

RUDI DUTSCHKE SHOT



ALEX SPRINGER



RUDI DUTSCHKE

At this writing, Rudi Dutschke will probably live. Bullet wounds in his head, neck, and shoulders have been operated on, and he regained consciousness Friday morning.

The "28-year-old graduate student and professional revolutionary" (New York Times) was shot three times Thursday by 23-year-old Josef Bachmann, who said he was inspired by the assassination of Reverend Martin Luther King Junior. Bachmann, who kept a portrait of Hitler in his room, decided to kill Rudi because Dutschke was a "communist". Dutschke is a leader of the Socialist German Students' League (German SDS).

German SDS is probably the most active of Left student groups in that country, and is fraternally very close to SDS here (see insert of telegram on this page).

Despite Josef Bachmann's statement concerning his inspiration, it seems likely that a large part of it sprang not from

King, but from the work of Right-wing publisher Alex Caesar Springer. Springer, whose 14 publications have a total weekly circulation of 50 million, has directed continual attacks on the German student movement generally, and Dutschke in particular. His publications account for 70% of the Berlin press; nationally Springer controls 31% of daily and 88% of national circulation.

A rival publisher says: "No single man in Germany, before Hitler or after, with the exception of Bismarck or the two emperors, has had so much power as Springer."

Following Dutschke's shooting, the entire Springer empire has come under direct violent attack by students—led by the German SDS.

The 19-story glass-and-steel Springer headquarters has been a major target of the student attackers. Near Checkpoint Charlie in the Berlin Wall, the building—most of its glass gone—and an area of more than 10 blocks around it is sealed off with barbed wire and protected by hundreds of policemen, some with sub-machine guns.

Although Springer editors have said they expect to publish and distribute "as usual", burnt-out Springer trucks litter parking lots around the Berlin plant, and plant and distribution centers in Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Essen, Esslingen, and Hanover as well were blocked by students.

In Berlin students also moved on American radio station RIAS, smashing windows there. They demand that the US give up control of the station.

Further demands are the resignation of Berlin Mayor Schutz and the Berlin senate; the creation of a city council of workers, government officials, and students; one hour a day free television time for presentation of the students' case; and the break-up of the Springer publishing empire.

Student leaders further announced that the technical college in downtown Berlin would be taken over and occupied for the foreseeable future. The students called for "an immediate revolution", saying the school buildings would serve as revolutionary headquarters.

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois 60612

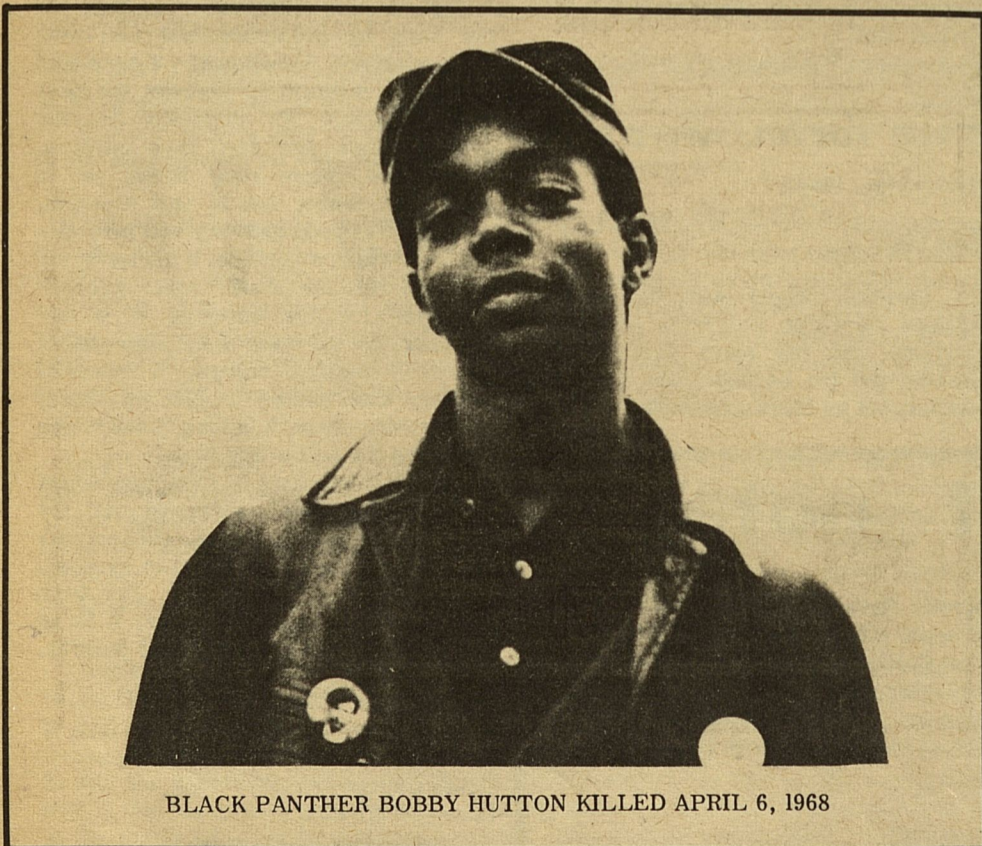
New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 13

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

April 15th, 1968

OAKLAND POLICE ATTACK PANTHERS



BLACK PANTHER BOBBY HUTTON KILLED APRIL 6, 1968

had a plan to "wipe out the Black Panthers in the groups they run in". Panther leaders Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver are in prison after defending themselves against armed Oakland police. Huey faces the death penalty. Eldridge, his parole revoked, may be sent up for life. He and David Hilliard are charged with attempted murder. Bobby Seale, Party Chairman, faces trial for violating a century-old law against carrying a weapon near a jail.

Five unarmed black people under eighteen have been murdered by Oakland police in the past month. Oakland is a community where black people cannot walk the streets or drive their cars without fear of being stopped, harassed, and intimidated by armed policemen. The police attack on the Panthers last Saturday was the latest in what Eldridge Cleaver called "a series of attempts to

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TEXT OF NO. TELEGRAM TO GERMAN SDS

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

WE ARE OUTRAGED BY THE ATTACK ON DUTSCHKE. WE STAND WITH YOU IN THIS CRITICAL HOUR. AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL. WITH FULLEST SOLIDARITY,

NATIONAL OFFICE, SDS

Oakland police attacked the Black Panthers again April 6th, killing Bobby Hutton, eighteen, and wounding Eldridge Cleaver. Several Panthers in cars in West Oakland Saturday night were approached by two policemen and menaced with guns. When the Panthers tried to defend themselves, shooting began, and the Panthers ran into a nearby house. After about ninety minutes of shooting by some fifty Oakland cops, the Panthers were forced to surrender. With floodlights

covering the house, Bobby Hutton walked out with his hands up. Someone yelled that he had a gun, and he was shot. He was not armed; no gun was found anywhere near his body. Eldridge Cleaver, Panther minister of information, was wounded in the leg. Nine people were arrested, including David Hilliard, Panther National Captain.

Earlier the same day, a black policeman informed the Black Panther Party that the San Francisco and Oakland police

Overthrow the Ogre
pages 4 & 5

Print Shop Stops
pages 4 & 5

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

ANGER & EVIL

Dear Editor:

I want, briefly, to express my concern at the increasing tendency to advocate violence as a desirable means of achieving the revolution we all seek. It seems to me that to employ violence is to forsake the methods and betray the motives essential to our intended ends. It is far too easy to become angry, allowing rational perspective to be overwhelmed by rage. Certainly, anger is justified and righteous when we are confronted by such a brutal, wanton, senseless, tragic act as the assassination of Doctor King in Memphis, not to mention the daily cruelties integral to our present society. But there is no more seemingly acceptable excuse for committing evil than righteous anger.

As individuals concerned with the achievement of a new society, in this country and for mankind, we have no right to—indeed, we have an obligation not to—behave irrationally, allowing the vision of our goals to be blurred by the steamy miasma of violence. If the Movement persists in attempting to bring about the Revolution violently, it must fail in one of two ways. Either it will fail to develop the broad, general base necessary for any revolution genuinely rooted in the people to succeed; or it will, through violence, replace the old order with one no better, and possibly worse.

Although specific prediction of achievements cannot be based on methods employed, it is safe to say that means and ends are unavoidably inter-related. Good can never be attained, in the long run, by evil. Evil brings only evil; fighting fire with fire leaves only ashes, and ashes have a bitter taste.

If we are going to live in a new world, it must be one with a different rationale from that we are trying to replace. This is the fundament of the entire anti-war movement. The world in which we now live has its roots in violence. Hatred, war, and fear ineradicably stain the whole fabric of our present civilization. If we are to do a better job, we must make a better beginning. Non-violence, love, and brotherhood must form our foundation. Presumably, our goal is a viable, international participatory democracy. This newspaper's masthead boldly proclaims: "Let the people decide."

Before we can hope from rational decisions from the people, we must present rational alternatives. Apparent options based on the old way, in a new suit, are empty and irrelevant. Choice stimulated by fear is no choice at all. Violence may conquer the body, but it will never convert the mind; and we need minds, not bodies.

I must comment on a few particulars in Hari Dillon's analysis of the battle at San Francisco State, reported in the March 11th New Left Notes. He says, speaking of the South Vietnamese period of passive resistance and the civil-rights movement in the US: "In both cases it was learned that pacifism played into the hands of the ruling strata of the United States, because pacifism meant not fighting for real change."

First, that pacifism "played into the hands of the ruling strata" is an absurd conception. For the first time, large segments of those "strata" became aware of and sympathetic toward the plight of black people, and were forced to act. Forced, not by violence, but by non-violence. I have yet to see any tangible beneficial result of accepting violence as part of Black Power, or of the Movement in general.

Second, this separation of the people into rulers and ruled, oppressors and oppressed, falls heir to the error of any system of thinking dominated by two-valued, Aristotelian logic. The vast array of intermediate classifications is disregarded, yet it is within this array that most of us belong. Until thought is organized in multi-valued, post-Aristotelian forms, we will continue to operate with a faulty perception of reality, resulting in the alienation of those great numbers of people who must be the foundation of any mass movement.

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STRUGGLE & VOTE

April 5th, 1968

Dear Editor,

It is fitting and significant that Doctor Martin Luther King Junior died in the struggle of union men who are out on strike. Only the solidarity of all working men, black and white, which is the tradition of the international labor movement, can defeat the racists. Union men must struggle for the dream of equality, justice, and a decent living standard which Doctor King expressed so eloquently.

However, his death points to the need for those who cherish non-violence to take part in the electoral process. Lyndon Baines Johnson received his final crushing defeat from the voters of New Hampshire.

It also points to the need for self-defense by those who would support the same aims as those who cherish non-violence. What the majority can win at the polls must not be taken away by an armed and violent minority.

Sincerely,

Paul Burke
201 South 32nd Avenue
Omaha, Nebraska 68131

REFLECTIONS ON SOREL

35 Natal Road
Thornton Heath, Croydon
Surrey, United Kingdom
April 4th, 1968

Dear Comrade,

You ask for comments on your review of Sorel's Reflections on Violence. May I suggest that one error was not to point out the difference in industrial production. Sorel lived in the last days of classical capitalism; the workers could think in terms of the physical extermination of the capitalists because though the capitalists had a monopoly of military weapons, they were generally weapons needing a mass of workers to use them, and also industry could not run without manual work, so in the last analysis the capitalist could not afford to shoot all his workers even to save his own life. Today (with psycho-chemical, biological, bacteriological, and nuclear weapons), the capitalist is better armed and the cybernetic revolution has reached the point where the vast majority of manual workers could be automated out of a job and wherein the productive proletariat might become a small and privileged elite whose interests were basically those of the managerialists who control modern capitalism. The worker is essential now only as a consumer; he is provided a job (very often a meaningless job which he knows could easily be automated out of existence and only isn't because he—the worker—is cheaper than a machine),

but the job he is given is merely to keep him under control.

The whole pattern of syndicalism has changed with the nature of society. It is still true (though who knows for how long) that the one place the capitalist can be overthrown is at the point of production. But it is no longer obvious to every worker that all that is wrong with his job is the existence of a boss. He knows he is dehumanized by being forced to do soul-destroying work; but the exploiting and alienating force he sees as a general system which he can no longer (as he could in Marx's day) personalize as the boss. In these circumstances he can only be convinced that by getting rid of the boss, by engaging in the social general strike, he will get rid of the evils which he really dislikes, if he can understand the possibility of a changed society; and the evidence of this has to be seen outside his place of work.

For the early syndicalists (incidentally Lagardelle is far more rewarding to read than Sorel) there was a natural progression: worker, trade unionist, militant industrial unionist, revolutionary syndicalist. But the militant industrial unionist of today may find it necessary to have a political group for his non-industrial work, and his industrial work may cause him to become disillusioned with a succession of "revolutionary" socialist groupings; but his progression to syndicalism is not in terms of purely industrial matters. He may come to it because he sees in the One Big Union concept the revolutionary answer to the race issue, a form of integration which does not offer the Negro integration into otherwise unchanged white society, a form of Black Power which does not amount to segregation. He may come to it as an advocate of disarmament who sees that the State will never willingly part with its instruments of coercion. He may come to it merely because all his contacts among fellow industrial militants are moving in that direction after disillusion with other groups. But he will not come for the reasons Sorel gave.

The parts of Sorel that still have real validity—the parts he got from Bergson—are the political myth. The over-simplified blueprint, which if attainable would be unnecessary as the workers would then find easier roads to the same ends.

Fraternally,

Laurens Otter
Syndicalist Workers' Federation
British Section
International Workingmen's Association

THE REAL Mc DOVE

March 31st, 1968

Dear Sir:

I certainly agree with the general outlines of Greg Calvert's article on elections and the elect. Certainly the Gracchi and the Kennedys are somewhat similar, but as Marx noted history repeats

itself first as tragedy then as farce. Neither Kennedy nor Rockefeller offers any real alternative to Johnson's policies, only, as Calvert points out, a different power base both geographically and financially.

Calvert seems to think that McCarthy's candidature is no different. I disagree. First of all Kennedy's power is based on the professional politicians such as Jesse Unruhe. His interest in the populace extends only as far as he can influence them to influence other political professionals, such as Mayor Daley, to support him. Johnson is in power, so the power he can exercise is from the top; Kennedy can only attack that power by gaining popular support. Naturally when he sees an issue that may have short-term liabilities (such as his present Vietnam position had a year or so ago), but long-term gains, he will suffer the short-term liabilities. Kennedy has always defined his position only in terms of his ultimate goal, the Presidency. McCarthy entered the race with little hope of winning. He did win in New Hampshire, but with no help from the powers that be. Kennedy's entrance, because of his connection with the political manipulators, will prevent the manipulators from going over to McCarthy. So McCarthy's only support is a popular one. This is certainly a new phenomenon in American politics. One upsetting enough to Kennedy that he risked a losing campaign to block it. This has the promise of opening a way by which the people can decide elections, instead of merely ratifying decisions made by a corps of not-so-elite political professionals. Letting the people decide was what I thought the American Revolution was about. Once the populace feel they can decide things, then revolutions happen. Politicians and most public figures (even revolutionaries) like chameleons take on the color of their supporters. McCarthy offers the first possibility in a long time of a Presidential candidate made by popular support. Is the Left going to intransigently ignore this?

Calvert seems to feel that the Vietnam War could end with an Algerian-type peace as easily as one flushes a toilet after use. I can't believe it! The Algerian War didn't end until after the Fourth Republic had been overthrown, and the colonial militarists tried a coup d'etat against DeGaulle. Yet Algeria was just the end of a long series of defeats for France. We have the most powerful military machine in the world, which will soon have to admit defeat at the hands of a small country. No militarist admits losing a war—they are stabbed in the back by politicians and Left-wing demonstrators. Significantly, I hear that among the military in Vietnam the most hated element in America is the demonstrators and draft-card burners. When these people come home, not in dribs and drabs, but in unit strength, the chance is good that they will turn upon the Left with a vengeance. It seems to me that we of the Left should prepare ourselves for the entrance of a new element into the mess of a disintegrating liberal America; namely, a powerful military that wishes to hide its defeat by attacking those it thinks it can blame for losing the war at home.

I don't think that it is a significant response to these events to call for leafleting the polling places. This activity isn't illegal, and is engaged in by every conceivable type of politician. Far from being a revolutionary response, it is an insignificant ritual of electoral politics.

Yours truly,

John M. Lamb
Lewis College
Lockport, Illinois

... AND MORE CRITIQUE

567 West 191st Street
New York, New York 10040
March 9th, 1968

Dear Editor:

In the exchange between Spector-Levinson-Rose ("The December National Council — A Different View"), and

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new left notes

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Volume 3, Number 13

let the people decide April 15th, 1968

We Made the News Today, Oh Boy!

by TANIA

the following is a sample of news on activities during the last week compiled from letters, chapter contacts, local members, regional travelers, sds newsletters, and liberation news service.

TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA—TUSKEGEE COLLEGE students with a list of demands for self-determination held the board of trustees, including general lucius clay and other industrialists, captive for 13 hours. this action capped a series of student protests; the administration responded by closing the school.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS—students staged a series of demonstrations including a friday memorial for doctor king at the commons of over 20,000; a saturday demonstration at city hall of 13,000 demanding that cops and guard be kept out of the ghetto; leafleting campaigns in white neighborhoods; and a series of campus educational programs on racism.

BOULDER, COLORADO—UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO students staged a march through downtown boulder thursday night, had a leafleting campaign, shut down classes on monday, and held seminars on racism and militarism. further action was planned.

AUSTIN, TEXAS—UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS students held a memorial rally for doctor king, and 1300 staged a march against racism to the state house, which they entered en masse. a second rally was held inside the capitol building.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS—following last week's actions, students helped organize a rally of 600 in grant park tuesday. speakers at the memorial rally called on whites to refuse to serve in wars of racism and exploitation at home or in vietnam.

ALBANY, GEORGIA—students at ALBANY STATE COLLEGE held a spontaneous march to downtown albany april 5th in tribute to doctor king. police attacked the students (as they did the entire community for months during the sit-in movement in 1962).

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA, ILLINOIS—UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS students included in their demands that university facilities be opened to the community, black and white.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE—more than 2,000 national guardsmen patrolled the city; the majority of the troops were at TENNESSEE A&I, where the rotc building was burned down april 7th. the action in nashville began april 5th when 500 VANDERBILT students and 200 citizens from north nashville marched to mayor beverley briley's office to protest national guard action at A&I. students at A&I and FISK UNIVERSITY were harassed and brutalized again by local cops and guards; 2 students at A&I were wounded by guardsmen; police invaded dormitories; armored personnel carriers and tanks were used on and near the universities.

IOWA CITY, IOWA—students at the UNIVERSITY OF IOWA held a rally, leafleted, and collected funds for the memphis strikers.

EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN—among the demands of MICHIGAN STATE students who held a memorial rally and a cross-campus march led by black students and staged a sit-in at the administration building were that the university offer black history courses, not contract with companies that discriminate, and establish equal hiring practices.

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO—150 people marched in a memorial to doctor king; six were arrested. this was one of the largest demonstrations in the city's history.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN—activities in the detroit area included two days of marches in white suburban areas with leafleting; there were over a hundred arrests. students at WAYNE STATE held a celebration rally and a series of educational activities on racism when troops were withdrawn from the city.

MISSISSIPPI—students at MISSISSIPPI VALLEY STATE held a demonstration at Itta, Bena, protesting doctor king's slaying. two students were shot in an attack by the police. fifty black organizations across the state called for a one-week school boycott of white merchants. students at MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY in state college held the first political rally in memory on their campus april 5th. about 100 black and white students participated in a campus memorial vigil around the statue of general stephen d. lee, the college's founder and civil war hero.

HAMILTON, NEW YORK—a black student at COLGATE UNIVERSITY was fired at from a fraternity building. protesting students entered the frat building and found a gun loaded with blanks. the associated black students and sdsers sitting in at administration offices demanded that the fraternity's charter be revoked by the university. they've had considerable support, even from members of the administration; but the board of regents has refused to take action against the fraternity.

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS—over 400 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY students marched on the administration april 8th demanding 1) that the university send a representative to the city council meeting to call for an immediate, comprehensive open housing ordinance; 2) that the university immediately desegregate its real estate holdings; 3) that the university make a substantial contribution to the poor people's campaign; and 4) that there be a joint student and faculty-elected committee to deal with racism at the university. the first demand was met immediately; negotiations are continuing on the last three. in addition, students went to local evanston businesses, demanding that they close on april 9th.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA—students in the los angeles area participated in a number of actions, including the shutting down of a number of schools, and joined in supporting the demands of the black congress that high schools be shut down, that there be a one-day general strike, and that there be no new purchases for easter. cops in los angeles broke into and demolished the sncc office, arresting three sncc people and several folks from the community. transmitters of three radio stations, carrying the king memorial service were sabotaged and the broadcasts never went out; in addition, there was a virtual blackout in local papers about the destruction of the sncc office.



SUMMER MOVEMENT

by Les Coleman

Let's get it moving. We have the job of recruiting new students to take on white America. The ghetto rebellions will not stop. The police occupation of the black community insures suppression and, in response, rebellion. We have to give white America reasons and the chance to say: "We won't fight in either war. In Vietnam, or against the black community. We have to reach out to white working America."

It's also our job to create a vehicle that can bring new students into the Movement. Students are deciding now what to do with themselves this summer. We have to give them the alternative of joining a movement to fight for change and fight the forces which are fighting against change. Thousands of students are concerned that this country will break into a civil war between black and white. The picture of stable America is breaking up. Thousands are up tight themselves about the Draft. Many of these will accept the challenge to deal with white America, to understand it and organize it against racism and the real enemy of power.

If we can project a summer alternative on our own campuses, and organize it, we can create a stronger sense of direction and purpose in the Movement. We can bring in new people. Then if we keep them together, and work with them and ourselves through the summer, we can go back to our campuses with a stronger and broader organization next fall.

So what's it to be, then, brothers and sisters?

In many cities there are community and anti-Draft groups already functioning that can use students. Get these groups together and make them detail their needs. That will be something to present when you recruit. But the burden of summer work for students will probably come from a work-in-agitation kind of organization. Create it. If you recruit a group of 40 to 50 folks for work this summer, suggest that most of them get full-time or part-time jobs to support themselves. They can learn and make contacts on the job. A program of leafleting several neighborhoods with a new leaflet every week can be carried out by folks who are supporting themselves. A few people can work researching for the leaflets. The leaflets should talk about issues like the Draft, the rebellions, inflation, housing, jobs, police, and so on. Folks should be encouraged to hang on the streets and make and follow up contacts. Canvassing projects can be started—on the Draft, on the rebellions. A project aimed at Guardsmen or GIs

could be worked out. A street theater group, or a store-front anti-Draft union would work if the right people were recruited. Maybe there is the possibility of starting a newspaper that will reach out to young white kids in your area—if you recruit right you will have folks to distribute and talk around it.

All right. So call for a conference of the schools in your area in late May. At that conference there should mostly be workshops on projects for the summer. Before then, set up booths or tables on campus—"What are you going to do this summer? Join Us, Fight the Draft, Fight Racism". Leaflet dorms, cafeterias, and classes. Set up campus meetings. Maybe make up a brochure on work that can be done this summer, and why. Try to be concrete. PLAN. Offer people possibilities.

Try to collect names of people going to their home towns who want to work and send them to the NO. We will try to fit them into work going on there or near there.

Also the Draft case which we passed at the NC is ready to go. The details will appear in New Left Notes soon and chapter contacts will receive a mailing. Briefly, it works like this: We can get students to sign as plaintiffs in a mass suit that says that no one should have to be drafted to fight in Vietnam if he has a political objection to the War. Signing the case does not hurt or change your Draft classification. Signing the case may (a good chance) provide a person with a delay of induction because he can ask for a stay of his induction until the mass case is ruled on in the Federal courts. It is a good tool for reaching and involving new people. We will be able to keep tabs on them through the summer, as the case develops, and hopefully we can get them working in summer projects.

If some folks want to go to places like Boston to work with such organizations as the Boston Draft Resistance Group, which is doing on-going neighborhood work, to get some experience, they should write the NO and tell us about themselves. We will try to arrange for them to go to some on-going project near them to work for a week in the next two months.

As plans for the summer develop, articles describing them should appear in New Left Notes. Get them in. If you are not up to writing an article just send us a note to tell us what you are doing or what you plan to do. If nothing is going on, and you want to work this summer, write us and we'll try to find a place where they need you.

Mostly, PLAN AND ORGANIZE FOR THE SUMMER. REACH OUT, BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

WE MUST SET OUR OVERTHROW

Following is the first installment of an article by Mike James outlining ways in which we must begin to draw into the center a substantial fringe of our people.

There is no question about the crucial need for an ever-escalating anti-imperialist student movement. But the student movement must be more than the anti-imperialist arm of the peace movement. Most will agree on the need to develop a long-range political perspective, with people digging in everywhere within America. Yet we have failed, except for a few models, to take the steps necessary to plan our development in accordance with our perceived needs. Many among us have only vague notions about where we will be and how we will be working when we leave the university.

The Movement must deal with the fact that students will not be students forever, nor will most activists become academicians or even residents of the hip-political scene that surrounds many big universities. We have got to think hard about helping each other plan for where we will be living and working 2-3-4-5 years from now, after we leave the university scene. Will we be living and working as radicals, or will we be politically sophisticated and hip—yet living life-styles that don't jibe with our values? Will we reap the benefits of US imperialism—cynically of course? Will we end up a generation that could have made a difference, but didn't, because we were afraid to move, not knowing whether the thing would go anywhere? Look...nobody knows where the Movement's going to go. But right now it comes down to a choice between seeing what we can build together, or running the risk of ending up chained to some version of the dreaded "Maggie's Farm" ("He asks you with a grin if you're having a good time, and fines you every time you slam the door"—dig Dylan, Bringing It All Back Home, Columbia Records). Working for the Man is inevitable unless collectively we take conscious steps to avoid it.

Do we wait...wait and see if we can get a sense of where things are going? Do we make sure we don't get on the wrong machine, go to the wrong university or city, hook up with the wrong chick or guy, miss the thrust? No, damn it! Recognizing that though we may be

swimming upstream, we have no choice since we live in America (in the guts of the ogre) and have a vision of freedom, we must start taking the necessary steps to dig in: organizing, developing models, moving toward bases—and maybe someday toward power, which is the best kind of resistance. We must remember that one of the few things we have some control over is our own organizing, and we had better be getting it on.

A first step toward "getting it on" might be that radicals, whether community organizers, those in middle class neighborhoods, people in the professions, labor insurgents, or student or peace activists, have got to stop the back-biting, the "he's too far out", "she's a sell-out", "that agency of change is a dead-end street, a nowhere", and so forth, because if we don't it'll tear us apart. We aren't big enough, and the internal hassles are happening, in too many instances, because people are frustrated, because too few of us are out turning on ten new people a month, pulling them into the Movement. (Because we, the Movement, have an alternative. Criticism is important, but too much of it is hardly constructive. We have a better way to live life. We've got to see our struggle as a common one, and now is the time to begin developing a division of tasks that can make a difference in our lifetime!)

Mess up their thing, use it for ours

Our "university complicity in the system" investigations have made it very clear that the university is a feeder institution for the enemy. We have tried, with some success, to mess up their

feeder—free speech, student power, Dow, CIA, corporation and military recruitment, the Draft. Good. We have grown and learned; provoking, demonstrating, and building consciousness must continue at an ever-intensifying rate. We must keep on messing up their feeder. BUT WE'VE GOT TO DO MORE. WE MUST BEGIN TO USE THE UNIVERSITY MORE EFFECTIVELY FOR OUR OWN NEEDS, AS A FEEDER FOR THE MOVEMENT. Internal education, in line with our needs, must become much more serious.

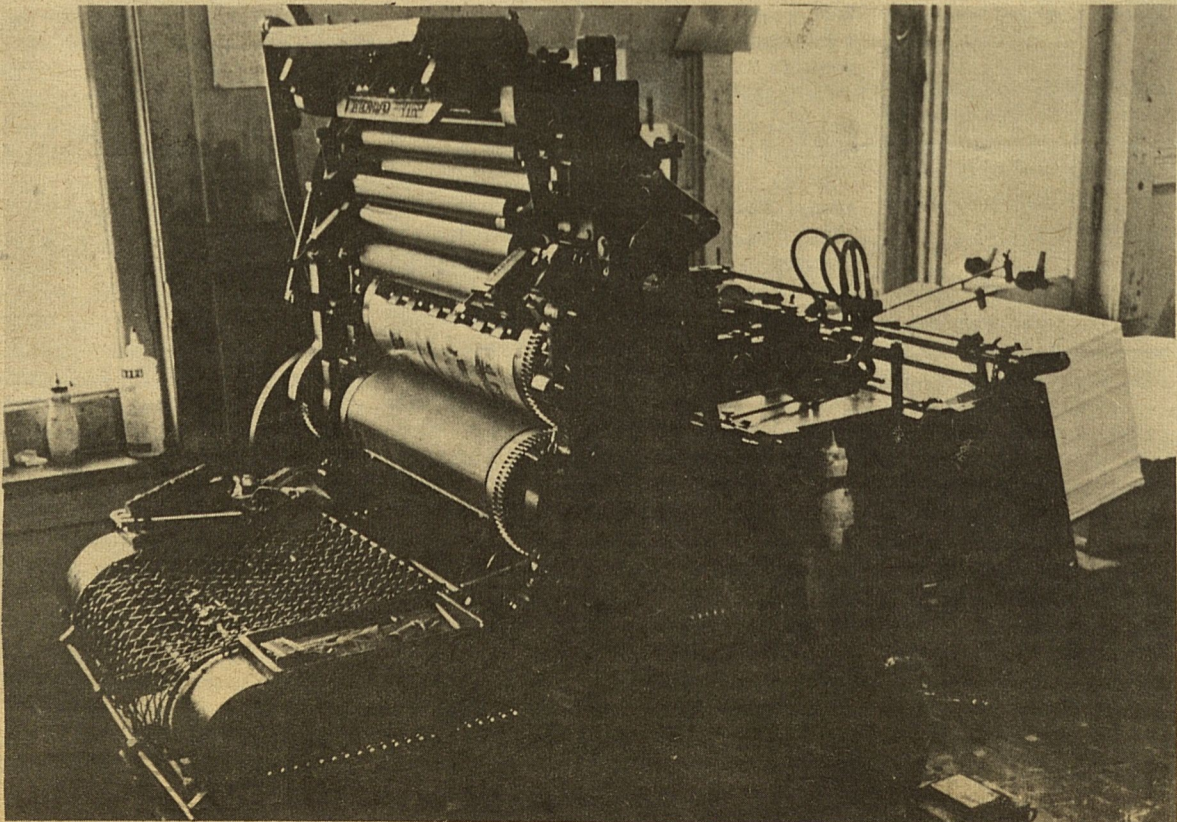
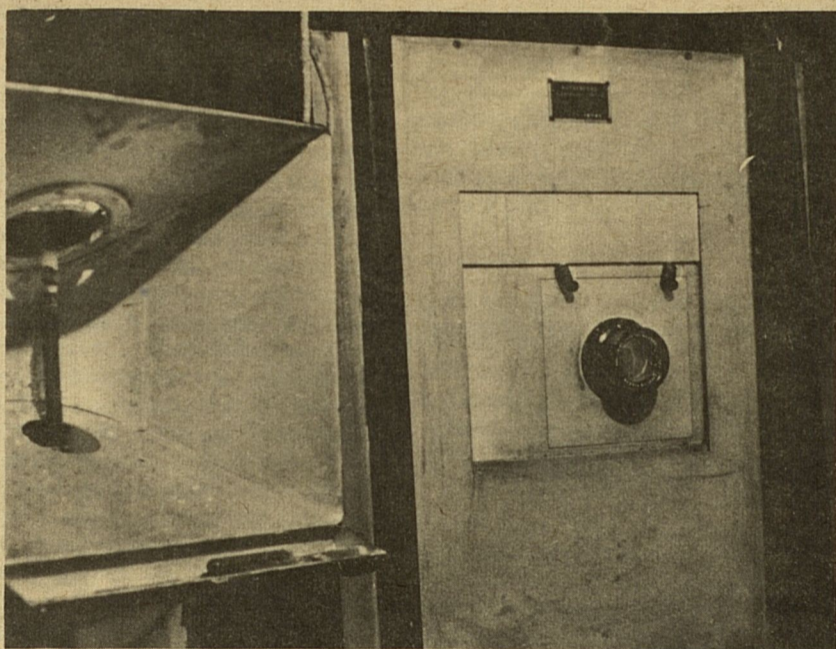
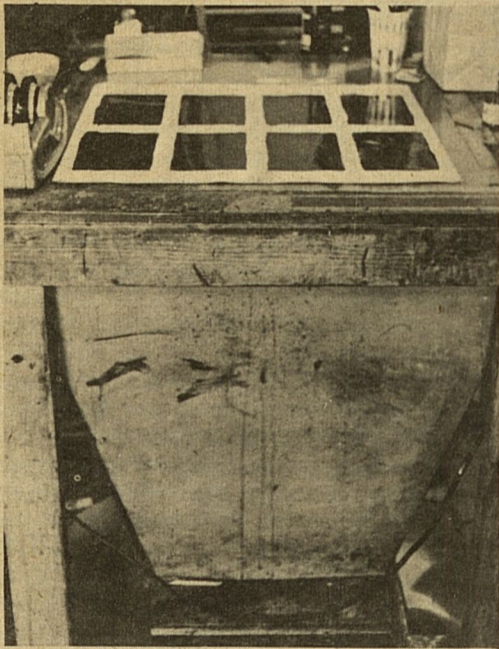
Internal education can and should take place on many levels. Perhaps most important are educational efforts that force us to go "out there" to the people waiting for us who can and must be reached and recruited by means other than (or perhaps in addition to) the militant demonstration. Serious educational efforts on the part of organizers will mean that a growing rank and file begins to develop a long-range perspective and picture of where it's going to go and what it's going to do next year and the year after....

SDS has long talked about internal education, but it's never happened right. We're only beginning to produce some literature and get our papers around to our people. High-level seminars on imperialism, or the relevance of C. Wright Mills, have involved far too few people. More general educational attempts reaching to more people, like the Sunday night discussion seminars at Berkeley in the fall of 1965, have usually failed. They tend to be dominated and destroyed by the impressive offerings of the sophisticated, yet too often insensitive, radical intellectuals—graduate students, SDS ideologues, the "sectarians", and groups "using" SDS.

PART ONE:

Recent talks with student activists, community organizers, and radicals working in academic, professional, and labor settings seem to reveal several things. First, in some places radical students are eating each other up, caught in the hassle of parliamentary procedure, reflecting the frustration that often follows having done—sometimes many times—the Dow-Military-CIA thing. Second, there are a lot of disenchanted professionals and soon-to-be professionals who are looking for where and how to work as radicals. Third, many people around the country seem generally frustrated about where they go. Finally, there is concern by some as to how present and future members of the Movement can begin to acquire a perspective and develop a picture of radicals working in many settings, tying together, and working over the long haul to overthrow the ogre we have been born and bred in.

Much of the Movement has taken on an important anti-imperialist stance.



Tim Morearty and Company in the NO

In the last article on the Print Shop we gave a lot of explanations of why the Print Shop was obsolete, how we ground a few sheets of paper off the two presses we have and called them SDS literature, how the situation was so bad that our large press could last only a few more months at most, how we need \$12,000 for a new press that can "drown" SDS (and possibly the Movement) in literature, and how we lack trained manpower besides real equipment. Well, brothers and sisters, none of the above has changed; everything is still in the same "condition" it was; but what stopped us dead is we don't have any paper, or rather we do have seven reams of

8 1/2 by 11 paper machine and none for and the reason for that got no money, just that's got to be paid get our phone snatched make collect calls call us). When we have a ton of paper every or so, and then we run out we buy some we can't buy any more PRINTING NO MORE ain't gettin' no more bread, ya hear? We want an artist to give some make it look good read it—and we can get some more bread

OURSELVES FREE TO THE OGRE

So what happens to the "kids", our movement's counterpart of those described in the Cuban poster that says "the youth made the revolution and the youth will keep it, and the youth will go on making the revolution throughout Latin America and the world!"? They go away, turned off once again, damn it. People don't give them time to go beyond the good hearts and emotions that are bringing them into the Movement, the same things that brought most of us in. Too many people who've been around awhile, or even newer people who are over-zealous in their new-found radicalism, forget how long it takes to learn. Becoming a radical is a process of working out contradictions, incorporating what you've learned—through talk, friendship, reading, and experiences—into a way of life. (The hard liners should not forget the importance of how people live their lives; being radical means a lot more than having an okay perspective and a lot of rhetoric.) In short, though internal education should take place on different levels, it is most important to offer a variety geared to draw new people in, hiping them to both immediate and long-range needs, and how they can begin to play a part in building.

Theoretical discussions, drawing on world revolutionary experiences, are fine, but more importantly, let's help move people—organizers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, researchers, and others—into an action setting. It's funny how perspectives change, becoming more realistic if not more radical, when people start to work off the campus. Working in neighborhoods, factories, school systems, and so on, in contact with other radicals working in a number of connecting settings, is the best way to radically educate people.

In addition to telling people that the way to be radical is to resist the Draft, or get off the campus, I think we should broaden our efforts so that those on the campus begin to develop certain skills, with a view toward how they can use those skills in conjunction with people working in other ways. What follows is: first a description of organizing work now underway, in different kinds of neighborhoods, which some radicals on the campus may not be hip to; second, ideas on how different "professionals"—what most students will be—become a part of these organizing efforts; and finally, some ideas on how chapters and radicals on the campus can begin to help people develop pictures of where and how they might think about working.

Organizing in neighborhoods:

3 models

The Movement must remember that much of America is working-class, and most of that segment of the population is not unionized, is not characterized by participation in formal organizations (fraternal, PTA, political parties), and is not tied to political power (such as the political machine in Chicago). Poverty and community organizing was an important frame of reference to those who became involved in the Movement before the big escalation of the Vietnam War. Beyond a few labor and community organization projects, the bulk of the Movement's members now do little more than give lip service to the need to reach poor and working people.

It was good that whites were thrown out of the black movement; beyond a point, whites working on Southern projects tended to take away the chance of the

many future Mrs. Hamers and Devines to learn important skills and become leaders by making a lot of their own mistakes. The tragedy that followed the white exit from the black movement is white people's failure to begin work with poor and working whites. That's too bad, for where it's been tried we've learned that whites can be reached and radicals developed. It's a tragedy, because the Movement will never be real until the grievances and struggles of poor and working whites acquire a radical perspective. Radicalism doesn't happen by accident; it is a process, and that means that white radicals must be present.

White radicals must overcome much of what they've been taught to believe about poor and working white people. Our analysis tells us that the system is the enemy, not poor and working whites. But that doesn't mean we believe it in our guts. Most male radicals agree intellectually with female radicals on much of the "women question", but dealing with the "question" emotionally is a different trip. The same is true regarding poor and working whites. All our lives we have been exposed to status quo social scientists and historians, such as Seymour Martin Lipset, who pump the notion of "working class authoritarianism" into our heads; the mass media's "crackers, white trash, red necks, shit kickers" seeps into our skulls instead of the reality of US Steel controlling Birmingham, Sears Roebuck and Harvard University's economic holdings in Mississippi, and so forth.

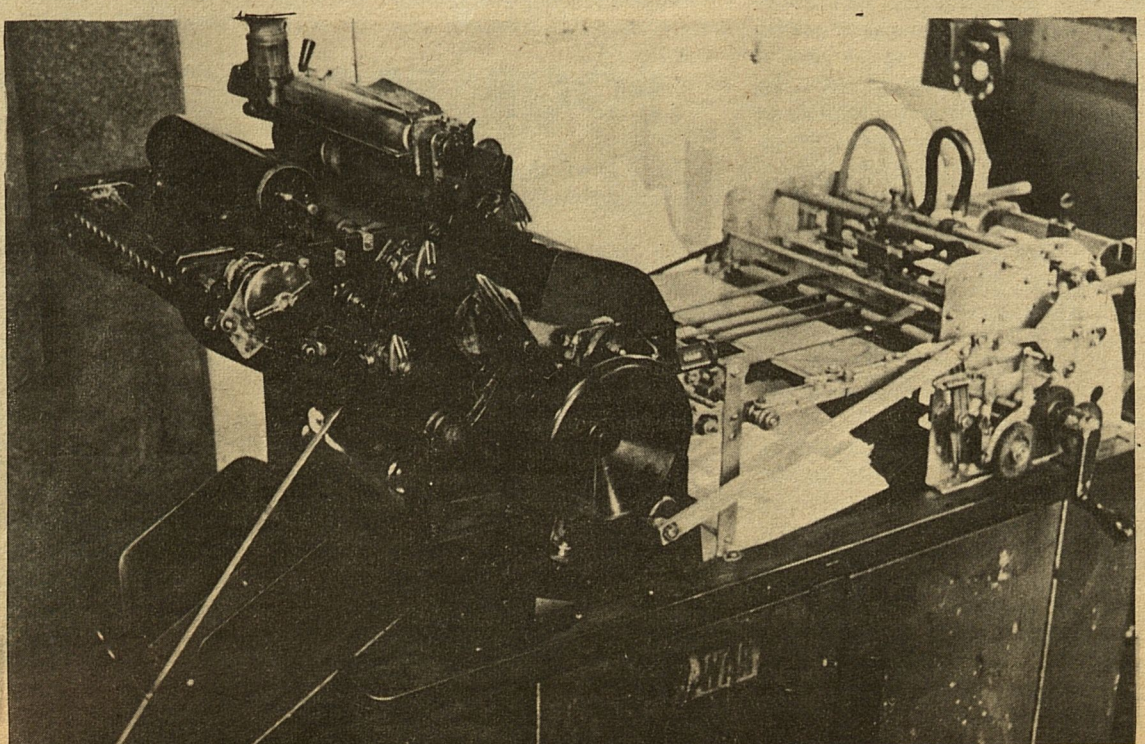
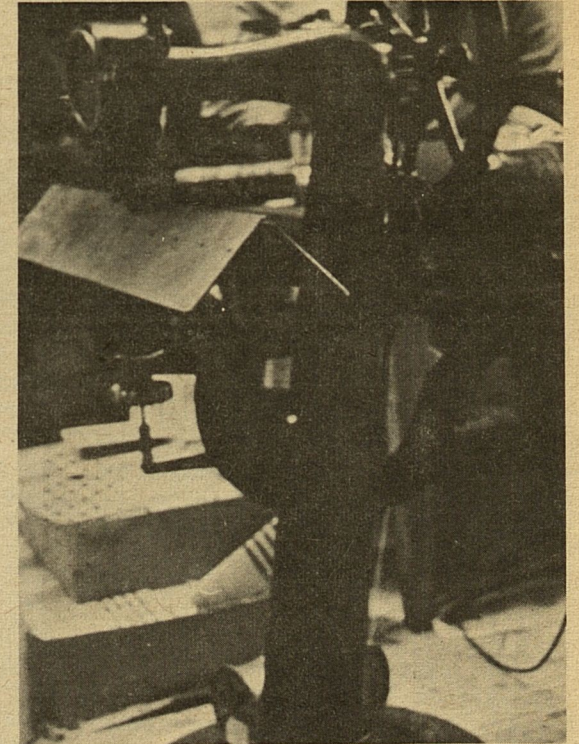
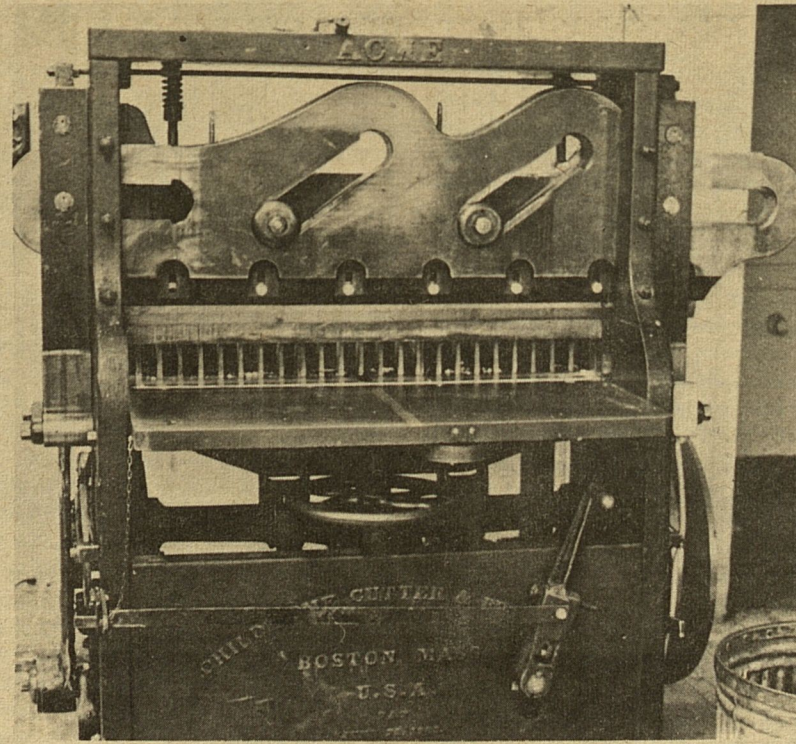
Liberal concepts permeated our lives as we grew up in "liberal America", and they make us afraid to work in the places where radicals must work if we are to be relevant and real. Remember: We were fooled by "Amos 'n' Andy", and we've been tricked by the liberal mass media, schools, parents, and the "Beverly Hillbillies".

Many students, whether from working class backgrounds or not, can "make it" in cities where there are concentrations of poor and working whites. Living, working, and making friends with people

in such neighborhoods is an important life and work style that radicals should look at more closely. It doesn't mean that the "radical" must take on an austere ascetic-monk-like posture. What it does mean is new worlds opening up, in contrast with the present that finds most student radicals spending 99% of their time in middle-class settings which are very myopic. Community organizing is a slow process of making friends and learning what other people are about. It is characterized by the purging of the bad from both middle and working-class backgrounds as people grow together, developing new and radical lives. This—doing together—is much of what being a radical is all about.

Radicals must do more than give lip service to the need to organize poor and working whites. We must start such organizing. The cops, Welfare, housing, urban renewal, the Draft, and the job are issues to organize around; developing newspapers, community theater, and food-buying co-ops is educational for those involved. Such work brings some change; it keeps the pressure on the waning butter side of the Liberal Establishment's "guns and butter" nonsense; it develops leadership that makes a difference as social, economic, and political conditions change; and, most importantly, it develops cadres that can help make those changes happen. Community organizing projects have helped a number of poor and working people to become radicals, and they are now about developing networks and building consciousness among their own people. The job is hardly done; students are still needed to help turn new people on, by organizing among whites, so that a movement of poor and working white people happens.

The next installment will discuss other neighborhood organizing models, extending into the radical functions of professionals.



for the mimeograph for the offset machines, that is simple: we ain't just a \$500 phone bill paid by the 15th or we ditched (so you all can't s to the NO or even have the money we buy every two weeks for \$340 e print it, and when we some more. This time more, AND WE AIN'T DRE. Get it? You all ore lit till we get some e want to hire a radical ome life to SDS lit— d so more folks will can't do that till we read either. Then, too,

if we can't even buy paper what is the sense of buying a new press that can drown SDS in literature? Whatever happened to the chapter tax that was promised at the National Council meeting in Lexington, Kentucky? What happened to the money pledged by some of the NIC members for the down-payment on the press? What happened to the chapter tax from the chapters that didn't want to stand up at Lexington and say: "We'll give \$100."—or \$60 or \$40 or \$20? I bet if you looked in your wallet right now everybody would find a \$5 or \$10 bill. Take it out and send it, NOW! Write us a check, and don't stop at \$5 or \$10, make it \$20 or \$40 or more, BUT DO IT NOW! We're waiting on you.

STEERING COMMITTEE:

Appeal for Justice

The Steering Committee Against Repression mourns the assassination of one of its key members, Doctor Martin Luther King Junior, and calls upon the entire nation to eliminate the racism which is inherent in the American society and was the primary cause of his murder. We call to the attention of all public officials who also mourn the death of Doctor King, including President Johnson, that the last public statement signed by Doctor King before his assassination called for an end to the Government's persecution of H. Rap Brown. The SCAR calls for the dropping of all charges against Mister Brown.

Mister Brown has been completely exonerated by the President's own Commission on Civil Disorders, which classified the so-called Cambridge riot as a "low level civil disturbance" in which the major violence was committed by a deputy sheriff, who "without prior warning" discharged a shotgun twice, wounding Mister Brown.

We are further concerned, as was Doctor King, that the continued persecution of Mister Brown represents a concerted effort by the Government to keep him from speaking and has violated the most basic tenets of the Bill of Rights. Therefore, we call on Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, to issue an immediate amnesty to H. Rap Brown so that another black leader is not murdered, if not by a sniper bullet then by the Federal Government.

We also call for an amnesty to all those

thousands of political prisoners across the country who have been arrested in the aftermath of Doctor King's assassination. In Washington alone over 4,000 people have been arrested by Federal authorities. As Doctor King so prophetically stated in the document which he signed on March 18th:

"This nation's black citizens are angry and have served notice that they will no longer tolerate the conditions under which they have lived for so long. The President's Commission on Civil Disorders, in its historic report, has stated clearly that recent uprisings in our city ghettos have occurred because of the racism of white America and the conditions under which ghetto residents live....Certain powerful forces in our Government have made a decision to try to cope with urban unrest not by programs to improve people's lives but by the police power of the State—by the jailing of some militant leaders and the intimidation of others."

We call for withdrawal of all Federal troops from the cities and the demilitarization of the police forces. A similar immediate amnesty should be extended to Huey P. Newton, Doctor Spock, Reverend William Coffin and the rest of the "Boston Five", the Oakland Seven, the Queens Seventeen, Reies Tijerina, and scores of others persecuted in the struggle against war and for black liberation.

The Steering Committee Against Repression feels that the President of the United States could pay no more fitting tribute to Doctor Martin Luther

King's lifetime discipline of non-violence than to end the War in Vietnam immediately. Instead of spending vast resources on the War in Vietnam, the US Government must provide jobs, hospitals, schools, adequate housing, and other basic necessities for poor people.

Partial list of signers:

Laurence Guyot Junior, Chairman, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
 Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, President, Southern Conference Education Fund
 Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality
 Reverend Owen Brooks, Director, Delta Ministry
 Stanley Wise, Executive Secretary, Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee
 Dave Dellinger, Chairman, National Mobilization Committee to End the War
 Monsignor Charles Owen Rice, Holy Rosary Church, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
 Tom Gardner, Chairman, Southern Student Organizing Committee
 Mike Spiegel, National Secretary, Students for a Democratic Society
 Myles Horton, Director, Highland Center
 Reverend Joseph Merchant, United Church of Christ
 Victor Rabinowitz, Chairman, National Lawyers Guild
 John Wilson, Chairman, Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union
 Linda Morse, Student Mobilization Committee

Paul Green, Steering Committee, Veterans for Peace in Vietnam
 Gloria Richardson Dandridge, Advisor, Cambridge Black Action Federation
 Dr. Benjamin Spock
 Dagmar Wilson
 Howard Moore Junior, Director, Southern Legal Action Project
 Professor Robert Greenblatt, National Co-ordinator, National Mobilization Committee
 Ralph Featherstone, Program Director, Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee
 Professor Donald Kalish, Chairman, Department of Philosophy, University of California at Los Angeles
 Dr. Quentin D. Young, National Chairman, Medical Committee for Human Rights
 William Pepper, Executive Director, National Conference for New Politics
 Bobby Seale, Chairman, Black Panther Party
 Ralph Schoenman, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
 Carl and Ann Braden, Executive Directors, Southern Conference Education Fund
 Carlos E. Russell, Chairman, Black Caucus, National Conference for New Politics
 Abe Weisburg, Director, White Americans for Support of Black Liberation

Those wishing to add the names of their organizations or their own names should contact Attorney Howard Moore Junior, 859 1/2 Hunter Street, Atlanta, Georgia (404-525-8372).

ALBUQUERQUE RESISTS

About two hundred exuberant opponents of the Draft and the War took part in a five-hour Resistance fiesta at the Albuquerque Induction Center April 2nd. The event was the largest demonstration on record in New Mexico.

Inductees, who numbered about sixty, were offered coffee, doughnuts, and various leaflets, one of which outlined methods of avoiding conscription even at the very last minute. This leaflet, like many of the picket signs, was printed in both Spanish and English (in New Mexico, where Spanish-Americans are 28% of the population, they account for 60% of those drafted).

The names of the forty-six New Mexicans killed in Vietnam during the first three months of 1968 were read, and there followed a silent meditation for all those killed and injured in the War.

The demonstrators then took in a puppet show, after which they were led in a long happy spell of group singing by folk guitarist David Levine.

About 9:30 a delegation of fifteen protesters entered the nearby Federal Courthouse. After rendering in unison certain relevant passages of the Declaration of Independence (which adorns the building's lobby), the group called on Federal District Attorney John Quinn. They presented him with twenty-four "We Won't Go" statements and fifty-six pledges of support for resisters collected over the past six weeks in Albuquerque. Two draft cards were included in the sheaf.

Back at the Induction Center four men burned their draft cards while another set fire to his orders to report for induction.

Some inductees were openly hostile to the demonstrators. Held aloft on the shoulders of a buddy, one waded through the crowd displaying an Army recruiting poster. The majority of inductees seemed puzzled or annoyed by the protest, but a few were friendly and interested.

A man scheduled for induction April 3rd showed up a day early and was administered emergency draft counseling when he asked for help in staying out of

the Service. (The following morning this man, nineteen-year-old Manuel Gurule of Albuquerque, refused induction. Also on the 3rd, as twenty-five Resistance demonstrators paraded outside, nineteen-year-old Manuel Martinez of Tierra Amarilla returned his orders to report for a pre-induction physical that had been scheduled for the 3rd, and went home.)

During the early hours of the protest one demonstrator was the cause of great amazement. Airman First Class Terry Toomey was picketing in uniform. His sign read: "Hell No, Don't Go!" Toomey was escorted to work at Kirtland Air Force Base at eight o'clock by two sergeants. Although he was grilled on his return to the base, Toomey reported, no charges have as yet been lodged. The airman said his commanding officer "gave me permission" to attend the Resistance gig.

Also in attendance were a number of members of the Alianza Federal, a militant Chicano group that demands the return of Spanish and Mexican land grants in the Southwest to La Raza.

POOR PEOPLES' CAMPAIGN: What Now?

by Wolfe Lowenthal
 Liberation News Service

New York, April 8th (LNS)—"Doctor King was killed because he started to organize poor people. Just as he began to work against their oppression, his life was taken. We are accelerating the poor people's campaign to besiege Washington starting in late April. We will mobilize for Poor Power.

"We are not going to mourn him. We are thinking of what his life meant, what he died for, and we ask not that people send flowers, but that they organize; that they collect food, blankets, and tents; and that they make ready."

This was what the Central Headquarters of the New York City Poor People's Campaign had to say about Doctor King's murder.

The country is breaking up around us. The rebellions (riots) in the ghettos, the War, inflation, strikes with increasing frequency and militancy—these are but a few of the symptoms of the vast and deepening political turmoil that is developing in America. Student radicals are aware of this and the host of other contradictions that define contemporary America. However most students, due to the situation they live in, and in some cases their entire life's experience (class background), fail to either understand or appreciate how these issues affect the majority of their own people, the American working class. Those of us who live or work in poor or working-class neighborhoods are made aware of the devastating effects of these contradictions in terms of the lives of the people we meet and become friends with. No longer abstract, the War and inflation mean less comfort, and later less food. Urban renewal means moving around in deteriorating neighborhoods; life in general means sweating out a "living" for someone else's profits or suffering the humiliation of existing on Welfare. We also see that the people of America are aware that the system messes them

over daily and hourly. They are asking questions about issues, often without raising them, and looking for viable answers.

The National Community Union (NCU) is attempting to create through its school a vehicle through which those interested can acquaint themselves with the problems of poor and working Americans by sharing their lives, working, and studying past attempts to deal with these problems in radical ways. White student radicals often give lip service and theoretical justification to organizing poor and working-class Americans. NCU wants those who are interested to come and "get their feet wet" in the practice of these ideas. Those of us who have tried it have found that the prospects are excellent. We urge others to join us. It's time to light a fire under working-class America.

The second session of the NCU school for organizers begins May 6th and lasts four to five weeks. The third session starts June 3rd.

For further information about the training school and the summer work-in for students, contact the National Community Union, 630 North Racine Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622.

break in the park, Cornelius Givens, New York co-ordinator of the Campaign, pursued this theme: "You can work for Black Power, Yellow Power, or Green Power, but when you start working for Poor Power your days are numbered, because that's the Revolution.

"Poor people got no leaders who see how we are here, and then are able to tell it like it is. Every time one of the big cats gets ready to work for Poor Power, he gets killed. My bereavement is for the living—Wilkins, Randolph, Young. None of them picks up the ball. Wilkins is trying to kill it, saying the Poor People's Campaign is going to be violent. Poor people's problems are different from integration. What the hell do I care about integrated housing when I'm hungry? What do I care about open occupancy? I can't afford to move over there anyhow.

BOBBY HUTTON KILLED

(continued from Page 1)

liquidate the leadership of the Black Panther Party by the Oakland Police Department".

For the past eight months, pictures and descriptions of Panther leaders have been widely distributed to police. Panther vehicles have been stopped frequently by Oakland cops. In January, San Francisco police crashed in Eldridge Cleaver's door and searched his apartment—without a warrant. In February, police broke down Bobby Seale's door without a warrant on a phony conspiracy charge (quickly dropped for lack of evidence) and arrested him and his wife. Last Friday night police broke down the door of Ken Denman, Panther organizer in San Diego (without a warrant). These are only a few examples of police harassment of the Panthers. Throughout, the mass media have carried on a campaign of slander against the Black Panther Party. This systematic political persecution of the Black Panther Party **MUST BE RESISTED**. Distribute information about the Panthers and raise money for their work and defense. Funds should be sent to our brothers: Black Panther Party, Post Office Box 8641,

Emeryville Branch, Oakland, California 94608.

The memorial rally held Friday for Bobby Hutton in Lake Merritt Park was attended by 1000 to 1500 people, white and black. Kathy Cleaver (Eldridge Cleaver's wife), James Forman, and Bobby Seale, among others, spoke to an audience whose sense of seriousness, unity, and common determination was strengthened by the quiet presence of police fringing the rooftops of the city and county buildings bordering the park.

An appeal was made—which is here extended—for support of Eldridge Cleaver via money and telegrams. Cleaver is considered by the courts to have violated his probation, and thus without trial is automatically sentenced to a three-year jail term.

Bobby Seale when he spoke suspended plans for a car caravan to the nearby town of Vacaville. He said we must pick our own time and place for confrontations with the Man—referring to reports that Vacaville had been virtually closed down, with machine gun-armed police lining the incoming highway.

TEXT OF TELEGRAM SENT TO APRIL 12TH MEMORIAL RALLY:

The National Office of Students for a Democratic Society, representing thirty-five thousand students in chapters at three hundred colleges and universities, demands the immediate release of Eldridge Cleaver, Huey P. Newton, and all other political prisoners being detained by the state of California. The racist cops of Oakland, who have long oppressed and denied basic human rights to black people, are the real criminals loose on the streets of our country. They are the ones, along with the slumlords and politicians in the white power structure, who should be imprisoned, not Eldridge Cleaver, Huey Newton, or any other black man fighting for self-determination and freedom.

SDS demands that the Oakland police stop their systematic efforts to destroy the Black Panther Party. SDS demands the demilitarization of police forces and the immediate withdrawal of troops from the cities of this country.

Carl Davidson
Inter-Organizational Secretary

What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up

Like a raisin in the sun?

Or fester like a sore --

And then run?

Does it stink like rotten meat?

Or crust and sugar over --

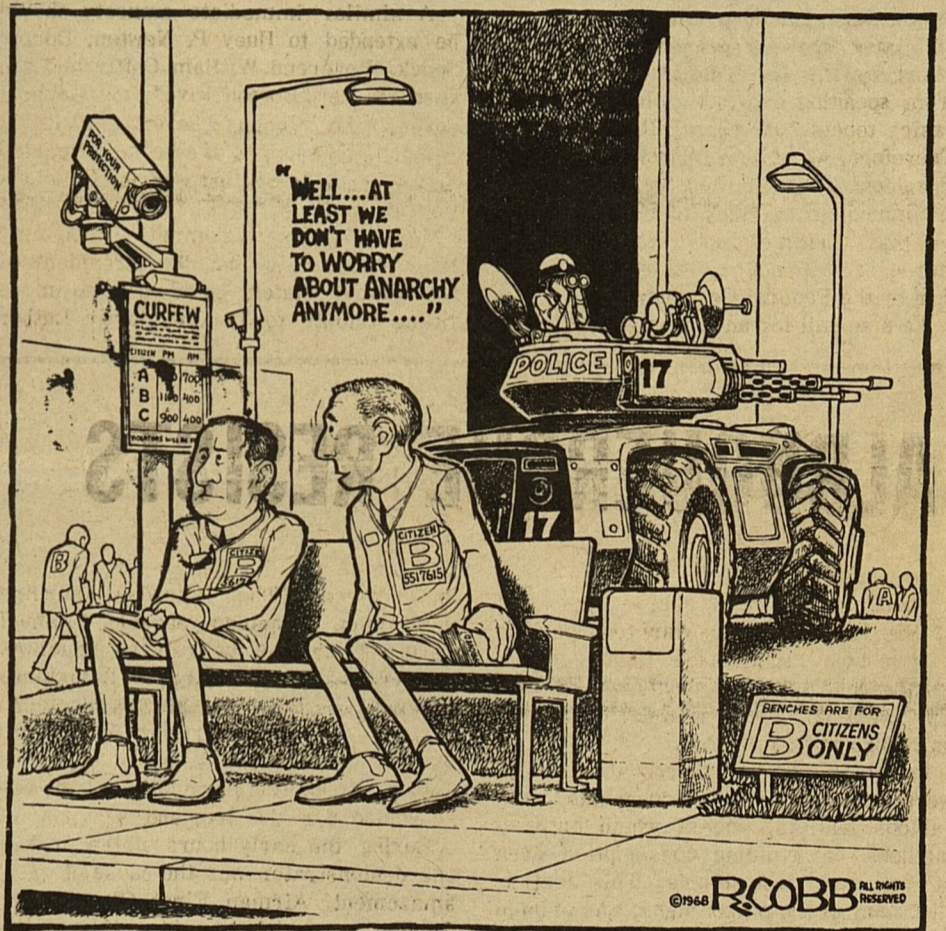
Like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags

Like a heavy load

OR DOES IT EXPLODE?

-- Langston Hughes



Black Panther Platform

WHAT WE WANT

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our black community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities as defined by the constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.
2. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as retribution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans murdered 6,000,000 Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over 50,000 black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.
4. We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.
5. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.
6. We believe that black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.
7. We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The second amendment of the constitution of the United States gives us a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.
8. We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We believe that the courts should follow the United States constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th amendment of the U.S. constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.
10. When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed, — that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

LETTERS TO THE LEFT (CONT'D)

ANGER & EVIL

(continued from Page 2)

Of course, if useless martyrdom, rather than such success, is the goal, then this objection is irrelevant. Martyrdom is doubtless very satisfying to the martyr, but it is tragically **dysfunctional** to the stated aims of the Movement.

Third, only pacifism is "fighting for real change". How is violence a change from violence? The only thing wrong with the non-violent movement was that the struggle was assumed to have ended, when it has barely begun.

Surely, the statement supporting "...the right of the subjugated to use whatever means necessary to rebel against their oppressor...." is a bit of hyperbole. "Whatever means?" In God's name, consider what that implies. We must use means consonant with our ends, or those ends will be perverted unrecognizably.

Revolution, yes; but non-violent revolution. A new civilization, yes; but one based on love, not fear. The civil-rights movement had only begun to employ the techniques of non-violence. Boycotts, picketing, marches, organization of co-operatives, sit-ins, sleep-ins, love-ins, tax-refusal, Draft-resistance, economic organization of neighborhoods in the cities—all these tactics and others, on a massive scale, should occupy us. Only in this way, through active, widespread, well-organized refusal to co-operate in any way with the power structure, coupled with simultaneous development of an alternative structure with a truly democratic base, ready and able to take up the responsibility dropped from the hands of the old order, will we be able to bring it down.

We must keep this goal in sight, allowing no momentary rage or anguish to blind us. Anger is a valid stimulus to action, but not an acceptable basis

for it. The ancient chimerae of injustice and oppression which haunt us all must be exorcised; but if we replace them with other specters no less fearsome, what have we accomplished?

Remember why we are here: not to kill, but to fulfill.

Thank you, and go well.

Ralph D. Frey Junior, ETN3
OI Division
USS S. B. Roberts (DD823)

... AND MORE CRITIQUE

(continued from Page 2)

Davidson ("A Critique of Our Critics") in the February 12th issue of New Left Notes, Davidson points out that differences in the organization should be discussed on a political, rather than a personal, level. He says:

"Continuing to couch the debate in a 'national' versus 'grass-roots' or 'local chapter' people dichotomy not only obscures the politics of the debate, but serves to alienate our local members from the NO in general...."

There is a false separation made here between "political" and "institutional" attack. An attack made on the "institution" of the NO is made because the NO—through New Left Notes and the ability to call demonstrations, conferences, and so forth—puts forward certain politics. The logic of Davidson's statement is that SDS members should not elect officers to the NO on the basis of politics.

Davidson says again: "If someone disagrees with Davidson and Calvert, then he should politically attack Davidson and Calvert, rather than institutionally attacking the NO, the staff, or the NIC." But Davidson's approach in his article is not political, but rather personal attack.

Davidson says that the S-L-R paper and Jared Israel of Boston SDS and PL make "so great a distortion of our position that it can only be a deliberate attempt to mislead or a sign of stupidity". What kind of friendly, "political" attack is this? Davidson's article is filled with attempts to impugn the motives of his opponents, like: "The section of the S-L-R article describing the National SDS response to the Spock et al. repression would be amusing if its intent were not so destructive."

Davidson again resorts to personal attack by his hinting that "misunderstanding" him was a "mistake (intentional) of my critics".

But Davidson's politics are highly contradictory. He quotes with approval his November 13th article saying: "First and most important, don't become ISOLATED by using tactics likely to divide the participants in the action from their present and POTENTIAL constituency." There follows a long explanation of how resistance strategy and tactics are calculated to build the Movement. Yet what did Davidson himself say on November 13th? Immediately following the quote Davidson refers to is this sentence: "But even our potential constituents are limited, and we shouldn't try to please everyone." Well, which is it? Will we reach large numbers or not? Davidson is certainly allowed to change his mind, but it isn't legitimate for Davidson to imply he held the same position all along—particularly when replying to a political argument which points out that he did not.

Davidson should be more careful in allegations about the dishonesty or stupidity of his critics—especially since he is prone to changing his mind without letting us know.

Peter Wilcox
City College of New York Chapter, SDS

Missing your bulk subs?

We, in a collective effort, have lost the bulk order list for NEW LEFT NOTES.

Send your name, address (with zip) and number of required copies to the National Office.

Iowa Conference

WORKING CLASS ORGANIZING CONF

Over the weekend of May 4th and 5th there will be a Working Class Organizing Conference at the University of Iowa in Iowa City.

All interested people should contact the National Community Union or Denny Ankrum, 124 Church Street, Iowa City, for housing, general information, and summer program.

Vietnam Essay Contest

(NOTE: Included with this leaflet was the suggestion "that it be adapted to local conditions, and be done by someone who knows the local army sentiments and problems".)

\$\$\$ \$20 CONTEST \$\$\$

How much are you worth to your government? \$100 per month? Is that all you are worth to your government? Why not ask for a raise?

Do you know how much a Viet Cong is worth to your government? The figure is more than \$300,000 for every Viet Cong killed or captured. How many Viet Cong were killed last year? What has been accomplished? Last year the War cost more than \$25,000,000,000. Could you think of a better use for this money?

What are you doing right now? Wouldn't you really rather be somewhere else? What's keeping you here? Worried about that stockade? How does that stack up against "fighting for freedom"? How do you like the Army's kind of freedom? Plus your enormous salary. Had any "great moments" lately in the "new action army"? Do you go to bed every night feeling you've accomplished something? Besides marking another day off your calendar?

Cheer up! It could be worse. You could be sent to Vietnam. Asked politely to go? Choice, not chance? To fight for freedom, right? Your own freedom? Or are you only there to help the Vietnamese help themselves? You could get killed, so you should have some good reasons. Many people are asking why. Do you have an answer you'd stake your life on? Ask your buddy; maybe he has an answer.

If you feel that you have an answer to the question: "Why should I go to Vietnam?" you may win \$20 in our new ESSAY CONTEST. Just write and tell us your reasons. All entries must be postmarked no later than April 17th, 1968. The winner will be announced April 21st, 1968. No strings attached. Only active duty army personnel are eligible to win, but rank makes no difference. Entries will be judged by the Austin Contest Association. Decision of the judges will be final.

Address your entries to: Post Office Box 4361, Austin, Texas.

RADIO HABANA SCHEDULE

RADIO HABANA CUBA — Cuba Territorio Libre de America

BROADCASTS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FOR NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA:

3:50 to 4:50 pm (EST) (20.50 to 21.50 GMT) 19 m. band 15285 Kc/s. and 19 m. band 15230 Kc/s.

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Wisconsin Teaching Assistants

(passed April 8th, 1968)

The University of Wisconsin Teaching Assistants' Association supports and joins in the formation of a national federation of TA associations, and will work for the following program:

- 1) educational reform making American universities into true educational institutions for the mutual benefit of students and faculty members;
- 2) job control and job security.

We recognize that a teaching assistantship is a job which graduate students must have to support themselves and their families, and we will work toward better pay and working conditions. We will expend full effort to extend the national federation to all universities which employ TAs.

"Dialectics of Liberation" Recordings

MOVEMENT BUSINESS ITEM

Last summer, many of the major figures in the "Underground" and leaders of the "Revolution" gathered in London for a two-week "Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation" sponsored by the Institute of Phenomenological Studies. The Institute is now offering recordings of the major addresses from the Congress. Recordings of talks by Stokely Carmichael, Herbert Marcuse, Paul Goodman, and Allen Ginsberg, among others, are available on 33 1/3 rpm records. For a list of records and prices, write to the Institute of Phenomenological Studies, 4 St. George's Terrace, London NW1, England.

(from the International Communications Network)