during the strike. No party failed to have its posters. But most of the announcements came from the anti-Establishment (that means all parties) Left. Most carried clever slogans based on puns or double entendres, others merely caricatures with a single explanatory word. Some warned against reading the bourgeois press and exhorted the public to continue reading the "newspaper on the walls". I heard that some Americans were buying up reams of posters which are already on sale in the US.

Within a matter of days after things began to quiet down, the books were out.

(I imagine there are a dozen new picture biographies of Bobby in the States, too, eh?) "The May Revolution in Pictures", "May Quotations", "The Walls Tell It", not to mention the latest re-publications of Che, Marcuse (who seems popular), Lenin, et cetera.

It is true that a revolution has never taken place in a highly advanced industrial and technological society such as those in Twentieth Century Western Europe and the United States. Therefore it is hard to say of what tools such a revolution would make use. But I am sure that the "poster culture" which is so prevalent and so superficial among the Left and its sympathizers in the US has spread over to Europe in all its wallpaperish two-dimensionality. The revolutionary tour de force, it seems, was to invent a poster slogan cuter and cleverer than any other, and so the humor and obscurantism escalated. Now the posters and books, of course, have a venerable history in France, and I do not wish to demean it. But there seemed to be a resistance to getting down to where it's at, and that I found regrettable. I wonder also if it ever occurred to anyone that the very name Cohn-Bendit would mean nothing to Americans—and nothing, I think, to the French either—if it were not for the bourgeois press itself. It is sad to think our reliance upon our masters is so great!

"France will never be the same again," everyone says. That depends on what you mean by "different". I do not see any reason to think that the basic relationship of the French worker to his work will be any different in the foreseeable future. One of the posters out it succinctly. It showed a hand with a piece of chalk conjugating DeGaulle's new verb: "I participate, you participate, he participates, we participate, you participate, they profit."

Yet I do not wish to underestimate the events of the past two months in France. A tremendous reserve of power is in the hands of French workers and students—and now they know it. For that there is no substitute.

Draft-Card Burners & the Dollar

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"...the ultimate causes of all social changes are to be sought, not in the minds of men...but in the changes in the mode of production and exchange; ...the growing realization that existing social institutions are irrational and unjust, that reason has become nonsense ...is only a sign that changes have been taking place quietly in the methods of production and forms of exchange with which the social order, adapted to previous economic conditions, is no longer in accord....These means through which the abuses can be eliminated are not to be invented by the mind, but discovered by means of the mind in the existing material facts of production." (Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, Part 3, Section 2)

If what Herr Engels tells us has merit then we should be able to discover a relationship between current social unrest, manifested by anti-war demonstrations, cries that the military draft is "unfair", uneasiness in the intellectual community, et cetera, and changes in the structure or emphasis of the economy. I think this can be demonstrated.

The mighty urban capitalist industrial society that developed in America following the Civil War, collapsed in 1929. Along with it, world capitalism plunged into the Great Depression of the

1930s. Mussolini in fascist Italy and Hitler in Nazi Germany made their capitalist economies boom by spending for war. Pacifist, isolationist America, disillusioned by World War I, limped along with one-third of the labor force on relief. Only when America began to spend for World War II in 1939 did the depression, unemployment, and the need for public relief end.

With the triumph of the Allies in 1945, spokesmen for American capitalism began to talk of "pax-Americana" and the "American Century"; in plain talk, a system of world-wide capitalist imperialism dominated by Wall Street. The sole threat to the System at that time was the other victor in the War, the ally that had borne the chief brunt of German expansion, socialist Russia.

So the American people, historically anti-imperialist, began to be indoctrinated with a rather paranoid ideology of "anti-Russianism" and "containing communism". Politically and economically this achieved two results: it sold the American public on world imperialism, inherited from the former European colonial powers, and it allowed Washington to continue to spend for war during peacetime.

Modern capitalism has not stood on its own two feet since 1929. Monopoly pricing siphons an excessive amount of labor's product into the pockets of the owners. This money must be re-invested in the economy (for capital goods or luxury spending) in order to become income for the consumer. In time of economic crisis it is not re-invested, so income falls off, demand falls off,

prospects for profitable investment diminish, and the economy snowballs into a depression.

It has been discovered that government deficit spending (most politically expedient, for war goods) can keep income, consumption, and re-investment up, and thus avert depression. The Keynesian multiplier begins as income for the war worker and soldier, which becomes income for the grocer, which becomes income for the cobbler, and so forth. Constant slow monetary inflation is a necessary result of the process, but this too is a stimulant for investment since depreciation of capital goods is less than the inflation. Thus the national debt rises.

The present-day American voter has been indoctrinated with anti-communism as an ideology for imperialism and capitalism. This is only natural, since the mass media are capitalist institutions themselves and wish to preserve this privileged system of economic organization, as do their supporting advertisers. Because the voter begins to cry "socialism" if money is voted for projects like urban renewal, lawmakers are pressured to vote war appropriations to keep the economy going.

Enormous profits accrue each year to the handful of families at the top of the economic ladder. The managers of these funds must find opportunities to invest them the world over, outside of the socialist countries. If a communist revolution succeeds, such as the one in Russia, then that country is lost as a potential investment area. So what

would be more obvious than to take the war material and use it to crush a communist insurgency, as in Vietnam at present. Since World War II, socialist China and Cuba have been "lost" to American capitalism by not following this path. Timely action in 1965 prevented the "loss" of the Dominican Republic, et cetera.

So we find that Engels' change in the mode of production is a post-World War II capitalist economy which is dependent upon war spending for its full functioning and which is involved in a world imperialism threatened by communist revolutions.

Under the System, the average citizen suffers from monopoly pricing, inflation, taxation for war, threat of incineration by nuclear rockets, and compulsory military service as "policeman of the world". He is forced to police abroad the investments of the people who exploit him economically at home. Hence the unrest.

But he also shares in the affluence of imperial plunder and war-time full employment.

The United States today is a fascist democracy—not a fascist dictatorship (the latter is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie). This fascist democracy is an ostensible political democracy, the economic superstructure of which is a system of monopoly capitalism made to function by spending for war (hot or cold).

Engels, of course, recommends public ownership of the mines, oil wells, factories, et cetera, and payment of the profits of these enterprises into the public treasury as an alternative.