

Repression hits Panthers

See page 12

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Students for a Democratic Society

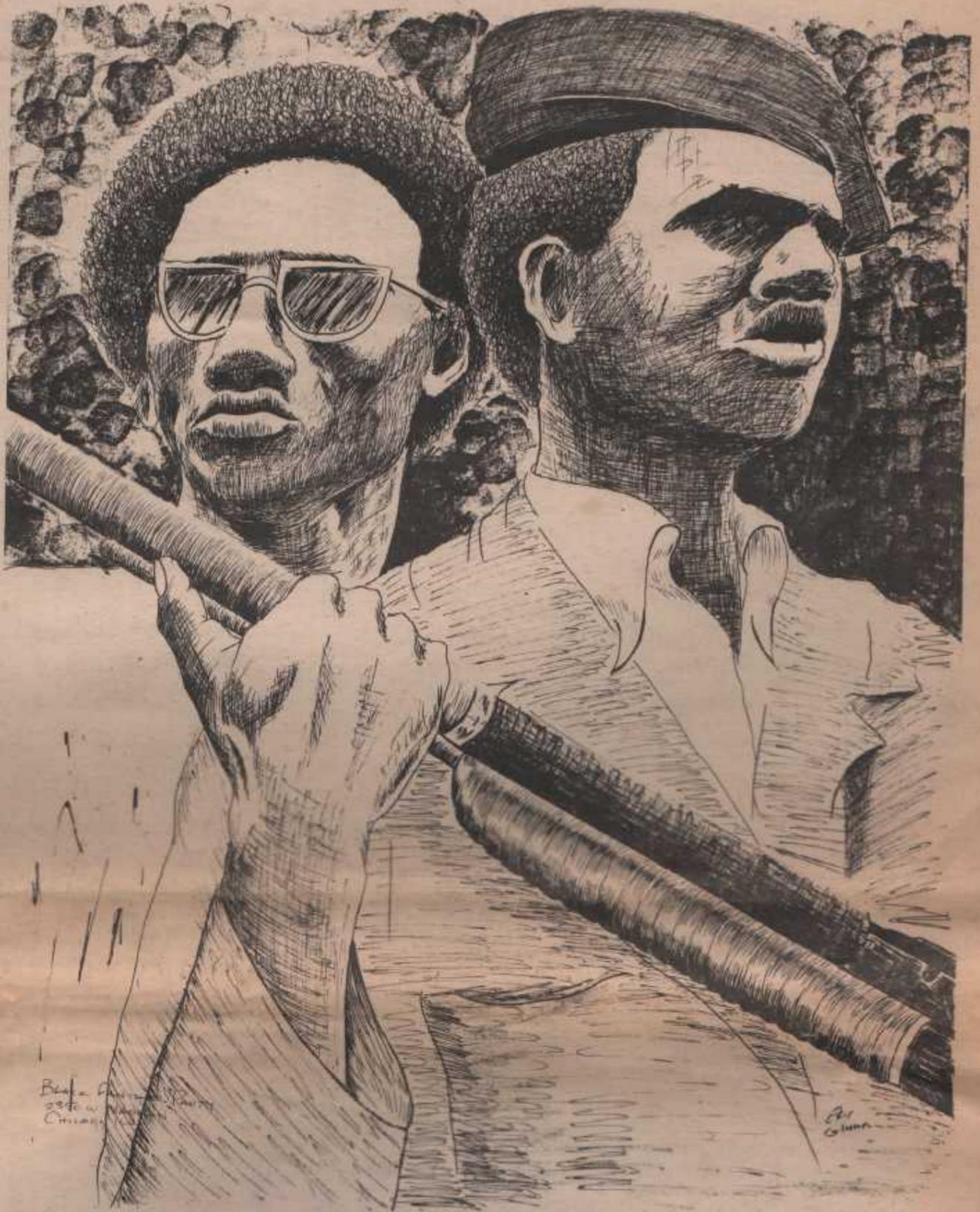
NEW LEFT NOTES SDS

April 4, 1969

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

Vol. 4, #13

insides:
Resolutions
passed by the
National Council



Nine resolutions passed

NC supports Panthers

Twelve hundred SDSers packed themselves into the Catholic Student Center in Austin (seating capacity of 800) to decide the direction of the organization, despite attempts on the part of the state legislature, the Texas pigs and the board of regents to

prevent the Spring National Council. The debate centered around the questions of nationalism and the black liberation struggle and included resolutions on our relations with SSOC. The positions put forth by the Worker Student Alliance caucus were soundly

defeated and many felt that the most important part of the NC was the debate and discussion among non-WSA groupings.

The first resolution on the floor was presented by Ed Jennings from Chicago Circle Campus on "The Black Panther Party: Toward the Liberation of the Colony." The resolution was presented as a counter to the "Fight Racism" proposal passed at the Ann Arbor NC, which condemned black nationalism as "reactionary," maintained that the black colony in America didn't exist and that black people, therefore, were simply "super-exploited workers."

Jennings said that blacks suffered under a "dual oppression." He maintained that blacks are "subjects" in an oppressed colony fighting for liberation and self-determination and that SDS should actively support this anti-colonial struggle.

He said that the role of revolutionaries in a struggle for self-determination is to push revolutionary leadership to the forefront through whatever influence they

had. In this case, support for the Black Panther Party as the vanguard of the liberation struggle would help prevent reactionary or "black capitalist" tendencies from assuming leadership.

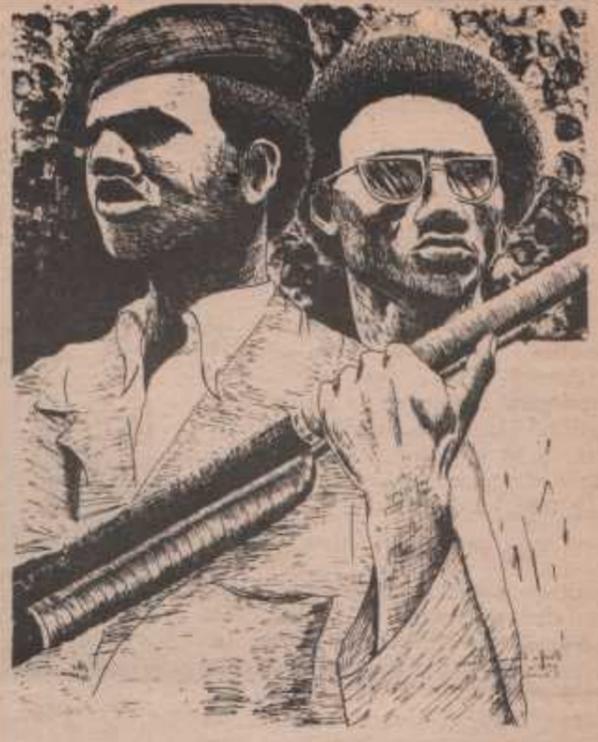
WSA and PL members attacked the resolution, saying that struggles for self-determination open the door to "black bourgeois leadership." PL magazine has recently attacked the Panthers and DRUM (Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement) as revolutionary nationalists. The clarification of their position on these two groups as well as their recent position on the TWLF leadership at San Francisco State cleared up much of the confusion that led to the passage of "Fight Racism" in December by a narrow two-vote margin. This time, their position was soundly defeated by a two-to-one vote. Much of the support which they received in Ann Arbor came because they took credit for the strike demands during the magnificent SF State Strike. In Austin, they

(continued on Page 2)

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The Black Panther Party: toward the liberation of the colony

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Ed Jennings, Chicago Circle Campus SDS.)

The sharpest struggles in the world today are those of the oppressed nations against imperialism and for national liberation. Within this country the sharpest struggle is that of the black colony for its liberation; it is a struggle which by its very nature is anti-imperialist and increasingly anti-capitalist. The demand for self-determination for the black colony—a demand which arises from the most oppressed elements within the black community—is anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist insofar as it challenges the power of the ruling class. Furthermore the black liberation movement consciously identifies with and expresses solidarity with the liberation struggles of other oppressed peoples.

Within the black liberation movement the vanguard force is the Black Panther Party. Their development of an essentially correct program for the black community—as exemplified by the 10 points—and their ability to organize blacks around this program have brought them to this leadership. An especially important part of the Panther program is the Black People's Army—a military force to be used not only in the defense of the black community but also for its liberation. Given the military occupation of the black community it is especially true that "without a people's army the people have nothing." A second important part of their program is their efforts to organize black workers. They are increasingly moving into the factories and shops, i.e., DRUM, Panther caucuses, Black Labor Federations, etc. It is important for us to understand that the black worker is not only a "subject" in an oppressed colony fighting for its liberation but that he is also a member of the working class. Thus the black worker as a result of this dual oppression will play the vanguard role not only in the black liberation movement but also in uniting and leading the whole working class in its fight against oppression and exploitation.

The fundamental reason for the success of the Black Panther Party is that it has a correct analysis of American society. They see clearly the colonial status of blacks and the dual oppression from which they suffer; national oppression as a people and class exploitation as a super-exploited part of the working class. The demand for self-determination becomes the most basic demand of the oppressed colony. And nationalism becomes a necessary and effective means for organizing the black community and forging unity against the oppressor.

We must be very clear about the nature of nationalism. If the principal contradiction in the world today is that of the oppressed nations against imperialism, then support for these revolutionary national movements becomes the most important criterion for dividing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries (and revisionists). To say that "in the name of nationalism, the bourgeoisie of all nations do their reactionary and dirty work" is to obscure the reality that in the name of national liberation the workers and peasants of all oppressed nations will struggle against and defeat imperialism. To say that "all nationalism is reactionary" is objectively to ally with imperialism in opposition to the struggles of the oppressed nations.

Pork Chop Nationalism

But nationalism is not always revolutionary. There is

a fundamental difference between revolutionary nationalism which is "dependent upon a people's revolution" and reactionary nationalism in which the "end goal is the oppression of the people". What do the Panthers say about the reactionary, cultural or "pork-chop" variety of nationalism:

"We must destroy all cultural nationalism, because it is reactionary and has become a tool of Richard Milhous Nixon, and all the U.S. power structure which divides the poor and oppressed, and is used by the greasy-slick black bourgeoisie to exploit black people in the ghetto."

George Mason Murray
Minister of Education

The Black Panther Party is under no illusion that liberation for the black colony can be achieved while capitalism still exists. Their call for "liberation in the colony revolution in the mother country" clearly recognizes the dialectical relationship between liberation for the black colony and socialist revolution for the whole society.

"It's impossible for us to have control of the institutions in our community when a capitalistic system exists on the outside of it. When in fact the capitalistic system was the very system that enslaved us and is responsible for our continued oppression. So if we want to develop a socialistic system within the black community we're saying it's also going to have to exist in the white community."

Bobby Seale
Chairman

The correct and uncompromising leadership which the Black Panther Party has brought to the black liberation movement has brought down the most vicious repression from the racist pig power structure. When the leading black revolutionary group is continually harassed, its leaders jailed, hounded out of the country and brutally assassinated, when Panther members daily face the provocations of the ruling class and its racist pigs, when their blood has been spilled and their list of revolutionary martyrs—Huey, Eldridge, Bobby Hutton, Bunchy Carter, John Huggins—increases daily, then the time has come for SDS to give total and complete support to their defense efforts. To do less would be a mockery of the word "revolutionary". We must continually expose and attack the role of the pigs and the courts in oppressing the black community. We must publicize the inhuman, brutal and unjust nature of "justice" in this society.

Fight White Supremacy

We see clearly the need to join with the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary black groups in the fight against national chauvinism and white supremacy. The development of the Panthers as a disciplined and militant group fighting for black liberation has had a tremendous impact on the white radical movement. No longer can we refuse to deal with the chauvinism and white supremacy which exists both in the larger society and in our movement. Toleration of any vestige of white supremacy in the schools, shops and communities must be seen as nothing less than "scabbling" on the black liberation movement and on possibilities for unity of the working class.

SDS declares

—its support for the Black Panther Party and their essentially correct program for the liberation of the black colony

—its commitment to defend the Black Panther Party and the black colony against the vicious attacks of the racist pig power structure

—its commitment to join with the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups in the fight against white national chauvinism and white supremacy

—its total commitment to the fight for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country.

IMPLEMENTATION:

—Form Newton-Cleaver Defense Committees—The Black Panther Party has requested that SDS join in setting up these committees. Huey P. Newton is "the key political prisoner in this country at the present time". The committees should first raise money for the defense of Newton, Cleaver, and all other Panthers facing charges, and second educate the people about the real nature of "justice" in this racist society.

—The National Office should be mandated to print and distribute information about the history, development and programs of the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups. Information about the repression directed against the black community should be kept up to date and distributed. Literature about the history of the black colony and its 400 years of unending struggle against oppression should be produced.

—The NO should be mandated to print and distribute information about the organizing of black workers. This would include Panther organizing in the factories, DRUM, and other revolutionary black unions.

—This resolution should stimulate chapters and regions to develop and/or strengthen informal and formal relationships with the Panthers. We must keep in mind that the Black Panther Party is not fighting black people's struggles only but is in fact the vanguard in our common struggles against capitalism and imperialism.

—This resolution should be seen as a formal repudiation of the resolution—"Smash Racism: Build a Worker-Student Alliance"—which was passed at the December NC. This previous resolution with its refusal to recognize the colonial oppression of blacks in this country, its statement that nationalism is "the main ideological weapon of the ruling class" within the black liberation movement and its inability to distinguish between revolutionary and reactionary nationalism is at best non-revolutionary. SDS must not be on record as supporting any resolution which considers revolutionary nationalism—the main factor which ties all oppressed nations together in their fight against imperialism—as a "weapon of the ruling class". Anything less than complete repudiation of this previous resolution is a cop-out on the support and solidarity which we must give to the world-wide movement of oppressed peoples for national liberation.

THE SCHOOLS MUST SERVE

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Les Coleman, Chicago Regional SDS.)

We live within a monster—a monster of imperialism and racism that necessitates war, permanent militarization, the subjugation of women, the brutal oppression of the people of color of the world, and the inhuman exploitation of all working people. The cause of this monster is the class and colonial structure of the empire: the majority of people are maintained producing wealth they never share in and the nations of the third world bear the constant oppression and colonization of the white oppressor nation—U.S. imperialism. Within this country there exist both class and colonial divisions—class divisions exploit working people of all colors and colonial divisions are at the basis of the special oppression of black and brown sectors of the population. It is this class and colonial basis of the system that we must challenge.

SCHOOLS MAINTAIN CLASS STRUCTURE

The whole education system now—from grade schools on up—is used to tie the allegiance of youth to the capitalist system by building an ideological army for the ruling class. It functions to maintain the class and colonial divisions in the society. SDS opposes this and takes its stand against the class and colonialist functions of the education system. Schools cannot be made to serve the people, or be prevented from serving the capitalist class, without a fight against that class. The capitalist class has never given up anything it needed to make the system function to their advantage unless they were forced to by the struggles of the people. This is still true today. The function of the education system cannot really be changed and the system made to serve the people, until the power of the whole capitalist class is challenged and destroyed. What we present here, in the following ten-point program, is a summary of our general objective for the educational system. Our struggle to win these demands is only part of the whole class struggle unfolding in this country and throughout the world and must contribute to the fight to end the monster and the state power which maintains all its aspects of class and colonial domination.

TEN POINT PROGRAM

1. We demand an end to the track system in the schools. The track system, the classification of students into "different levels" of study by racist, anti-working class tests and teachers, is nothing but

a way of maintaining class and colonial divisions in the society. Consignment to the lower tracks is nothing but a ticket to the army and then to low-paying jobs or unemployment in the ghetto. This unjust consignment falls systematically on working-class youth and heaviest on black and brown youth. We are committed to fighting and exposing the more subtle and hidden forms of tracking throughout all the school in every way we can.

2. We demand an end to flunkouts and disciplinary expulsions. We want all who have been flunked out or kicked out to be readmitted, because school standards and authorities which are responsible to the power structure in this country have no legitimate human right to judge the people. Flunkouts and expulsions are again systematically a way of maintaining working-class and especially black and brown youth as the fighting force and lowest-paid labor force in the society. We want an end also to the regimentation—the school behavior rules, the dress codes, the cut system—which is meant to keep us from challenging the kind of education the system sees fit for our indoctrination.

3. We demand the teaching of history and social conditions of the people in this country which exposes the true injustice of this racist capitalist society and the just struggles of colonized and exploited working people against injustice. We are more concerned that there be teachers who know peoples' history and know what is actually going on among the people than that we have teachers with fancy degrees. We demand an end to the political firing of teachers who do give us a true perspective.

4. We want the schools to directly serve the people where they now function like all corporations in this society to exploit and oppress the people. We demand that schools end cooperation with recruitment for those American corporations which rule and exploit the people, that they end the exploitation of surrounding communities through their control of real estate and urban renewal programs, and that they end the brutal and unhuman wage and working conditions oppression of school employees.

We support with the full power of our movement the struggles of the black community for control over their schools. This control is of primary necessity for the self defense of the black people against the colonial nature of the day to day brutalization of their children in the schools. We must see our job as one to unite with the people and serve them in struggle. We must give this form of support of this just demand.

5. In all schools we call for the unlimited admission of black and brown students because we see that the special colonial oppression involved in their exclusions, and its acceptance by the majority of whites, is the foundation on which this corrupt system maintains itself.

6. We want decent truthful education paid for by the wealth of this country. Three per cent of the population controls 90% of the wealth of this country, and yet the labor of the majority of the people is what makes the country run. If a man works for a wage all his life he should be guaranteed that his children will have an education paid for by the wealth he has helped to produce. Tuition increases tend to keep working people (especially black and brown people) from getting a decent education, and maintain the inequalities in the society. We demand free education and we oppose all tuition increases.

7. We call for an end to military recruitment in the schools, and an end to training and research institutes that serve the American military, including the internal occupation force—the police. We don't want any more police in the schools; we want ROTC and police institutes stopped immediately. The permanent militarization of this country—having its effects on all aspects of American life—on employment, on women, especially on youth—has been accomplished only to protect an empire based on the exploitation and colonization of the laboring people of the world. This militarization, therefore, cannot be said to serve the people, since it maintains the main enemy of the people of this country and the whole world—American imperialism.

8. We want an end to all forms of male supremacy in the schools. This ranges from the male supremacist content of courses and perspectives of instructors to the way women are counseled or tracked into the worst jobs and the most submissive roles in the society. The inequality of women, perpetrated throughout the entire education system, is a principal division of the power of the people to get what they need in the whole country and the source of the misery of over half the population.

9. We want a real understanding of the movement of national liberation and of communist countries which the U.S. government has committed us to life or death opposition against. We believe that anti-communism has been preached to us in order to maintain our participation in and allegiance to an empire which benefits a very few and oppresses the

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THE PEOPLE

people of the world. We want an end to these lies. We want courses taught accurately on Vietnam, Cuba and China. We want teachers who hold the point of view that wars like the war in Vietnam are fought, not in the interests of the American people, but in the interest of a small class of businessmen to maintain an unjust and inhuman empire.

10. We support the ten point program of the Black Panther Party for BSA's on the campus. These demands, which summarize the struggle for survival and self-determination of the black people are just demands which this racist country has never supplied to black people. While some of the demands raised by the Panthers would be incorrect if raised by white students, the special colonial nature of black oppression makes demands for black self-determination and community autonomy a matter of survival for blacks and should be supported. The black liberation struggle, of which the Black Panther Party is the true anti-capitalist leadership, is the struggle to which all working people must be won if the oppressor class is to be defeated.

PART TWO: STRATEGIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE 10 POINT PROGRAM

We must be clear about the nature of this program. We raise demands which are necessary for the survival of the people—just struggles which they are in fact fighting. We fight to win these struggles knowing that we will win some partial victories—resulting in concrete gains for the people and thereby winning their confidence—but that complete fulfillment of their demands requires the destruction of capitalism. We become a vanguard force when we educate the people that fulfillment of their demands requires a socialist revolution.

Our campus work has been marked by our failure to do extensive mass education. In most cases a small core in the chapter is responsible for the "analysis", and it does not get taken to the people except during periods of action where it is tacked

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--photo by NY Newsreel

Build SDS in the South

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Pam Geraci, LSU, New Orleans SDS; Suzanne Wheat, New Orleans MDS; Stew Blackburn, Bowdoin SDS; Fred Gordon, National Office, SDS; John Donald, LSU SDS; Ed Clark, New Orleans MDS, PLP; Fred Lacey, New Orleans MDS, PLP; Eric Gordon, New Orleans MDS, Tulane SDS; Gary Makinson, U of Ala. SDS; Michael Murphree, Florida State U. SDS; Antonio Naranjo, New Orleans SDS; John Duffield, FSU SDS; Robert Modrak, FSU SDS; Gail Shaw, New Orleans (Tulane) SDS; Lee Richardson, New Orleans (Tulane) SDS; Leonard Kocour, Athens College (Ala.) SDS; Paul C. Scribner, U of Ala. SDS; Larry Murphy, FSU SDS.)

The growing development of a revolutionary movement in the South poses important questions concerning SDS's role in the South and its relationships with other groups, in particular, the Southern Students Organizing Committee (SSOC). SSOC undoubtedly represents one of the ruling class's main efforts to build its kind of student movement in the South.

SSOC has, from its inception, been funded by such sources as the Kennedy controlled Field Foundation, the Aaron L. Norman Fund, and the Taconic Foundation. It has always been dominated by a self-perpetuating group of staffed bureaucrats. If those were the only things that could be said against SSOC, that might be bad but not conclusive. What is conclusive is its bourgeois liberalism and its Southern exceptionalism ("Southern consciousness").

THE LIBERALISM OF SSOC: "Eventually in the South, workers will be organized into labor unions and the liberal (as opposed to radical) coalitions now forming will have greater strength. The emergence of these new groupings will probably serve as somewhat of a buffer between us and the people we are fighting."—from "Community Organizing—What You Can Do 'Bout It" by Lyn Wells (SSOC staff), *The Phoenix*, 1:3, November 1969, page 3.

SSOC is basically a politically liberal organization. It sees liberalism as a progressive force in the South. The rise of bourgeois liberalism in the South will destroy the old system of plantation politics as well as create a more progressive political climate in which the "left" can grow, free of the harassment and persecution visited upon the "left" by the old-style Southern politicians. Liberalism is also seen as a useful organizing tool to win Southern

white students to a broad movement which can then be "radicalized" by SSOC. SSOC is very much like the old Steve Max forces in SDS—their rhetoric is radical and occasionally revolutionary (at least when they talk to SDS people), but what they actually tell people on a day-to-day basis is fundamentally liberal.

SOUTHERN EXCEPTIONALISM: "Southern Consciousness is based on an impulse that originates in the very depths of the Southern soul, in the intense and profound feelings for the rootedness of a society, no matter how much corrupted and still corrupt, which possesses certain values of deep meaning to human beings. The South possessed a folk culture, wrote David Potter, 'long after it succumbed to the onslaught of urban-industrial culture elsewhere. It was an aspect of this culture that the relation between the land and the people remained more direct and more primal in the South than in other parts of the country... Even in the most exploitative economic situations, this culture retained a personalism in the relations of man to man which the industrial culture lacks.'"—from "Southern Consciousness" by Steve Wise (of SSOC), *The Great Speckled Bird*, 2:1, March 17, 1969, page 12.

"White southern consciousness" consists of "our land, our traditions, and our history" which is counterposed with northern, "Yankee" imperialism or capitalism as an organizing principle in the practical struggle. The SSOC position puts practice before theory in terms of its "liberate the South" program. Following a simple-minded, linear extension of the 1966 black power and black self-determination principle of organization along cultural and ethnic lines, SSOC intends to organize white Southerners (white middle class students) to liberate the South as nationally oppressed people from unequal treatment by the North.

But SSOC is in error to see a main contradiction between sectional development this late in the 20th century. The national bourgeoisie rule over American monopoly capitalism and imperialism: the South and Southerners form an integral part of this class without due imbalance (See, Domhoff, *Who Rules America* (1967), for radical bourgeois empirical generalizations.) Differences between national capitalists (North and South) do not exist. A single class rules over world imperialism's home market and national production. SSOC's theoretical position on the South as a "colony" is based on extremely doubtful historical materialist grounds, but this

position in practice is even more pernicious because it deflects the South and the Southerner from the class struggle and the struggle against imperialism. The basic contradiction is between proletariat and capitalist, not Southern proletariat and Northern capitalist, and it is completely false to imply that the Southern working class could be "liberated" apart from the struggle of the American working class.

Again, the Southern student is currently in universities which are rapidly being transformed into national centers of production of technical and scientific personnel to run the bureaucracies and armies of monopoly capital. The nativistic Southern component is dwindling in graduate centers and general faculties. There is no reason for an exception to be made of the Southern campus. It is in fact being nationalized and standardized. It is a superstructure of U.S. imperialism, and in this does not differ from other universities.

Finally, SSOC's use of the Confederate flag to symbolize the "rebelliousness" of the South is offensive to all blacks and to anyone opposed to racism.

CONCLUSION: There remains a pressing need for a revolutionary movement in the South; we can never make a revolution with only 3/4 of a country. We who have built the first SDS chapters in the deep South have discovered that the same political ideas and organizing techniques that have built movements in the North and West will, if carried out consistently on a long-range basis, build rooted movements in the South. SSOC has tried to exist on the basis of being all things to all men: loyal servant to ruling class foundations, helpful ally to emerging bourgeois liberalism, radical leader to discontented and rebellious Southern white students and workers. We have tried SSOC and found it wanting. We are in the South to stay and so are our politics. Our purpose is not to smash SSOC, but it is to build a revolutionary movement.

Consequently, (1) the National Council hereby declares the fraternal relations between SDS and SSOC formally dissolved; (2) SDS reaffirms its intentions of organizing on a nationwide basis without exceptions. Specifically, SDS intends to build chapters and regions in the South.

For SDS nationwide as part of the international movement; No exceptions! One movement against one imperialism!

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Third World liberation and socialist revolution

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by the Joe Hill Caucus, San Francisco State College. The resolution was divided and only the first half, printed below, was accepted.)

Today the world-wide system of U.S. imperialism is under attack by scores of national liberation movements throughout the world. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese, the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are organizing to deal a death blow to imperialism. We as SDS continue to affirm our stand on the side of the people struggling for national liberation.

Recently, the focus of attention within the student movement has shifted to the struggle for Third World liberation within the United States. Vanguard groups in the black, Latino, Puerto Rican, Chinese, and American Indian communities, have formed and are organizing their people to confront imperialism in its home base. The demands of these third world liberation movements center around the concept of self-determination and control over all institutions that affect their given community. On the campuses these movements have demanded control over the university as it relates to their community in terms of ethnic studies and increased admissions of non-white students. Thus, the struggles for national liberation within the internal neo-colonies conflict directly with the plans of the imperialist ruling class. The ruling class plans to use the internal neo-colonies for cheap labor and cannon fodder to defend imperialism. In order to accomplish this task an elite of phony nationalists is needed within the third world community. The university is the key institution in this strategy of pacification because it is set up to pick a handful of third world people and produce this elite group of "educated leaders" to lead the "uneducated masses". The junction of such an elite is to serve as ideological policemen for the ruling class and prevent revolutionary nationalists from gaining the allegiance of the third world community. As the ruling class loses the battle for the allegiance of the youth in the third world community whose heroes are Huey Newton and Malcolm X, not Ralph Bunche and Edward Brooke, one section of the ruling class will search desperately for some "acceptable nationalist" to support. These attempts to co-opt the struggle for self-determination will fail so long as the revolutionary nationalists remain firmly committed in their struggle for total liberation, just as the "nationalist alternative" of the Diem-Ky clique has failed to stop the growth of the NLF. This attempt to prop up phony nationalists does not change the essential revolutionary nature of a national liberation struggle waged against U.S. imperialism.

Two Nationalisms

In distinguishing between phony (cultural or pork-chop) nationalists and revolutionary nationalists there are at least three clear distinctions. Revolutionary nationalists call for and support:

1. Revolutions against imperialism among all third world people at home and abroad.
2. A redistribution of wealth and power away from the local bourgeoisie and the white ruling class and toward the working class and unemployed.
3. A revolution in the mother country for the same purpose.

These national liberation struggles raise the important question of the relationship of SDS to the question of nationalism as a form of struggle within

a larger bourgeois nation state. Progressive Labor Party and the Worker-Student Alliance Caucus both claiming to speak for the "politics of the S.F. State Strike" have offered the view that these struggles are only national in form but are really strictly class in content. This is an incorrect, simplistic view because it assumes that the exploitation of third world people is simply a more intense form of working class oppression. This overlooks the totality of economic, political, and social oppression of third world people that extends far beyond their status as workers. It's one thing to be robbed of your labor by the capitalists, but to be robbed of your labor and treated as a sub-human by the dominant culture is a qualitatively different experience. For, the exploitation of third world people includes far more than being robbed of surplus value. They are exploited psychologically and culturally from a system that deliberately tries to rob them of their manhood and womanhood. Further in the neo-colonies third-world peoples are subject to super-exploitation as consumers and this exploitation is coupled with the occupation of their communities by a white power structure of capitalists and racist police that deprives people of even their "democratic rights" under the constitution. The entire system of exploitation in the neo-colony is a qualitatively different experience than that of the white working class community and out of this unique exploitative condition arises the need for and driving force behind revolutionary nationalism. Thus, unlike the trade union movement which is raising demands of higher pay and better treatment from the system, the third world liberation movement is demanding total liberation from the system of capitalist production. "We believe that if the white businessman cannot give full employment then the means of production should be taken from the businessman and placed in the community so the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people to give them a high standard of living" (Black Panther Party) Thus, the third world liberation movement will not simply tailend into a trade union movement. The eventual unity between a socialist movement and the national liberation movement in the third world neo-colonies will depend upon the commitment made by the revolutionary white workers and students THAT THE THIRD WORLD PEOPLE WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO ANY AUTHORITY NOT OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING. THE WHITE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT MUST COMMIT ITSELF TO SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THIRD WORLD PEOPLE IN THE FORM THAT THIRD WORLD PEOPLE DECIDE TO EXERCISE THAT RIGHT (i.e. Panther referendum in the black neo-colony.)

SDS Role

The role of SDS is clearly to lead the struggle in the white community to support and defend the revolutionary nationalist movements in the neo-colonies. Our job is to convince white students to ally themselves with the struggle for national liberation. We should present the issue to students as a choice between supporting imperialism which has a need to exploit people and nations and socialism which does not depend on exploitation. This is where the question of which class will hold power in the white community becomes crucial, for only in a socialist America can third world people firmly secure self-determination as defined by the Panthers as "all power to the people".

NC

(continued from Page 2)

on the flight within SSOC and that he "thought of himself as a revolutionary first and a SSOC member second." The resolution passed overwhelmingly, breaking fraternal ties with SSOC and denying them the regional autonomy which they've had since the old (Paul Booth) days.

At this time, the WSA caucus, realizing that they were defeated, pulled most of their people out of the NC and went home. This meant that resolutions on Vietnam and China were debated without them. The Vietnam resolution was presented by Bob Kirkman (NYSDS) and called for support of the NLF and Ho Chi Minh. It attacked those who had slandered the leadership by saying that the NLF was limiting its armed struggle and had gone back on its demands for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops before negotiations could begin. The resolution specifically attacked the positions of ISC and PL, who have bitterly attacked the NLF as "traitors

to the struggle." The resolution was passed nearly unanimously despite an argument from Alex Foreman of SF State that our support should go to the Vietnamese, and not to emphasize the leadership.

The resolution supporting China in the China-Soviet border war was passed with little discussion. It attacked "U.S.-Soviet collusion" and the notion of "peaceful transition to socialism." The lack of discussion and mass education done previous to this resolution left much to be desired in the way of debate and discussion.

At one point during the NC hundreds of people rose to their feet when Reese Erlich, one of the Oakland Seven, took the podium. The "Seven" had been acquitted by a California jury just hours before, and Erlich recounted the struggle and dramatically moved the audience with a sense of solidarity.

As usual, the NC ended with the singing of revolutionary songs led by Chairman McCarthy and with hundreds of brothers and sisters pitching in to help clean up the mess they made to express thanks for the use of the facilities in a crisis.

New Left Notes

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Ho Chi Minh Dare to struggle, dare to win!

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Bob Kirkman, NY Regional SDS.)

The Vietnamese people, under the revolutionary leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the National Liberation Front, are waging the most advanced struggle in the world today against U.S. imperialism. The understanding that theirs is a people's war for the liberation and self-determination of their nation is essential for all members of SDS.

It seems almost absurd that in 1969, a battle for support of Ho Chi Minh and the NLF must be waged within a revolutionary youth movement in the heartland of world imperialism. However, the necessity clearly exists. Recently, certain significant tendencies within SDS, namely those representing PLP and the Independent Socialist Club (ISC) have condemned the NLF leadership and Comrade Ho, publicly, as "traitors" and "revisionists" and as not truly fighting for socialism. It is claimed that the Paris negotiations have been carried out at the expense of the armed struggle and that the representatives of the Vietnamese people in Paris have gone back on their pre-conditions for the talks, which include immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnamese soil, the liquidation of all military installations and recognition of the National Liberation Front as the true representatives of the people.

If these charges are lies, those spreading such

lies, for the purpose of creating splits within the anti-imperialist movement thus weakening the world revolutionary movement, must be seen as enemies of that movement and working objectively in the interests of the U.S. ruling class.

Let us examine the leadership of this struggle, which has won acclaim and support from revolutionaries around the world. After leading the people through victory after victory against Japanese, French and now U.S. imperialist invaders, defeating the most well equipped armies the world has ever seen, Ho Chi Minh has taught us all that "people's struggle is invincible" even when faced with advanced technology. The Tet offensive in the spring of 1968 sent the imperialists' troops reeling backward with attacks on the main strongholds of the puppet government, Saigon. Tremendously heavy casualties were inflicted upon U.S. troops and revolutionaries around the world were deeply inspired.

Thus far, the 1969 spring offensive has inflicted even heavier casualties on the imperialists with fewer losses of Vietnamese troops. A U.S. command officer stated March 6, "The military significance of the figures is clear. The enemy has concentrated his attack on American installations and managed to kill significantly more U.S. soldiers this year while losing less than half the men he lost last year." Does this sound like the leadership is limiting armed struggle?

Carrying the offensive to Paris, mobilizing world

support for the national liberation struggle and making clear to all that the fighting in Vietnam will never stop until imperialism is defeated, the leadership has created chaos and confusion within the ranks of the imperialists.

At the conference table, the Vietnamese representatives have refused to negotiate an end to the fighting until all troops were withdrawn from their country.

It is possible that, because PL members praise the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the thought of Mao Tse Tung, some may conclude, out of lack of knowledge, that the Chinese have the same position on Vietnam as PL does. Nothing could be further from the truth. Lin Piao's recent speech supports the "correct leadership of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnamese struggle." It is clear to them that the Vietnamese, led by the working class, bolstered by the experience of socialist construction in the North, once achieving victory, will be in an extremely favorable position to move forward to socialism.

Support for national liberation struggles against imperialism is the "cutting edge" that separates revolutionaries from liberals around the world. SDS must take the lead in building support for the Vietnamese people and their revolutionary leadership and deal with all those who oppose their struggle, whether it be Richard Nixon or tendencies within our own movement, by any means necessary.



Fight U.S.-Soviet collusion against China

(This resolution, originally written by John Berlow, Harvard-Radcliffe SDS, PLP, and Debby Israel, Brandeis SDS, was rewritten and presented by Ed Jennings, Chicago Circle Campus SDS.)

The recent Soviet imperialist attacks on the Chinese border are part of the overall U.S.-Soviet plan to encircle China. They are attempting to defeat the Communist Party of China and the Chinese masses, who have fought against Soviet revisionism and counter-revolution. They are also aiding U.S. imperialism in attempting to make China's human and natural resources free for imperialist exploitation. Thus the USSR has been moving troops to the Chinese border since the invasion of Czechoslovakia was completed. This has forced China to divert her troops. Soviet imperialist attacks on People's China, then, are attacks on all Marxist-Leninists, all anti-imperialist movements, and all oppressed classes fighting against imperialism. To "justify" these attacks, the Russian misleaders have begun a viciously racist campaign against the "yellow Peril" at home (echoed in the U.S. press) and have waged a "diplomatic offensive" abroad to firm up the support of the ruling classes in France, Italy, Japan, etc.

In recent years, the true meaning of the Soviet revisionists' cry for "peaceful transition to socialism"

and "peaceful coexistence" has become clear. On the one hand, they try to extinguish the flames of revolution—either through "aid" or its always reliable sellout revisionist "Communist" Party allies. On the other hand, they actively aid and collaborate with U.S. imperialism—by giving arms to the Indian gov. to be used against China, by extending credit to the fascist Indonesian Suharto regime, by working to sell-out the Vietnamese people, etc. Though the Soviet imperialists have at times squabbled with U.S. imperialism concerning the carving up of the world—as in Czechoslovakia—their basic collusion has not been in the least undermined.

Both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists recognize the danger of the proletarian cultural revolution and malign it in similar terms. The struggle of the Chinese masses against bourgeois ideology and practices in revolutionary disguise (i.e. revisionism) has helped to expose the counter-revolutionary goals of the USSR to the anti-imperialist masses around the world. Their uncompromising support of violent revolution makes them the prime target of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

By setting the stage for a U.S.-Soviet war against China, the Russian actions represent a serious attack on U.S. workers. The imperialists must intensify

racist (against Blacks, Latins, and Asians in the U.S.) and anti-communist propaganda to prepare for a war—splitting white workers from their natural allies at home and all U.S. workers from their natural allies internationally. And, as always, U.S. workers and the people of the oppressed internal colonies will be forced to fight and die in this imperialist war.

SDS has a great responsibility to American workers, students and intellectuals to condemn this Soviet imperialist attack on People's China and revolution everywhere. We must begin to mobilize working people, colonized people, students and the broad masses of oppressed people in this country against the new U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance.

All chapters are urged to carry on educational work and to agitate around this issue. Slogans such as:
RUSSIA, GET OUT OF CHINA NOW!
FIGHT U.S.-SOVIET COLLUSION!
U.S. GET OUT OF TAIWAN NOW!

should be popularized and demonstrations should be built to make visible our vigorous opposition to this new imperialist trick. Chapters and their base should be won particularly to see the imperialist nature of the Soviet attack, U.S.-Soviet cooperation, and, the serious consequences for American working people and students.

Hot town: summer in the city or

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Bill Ayers, Michigan SDS, and Jim Mellen, REP. It is a revised version of a proposal for a summer program that was passed by the Michigan Regional Conference in Lansing on March 16. People are now working in Detroit to implement this program. This proposal should be seen as a model for political direction in the movement over the next few months.)

I. TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Over the past few months, SDS has developed a correct transitional strategy for itself. That strategy is based on an understanding of the class nature of this society; on an understanding that the sharpest struggles against the ruling class are being waged by the oppressed nations against U.S. imperialism, and that all our actions must flow from our identity as part of an international struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is strategy that understands the need for SDS to tie itself to these struggles, and to make itself something more than it is: to transform itself into a student movement into a working class youth movement.

It is clear that, although a successful revolution in this country is in no way inevitable, any revolution—to have even a small chance of success—would have to be a revolution of the working class. This is not to say that SDS as an organization should move immediately to organizing workers, or that we have, at this point, a precise enough understanding of the various segments and characteristics of the working class. It is only to assert an understanding of the fact that the struggle for freedom that we are involved in can never succeed without the total, fundamental economic and social transformation

in which the working class overthrows and liquidates the ruling class.

Up until recently, SDS has been exclusively a student movement. Furthermore, it has been a student movement concentrated primarily on the elite campuses of Harvard, Chicago, Berkeley, Michigan. This is beginning to change. San Francisco State replaces Berkeley, Michigan State replaces Michigan, as the important centers of struggle. And SDS begins to spring up in the high schools and off the campus altogether.

But more importantly, the movement begins to happen in these places. In most cities, high schools are blowing up so fast that SDS organizers can't keep up with them. Community and junior colleges are increasingly the scenes of struggle and confrontation. And the army has become the time bomb of the ruling class.

We're faced with two realities: that, in the past, SDS has been primarily an elite student group, and that, at this point in history, young people in the schools generally, and in the army, are actively resisting the special oppression they face. Given what SDS is, what is happening in this society, and what the movement must become in order to have even a chance of success, it is clear that SDS must begin to consciously transform itself from a student movement into a working class youth movement. That is, SDS must become more than itself, must move, in the only organic way open to it, to become a self-conscious working class movement. And it must do this by emphasizing the commonality of the oppression and struggles of youth, and by making these struggles class conscious.

This is possible because of the material basis of

the oppression of youth. The majority of young people in America today are either in school, in the army, or unemployed. Specifically in the schools and in the army, young people perform tasks that have no relevance to their own needs but are key to the functioning of capitalism: training young people to fit into a more highly skilled work force, forcing them to defend imperialism and the Empire in struggles against national liberation movements, and, in all cases, deferring young people for longer and longer periods of time from the productive work force. Thus, there is significant class content to the oppression of the vast majority of young people. This is not to say that youth is a class—or that young people's struggles are always in the interest of the working class as a whole. While it's true that youth aren't hardened into class positions and generally reflect all the different class interests, it is clear that the oppression of youth by imperialism hits hardest on working class youth, especially black and brown youth. We must attack this oppression in a class way, that is, raise the interests of the most oppressed sectors first. That is the only basis that exists for revolutionary class unity. Our task must be to understand the class content of youth's oppression, to specify it in practice, and to build class consciousness through struggle.

Discipline Needed

In order for SDS to succeed at this task it will take tremendous self-consciousness and discipline from the membership. It will involve high school organizers consciously organizing among the lowest tracked kids. It will involve organizers consciously developing bases in community colleges. And it will involve disciplined cadre entering the armed forces and work places as organizers.

There are two important developments that would help this process. These should be seen as urgent tasks. First, is the development of cadre. Seriousness and self-consciousness inside the organization are essential as SDS begins to transform itself into a revolutionary movement. Through collective political experience and study, cadre can be developed who can bring these things to SDS. The function of cadre—through exemplary action and through political education—is to broaden the movement and build class consciousness in a self-conscious way, as well as help consolidate growth and fight uneven development.

A second important task is the concretization of our politics through practice. The development of our politics in the past few months leaves us with an understanding of the oppression of youth, only in a general way. We see that working class youth are oppressed in specific ways and that the existing base of SDS in colleges and universities has much in common with youth in all sectors of the working class. We must now learn more about the issues which face city youth especially, the kind of consciousness which is developing there, and the organizational forms which can make struggle around those issues and that consciousness coherent. In order to make SDS, now basically a student movement, something more than it is, a revolutionary youth movement, we must learn more about city youth and the class content of their struggle. We must bring organizers from our existing constituency more directly into organizing situations of our potential constituency, thereby creating a material force for the further development of our politics.

The task of developing cadres, as well as the task of broadening our constituency to other sections of white working class youth, both have a special urgency at this time. This is due to the advanced level of political struggle of the black liberation movement. To recognize the vanguard character of the black liberation struggle means to recognize its importance to the "white" movement. The black liberation struggle has been instrumental in winning much of the white movement to a clearer understanding of imperialism, class oppression within the U.S., the reactionary nature of pacifism, the need for armed struggle as the only road to revolution, and other essential truths which were not predominant within our movement in the past. It must be clear that setbacks to the vanguard are tremendous setbacks to the people's movement as a whole.

White Fighting Force

Yet repression at this time is very serious against the political vanguard of the black liberation struggle, the Black Panther Party. And this repression is facilitated by the absence of substantial material support—power—by the white movement. Unless we recognize the urgency of fighting white supremacy by building the material strength of the white movement to be a conscious, organized, mobilized fighting force capable of giving real support to the black liberation struggle, we will be deserting the most advanced leadership of that struggle to the

Standard Oil boycott: support the oil workers

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Jeff Jones, Bob Avakian, and Peter Stone.)

Local I-561, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, as part of a nationwide walkout against the national oil industry, has been on strike against the Chevron (a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil) Ortho Chemical plant at Richmond, California since January 6th. Although most of the other strikes in the industry have been settled, Standard has demanded that I-561 give up its union shop clause (I-561 only has such a clause at the Ortho plant). As a tactic in their struggle, they have called for a national and international boycott of Standard Oil products. Many unions and labor organizations have joined in the boycott call, including OCAW International and the Central Labor Councils of Contra Costa, Alameda, and San Francisco counties. Early last week, Standard Oil informed the union members that if they were not back at work by Friday, their jobs would be taken over permanently by the scabs now employed in the plant. The state of the labor movement is such that on Friday, the men and women of I-561 returned to work without a contract. This means that the tactic of the boycott is now their main weapon against Standard Oil.

The unions' demands center around higher wages and the retention of the union shop, however the political context in which these demands are being presented is important for us to consider. Through their support for the TWLF-led strikes at San Francisco State and Berkeley (agreeing to and signing a mutual-aid pact with the TWLF and sending contingents of oil workers to the two picket lines) and through their statements that the students and workers are fighting the same enemy, they have helped lead the fight against racism and imperialism into the working communities of the Bay area. Just as students have gained a greater understanding of the struggles of workers through this experience, the students (and the strikes at State and Berkeley) have helped many rank and file members, and even some of the leadership, to develop an understanding of the racist and imperialist nature of Standard Oil. This boycott can be an important strategy for broadening this fight into other working communities of America.

SDS should join in supporting the call for the Standard Oil boycott and publicize and act around it on campuses and most especially, in the working communities. Through this support we can concretely support the just struggles of the oil workers, as well as educate our people around the importance of such support.

SDS expresses its solidarity with and New Left Notes pledges to publicize the upcoming trials of



the more than 20 people arrested in Richmond, California, including workers and 3 students, who have been engaged in the struggle against the company scabs, the local Gestapo, and the racist and imperialist Standard Oil Company.

SPECIFICALLY, SDS CHAPTERS SHOULD:

1. Publicize the boycott (leafletting, agit-prop, and educational materials).
2. Circulate petitions supporting the boycott and get people to send their Standard Oil credit cards back to the company with a note demanding that they agree to the union's demands.
3. The NO is mandated to prepare a pamphlet on the oil strike, the relations that have developed between the students and the workers, and explaining the racist and imperialist nature of Standard Oil.
4. ON CAMPUS AGITATION AGAINST STANDARD OIL RECRUITERS.
5. NLN will keep the membership informed of the status of the boycott and the strike.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

1. Specific questions and requests for information should be sent to the SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE: P.O. Box 1282, Richmond, California 94806.
2. San Francisco Newsreel is preparing a film on the oil strikes. It should be available for distribution near the end of April (see NLN).
3. Bumper stickers, buttons, Boycott leaflets and petitions are available from the Standard Oil Boycott Committee.

I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more

free hand of ruling class repression.

Thus the urgency of broadening the movement to more proletarian sections of white industrial workers and youth is not because in some way concern with the white working class is an alternative political direction from the support for the black struggle. Rather, it is a necessary extension of the support. Nor is "white working class organizing" an alternative to the struggle within the "student movement" against pacifism and social democratic and revisionist ideas, which feed on the isolation of the student movement from the masses of working people. In both cases, we seek to expand our base not in conflict with the black liberation struggle or "student organizing" but because of it.

In terms of cadre development, an investigation of and intimacy with the real life situation and struggles of the oppressed sections of working class youth will give formerly "student" cadres a clearer identification with and understanding of the interests of the class as a whole. Thus, on return to a campus situation, they will be better equipped to fight the go-slowism of student provincialism.

II. PROGRAM

A large number of SDS people should come to Detroit to participate in a summer of work and study. A program that calls for SDS people to work as a group in the cities should first understand the history and failures of past SDS programs. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to develop a detailed critical history of SDS programs relating to the cities, we will make a couple of general comments that are particularly relevant.

In our past organizing we incorrectly thought that SDS people should totally follow the direction of the people with whom they were working. This on two levels: first, we assumed that SDS people were foreign elements who had to transform their identities, emulating others, and second, we thought that SDS people should totally take political direction from the people with whom they were organizing. Both of these are incorrect. The task should be to retain one's sense of identity, retain a sense of struggle from the campus, and at the same time build a movement which includes a broader constituency. This process may lead to SDS people undergoing fundamental changes, but consciousness must develop dialectically, not mechanically (like getting a haircut).

Selection and Training

Participation in the summer program will be based primarily on self-selection, but we will emphasize that those who do become involved should see themselves as full-time SDS cadre, willing to work intensively for the development of the summer collective.

In preparation for the summer, we will continue our program of movement schools which we've developed over the past few months in Michigan. This is a program which involves chapters in intensive weekends of study around questions such as racism, imperialism, and corporate power. This program will intensify as we come closer to this summer.

Furthermore, we will set up special training sessions in Detroit for those who plan to participate in the summer program. These special sessions will include resource people leading discussions on such topics as the history of labor struggles in Detroit, the role of law in society and legal rights, and the

political economy of the city. These special sessions will concentrate on preparing people for the summer experience and will be attended by people from all over the state who are coming to Detroit.

Jobs

People involved in the program will try to get jobs in the city. They will be made aware of the job situation in Detroit and urged to seek employment where it will provide the best experiences. Participants will get jobs in bars, restaurants, taxicabs, and shops, as well as a few working out of day-labor slave markets. Women will be urged to work in jobs where the employment of women is high: specific factories, as secretaries, waitresses, maids. The selection of the job place should be done on the basis that it is preferential for our people to work where there are either a great number of young workers, or a great number of unskilled workers; a company union or no union, or where there is rank and file dissent or black caucuses, etc. This is to be done so that the people involved are involved in the most relevant political experiences and for the greatest possible time. The jobs will be necessary to maintain the summer program financially, as well as to provide practical experience necessary toward the concretization of our politics.

Study

Workable study groups will be organized which will help people develop political perspective and intellectual background. Study will include revolutionary theory and organization, the political economy of monopoly capitalism, the history and development of racism, the history of the labor movement, as well as more specific areas of study, like Vietnam, the Middle East, and Cuba. A major area of study, which will involve some original research, will be the translation of economic power into political power in the city of Detroit. Toward the end of the summer study groups will be tying together their intellectual and practical work and attempting to make specific plans for fall strategy. This will include some campus work as well as GI organizing, high schools, and some on-the-job work.

Skill-building

The summer should provide an opportunity to develop much-needed skills that SDS people have had neither the time nor the organization to develop in the past. We will organize groups to learn self-defense skills, printing, propaganda, auto mechanics, and how to do research. More groups will develop depending on the needs and interests of those involved.

Life in the City

People will be living in small groups throughout the city. There should be involvement by SDS people in the neighborhood issues as they come up: a fight in the park, a protest against the pigs. Further, the group as a whole can anticipate certain issues it will become involved in. For instance, we're sure that we'll have to deal with racism in a number of concrete situations. Detroit, with its giant auto corporations and sprawling universities, has created one of the largest ghettos in the country. Detroit is also the home of a large Panther organization and other militant black groups. Working out a relationship with these groups and becoming involved

in issues to fight racism will be of primary importance.

The labor situation in Detroit will, almost certainly, be in intensive turmoil this summer. The existence of militant black caucuses in auto (DRUM, FRUM, ELRUM, etc.) has created a tense situation for the corporations and union bureaucracies, and has provided an alternative for workers. Some people from the SDS project will be in shops as will organizers from Detroit's National Organizing Committee and will be relating to these struggles on a day-to-day basis. The project as a whole must work out ways to support the struggles of revolutionaries in the shops.

Some people, especially those who've been drafted or plan to enter the armed forces soon, will be working around Fort Wayne handing out Vietnam GI and The Bond. They will try to develop an understanding of GI problems that will be valuable in the future.

Others are planning to work with high school kids around the Grande ballroom, hippy capitalist center of Detroit. They hope to develop in these kids an understanding of the ways in which revolutionary rhetoric and hippy culture can be made into commodities by the capitalists.

There will of course be other types of involvement in community issues which we can't foresee. But with this amount of activity going on, it's clear that logistics and coordination are going to be a problem. We will try to have a large meeting weekly to keep people in touch with what overall things are going on, and to maintain a sense of the strength and dynamic of the group.

An important tension should develop in a program between the collective life and training among the SDS people and the political outreach into the community. It will be important to maintain this tension and each person should adjust to the duality. Merely living together and studying would promote isolation and elitism (the value of study undirected by practical political activity is also questionable). Merely working in the community without a self-conscious development of cadre skills and organizational training would promote an undirected activism and lack of concrete political development.

Clearly, an important part of the white movement's fight against white chauvinism is the propaganda effect of the very existence of whites who are on the side of the blacks against the system. This begins to show the masses of white working people that the struggle is a class and political struggle, not a racial struggle. Thus, open, overt, visible political activity of our movement in support of the black struggle must be prominent in our priorities for the summer. Yet we must also understand that this "action propaganda" is not a substitute for going among the working masses, learning directly what their experiences and ideas are about, and doing direct propaganda among them. To correctly balance these two needs will be a central task of our summer effort.

The whole program should be seen as a step towards a strong revolutionary youth movement in Michigan. It should not be seen as an attempt to organize all of Detroit. After the summer, many people will probably return to their campuses to continue on-going SDS work. Many will stay in Detroit to help build a strong movement there, and some will be going into the armed forces and other constituencies to begin work. That this program develop is of crucial importance for the advancement of all this work, and the development of these organizers.

National
Council
misc.

New chapters recognized by the Austin National Council:

East Lansing High School
John Reed Memorial (at large), Portland
Metropolitan State College, Denver
Colorado University Denver Center
John Brown Memorial, Colorado Springs
Wasson High School, Colorado Springs
Boulder MDS
Bill Haywood Memorial
(Colorado Regional Staff)
Steven Austin High School, Austin
John Paul Jones, "We Have Not Yet
Begun to Fight," Santa Barbara
Grand Valley State, Allendale, Michigan
Merritt College, Oakland
Florida State University, Tallahassee
Desolation Row Positively
4th Street, New York City
P.T.P. Local #1, Chicago
Washington College, Chesterton
West Texas SDS
Las Vegas/New Mexico SDS,
University of New Mexico
University of Detroit SDS
Teachers for a Democratic Society,
New York City

The following are pledges made at the Austin NC. Chapters are reminded that more than \$2,000 was pledged at the Ann Arbor NC—of that amount, only \$150 was ever sent to the National Office. Only several hundred dollars were raised at the NC, and the NO desperately needs money to continue its operation. We owe the New Left Notes printer alone more than \$2,000. You all have a responsibility to keep the NO functioning—send us money now.

Kent State \$25
NYU \$100
American University \$25
Wagner \$75
Muskegan Jr. \$25
U. of Maryland \$100
Madison SDS \$25
Lakeview \$25
Washington (state of) region \$50
Ohio State \$25
John Paul Jones \$25
Boulder \$50
East Bay \$50
Boston U. \$35
Joe Hill \$15
Baltimore \$50
U. of Nebraska (Lincoln & Omaha) \$50
U. of Chicago \$100
Cambridge MDS \$30
REP \$20
Columbia \$100
New York Region \$100
Harvard \$100 (38¢ per national member)
Houston \$25
Wellesley \$10

This is one page of 16 in the educational packet on racism prepared by the National Office and praised by the National Council meeting. The packet contains four parts: introduction and quotes from Marxists, history of white supremacy and the black liberation struggle, black workers lead (DRUM), and the Black Panther Party. Copies available from NO.

Basis of white supremacy

by Noel Ignatin

"The emancipation of man is the emancipation of labor and the emancipation of labor is the freeing of that basic majority of workers who are yellow, brown and black."

--W.E.B. DuBois

The capitalist system of the U.S., and indeed of the entire western "civilized world," arose out of the extermination of the Indians and the enslavement of Africans. The 18th century witnessed the establishment of the colonies in the West Indies, on land looted from the aboriginal population. It was slavery which gave value to these colonies. It was the wealth produced in these colonies, as well as the slave trade necessary to supply them with human labor, which gave rise to modern commerce. It was this commerce which gave rise to modern industry and the exploitation of wage labor.

The chief economic role of the North American colonies was that of supplier of provisions to the great slave plantations in the West Indies. The attempts of the British mercantile class to restrict American trade with the colonies of the West Indies, especially Saint Dominique, was the underlying cause of the American Revolution.

Independence made possible the rapid expansion of the capitalist mode of production. This took place in two forms: in the South, the growth of slave production and the development of cotton as the pivot of industry; in the North, the growth of industry based on the cotton produced by slavery.

As northern industry expanded, it became clear that slavery prevented the growth of productivity, on whose growth depended the expansion of the internal market. Thus there arose the Civil War, a war fought to determine whether the federal government would be under the control of a class of slave-owning capitalists, requiring the continued expansion of territory, or a class of capitalists who exploited wage-labor, requiring the constant expansion of the internal market.

The slaves were emancipated because the Civil War could not be won otherwise. Following the War, the policy of the victorious capitalists of the north centered itself on defining the condition of the former slaves as something other than slave and yet not free. Because the working class and other democratic elements did not intervene, this policy of the ruling class prevailed, and there arose a new phenomenon -- the birth, within the territorial boundaries of the U.S., of a subjugated, colonial Afro-American nation, side by side with, and under the domination of, the ruling white nation.

Competition among small manufacturers gave rise to monopoly, by the process of elimination of the weak; and the monopolists, having rebuilt the country in their image, and driven by the need to make maximum profits, began to look outward for places to which they could export capital and peoples whom they could enslave.

The old slave evolved into the "civilized" extortioner of super-profits. No longer did he put a price on Indian scalps, the better to rob them of the land. He just shut the remnants of the Indian tribes into concentration camps that he euphemistically called "reservations." No longer did he subject the Africans to the torture of the "middle passage" aboard a slave ship. He just tortured the Africans right at home, in their own continent. He boasted that he was against the slavery of man, and introduced the slavery of nations. He swore that no longer would he profit from the slave trade, and introduced the drug traffic as an integral part of commodity circulation and exchange.



The main weapon which has been used by the U.S. capitalists throughout the whole history of their rise to the status of number one exploiter and enemy of the people of the world has been the theory and practice of white supremacy.

White supremacy, while clearly serving as the rationale and justification for the enslavement of the non-white peoples, has served also to bind American white labor to the ruling class in a tie of racial solidarity.

The U.S. ruling class has made a deal with the mis-leaders of labor, and through them with the masses of white workers. The conditions of this deal, which was three hundred years in the making, are these: you white workers help us conquer the world and enslave the non-white majority of the earth's laboring force, and we will repay you with a monopoly of skilled jobs, cushion you against the most severe shocks of the economic cycle, provide you with health and education facilities superior to those of the non-white population, grant you the freedom to spend your money and leisure time as you wish, without social restrictions, enable you on occasion to promote one of your number out of the ranks of the laboring class, and in general confer on you the material and spiritual privileges befitting your white skin.

In like manner have the "benefits" of white supremacy been extended to white students, farmers, professionals and all other sectors of our people whose fundamental interests are in opposition to the handful of monopolists and stooges who run this country. Thus has the alignment of political forces in this country, which would normally be expected to form along the lines of property vs. poverty, been superseded by alignments based on the preservation vs. the abolition of white supremacy, or, more simply, on color.

It has been the acceptance by the broad masses of white America -- and not merely the acceptance but the militant defense -- of their condition as favored slaves, as trustees in a jail, which has been the main factor in frustrating the labor and democratic movement, in preventing the development of popular solidarity necessary to the advancement and final victory of the working class.

Thus, before the Civil War, at the time of the rise of the factory system in the north and its companion miseries, what kept the class struggle from getting "out of hand," what kept these miserable and degraded poor whites from joining with the slaves, and instead led them to serve as slave catchers and rebellion suppressors for a class that impoverished them as well? Again, it was the knowledge that to join with the slaves would lead to the total destruction of white supremacy and the elimination of all racial privilege.

After the Civil War, when there was the possibility of establishing the greatest national labor movement which the country had ever seen, what prevented its emergence? The inability of white labor to see its real interest in the struggles of black labor in the South.



At the turn of the century, when American labor, north and south, was locked in stormy battles with the railroad and mining trusts, and with the monopolies generally, once again it was the actions of white labor, in joining with the ruling class to exclude black workers from industry and the trades, which was the real key to preserving the rule of capital.

And so on through the depression of the thirties, when the refusal of the labor movement to organize the South or to challenge the exclusion of black workers from the skilled trades in industry laid the basis for the post-war emergence of the white labor bureaucracy as an arm of the ruling class in suppressing the workers.

Thus we arrive at the present. Once again, the rule of a handful of bloodsuckers has brought the working people of hand and brain to the brink of disaster. Imperialist war, the driving down of the living standards of the masses of people, the rise of unemployment, taxes and prices, the destruction of democratic culture, the total unmasking of educational institutions as tools of the exploiters -- these are the fruits of the "free enterprise" system.

And once again, the people are beginning to fight back. Ghetto rebellions, student uprisings, the sharp increase in "authorized" and especially "unauthorized" strikes, the growth of the women's liberation movement and the sentiment for peace -- these testify clearly that the people will not be passive in the face of attack.

The foremost component of the popular fight back is, at present, the struggle for national liberation of the oppressed black colony. In every sphere of political conflict, whether in the student movement, the anti-war movement or the labor movement, black people are the spearhead of the people's forces. This is recognized by everyone.

The upsurge in the black liberation movement has brought about the growth of national consciousness among the black people, the consciousness that the black liberation struggle is essentially one of national liberation from imperialist oppression, and the increasing identification of the character of their struggle with the world-wide anti-colonial struggles of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Growing out of the upsurge in the black liberation struggle, and as a reaction to their own increasing oppression, masses of white people, especially students and including working people, have been hurled into struggle against U.S. imperialism. As in the past, the ruling class has rushed forward in defense of white supremacy as the buttress of its rule, and has thrown out "crime in the streets," "destruction of property values," "black domination of the cities," "black take-over of the unions," etc. as its cry of alarm.

Within our own movement we have heard echoes of that cry of alarm from those who indiscriminately condemn nationalism as "divisive," and who try to obliterate the national character of the black liberation movement.

Thus the lines are being drawn for the final conflict. The masses of whites are being asked to choose sides -- with the boss or with the black people; with white supremacy and the white-skin privilege, or with solidarity and a bright future. Thus is borne out the significance of the famous statement of Karl Marx: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

As long as white workers and the masses of whites wish to preserve their privileged position as the favored slaves of capital, so long will they unite with capital in order to do so, and so long, therefore, will their struggle be doomed to failure.

The key task facing the revolutionary movement is the defeat of white supremacy. The key task facing white revolutionaries is bringing to the white masses the awareness that the white skin privilege is the tool of the ruling class, that acceptance of it is a betrayal and abandonment of the class struggle, and that they must organize to oppose it, in the interests of popular solidarity.

Schools program

(continued from Page 5)

onto the issue at hand—a firing, a suspension, a demand of the BSA—in an abstract way which the mass of the people do not grasp. Therefore, we must establish ourselves on the campus as fighting for a series of clear objectives and with general support for them before this or that action comes up.

Counterposed to these 10 points which challenge class and colonial privileges are the waves of so-called student power issues, which in content aim to maintain false class privilege. Demands for more participation for students in school administrative committees may simply mean that students want more power to maintain their false class privilege: the "privilege" to stay out of the army while working-class youth, especially black and brown youth, are forced to fight; their "privilege" of access to higher-paying jobs because of a meaningless college degree, and so on. While students may have been moved to student power fights in the past out of a genuine militancy and anger at the system, it is our task to draw the issues more sharply. The idea that students can be brought into a sustained struggle on a student power basis and then brought along to fight against the class and colonial nature of the university has proved overall to be wrong. If students come into a struggle in the interests of accepting false class privilege they will not very quickly change to a struggle against that false privilege. The ones who will fight class privilege would have done so initially if the issues had been correctly stated.

The "student power" strategy of establishing joint student-faculty-administration committees never gets us anywhere and creates the illusion of power which prevents us from building a movement. Because the schools oppress all the people, they must be made to serve the people, not just the students. Our principles should be clear! We don't demand power, we demand what we want and need and what is just and we show our real power in getting it. Our real power is to refuse those who control the schools something they need. Since they need the schools to go on functioning—serving as corporate enterprises, service stations of imperialism, and perpetrating class and colonial divisions in the society—our power is to be able to keep the schools from functioning. If the schools won't give us what we justly demand, we will strike.

We do not say that the school should serve the students: we say that the schools should serve the people!

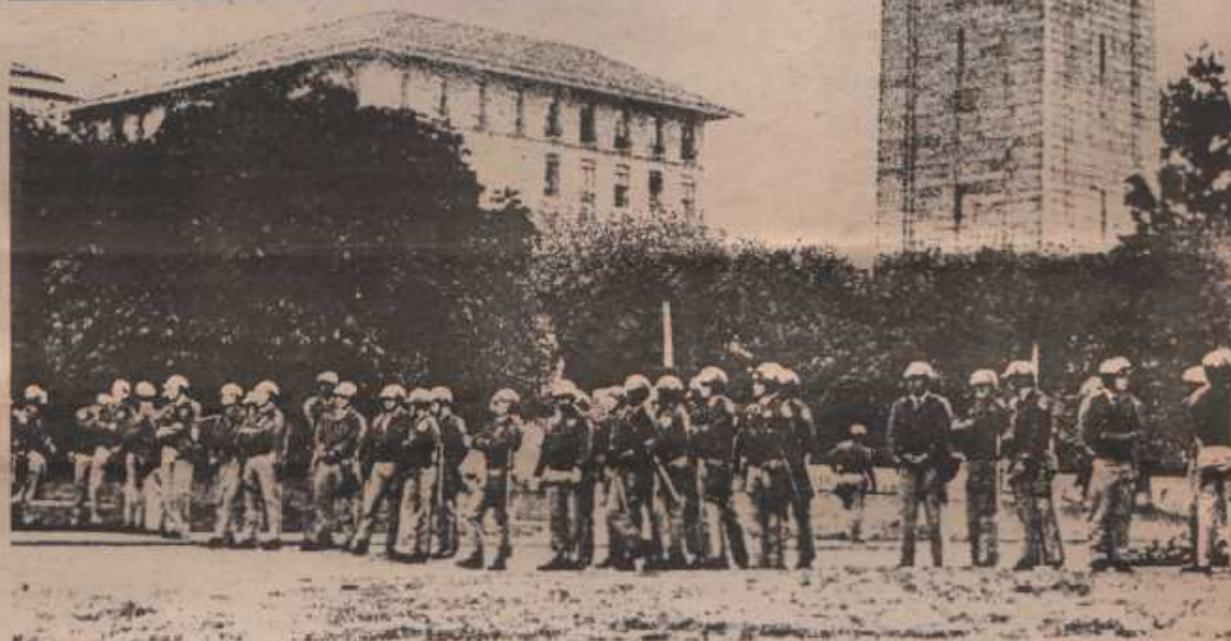
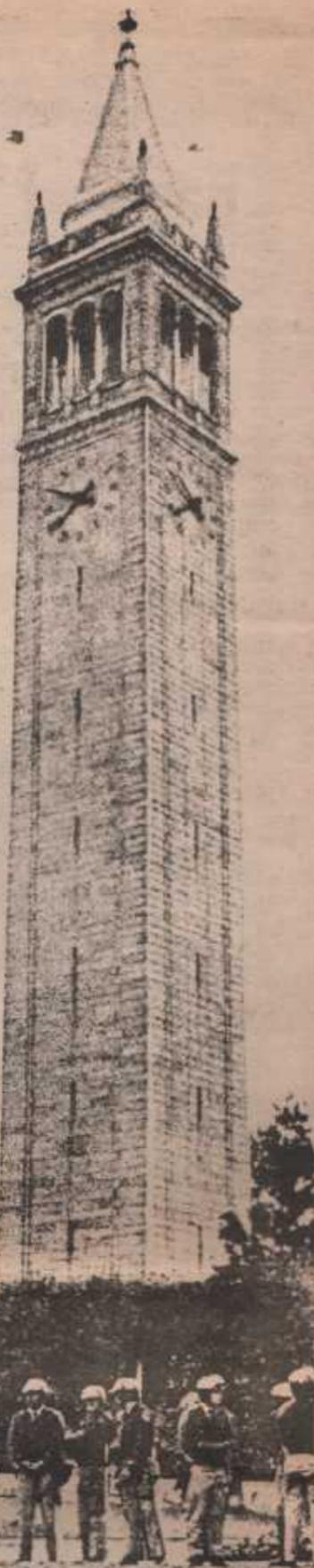
The key fight today is against white supremacy: this fight has been raised primarily by the black liberation movement, and for the most part still is. Because we incorrectly understand the nature of this fight we have sometimes talked about adding "white" demands onto the demands of black groups and attacked black student demands as "middle-class" etc.

All the objectives in this program are both anti-colonial and anti-capitalist. Clearly not all these demands would be raised in the same struggle. There is no more need to raise "other" demands in the context of a struggle around demands raised by

black or third world students. There is not only not a need, it is often incorrect 1) because loading issues on a struggle is often opportunist, and 2) because it fosters the wrong idea that the demands of black people for self-determination and equality are not demands in the interests of all working class people.

The black movement has a dual nature. Black people, kidnapped from their homeland and brought to this country, were the first victims of U.S. imperialism. Still, today, they are oppressed as a people, because they are black. Yet since the great majority of black people are workers, they are also an advanced component of U.S. working class struggles. The resistance of black people embodies elements of both external and internal confrontation with American imperialism. But both aspects of the black struggle are in the class interests of all working people, just as the struggle of the Vietnamese is in the class interest of all working people. Unless whites can be won to the support of black struggles in their national aspect, white national chauvinism—white support for the imperialist oppression of colored peoples—will not be overcome.

Finally, we see that as a revolutionary youth movement, we are fulfilling our revolutionary function in the schools through the ten point program. We are raising the class antagonisms in the society. We are trying to articulate the just class and anti-colonial demands of the youth in the schools and of the people that these schools exploit and oppress in the immediate school community and throughout the empire. We are trying to use our strength to advance these demands, these aspects of the class struggle. At the same time, we must prepare the people for the necessity of revolution. We must make it clear at every juncture that the education system cannot be made to serve the people while the capitalist class maintains state power and that it is only a unified working class that can make this country belong to and serve the people.



FIGHT RACISM AND IMPERIALISM SUPPORT THE GUERRILLA STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(This resolution, passed by the NC, was presented by Bill Burnett, Goleta Beach California SDS and Africa Research Group, and Dave Burak, Ithaca-Cornell SDS.)

Whereas:
 SDS correctly recognizes US imperialism as the most repressive, anti-democratic international force. Likewise, we recognize that our struggle in the US must move toward solidarity with revolutionary movements abroad. SDS has increasingly assumed a leading role in the denunciation of and resistance to fascism, racism and capitalism both domestically and abroad. SDS participation in action directed against American supporters of apartheid has included educational programs, boycotts, confrontations, etc. (The March '69 conference on Southern Africa held at Cornell University and the following stopping of Chase Manhattan recruiting being the most recent SDS program.) SDS must formulate a strategy which can aid that liberation struggle. This strategy must take into account:

1. That US corporate and governmental support rescued South Africa from near financial collapse following the March 1960 Sharpeville massacre; in particular that it was US finance capital (especially Chase Manhattan and the Bank of America) which rushed to the immediate aid of South African racism.
2. That since 1960, total US investment in the Republic of South Africa has quadrupled, now totaling over \$1 billion;
3. That US investment is now primarily in manufacturing (as opposed to mineral extraction, etc.)—particularly manufacturing with export orientation. General Motors is the major example of US corporate expansionism in this sector. Continued profit exploitation is dependent upon the availability of continental wide markets for South Africa-US exports;

4. That export production by US corporations based in South Africa exploits the working class in the US by weakening its position through competitive imports from these subsidiaries.

5. That the US is partner with the Republic of South Africa in a co-imperialism designed to penetrate and make further subservient the economies north of the Zambezi;

6. That the massive development of South Africa's production base has further entrenched the policies of apartheid...not the opposite, as depicted in the fulsome attempts of US apologists to justify American support to Pretoria;

7. That the southward march of the guerrillas presents the powers of western imperialism (esp. the US expansionist policies) with the greatest contemporary threat to their (its) global hegemony. Much more than in Vietnam, revolutionary struggle in South and Southern Africa assaults the economic, political and racial foundations of Western Civilization;

8. That, finally, just as armed revolutionary struggle is demanded for the liberation of Southern Africa, so our support is necessary for that liberation.

Therefore, be it resolved:
 That SDS adopt a program of struggle aimed at aiding the African revolutionary movements in their efforts to smash South African racism, fascism, and capitalism, educating the American public and ourselves, and making American corporate investments in South Africa unprofitable.
 1. SDS immediately initiate programs to provide assistance to revolutionary movements with which we can ideologically agree and which are engaged in armed struggle in southern Africa.
 2. SDS intensify its educational programs on American involvement (both present and potential)

in South Africa. This long-term project should be initiated and/or intensified at the earliest possible date. The corporate-government elite must be made painfully aware that American support for a South African war will mean war at home;

3. SDS continue to initiate direct pressure on corporate and governmental interests which directly support the Republic of South Africa; to this effect, we propose a massive struggle to line up the struggles against racism, imperialism, and their root, capitalism.

This would be preceded by an education drive aimed at pointing out the theoretical validity of the above mentioned linkages, and stressing education through struggle through a concerted drive to prevent Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America, and General Motors from recruiting on college campuses throughout the nation.

This program would also include a week long series of massive and militant international confrontations at Chase and Bank of America branches, which would take place on June 26 (South African Freedom Day), which would demand the withdrawal of said investments.

The Inter-Organizational Secretary would be mandated to attempt to get European Revolutionary organizations, the Japanese Zengakuren, etc., to participate in the program in their respective countries.

4. Finally, these actions be undertaken in close cooperation with Third World movements (BSU, UMAS, Panthers, etc.) in the US. The possibility of a strike led by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers against GM—aimed at making that corporation pull out of South Africa—should be pursued. Determined action in support of the armed struggle against fascism and racism in South Africa will provide a catalyst for greater revolutionary solidarity in the US.

Oakland 7 acquitted!

by Ernest O'Shea

ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY: I guess it was all just a big waste of time and money.

ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S ASSISTANT: That goddamn judge and his goddamn instructions.

JUDGE (to the jury, off the record): Thank you for saving the Constitution.

JUROR #3: We had to find them not guilty. It's there right under the First Amendment.

JUROR #10: We all agreed they were guilty of conspiring to shut down the induction center, but that's not what they were charged with.

OAKLAND SEVEN: We beat 'em in the streets, we beat 'em in the courts, yeah yeah YEAH!

The Oakland Seven—Frank Bardacke, Terry Cannon, Reese Erlich, Steve

Hamilton, Bob Mandel, Jeff Segal, and Mike Smith—were on the steering committee of the October 1967 Stop the Draft Week. For those of you born since that date, that was when 10,000 people set barricades up in the streets, were clobbered by cops, and fought back in a furious and brave attempt to shut down the Oakland, California Armed Forces Induction Center. Three months later, the Alameda County Grand Jury indicted the Seven for conspiracy to commit two misdemeanors—trespass, and interfering with officers. Conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor is a felony.

In a political trial, the political motives behind the prosecution are exposed, the political views of the defendants are projected, and the legal basis for their political actions is analyzed. The Oakland Seven defense did all these.

The prosecution worked on the erroneous assumption that the masses

of the American people in general and the white residents of the middle working-class suburbs in particular believe what their rulers tell them.

For this reason, the DA dug a pit for the Oakland Seven and fell in it. The Seven did not have to present their political views, the DA did it for them. He read their leaflets, pamphlets, handouts, and transcribed speeches. His major witnesses were two undercover pigs who volunteered for the monitor squad. For his final crushing blow, he played the complete five-hour tape of the Sproul Hall rally the night before Stop the Draft Week began. It was the first radical anti-war rally the jury had ever attended. Did the DA suspect he had lost then, when the jurors began to laugh at the anti-LBJ jokes, smile at the anti-war speeches, and when one of them sang quietly along with the agit-prop singing "Hell No We Won't Go"?

The jurors were mostly new working

class: technicians, secretaries, switchboard operators, bookkeepers. Plus two machinists, one auto assembly worker, one retired Marine colonel. Every one of them was opposed to the war.

The defense presented 45 witnesses, a cross-section of America: a 70-year-old grandfather, a high school pompom girl, a wife, a mother, a TV reporter, a Methodist minister, a Lutheran minister, an ex-Green Beret, an editor, an ex-cop, a deputy probation officer, a World War II Air Force captain, a 50-year-old black woman who gave the black power salute when swearing in—all had been at Stop the Draft Week. Their purpose legally was to show that the cops were beating people up and thus were not engaged in the pursuit of their lawful duty (the indictment charges conspiracy to interfere with officers in the pursuit of their LAWFUL duty). Politically, its message was clear: America opposes the war; the people who took to the streets were people just like the jurors and their children.

Why were the Seven acquitted?

- 1) The First Amendment permits even the advocacy of crime, unless one immediately incites crime.
- 2) The prosecution never concretely connected what the Seven said with what the 10,000 did.
- 3) The Seven did not themselves commit any of the crimes they "conspired" to.
- 4) Every one of the jurors opposed the war.

Number 4 is at the same time the most important and the least important. The jury never discussed the war among themselves as part of the deliberations. They would never say they acquitted the Seven for political reasons. The language of their reasons had to be the language of the Constitution and the First Amendment. And why shouldn't it be? When else has the Left ever talked to them? The important and significant thing is that they sought in the legal arguments offered by the defense the means of setting the Seven free.

They wanted to acquit and they wanted to follow the law. They believed in the right of self-defense, even against police. They sought the legal reasons and they found them.

And they set the Seven free.

The only holdout—for two days—was the only juror who owned a business.

Have faith in the people.



The Oakland Seven: left to right—Steve Hamilton, Bob Mandel, Reese Erlich, Terry Cannon, Frank Bardacke, Mike Smith. Not in photo is Jeff Segal, who's serving a four-year term in jail for draft refusal. —photo by Barron Wolman

The Man came down hard this week on the Black Panther Party around the country.

In New York City, 21 Panthers were busted and charged with conspiracy to bomb downtown department stores during the Easter rush. They were held on \$100,000 bail each. One of those arrested was Bob Collier, who was arrested several years ago for the alleged RAM plot to blow up the Statue of Liberty. Collier quit the Panthers several months ago to work for OEO. New York SDS held a demonstration with 400 people Thursday; another is scheduled later this week.

In Chicago, 19 Panthers have been arrested in the past 24 hours, on charges from traffic violations on up. The arrests came in the wake of an ambush on the Panthers by unknown persons, identified by the media as members of the Blackstone Rangers, a southside Chicago gang. Bobby Rush, the deputy defense minister for Illinois, has been charged with illegal use of a weapon and released on \$15,000 bail. Fred Hampton, chairman of the BPP in Illinois, currently has 11 charges against him.

Also in Chicago, the pigs busted several members

of the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican youth organization. National Guard and riot-equipped pigs patrolled the west-side ghetto following disturbances Thursday afternoon, as high school students walked out of school after services commemorating Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Several hundred people had been arrested when NLN went to press early Friday morning.

Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther Party, is one of eight persons charged with conspiracy and using interstate traffic to incite a riot, in connection with the disorders at the Democratic National Convention in August.

(About a year ago, on April 6, 1968, the Oakland pigs shot down Bobby Hutton. Huey Newton's still in jail, Eldridge Cleaver has vanished, Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were murdered last month by US, a cultural nationalist group in Los Angeles.)

Money for bail and to continue the Panthers' work is badly needed. Send contributions to the Black Panther Party, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, California 94126.

Power to the people!