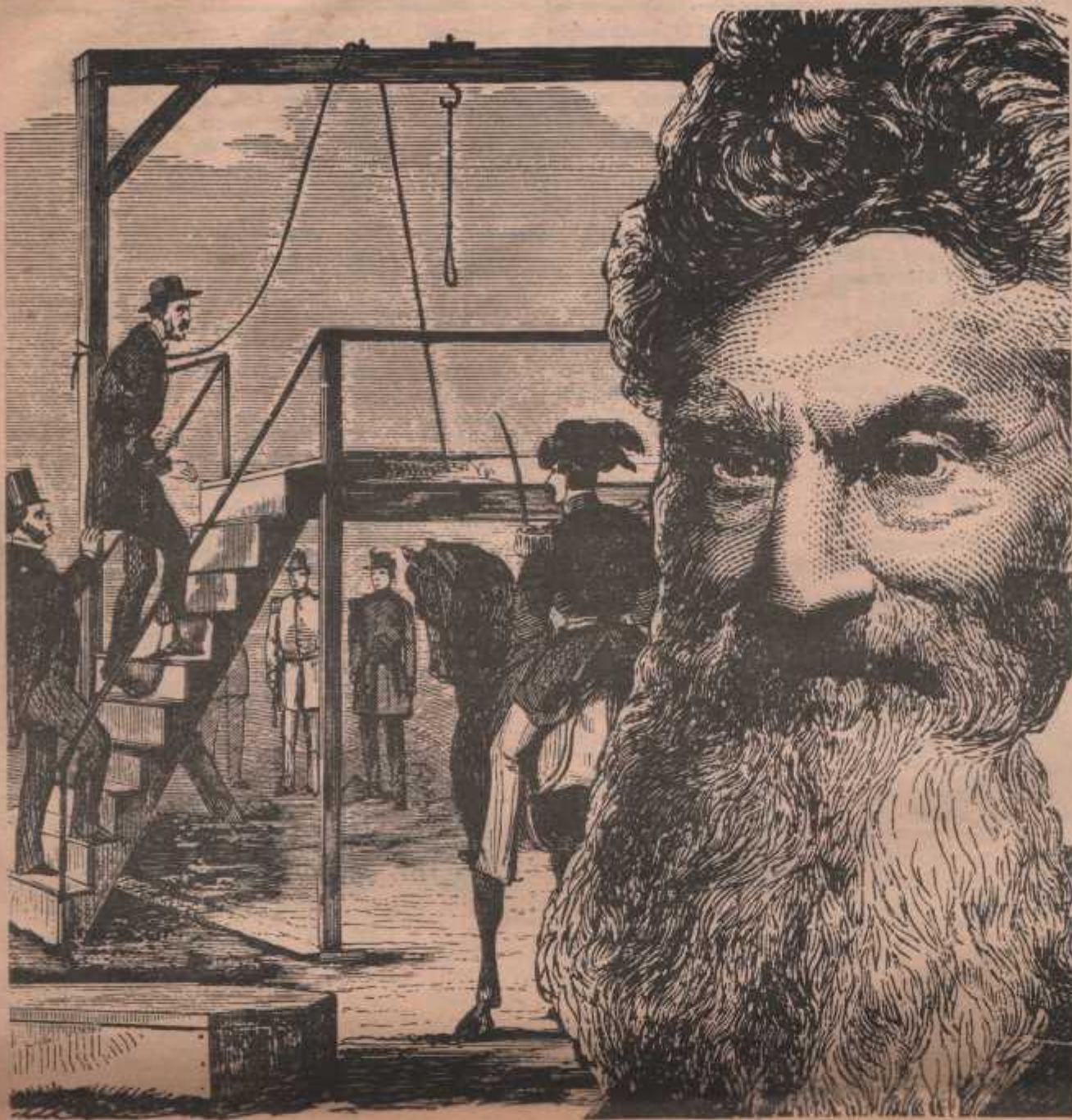


American revolution...page 6



JOHN BROWN'S RAID: THE SPARK STILL SMOLDERS

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 West Madison

Chicago, Illinois

NEW LEFT NOTES

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

Vol. 3, Number 35

November 19, 1968

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Cleaver and the Panthers fight for survival.

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San Francisco State shut down

By Connie Ullman

A strike led by black students at San Francisco State College is in its third week and still going strong.

Because of overwhelming student and faculty support for the strike, the Administration was forced to close down the college a week after the strike began. And the price was not as high as at Columbia: fewer than 20 students have been busted.

The strike began Nov. 6 in response to the summary suspension of teacher George Murray, who is also the Minister of Education for the Black Panther Party.

Murray has been systematically attacked by the San Francisco press since he travelled to Cuba last summer. The San Francisco State trustees and Chancellor Glenn Dumke (who administers the 19-campus state college system) advocated firing Murray in October but College President Robert Smith refused at that time since there were no "legal means" to do so.

When Murray made a speech on campus Oct. 28 advocating armed self defense of the black community (hardly a new speech), Smith agreed to suspend Murray on the charge of "unprofessional conduct."

BSU Makes Nine Demands

The Black Student Union (BSU) called the strike and issued nine demands in addition to the reinstatement of Murray. The demands centered around making autonomous the Black Studies Program (including the ability to hire and fire faculty, grant degrees and control finances) and that all black students wishing to be admitted to SF

State in Spring, 1969. (In San Francisco, 70% of all primary and high school students are black, but at San Francisco State only 4% of the entire student body are black.)

The Third World Liberation Front (composed of groups representing Japanese, Chinese and Filipino students) and the Mexican-American Student Confederation immediately announced support of the strike and added a set of demands for programs of their own, similar to the Black Studies Program.

White Support

The strike was also supported by white student groups, ranging from SDS to "the Programs,"—a collection of college-financed left-liberal activities including the Experimental College and various tutorial and community ventures.

SDS people saw their task as organizing the less radical white students into support for the strike and an understanding of racism. As well as manning picket lines they organized "classroom education" (sometimes "classroom disruption")—going into

classes to argue for the strike and explaining the ten demands. A three-minute film was also made and shown in the classrooms.

While disruptive actions were played up in the local media (two smoke bombs thrown into classes, a bomb set off in a concrete basement corridor, a few typewriters thrown out of windows), the strategy was to avoid massive confrontations in order to maintain wide support for the strike.

During the first week of the strike plainclothed cops were all over the campus and the San Francisco Tactical Squad created minor incidents Nov. 6 and Nov. 8, the first incident precipitating President Smith into closing down the campus for the day.

But mass meetings, classroom education and rallies continued to pull in more and more sectors of the campus. The Administration claimed that the first week of the strike was only "2-3% effective" yet were required to call the Tactical Squad onto campus to "keep it open."

(continued on Page 2)

NEW LEFT NOTES
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"Getting bad" in Claremont

by Barb Arnwine
Scripps College

Tuesday, Nov. 5, the small town of Claremont was sharply awakened by shouts and screams, and the sight of two hundred students linked arm in arm marching down the middle of the main street, stopping traffic and looking "Bad". Imagine a small, conservative, and usually dead town of 9,000, in Southern California. Half the population consists of Claremont residents who show, for the most part, little or no evidence of thinking, and the other half consists of students enrolled in the Claremont Colleges who show little political awareness of any kind, in any form, and who are mostly apathetic about non-academic issues. The Claremont Colleges are six small residential, private liberal arts institutions of "higher learning". How did two hundred "Bad" students arrive in the middle of its main street shouting "We will - Kill America"?

Well, it all began that morning with the interruption of classes, and the announcement that the BSU would hold a funeral at 10 a.m. for the death of America, as a protest against the elections. At 10, about 75 students met in front of Claremont Men's College Student Union. The speakers were mainly from the usually moderate Black Student Union, and the very liberal Student Committee for Social Change.

However, something was amiss: the BSU sounded pretty damned militant, and the SCSC sounded pretty damned radical. The speeches were calling the elections a hoax. As one speaker so kindly put it: "Humphrey's a pig, Nixon's a hog, and Wallace is a boar,

but when you come down to it, they all say the same thing, and that's 'Oink'."

Vote on Mills Avenue

After a few speeches of the same nature, on different subjects ranging from black oppression to the power of the Board of Regents, the chairman of the BSU spoke. He began his speech by thanking the students who had come, (about one hundred by now), and cursing the students who walked by without even stopping. His speech was similar to those previously given, but he ended by saying, "The rest of you can stand here and complain, or sit there and stare, but I'm going to go and cast my vote by sitting in the middle of Mills Avenue".

The crowd stirred uneasily and watched as he began to walk down the steps. A girl grabbed the microphone, and hollered "Yes, students of Claremont, we're always complaining—voicing our little sympathies with this and that, but when, when, are we going to take risks, when are we going to make ourselves heard? I don't know about you, but I'm joining Danny", and she started down the steps. The crowd began to rise, some people shaking their heads in disapproval, others voicing the usual sympathies, and others just silently marching toward the street.

After ten minutes, about one hundred and fifty students were sitting, and all four lanes of the busy street were completely blocked. The BSU chairman began explaining why they were in the streets to those passing by. At this time SDS members gave speeches voicing their support of the BSU protest, and their contempt for the System. They were heartily cheered by the fast-growing crowd. The speeches were

followed by chants such as "dump Humph, lick Dick and Fuck Wallace" and "We shall not be moved".

About twenty minutes later it was announced that the police were on their way; the crowd laughed. Since the street wasn't worth getting arrested for, a plan was announced for everyone to move to the crosswalks and cross the street continually as pedestrians (in California pedestrians have right of way). Another five minutes and the police showed up.

College Function

The police parked their 1968 GTO's and stared. Finally one policeman got out of his car, walked to the intersection further down the street, and started directing traffic. Five minutes later the crowd received word that the demonstration had been declared a college function. The crowd laughed. A plan was suggested to let the whole town of Claremont see the nice little "college function". The plan was opposed and the leaders hastily organized a march, warning the marchers that they would be passing a voting place and there would have to be silence while passing.

The crowd split up one hundred on each side of the street and started

marching. The chanting stopped until the march had passed the voting place and was out of the violation zone. A new chant was started "Vote in the streets, the streets belong to the people", and with the last sentence in mind the crowd moved from the sidewalks and started marching straight down the streets.

The crowd marched through the colleges and down the streets of Claremont straight to the City Hall. At the City Hall the purpose of the protest was announced, as the town of Claremont locked its house and car doors and stared out its windows.

At 2 p.m. the march finally ended on Claremont Men's campus where it had begun. Once more the BSU chairman thanked everyone and voiced the need for unity with and support from the white radical groups on the campuses. Once more the students were reminded of what had been done and the consequences that might come. However, the crowd, black, white and brown just stood, proudly standing, unified, voicing support for each other. For the first time in the undisturbed history of Claremont somebody had gotten "Bad", and this was just the beginning.

SF State

(continued from Page 1)

Over one-half of the faculty participated in a meeting Nov. 13 in which they demanded the resignation of Chancellor Dumke and voted to strike unless Murray were reinstated.

It was at this point that Dumke and the "liberal" President Smith called in da pigs.

They didn't have to shoot since some had been hiding (stationed) for the past two days in the boiler rooms of the Psychology and Physical Education Buildings.

At lunch hour Nov/ 13, the Tactical Squad encircled students sitting on the lawn by the BSU headquarters, busted some heads (including Nesbett Crutchfield, a BSU leader) and arrested some select students (including an Iranian student known to the cops as an "enemy of the Shah").

Some rocks flew and then there they were—some 30 cops facing some 600 students.

Enter the faculty "mediators". Some 50 pro-strike teachers ran between the cops and the students, and the confrontation ended with a retreat by the cops.

The faculty immediately suspended all classes. President Smith declared the campus indefinitely shut down. The strike was now total.

There was much speculation about which administrator ordered the Tactical Squad to attack that day. Todd Gitlin wrote in the San Francisco Express Times, "It makes little difference. Whoever actually said the precise words knew that the strike had been gaining momentum; knew that

blacks and browns and whites had been perfectly a working alliance; knew that as the Administration lost ally after ally, as it shed legitimacy like a dead skin, brute force had to come into play. When you can't wash brains, you bust heads. 'We've had experience—we're combat ready,' Chancellor Dumke had told the US News and World Report on Sept. 23. 'And we have made it absolutely clear that we are going to maintain the academic operation and integrity of our institutions, WITH WHATEVER FORCE WE HAVE TO APPLY TO ACHIEVE IT.'"

No Class Today

The cops were called onto campus because the strike was winning; they didn't change that situation.

San Francisco State was officially closed down until Nov. 20, when the Administration ordered classes to resume.

But there was no business as usual. The faculty called a crisis convocation Nov. 20. The BSU explained their ten demands and said they would accept no less. (One of the ten calls for amnesty for strikers.) The faculty agreed that the convocation was for educational purposes only, not for negotiation of the demands.

Classes tomorrow (Nov. 21) will not be held; the convocation will continue.

The future of the strike is unclear. The faculty is not expected to stand firm, but whatever happens it is clear that during the last weeks black, brown and white students at San Francisco State have at least been getting an education.



Claremont Colleges' BSU president Danny Wilkes.

new left notes

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Notes from the NIC

Fifty-two people met at Circle Pines camp outside Kalamazoo, Michigan over the weekend of November 15-17 for the National Interim Committee (NIC) meeting. Six of the eight NIC members were present (absent, Carl Oglesby and Morgan Spector). Major on the agenda were 1) evaluation of election actions, 2) strategy for the coming months, including the inauguration, 3) education programs for SDS, 4) questions concerning the National Office staff, and 5) a primitive ritual orgy lasting until dawn.

Although the discussion was often very good, its weaknesses were reinforced by the lack of responsibility to local or regional collectives on the part of those attending. Few people had come from regional assemblies or local discussions which dealt with the issues raised by the NIC.

ELECTION

by Bernardine Dohrn

The NIC spent seven hours trying to evaluate critically the Boulder and Boulder election program. In general, the program successfully provided a strong organizational focus, helped build the developing new regions and chapters, and produced several strong militant actions. The disappointments in the strategy were important and provided the basis of the discussions:

1) failure to articulate through literature or program an analysis of the bourgeois "democratic" election apparatus; 2) uneven success in integrating the election program with ongoing organizing work; 3) inflated expectations about the ability of SDS to develop a program and mass line which reaches huge sections of the American people, i.e., failure to recognize the limitations of being fundamentally a student and youth movement; 4) (related to all the above) failure to develop two of the three parts of B&B: GI Week and the student strike.

Increased Coordination

In almost every region, the election program increased coordination between chapters. Regional staffs were developed which worked closely both with local chapters and with the National Office. Regional coordination around strategy and analysis—and around the shit work—has led to continuing programs (community control, anti-ROTC campaigns, high school strategy). Propaganda mechanisms were organized regionally and new papers, wall papers, pamphlets, posters, and films were used. Chapters and regions developed distribution networks for the literature and experimented with the use of educational and agitational material in political organizing.

The most significant programs were often in new areas, such as Colorado and North Texas and the new areas of high schools and community colleges. There, visible SDS-initiated actions defined the beginnings of a radical movement and recruited new people.

In sum, the election program was a measuring rod of the reality of the organization—its strengths and its weaknesses. The program's success was largely internal: the strengthening of the organization on regional and local levels and the involvement of people who are now consciously using the resources and the lessons of that program in ongoing work.

Weaknesses

The most significant weaknesses in the implementation of the election strategy itself centered around sloganeering and the confusion of tactics with political line. Partly because we were unclear about whom we were speaking to, and partly because of an incomplete or wrong understanding of the elections, the analysis presented in the propaganda was generally poor. The class nature of elections in America was seldom communicated in literature or program. When it WAS stated, there were no forms for

integrating the rhetoric of a leaflet or poster with our past experience or present actions.

On and Off Campus

A major reason for the shaky political analysis was the failure to see the election program as an integral part of on-going student and off-campus programs. The B&B analysis was built on the assumption and the strengths of that understanding: that elections marked an occasion for deepening and broadening the understanding and the activities of the movement—not that they were a necessary diversion. This failure again raises the questions of issue organizing and the consistent movement inability to go beyond single issue struggles (with rare exceptions, such as Columbia). In very few areas was a militant expression of the student movement's battles with schools, cops, the army, the war, and institutional expressions of racism, carried into the arena of elections and new constituencies.

Because there is little or no understanding of the "regular" parts of the movement as part of a class struggle, and little analysis of the class basis of



other institutions in which we organize (schools, army, courts), we were unable to give meaning to our attack on the entire US government and its institutions of pacification. The election was understood as being a fraud even before we began in terms of its relation to specific issues: the war, law and order—but not as part of class power.

We could not understand the elections as a class instrument when SDS does not understand the army or the schools as class instruments. The two thrusts of the program which were meant to provide that ongoing political context for the program on elections were not developed.

GI Week

GI Week was part of the election program in only a very few areas, and where work was done, it was seldom related to chapter people. At best, GI Week was an occasion for educating SDS about the existence of a movement inside the army.

The student strike was almost universally interpreted as a demand to immediately close down the schools, rather than as a strategy for attacking the schools on a variety of levels: classroom, administration, trustees, recruiting, research, racism—and building a foundation through those actions for a more general understanding and more all-out attack on the universities and schools. Often, teachers were used as excuses for non-action rather than as genuine forums for education and political debate. The general lack of militancy—even in programs attacking the schools—partly relates to fear of oppressions and to unwillingness to risk losing the status of student. But more importantly, the non-militant programs can be understood as the product of a greatly expanded SDS constituency with very uneven political development, and fragmentary notions on the nature of US society.

It's a simple-minded maxim to reiterate that every revolutionary

movement must consciously and systematically apply the lessons of its experiences—and failures more than successes. From here: 1) a serious program to consciously educate on every level of the organization; and 2) a more politically coherent and ongoing application of the issues raised by the election strategy.

These issues will necessarily be part of our strategy during the next years: the illegitimacy of power in America, the class nature of that power, and the ways in which the left builds consciousness and involvement in a movement to challenge that power. These questions demand an assessment of ourselves—and our direction—of SDS as a student movement, a youth movement, and our relationship to broader constituencies.

STRATEGY

by Michael Klonsky

The election discussion led into a long (10-hour) session on "a strategy for the next three months." Within this discussion, ideas around a defense strategy and the Presidential inauguration were the central focus. It was hoped that any plan coming out of the NIC for the inauguration could be placed in a strategic context.

A defense strategy was put forth by some NIC members which would have meant placing energy into an attempt to focus on the law and order issue, on racism and repression. There was talk of strategic attacks on the courts and the police as institutions of the rich with the possibility of educational conferences during the inauguration action. Also discussed were ideas for attacks on police training institutes (like the one at East Lansing) and propaganda which would expose the class nature of "law and order".

Disrupt Inauguration

Paul Potter came to the NIC representing the National Mobilization Committee and asked that SDS co-sponsor a call for people to come to Washington and hold a three-day program of conferences, workshops and actions which would "disrupt the inauguration."

The NIC response was generally unfavorable to both the proposal and to the politics of the Mobe. Some regional representatives made the point that their regions wanted to bring people to Washington and use the inauguration action as a focus for organizing. Cleveland, Washington, Texas and Boston were among those regions.

The final decision of the NIC was the following:

- 1) SDS should NOT co-sponsor the Washington actions with the Mobe.
- 2) SDS regions wishing to organize for the action as part of their own organizing programs should do so and the National Office should help them in any ways possible.
- 3) SDS should develop propaganda and agitational material for the inauguration on "law and order," the "immediate withdrawal" of troops from Vietnam, military organizing and racism.
- 4) SDS representatives at the meeting of the Mobe in Washington should push for actions and educations during the inauguration to focus on and exposure of

"law and order" and its class and racist nature, and immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. It is also necessary that the Mobe program include actions and educational material designed to reach out to such constituencies as GIs, working class college students and high school students.

SDS's inability to call a national program around the inauguration could be in part attributed to the fact that most NIC members came to the meeting without a clear sense of the feeling of SDS people in their region. When the question was asked about what people were prepared to work full-time for the next two months on the program, nobody was prepared to do so. Also significant in the decision was the criticisms of the Mobe and its failure to transcend its liberalism as well as attempts to "leech off the movement" by using SDS members as cannon fodder for their actions (like "attacking" the inauguration) and yet acting as interpreters of the actions themselves. Examples were given from the Chicago convention where, it was felt, that the few members of the Mobe staff acted as liberal interpreters of the street action of members of the youth movement.

EDUCATION

by Connie Ullman

Discussion around educational programs started with Jim Mellon laying out REP's plans for setting up different kinds of literature, film, and speakers' programs. REP had decided to move into all areas of education partly because of the absence of materials coming out of the NO.

The education program at Georgetown University in Washington D.C was the only local one discussed at any length, and it was seen as a good model for other chapters.

(Liberation classes were set up at Georgetown after chapter members had spent a lot of time in the dorms rapping to people. The classes were then designed to deal with the kinds of articles they had had trouble dealing with.)

People from other regions decided at the NIC to use the basic brochure in this same way—to go out with it in order to collect the main arguments and questions people raise which could then lead to a second brochure.

There was some discussion about other kinds of educational models—use of the Newsreel, the exam used in Madison (which will be reprinted in NLN)—and it was decided to set up a three-day educational NC over Christmas coordinated by Jim Mellon. There was seen to be not only a clear need for the production of more literature but to work out new ways of using educational material.

MISCELLANEOUS

by David Millstone

Several hours were spent discussing staff problems in the National Office. Several persons reaffirmed that the National Secretary has the authority to hire and fire staff as necessary, (continued on Page 7)

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Work! stu

by about 10 members of the University of Chicago SDS

The ruling elite of the University of Chicago and its wealthy, politically important and influential friends dined together Nov. 13 at the Conrad Hilton in honor of incoming president Edward Levi. The guests, expecting a gala social affair, were soon put totally uptight by continuous student disruption.

Late in September, SDS learned that the University was planning a huge inaugural dinner for the new President to which were invited 2000 of the country's top business and political leaders—and a handful of students. Among those invited were Mayor Richard J. Daley of Pig City, a man noted for his actions during a certain recent convention; Avery Brundage, internationally known racist, a close friend of Hitler's; Robert McNamara; Edward Kennedy; Arthur Goldberg; Abe Fortas; Otto Kerner; Everett Dirksen; seven (count 'em seven) members of the Rockefeller Dynasty; plus the Trustees, administrators, and selected faculty. Billed as main speaker was McGeorge Bundy, a key figure in engineering US imperialism in Vietnam and now President of the Ford Foundation.

The dinner made it obvious that to whatever extent a power elite exists in this country, the university carefully cultivates relations with it. These are the men on whom the university depends for financing. That the relationship involves obligations in return is evident from the membership of the Board of Trustees, filled as it is with corporate leaders. Although they may leave the University alone in its day-to-day operations, they have final authority in all decisions concerning the direction

and policy of the University. Such decisions include those on university expansion resulting in the destruction of housing in the South Campus area and the expulsion of 10,000 lower-class blacks from the University neighborhood; the choice of a new president; what new academic and research facilities are built; co-operation with Federal aid programs, and with the controls they impose; and even student housing—the trustees, for example, rejected a plan for low-cost student housing in the neighborhood because this would lower property values.

These decisions are NOT socially or politically neutral, and the University knows it. "Within the framework of the law," reported a faculty committee appointed in 1967 to report on the disclosure of a case of political bias in admissions policy, "and in cognizance of the general value consensus prevailing in our society, it is the right of the University faculty and administrative officers to determine what shall be the orientation, social mission, intellectual culture, curriculum, and educational goals of the University." This was to be done in part "through the choice of the succeeding generation of scholars."

It operates not only through specific decisions, but through fostering a general atmosphere in the University—an atmosphere friendly to sociology professor Morris Janowitz's "Social Control of Escalated Riots" and hostile to radical ex-UC professor Jesse Lemisch's "Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America."

This atmosphere shapes us as students and guides us toward roles we are intended to assume in later

IIT crackdown

by Peter Pran
IIT SDS

The administration at Illinois Institute of Technology has started a crackdown against the SDS chapter there, which last year exposed and demonstrated several times against the university's being a center for chemical and biological warfare research.

In October, the IIT administration suspended the SDS chapter and restricted 99% of its activities, blocking SDS from having outside speakers, films, etc. The charges were built on two incidents: last year, SDS members invited SNCC people to a meeting without informing the administration; an effort was also made to get Rap Brown to the meeting. Secondly, SDS a month ago showed NLF films, co-sponsoring with a group calling itself the "Revolutionary Contingent," also without informing the IIT administration.

The Faculty Senate just voted overwhelmingly in favor of the SDS demand for a faculty committee to investigate the administration's restrictions.

The Black Student Organization on campus has also been threatened with suspension after a BSO meeting to which were invited 30 black high schools involved in the boycott (also without informing the administration). BSO and SDS are the only radical groups on campus, and work closely with each other. BSO has attacked IIT as a racist university, trying to create a lily-white suburb out of the university, which is located in the middle of an all-black community.

The head of Illinois ACLU has protested to the IIT administration that the action against SDS is a clear violation of political and academic freedom. The SDS chapter is considering bringing its case to court.

Chicago action

by Les Coleman

The morning after election day Nixon called for unity. Unity behind racism, genocide, the empire and its exploitation of the people. In Chicago, as in many other cities across the country, SDS called for the people to unify against the fraud of elections and the policies of the rulers. SDS said: vote with your feet. We have to begin to demonstrate that a people's alternative to the criminal power of the ruling elite can some day be created. But even as a beginning the turnout in Chicago was small.

After three weeks of leafleting, meetings, showing films and a more urgent sense in our organizing than usual, there were actions on almost all the major campuses in the Chicago area on Monday. They ranged from teach-ins to guerrilla theatre in classes and hallways, to marches through the dorms and into university buildings. White high school students called for a boycott of classes on Monday to support the black students' demands on Chicago high schools and to denounce the elections as a fraud. Later in the day some of them gathered downtown for a picket line. Four were busted on truancy raps.

Anti-Election Festival

Tuesday, a little over a thousand turned out in Lincoln Park for an "anti-election festival". There were some rock bands, talks, street theatre and teams of folks went out through the day to leaflet the surrounding northside neighborhood. Tuesday night we marched down to the Hilton for a short rally. The pigs policy was hands off, but the entire red squad turned out to film the march. Probably they had decided that to break up the "illegal" march would give it too much coverage. So they took notes for future use.

There is no way of denying that it was a small turnout. Even the crowd that showed was confused about what it was doing, and not too militant. Marchers shouted "peace, now" sometimes, sometimes "the elections are a fraud", "dump the hump", etc. We were not able to maintain the level



--photo by David Millstone/ Chicago Film Co-op

of seriousness that reveals an understanding of power. The conception of a demonstration that challenges the legitimacy of an institution of state power itself has to be made a lot clearer to all of us. But anti-war demonstrations were small and confused when they first began. Everything must begin. What we didn't know was that a demonstration against the elections—against all three candidates—was a new kind of political form. People will have to think about this. Possible action at the inauguration will give us a chance to see if that form of political opposition catches on.

City-Wide Organization

The action was very important for building city-wide organization. It will teach us to think as much about what a demonstration builds as what it shows. Contacts were made at a lot of new

high schools and junior colleges. Young working people from the north side who had been involved in the convention actions came down again and now we will be able to follow up with them. The city-wide action gave us the opportunity not only to reach new folks who were drawn to it, but to raise broader political issues among high-school and campus constituencies.

We see now that city-wide confrontations around important political questions are vital to building a city-wide, anti-capitalist youth movement with roots in the schools and among working-class youth in the community. What we have to see now is whether or not the folks who worked three weeks around the elections, who worked creatively and hard, will continue the day to day work from now on in the same way. There isn't going to be any revolutionary organization without that work.

Niagara conf

by Chip Marshall
Joe Kelly
Niagara Regional Travelers

Over 300 people from 33 colleges and a dozen high schools attended the Niagara Region SDS conference held in Rochester Nov. 8-10. The get together was the largest and most successful in the history of the region and did a great deal to further inter-group cooperation.

At the plenum Saturday evening a proposal for regional coordination was presented and passed which called for:

(1) every chapter to research the power relationships between its school and the immediate community, and that these findings be presented at the next Regional Convention as the basis for a region-wide program.

(2) all eight districts of the region to develop an integrated program with respect to member chapters and non-student constituencies.

(3) that each district develop district consciousness through a district newspaper, a district program, and district assemblies, and that in order to implement this there must be district



...dy! get ahead! kill!



--photo by Skeets Millard/ Chicago Film Co-op

All kinds of freaks attended Levi's inauguration at the University of Chicago.

life—roles friendly to the ultimate purposes of McGeorge Bundy, Richard Daley, and seven members of the Rockefeller family.

We don't think that the University of Chicago serves purposes different from those of other American universities, or that these purposes make it in any way more sacred than any major American corporation. Like any institution in our society, this one can be defended only to the extent that it helps restructure our society to

satisfy the aspirations of those at its bottom and those in other countries whom it milks for its prosperity. To the extent that it does not do this—indeed, serves purposes directly opposed to these—it is subject to criticism, and

to attack.

It does not do so now. We did not regard the Hill dinner as a harmless social event, but rather as a meeting of our enemies and the enemies of dominated peoples throughout the world. These men threaten us. We could not let their threat go unchallenged.

Administration and faculty response to a radical faculty member's endorsement of the dinner protest exposed even more clearly the fraudulent nature of the claim of University neutrality. There were primarily two types of responses. First, those which justified the dinner as "University tradition" and "an appropriate means of reaffirming relationships with the community." These faculty described Bundy simply as "a former government official" totally ignoring his role in fashioning the war in Vietnam. The second group consisted of liberal faculty who tried to make excuses for the dinner. Mayor Daley was invited in April, they argued, and one certainly couldn't expect those who made the guest lists to be prophets of what they themselves described as "one of the worst political crimes of the decade." What they don't recognize is that when you sleep with dogs you get fleas.

SDS called for a massive student protest outside the Hilton. We wanted to say that the time has passed when 2000 fat-cats can get together for a pleasant evening of wine and dining and expect it to go smoothly. We set up

our picket line in front of the Hilton's main entrance with over 150 students, carrying signs like: "Welcome to Pig City," "Is it Plato that U of C REALLY Loves?" and "Free Speech for Capitalists and Imperialists." Chanting "Work, Study, Get Ahead—Kill!" the pickets who were not invited to the President's banquet held their own festivities in the streets for four and a half hours.

Meanwhile, several radicals had managed to receive invitations to the dinner being held inside. Determined that the ruling elite no longer have care-free get-togethers, the invited SDSers planned a continual disruption of the speeches which came after dinner. Typical dinner conversations between radical students and the administrators invariably seated next to them were as follows:

Adm: (Pleasantly and with total condescension) Are you a student in the college?

SDS: (smiling) Yes I am.

Adm: Same as above, shaking head affirmatively) Do you like the University?

SDS: (smiling broadly): No, I think it eats shit.

Dishes were cleared and the speeches began. The disruption was planned so that every five minutes, students dispersed throughout the enormous room would stand up and scream a political rap to the audience. For example: "University money in Trustee David Kennedy's bank supports racism" (continued on Page 7)

Thoughts from Michigan

by Bill Ayers

The election actions in Michigan were met with a mixture of success and failure. In Ann Arbor it was felt that the action was an important part of pulling the movement together and giving it a coherent direction; at Oakland University outside Detroit there was a feeling of frustration and isolation.

Michigan's Democratic Secretary of State, James Hare, called his first press conference in five years a week before the elections to announce that SDS planned to harass the polls with bombs and molotov cocktails. He claimed to have some inside sources

as well as basing his statement on a distortion of a Wall Street Journal article which "quoted" Mike Kionsky. Hare's statement embarrassed the governor and other state and university officials who hastened to contradict the secretary of state's assertion. SDS made it clear that Hare's statement was intended to intimidate voters as well as set up SDS and the student movement as the enemy.

The press coverage of the demonstrations was almost non-existent. The media ignored and intentionally played-down the actions, even where they were clearly tremendous successes. But this was an important lesson for us. Many people still feel our strength lies in convincing the media that we're

worthwhile. We saw clearly that we could not depend on them; we also saw that our strength was in ourselves and our people, and that we could succeed in important ways without staging an event for TV.

We had originally thought that the election action would bring out thousands of new people around the issue of the war and the elections. What we've seen so far indicates that the actions were much more successful at consolidating and strengthening the movement than at bringing out new people. This trend is surprising but not disappointing. The movement was strengthened through the actions and we'll continue to build with this new strength.

ference

organizers and a district treasury.

(4) that regional consciousness be developed through a regional newspaper, district-linking programs, and regional conventions. That implementation be through the regional travelers and a regional treasury.

In order that this program be carried out, two people were elected from each district to serve on an interim district council. In addition each chapter elected a temporary representative to serve as a liaison between his group, the district and the region. The first responsibility of these people will be to develop a program to be approved at conventions to be held in each district before the next regional conference in late January.

Other proposals presented at the Conference included PL's SLAP program and an alternative labor program introduced by the Bard, Cornell, Syracuse, and Rochester chapters. Both were tabled because people felt they definitely needed a labor program, but were still unclear about the best way to proceed. The upcoming issues of the new regional magazine, "Notes from the Green Piano," will give extensive space to the issue.

Useful Workshops

Probably the most useful part of the weekend was the workshops. At most conferences, workshops tend to be unorganized and lack direction, but this was avoided by having specific resource people assigned to each workshop several weeks in advance.

Topics of the workshops included "Imperialism" with Harry Magdoff, "Socialism and Capitalism" with Marty Sklar, "Media" with Allen Young of LNS, "Labor Organizing" with Noel Ignatin, and "Problems of Campus Organizing" with Steve Leberstein and John Kaufmann of the WDRU. In addition there were workshops on Cuba, women's liberation, radical history, culture and politics, and high-school organizing.



--photo by Jay C. Cassidy/Michigan Daily

Student revolutionaries march on the Michigan campus November 5.



An open letter to the American left

For the next few years, two most urgent questions for the American Left will be: 1) how to parry the thrust of the fascist danger and 2) how to get started on the AMERICAN road to socialism.

Some three decades ago, Sinclair Lewis, in "IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE!" warned that not only CAN fascism happen, but when it does it will come wrapped in the American flag and the trappings of patriotism. Incipient fascism uses this approach everywhere with varying measures of success.

In the United States the new thrust of fascism is of course in part a response to the rising tide of struggle and resistance by growing numbers of Americans—in the first instance the rebellion of Black America and the growing militancy of the student and anti-war movements. But it is also attributable in no small part to mistakes and shortcomings of the American Left over a period of four or five decades.

For nearly half a century (since the passing of Eugene Victor Debs) American radicals have permitted the fascists and the reactionaries to pre-empt the mantle of patriotism, the trappings and terminology of nationalism; to hide and distort revolutionary American history and tradition; to paint false pictures of American heroes. Meanwhile radicals preached social change and revolution to our people in terms and tongues alien to America. For a long time it was Russian; then more recently Chinese; and most recently Cuban Spanish! Result: the fascists and reactionaries were handed the brush with which to smear revolutionary ideas of social change as foreign, alien, un-American. Worse still, it put radicals on the defensive and made them feel alien to their own land and people. Little wonder that a year or so ago when a delegation of American radicals met with representatives of the DRV and NLF in Bratislava, they were told: "The problem with you American friends is that you have not yet found your identity; you do not identify with the American people....!"

NATIONALISM AS A REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

In the Twenties and Thirties, theoreticians of the world radical movement performed a heroic service in defining and analyzing nationalism and its role as a revolutionary force in this century. Nationalism has since proved itself to be an immensely powerful, nay, irresistible force in the formerly colonial countries.

But what of nationalism in older nations, in capitalist-imperialist countries? Must it of necessity be chauvinist and reactionary? Or is there still a national interest in these countries that cuts across class lines; that unites large sectors of two or more classes; and that is consistently ignored, or threatened and subverted, by the international-minded imperialists who have no flag but the dollar sign and no loyalties except to their bank accounts?

In view of what is happening now in Africa, Scotland, Wales, Quebec, Czechoslovakia (!), and—above all for us—Puerto Rico and Black America, the least one can say is that the problem of nationalism certainly deserves much further study and attention from radicals.

Yet the average American radical winces when he hears the term "nationalism", because he has come to accept the imperialist establishment's DEFINITION of that term; and he is apt to dismiss the fiery political documents of the American Revolution as "written by the bourgeoisie (or by slave-owners)" (which of course misses the point completely!).

AMERICAN NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTION

If one accepts the proposition that there is an AMERICAN road to socialism, that no social revolution can be "transplanted" or "grafted" onto American society, then it is clear that the humanist-socialist transformation of society in the United States can come only as an unfolding of the unique history and the unique experiences of the American nation, as a further development and flowering of the great American Revolution of 1776. 1776 WAS NOT simply an event begun and ended in the Eighteenth Century. The sparks struck 193 years ago

are to this very day lighting revolutionary fires, as national liberation movements around the world take 1776 as their model. And the Democratic Republic of Vietnam incorporated most of the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence in its Constitution. Isn't it time those sparks struck a few fires in the thinking of American radicals? Surely the slogan "A Hundred, Two Hundred BOSTON TEA PARTIES!" should have more meaning for us than parroting "Two, Three Vietnams!"

If American radicals need examples, they can look to two of the world's most revolutionary regimes, those of North Vietnam and Cuba, both of which preach the IDENTITY of their present socialist revolutions with their struggles for independence. In October 1968, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the first uprising against Spain, Fidel Castro declared: "There is only ONE Cuban Revolution, and it began in 1868, and we are carrying it on today!"

Is it possible that there is only ONE American Revolution, that it began in 1776, and that in 1969 Americans have the revolutionary task of bringing THAT revolution up to date? American radicals, who are really American and really radical, MUST accept the proposition that Twentieth Century Americanism IS humanist-socialism. And that as American radicals, they are the sons and daughters not of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao, Fidel, or Che, but of Paine, Adams, Attucks, Jefferson, Wedemeyer, Turner, Lincoln, Debs, Haywood, Hill, Einstein, Steinmetz, the Rosenbergs, and Malcolm X.

PATRIOTISM AND CLASS

If there IS a national interest in the United States that must be defended against betrayal by the imperialist establishment, then of course the WORKING CLASS and poor farmers must of necessity be the best defenders of that national interest—just as the workers and peasants are the best defenders of the national interest in the formerly colonial countries fighting for their independence.

And in the U.S., the Black people who constitute a nation within our nation, the Puerto Rican people who are our colonials, Mexican-Americans and American Indians, and large sectors of the alienated intellectuals, students, professionals, and even small entrepreneurs...all are natural allies of the working class and poor farmers.

BLACK AMERICA AND NATIONALISM

Black America has found its road to liberation in revolutionary Black Nationalism. It has correctly rejected the slogan of integration now, recognizing that there can be no integration between entities as unequal as Black America and white America, that eventual integration can come only when the Black nation has achieved the full flowering of its culture, its nationhood and dignity. Here too, the Black working class has become more and more aware of the special role it must play in the movement for Black Liberation.

Similarly, the (white) American nation can merge with and become part of a liberated world community only when it has cast off its own oppressors and gone through the period of the flowering of its own revolutionary nationalism that parallels that chosen by its Black brothers.

A revival and up-dating of the "Spirit of '76" by the American Left and a revamping of Left theory and practice in terms of that spirit would not only defeat the fascist danger, but would create the conditions for an OFFENSIVE by the Left that would speed the day of the arrival of the American people at the next milestone in their history...a humanist-socialist society.

And far from being chauvinist, or even narrowly nationalist, this revived American spirit would identify with the great humanist rebellion now shaking the world both Communist and capitalist...the great rebellion of students, clergymen, intellectuals, workers, and great masses of others against dehumanized and oppressive institutions.



Johnny Appleseed
2875 Cermack Road, room 20
Chicago, Illinois 60623



During the bloodiest labor strike in US history in 1887, more than 50 strikers and soldiers were killed. The railroad strikers destroyed 126 locomotives.

Maybe they're trying to tell us something

by Bernardine Dohrn

December 2 has been marked for important events: the trial of the Oakland 7 is to begin at the Alameda County Courthouse; Rap Brown's trial in Baltimore, stemming from inciting to riot charges from Cambridge, Maryland, was scheduled to begin on December 2; HUAC hearings on Chicago and the "New Left", adjourned for the subcommittee members' election campaigning, are slated to re-convene on December 2; Mark Rudd, recently classified 1-A, has been scheduled for his pre-induction physical on December 2. Today, the California Supreme Court turned down an appeal to delay the revocation of parole of Eldridge Cleaver, scheduled to report to the California Adult Authority on Nov. 27. His trial, and that of other Panthers, is set for December 2. What will happen on December 3?

A critical aspect of any revolutionary movement is its ability to defend itself and its people. Through all the hysterical and liberal talk of repression, there is emerging a political strategy which understands that legal repression of a political movement has the same roots as the daily oppression by the police, the courts and the law used against millions of Americans.

The program planned by the Oakland Seven, charged with conspiracy in connection with the planning of Stop the Draft Week in the Bay Area last October, is a counter-attack on the power structure of Alameda County (including Berkeley and Oakland). They plan to indict the real Oakland 7: the representatives of power such as Kaiser (of steel), District Attorney

Coakley, and Police Chief Gaines. The 7 plan to organize rallies, meetings, the press—to use "any means possible" to meet with community groups in the area around the theme: Our Enemy is Your Enemy. In connection with community organizations, they will expose those "Oakland 7" and the power they represent, who scream when the student movement becomes militant and who also oppress the community all the time — through anti-union actions, through control of welfare program, through war profits, taxes, the police. "The Oakland 7 ARE Guilty!"

During the second phase of the trial, a Commission of Inquiry will hear witnesses and evidence on national crimes. Again, moving through different communities, the Commission will probe the issues of the war and racism and the impact and necessity of an organized political movement on those issues. The Tribunal will not attempt to ape bourgeois justice by presenting an impartial facade. It will be organized by the movement, will subpoena witnesses from the ruling class, and will move around to different communities: Richmond, Berkeley campus, Oakland, San Francisco.

The 7 look to the Huey Newton defense as a model of a disciplined militant posture which does not intend to make a deal or to disguise its politics. Their lawyer is Charles Garry, Newton's trial lawyer. As Stop the Draft Week exemplified a new level of political program and tactics, so this first major movement conspiracy trial is seen by the defendants as a critical opportunity to set a political strategy for a radical defense.



NIC

(continued from Page 3) since he is charged with the responsibility of keeping the office running. National Secretary Mike Klonsky pointed out that this was a somewhat different situation, and he had decided to fire a member of the print shop for political and office security reasons. The NIC approved that decision and the decision to hire Steve Tappis, Tim McCarthy, and Connie Ullman. Steve and Tim will work in the print shop, Connie with the literature program and with New Left Notes. The other members of the National Office staff are Sue Eanet, Cathy Archibald, David Johns, John Dunn, Mary Wozniak, Pat Frost, Kit Bakke, David Millstone, Doug Corley, Penny Rosemont, Elaine Lipschutz, Henry Illian, and the three national secretaries, Mike Klonsky, Bernardine Dohrn, and Fred Gordon.

Cuba Trip

SDS has been invited to send five observers to Cuba for the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution on January 2. The five will be chosen by the NIC. The NIC also decided to call for a week of solidarity with Cuba from January 2 to 10 (included in this week is the date on which the United States severed diplomatic relations with Cuba). The solidarity week will consist mainly of an education program, with posters and educational materials being prepared by the National Office. More specific details will appear in later issues of New Left Notes.

Problems within chapters in Ann Arbor and New York led to a discussion of structure; no changes from present structure were agreed on, but most persons stressed the necessity of building strong regions which could deal with problems of chapter fights within the region.

We still don't have a location for the December NC. St. Louis, the site agreed on at the Boulder NIC meeting, will be unavailable. We're trying to find a place somewhere in the Midwest. The NC will run from December 27 to January 1, with a NIC meeting on December 25. If you've got a place for the NC (with

accommodations for 1500 people) let the NO know about it right away. Time's running out. Articles and proposals for the NC should be sent to NLN within a week or two.

The NIC received a brief report on the dire financial situation we're in. The election activity cost lots of money, and very little has come in, both from chapters and from regions which pledged money for bulk orders of NLN, among other things. A mailing will be sent out this week to the membership to try and raise some money fast.

Chicago

(continued from Page 5) in South Africa. That's liberal. Trustee David Kennedy is on the Non-Partisan Committee to re-elect Mayor Daley. That's liberal. This is business-as-usual for this liberal university, and that's what we don't want any part of! And, "McGeorge Bundy, you are responsible for the genocide in Vietnam. You're soaked in blood and your stench of death fills the room. I'm going to join my brothers in the street where the air is cleaner!" One student shouted, "McGeorge Bundy, you developed that atrocity which is our policy in Vietnam, now I've been called to fight in that atrocity. Here is my draft card and here is my answer to that call!" and ripped up his draft card. One girl yelled, "You spend \$150,000 here

* Please send in reports of chapter *
* activities, good ideas and samples *
* of leaflets, posters, etc. We want *
* to send out inspirational (and *
* communicative) mailings to all the *
* chapter contacts. *

SDSer gets 6 years

Bruce Dancis, Cornell SDS, was sentenced to six years on November 12 for ripping up his draft card in December 1966. Although he was tried in federal court for violation of the Selective Service Act, carrying a maximum sentence of five years, he was sentenced under the Youth Corrections Act, denied bail, handcuffed to two Federal marshalls, and hauled away to the maximum security cell block in Onondaga County Jail.

Sentencing under the Youth Corrections Act is possible for anyone under 26. Under the guise of protecting the young (the felony does not go on your record, thereby permitting you the privilege of voting or holding state office after your release), sentencing is for an indeterminate period of time. By imposing an indeterminate sentence

tonight that could have been used to establish a child day-care center for the university community." After each student gave his rap, he stomped out of the room, shouting, "Work, study, get ahead—kill!" and joined the picket line outside. Disruption lasted until the end of the dinner.

The audience responded at first by screaming "Get out of here!", "Sit down!" and "Shut up!" Comments to one another were, "This university is too free, get those communists out of here!" As the audience realized they were in for a full night, they became increasingly venomous and vulgar. Guests began to hit and kick students as they left the hall. They jumped out of their seats to grab demonstrators before they could speak, and cursed, shrieked, and waved their fists at us. One girl had water thrown at her while shouting to the audience. By the end of the evening those who financially support our "Great University" had been shorn of all their cultured pretenses. When confronted with student opinion, all McGeorge Bundy could do, interrupting himself, was shout, "You're...you're...you're..."

of 0-6 years, there is the possibility of an early release if the prisoner "reforms". In political cases, it's clear what constitutes a "reformed" person.

Judge Edmond Port accused Dancis of inciting to riot and suggested that he begin his education in jail. As he was taken away, Dancis agreed that he would use the time to read all of Marx.

After a petition campaign to release Dancis on appeal bond got 5500 signatures at Cornell (1000 signatures obtained at the Cornell-Dartmouth football game), President Perkins of Cornell (on the Board of Chase Manhattan) telegraphed the court for Bruce's release. This Tuesday, the appellate court released him pending appeal. At an SDS rally to welcome him back to campus, Dancis denounced the tactics of Perkins and attacked his role in defense research and imperialism.

SILLY!" And Julian Levi, brother of the new President and a power by his own right in the University, spat in a student's face.

During the dinner, the hotel's kitchen staff, who were digging the disruption a lot, helped uninvited students to infiltrate the ballroom through the kitchen entrance. The evening ended with a sense of victory and success for the students, both inside and out. The demonstrators retired after four hours of picketing, but confronted the departing guests with the spirited chant of "Work, study, get ahead—kill!" The faces of the ruling elite were so drawn and so expressionless that they looked like powdered pulp.

DISKUS, a magazine affiliated with German SDS, is interested in an article on the growth of fascism in America. Please submit manuscripts to Rainer Roth, 6 Frankfurt, Untermannlag 9, Germany.

Panthers vs. pigs

by Karen Wald

As people throughout the country are attempting to exert the political force necessary to prevent the California Adult Authority from re-imprisoning Eldridge Cleaver on November 27, Bay Area police and politicians are vamping down on the entire Black Panther Party in a heightened attempt to insure the destruction of Cleaver and the Party.

That the Oakland police were bent on destroying the Panthers became evident on April 6, 1968, when they murdered Bobby Hutton following an ambush of Panthers. The main target of the attack, then as now, was Eldridge Cleaver. (They already HAD Huey.) The immediate revocation of Cleaver's parole, without a hearing, led to a national and international movement for his release equivalent to that already mounted for Huey P. Newton. The political pressure exerted and the expression of concern by the nation's intellectual circles resulted in the decision by Judge Raymond Sherwin to free Cleaver, whom he said was being held not for failure to live up to his conditions of parole but because of his "undue eloquence" in expressing his political beliefs.

Revolutionary Menace

But the ever-increasing membership in and support of the BPP served to heighten the desire of police chiefs (now not only Oakland's, for Panther chapters sprang up all around the country) and politicians to rid themselves of this revolutionary menace to their way of life. The campaign against the Panthers continued on many levels — chiefly propagandistic and legalistic, but too often involving the physical destruction of Panthers who could not be eliminated any other way, or who could be provoked into a one-sided confrontation. Thus Panthers in Oakland, in Los Angeles, in Seattle, and New York, were shot; harassment arrests became daily routine; and the American public all the while were taught through their newspapers and magazines that the BPP was a band of armed thugs, to be dealt with accordingly. Panthers who functioned in "disputable" institutions—especially in teaching, as with George Murray at SF State and Cleaver at UC—were vilified in the press until conservative Regents and Trustees acted to remove them.

Support Grows

But students and faculty alike rose to the support of Cleaver and Murray; Panthers did unexpectedly well in local electoral politics although none were running to win (Huey P. Newton received more than 12,000 votes for Congress, which must be somewhat embarrassing to the "liberal" Cohelan) and the Panthers kept growing. With Panther trials fast approaching—Bobby Seale at the end of November, Cleaver and others on December 2—new steps clearly were necessary to sway public opinion solidly against them. This was even more of a problem because pigs around the country—especially those in the notorious Tactical Squads—were being exposed and turning some segments of public opinion against the police. The shooting up of the Oakland Panther office by on-duty Oakland pigs; the beating of 12 Panthers and friends in the courthouse in NY by a mob of off-duty pigs; the killing of an innocent black man and wounding of an oriental woman by two separate Tac Squad officers in SF with no or minimal reprisals; not to mention Chicago—the list goes on and on, and certainly does not work in favor of the police.

A new technique was needed in the effort to destroy the BPP, or else the old methods had to be stepped up—and fast. And in the past few weeks, this need seems to have had violent effects. In two weeks' time a total of twelve blacks in the SF Bay area alone—most of them Panthers—have been set up by police and involved in shootouts resulting in imprisonment for



--photo from San Francisco Express-Times

"attempted murder" (READ: attempt to be murdered). Counting the six Panthers involved in the April 6 shootout, that brings the number to 18 facing such charges. The timing—the trials and the new shootouts—are no accident.

Nearly two months ago, on Sept. 27, two things happened. Huey P. Newton was sentenced to 2-15 years on the frame-up manslaughter conviction (those who felt a pang of relief that he was not sent to the gas chamber stop a moment and reflect whether 15 years of your life is not a high price to pay for the "crime" of being shot in the stomach by a racist Oakland cop). Huey was within minutes whisked off to Vacaville State Prison Facility. That afternoon, Eldridge Cleaver, who had only a few months before walked out of Vacaville on Judge Sherwin's order, heard that the State Appellate Court had reversed Sherwin's decision enjoining the California Adult Authority (parole board) from further interfering with Cleaver. This gave the Adult Authority the freedom—after a 60 day period for further appeal—to hold a hearing in which they could decide, despite Judge Sherwin's position, that Cleaver had violated his parole, and send him back to prison. At the end of 60 days—Nov. 27—Cleaver is presumably supposed to turn himself in.

Cleaver Won't Go

Knowing the racist, reactionary nature of the Adult Authority, which like all such bodies exists to serve the interests of those who control the State, few people doubt that the board will revoke Cleaver's parole. This despite the fact that their decision will be based upon unproven charges for which Cleaver is first due to stand trial on Dec. 2.

Cleaver has stated that he will not submit to re-imprisonment—which he declares would mean certain death at the hands of the guards, and which would minimally mean life behind bars—when the deadline comes on Nov. 27. But he also declares that he will not run away. In one speech he asserted that the black community would protect him. The pigs, apparently very uptight about this possibility, seem to be attempting to incarcerate, intimidate or exterminate any members of the black community who might possibly be so inclined.

Those who in some way were presently placed in a position involving

shooting it out with the pigs, with the resultant "attempted murder" charges, include:

—Ron Bridgefort, a SNCC worker known to be highly reliable and not given to wild actions. Ron is not a Panther, but shares their political outlook.

—Three young blacks in Berkeley, two of whom were former members of the BPP.

—The latest incident occurred Nov. 19 when eight Panthers, including three captains and the editor of the newspaper, were involved in a bizarre, unexplainable case. Police are accusing them of holding up a gas station, in broad daylight, while driving the huge, clearly marked, Black Panther Community News Service panel truck, with a group of unsuspecting visiting Panthers in the back of the truck; then of getting into a shootout with the pigs who apprehended them.

Political Confrontations

Throughout the period of struggle between Panthers and police, some of the confrontations have involved young and sometimes rash black militants. But the recent confrontations have involved a high percentage of responsible, level-headed, functional and badly-needed leaders and organizers, who are aware of the important role they are playing and would not carelessly place themselves in jeopardy. These brothers would not have ever let themselves be in a situation of shooting at cops unless the pigs opened fire on them in such a way that they had to shoot back in order to save their lives. This cannot be considered simply new skirmishes in a long standing conflict between opposing forces. The confrontations are deeply political in nature, and are being purposely provoked by those in power who want to make sure that the upcoming hearings and trials go the right way.

The police-Panther attacks have been accompanied by the highest-level propaganda barrage.

SF Mayor Alioto promptly responded to this new battle between Panthers and police by calling for "conspiracy to commit murder" charges to be lodged against the Panther leadership. Alioto's campaign to wipe out the BPP—like Mayor Reading's of Oakland—has been conspicuous and consistent. Several weeks ago, when a rash of bombings and arson took place on both sides of

the Bay, Alioto blamed the BPP for the sabotage, although there was absolutely no evidence to link any members of the Party with the bombings. The BPP, in a press conference, denied any connection to the bombings, and demanded a public apology from Alioto for his unfounded, scurrilous attacks. The police, however, have continued to blame and implicate the BPP in a variety of hostile or unlawful activities.

Plan to Undercut Support

The heightened propaganda attacks against the Panthers, and the sudden rash of police-Panther confrontations, all occurring at a time when people are trying to mount a strong defense for those Panther cases which are in court in the coming weeks, seem to be more than coincidental in their timing. It would be in the interest of an administration or police force interested in putting Cleaver away for good to represent his Party as a bunch of thugs and hoodlums, thereby undercutting the strong support Cleaver has been receiving in the white liberal and intellectual communities.

The International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver has been running ads, holding benefits, arranging numerous speaking engagements, and collecting signatures on petitions in an attempt to counteract the political power of the Right in their effect on the decision of the Adult Authority. The police and politicians seem to be just as intently working on the opposite direction. And they don't care if a few or a few dozen lives are wasted in the process.

The task facing the radical white movement in the next period is to explain the facts of the suppression of the Black Panther Party by the State, and to relate these attacks to other similar national and local examples of "law and order". This work must be developed in the context of both young people's continuing struggle against institutional racism and a broad educational program about the nature of racism and the black liberation struggle. SDS chapters should see this work as vitally important in the coming weeks.

for more information
write for the sds pamphlet
"Huey Newton Talks
to the Movement"
send 15¢ apiece