

10 Days of Secession

On April 22nd students from across North Carolina will challenge the Asheville police anti-leaflet ban, by leafleting downtown and at local high schools in support of students from Asheville-Biltmore College, Warren Wilson College, and Asheville School for Boys. A forum on the War, the Draft, and free speech will be held on the Asheville-Biltmore campus.

Cleve Sellers, former SNCC program

secretary who was shot and arrested during the "Orangeburg Massacre" during the "Orangeburg Massacre", will speak at a Black Power symposium at Belmont Abbey College April 24th.

UNC faculty members and students at Chapel Hill have declared a "moratorium on classes" April 26th in connection with an international student strike to end the Vietnam War, racial oppression in the US, and the Draft. Students will be addressed by Sellers, Carl Oglesby (the former chairman of Students for a Democratic Society), and poet John Beecher. A War

Crimes Tribunal, guerrilla theater, classes on social problems, and more are also planned.

These activities—and dozens more, at a number of North Carolina colleges—are all part of the Southern Days of Secession, a massive, state-wide protest against the War, the Draft, and racial oppression April 20th through 30th.

The South has a radical history of secession, stemming from the Civil War when some 200 Southern counties refused to co-operate with the plantation owners in fighting for slavery.

In this spirit, North Carolina students have announced that they will secede "from our country's oppression, both nationally and locally. We reaffirm our determination to work together to create a new South, free from racism and exploitation, and a world in which people are free to determine their own destinies."

Some of the activities will involve hundreds of students — teach-ins, symposiums on the War and Black Power, the international student strike. Other smaller programs will be the first anti-war activity ever held on a number of North Carolina campuses.

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

New Left Notes

Volume 3, Number 14

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

April 22nd, 1968

The Mysterious Leaflet

THIS LEAFLET FROM AN UNKNOWN SOURCE HAS BEEN APPEARING IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF CHICAGO

WANTED :
INCITING TO RIOT

ELEVEN

DEAD

CHICAGOANS



ARE

NOT

ENOUGH

FOR

RICHARD DALEY

ALLEGED MAYOR OF CHICAGO

CHARGED WITH ISSUING INFLAMMATORY AND THREATENING STATEMENTS TOWARD THE BLACK CITIZENS OF CHICAGO AND INCITING THE POLICE OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO TO RIOT AND MURDER.

"...very emphatically and very definitely that an order be issued to shoot to kill any arsonist or anyone with a Molotov Cocktail." (Sun-Times 4-16-68)

Information on Mass Anti-Draft Suit

In accordance with the last NC's resolution we are moving on the collective DRAFT CASE. "The Case" is a suit, to be filed in the Federal courts, which enjoins the Selective Service System from drafting "the plaintiffs" because according to the First Amendment they should not have to participate in fighting a war to which they are politically or morally opposed. "The plaintiffs" consist of everyone we can get to sign in the case. That means its effectiveness is in direct proportion to the numbers of people who join and the political work of a broader nature which we do in the next months on the Draft. We will almost surely lose the case, but if one of the signers is called while the case is still in the courts then he is in pretty good shape to demand a stay of induction until the case is ruled on in the courts. Signing the case should in no way change or prejudice the signer's Draft status. The important thing is to use the case! (This means getting signers, and, most important, working with them—putting them to work over the summer.)

This law suit makes two major points:

1) Every man must follow the dictates of his conscience—even when his government dictates a contrary course. The First Amendment free-speech clause of the Constitution guarantees that fundamental right.

2) No man may be called to serve in an illegal, undeclared, unconstitutional military action. So long as the government acts outside the law, it has no authority in law to require citizens to support its unconstitutional activities.

YOU have a chance to be heard. If you and thousands of men in your situation go into Federal court demanding that your rights guaranteed by the Constitution be enforced, the impact on the political situation in this country can be overwhelming.

To become a plaintiff in this suit, you simply sign the attached retainer form and supply the requested information. The suit will be filed in several different Federal district courts across the country. Your name will appear as a plaintiff in the court nearest either

(continued on Page 8)

LETTERS TO THE LEFT

LEARN THE LESSONS OF RACISM

Donald Kaiper
1652 Kewalo Street (Apartment A)
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
April 14th, 1968

Dear Sir:

The article by Noel Ignatin, "Learn the Lessons of US History" (New Left Notes, March 25th, 1968) is most fortunate in one basic respect: namely, that he begins his analysis of American society from the vantage point of racism—unquestionably the key psycho-social reality of American life—an understanding of which sheds light on virtually every other aspect of our common experience.

Unfortunately, the prominence of the racist reality belies those conclusions Mr. Ignatin seeks to draw from it. The crux of the issue is that a "racist analysis" is here used to justify a radical attempt to hook up with a now-moribund labor movement in hopes of stimulating it to renewed revolutionary potency by way of coalition between white and heretofore excluded black proletarians. While it is true that white radicals have for some time now been quite confused as to exactly whom (among whites) they are to organize, it is also true that there has been no shortage of solutions to this dilemma, the article here considered being a case in point.

Most solutions have up to this time been woefully inadequate for one reason or another, and the solution now proposed, sadly enough, doesn't make it either. There is evidence that Ignatin himself, is intuitively aware of the hopeless utopianism of the organizational task he outlines, as the acknowledgment of its "moralism" and "idealism" seem to imply.

Ignatin establishes that the mythology of white supremacy is indigenous to capitalism's efforts to deal with a rising over-abundance of proletarian labor. Jobs, benefits, and so forth, are reserved through collusion with the unions, for those with white skin. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this basic fact is that poor white proletarians have everything to gain by a doctrine of white supremacy and a lot to lose in terms of economic self-interest if that doctrine is undermined.

A cursory examination of the constituency of the KKK and fellow travelers should provide ample evidence that poor whites are quite aware of the "virtues" of racism, and will react viciously to the counter-mythology Ignatin proposes, that the truth suggests otherwise. Racism is most deeply rooted and finds its most blatant expression within poor, disenfranchised, and soul-sick white America, and no amount of radical organizing ("conversion" might be a better term to use in this context) is going to seriously alter that fact. Revolutionary organizing (history shows us) is most fruitfully undertaken among those social groups who most realistically reflect the promise of revolutionary agency. If there is any group in the US that does not offer that promise, it is the white American working class. This is perhaps one of the most significant lessons an honest, clear-sighted reading of US history has to teach.

There is, I think, one social grouping (other than blacks who are in the vanguard) within white America which does not derive real benefits from doctrines of white supremacy, in fact a grouping which grows increasingly skeptical of the alleged gain associated with notions of white superiority, and increasingly uneasy, embarrassed, and horror-struck at the fantastic price demanded (and exacted by others ostensibly acting in its name, such as Congress and the Courts) for the maintenance of a well-oiled racist system in a world of "colored" revolt. This is the grouping known as radical white America. This is a group of largely middle-class origin which has from childhood participated lavishly in the supposed benefits (economic) of a developed society (and we are liars pure and simple if we hypocritically

claim that there have been none!), but which finds those benefits seriously tainted along with others which are in fact denied us (most obviously the power to determine the kind of society we wish to perpetuate). It is the organization of this grouping—the organization of ourselves—around the reality of racism that constitutes the chief imperative of our time.

American blacks represent the sole source of authentic revolution in racist America—current history is in the process of teaching us this. At present the great need is for radical whites to take those steps necessary to see that black revolutionaries are allowed their chance to alter the fundamentals of American life. The assassination of Martin Luther King proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the issue facing black leadership, particularly black militants, is the issue of survival. It is incumbent upon all white radicals worthy of the name to do all in their power to aid and support the black revolution in its fight for life.

In this matter time is short and precludes the radical luxury of "experimenting" with disjointed and ill-planned organizational programs founded typically on mis-guided and diversionary (the peace movement has for some time now been diversionary from revolutionary aims) "radical" analysis.

White racist America is bent on the destruction of black revolutionary America; and if black America is allowed to suffer continued unchecked abuse, white radicalism will know its most ignoble hour. Black revolutionary America is in desperate need of material assistance (money, goods, guns, lawyers, et cetera) to be given no strings attached in order that their defense be realizable. Virtually every organizational effort taken up by white radicals should be turned immediately to this purpose. A vested interest in our continued identity as "radicals" in any meaningful sense requires nothing less than this.

Fraternally yours,

Don Kaiper

SOUTH VIETNAMESE LIBERATION FOR THE 10 DAYS

(South Vietnam, April 3rd, 1968)

Dear American youth and students:

We are very glad to learn that the anti-war organizations in the United States have decided to launch soon "Ten Days of Resistance" (April 21st through 30th, 1968) in protest against the war now conducted by the US Government in Vietnam. A large number of progressive American youth and students will go on strike and oppose the draft of American youth to the Vietnam War during this campaign.

We sincerely wish you many successes. Like you, the South Vietnam people aspire for a peaceful and free life so as

to build their future and happiness. However, as you know, the US authorities have in the past thirteen years dispatched to South Vietnam over half a million troops and a huge quantity of war means and most up-to-date weapons, thus trampling upon our sacred and legitimate aspiration. Meanwhile, President Johnson has deceived you with the plea of "defending freedom for the South Vietnamese people" and "for the sake of US security", taking it as a pretext to involve the life of the American youth and property of the American people in the Vietnam War in the interests of a handful of American war profiteers.

In face of the brutal policy of aggression of the US authorities which tramples underfoot the national right to independence of the South Vietnamese people, the latter have no other way than to rise up and fight. Strong with justice and the nation-wide solidarity bloc, and with the sympathy and support of the progressive people in the world, our people's struggle has overcome many difficulties and recorded ever greater victories. Since January 30th last, the South Vietnam armed forces and people have mounted repeated attacks on various towns and cities, and many nerve organs, bases, and storages of the US troops. The people of various strata living in the areas regarded by the GIs as their safest areas have risen up against the US rule.

The victories freshly recorded by the South Vietnamese people prove the big strides forward made by their patriotic movement and the determination of our whole people to struggle for the existence of their nation and for their freedom and happiness.

The US Government is now resorting to many perfidious tricks to deceive public opinion in the United States and the world. But facts have proven that it is obdurately rushing deeper and deeper along the war-seeking path, drafting more American youths to South Vietnam, intensifying and expanding the War in Vietnam, perpetrating more heinous crimes against the South Vietnamese people, increasing the burden of war now weighing on the American people, and smearing the honor of the United States. Nevertheless, the Vietnamese people as well as the American people decidedly do not let the warmongers freely realize their dark designs.

SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION STUDENTS' UNION
Vice-President: Professor Le Thiet

WORKING FOR MCCARTHY

Dear Editor:

Unlike myself, many SDS people are staying away from electoral politics this year for a multitude of reasons. Among them is the motivation of even the most progressive candidate. For example, as has been pointed out, genocide in Vietnam is condemned only because of its impracticality. Or, as Spiegel points out, the most dove-ish candidate sees peace

in Vietnam merely as a more effective way of preserving imperialism; whereas SDS finds it necessary to get at the root by opposing imperialism, racism, and oppression.

I grant that the McCarthy-Kennedy motivation runs counter to our SDS goal and that their anti-war stand hardly touches the core of the problem. However there are many factors that we are overlooking. For one, we are desperately seeking techniques and tools with which to reach the masses. Electoral politics is such a tool, and it can give us other advantages as well. I shall explain what I mean:

Two months ago I refused to involve myself in the McCarthy campaign because my view was that the correct Vietnam stance was immediate withdrawal. That McCarthy, by talking up negotiations, was merely allowing the power structure to define his terms, and moreover furthering their ability to co-opt him with another "negotiations" fraud. I felt that the ruling class could merely make another grandstand play toward negotiations (as it has been doing for the past four years) and then succeed in convincing a trusting population that our side is trying, while the communists do not want peace.

Anyway, despite my misgivings, I allowed myself to be talked into working for McCarthy on moral grounds. At the point of this writing my fears of the means the power structure would use to allay the popular disgust over the War have been realized. LBJ, assessing McCarthy's 42% New Hampshire vote and other factors, abdicated and offered to stop the bombing. The Administration gambled and won the bet that Hanoi would meet when they could claim to have toppled the most powerful figurehead in the world. True, McCarthy's motivation is not correct and the Administration's peace move is deceptive, however both McCarthy's maneuvers and the Administration's response are causing events to move more swiftly than they ordinarily would. Two months ago we would have been happy to make LBJ yell out as we pricked him with "stop the bombing" pins at the Convention. Now (after abdication) the Convention will follow the start of peace talks.

That McCarthy's campaign has made history move a little faster is helpful to SDS and its goals. Why? Despite the fact that the ruling class controls mass communication, some truth always leaks through. If we didn't believe this we would seldom demonstrate or engage in other public activities. So, as events begin to unroll at a faster pace, it is unavoidable that more and more of the truth is revealed.

While campaigning for McCarthy, I learned that the lumpen middle class is a misnomer: There is no lumpen middle class! Before campaigning I thought radicalization would never come from the middle class or laborers, only from students and those of independent intellect in the older age grouping. Well, campaigning for McCarthy proved I was all wet. I was getting into the same bag as the flag-waving "patriot" when he shouts profanities at the "lumpen radical".

The so-called middle class, I learned, is very accessible to new ideas. Having been the target of attempts to turn them on to a war they didn't understand, they are left with a residue of wavering faith in—even suspicion of—the power structure. A high percentage of those who have begun to think are taking the attitude that they will give the power structure an opportunity to prove its good and virtuous words sincere.

This is precisely where the radical in electoral politics can do much good. He or she is in an excellent position to counter the deceitful pap issued by the ruling elite and their lackeys. If the peace talks fail and hostilities resume, the radical can point a finger at the true cause. Or, if the peace talks lead to a stabilization of the present military positions, the radical can show that a five-year war has resulted in material loss, unnecessary human sacrifice, and loss of national prestige. In other words that Washington's crusade against communism has been in reality leading

new left notes

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We Made the News Today, Oh Boy!

by Tania

(collected from chapter and regional reports, travelers, liberation news service, and organizational newsletters)

GENERAL AREA

DENVER, COLORADO: sdsers from the UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO were attacked by cops at the induction center as they leafleted and talked inside. six were arrested, three maced, and others kicked by the cops. no charges were filed against those maced and arrested, although federal authorities said they were "investigating". the groups had come to support two other sdsers who were having physicals.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI: a hundred people attended a teach-in on racism held at WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY. the following day the school administration tried to contain student response to the assassination of doctor king by holding an "official rally". however, the association of black collegians and sdsers unmasked the hypocrisy of the university by speaking and attacking its investments in south africa. demanding an end to those investments, students have begun picketing the board of trustees in their lily-white suburban homes.

GRINNELL, IOWA: concerned black students and sds organized a series of activities at GRINNELL COLLEGE after the killing of martin luther king junior. students held large rallies, demanded removal of federal troops from the cities, demanded that the city of memphis meet the demands of the sanitation workers, and supported black demands for self-determination for black communities. funds were collected to support the memphis strikers. students tried to reach churches in the town and began to look at racism on the campus.

BAY AREA, CALIFORNIA: high school students have published the first issue of a city-wide high school paper, THE REVELATOR (1280 lincoln avenue, palo alto, california). they are organizing a boycott of public schools as part of the april 26th student strike. the berkeley school board is even considering closing the high school there to "avoid what happened last time" when two hundred and fifty berkeley high students walked out of school to join "stop the draft week" demonstrations.

NEW ENGLAND ROUND-UP

MAINE: in waterville, COLBY COLLEGE students demonstrated against army recruiters and set up a draft-counseling table. at the UNIVERSITY OF MAINE in orono, sdsers organized to greet the dow recruiters.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS: boston citizens have praised BOSTON UNIVERSITY students who protested the school's dedication of a new building in honor of local slumlord maurice gordon. gordon responded by withdrawing his half-a-million-dollar gift to the university. sds demanded that "the money be returned to the people of boston, white and black, from whom it has been stolen. we demand that gordon use the money to improve his buildings with no increase in rent." they followed up with a leafleting campaign to further explain their demonstration to the community.

AND THE SOUTH RISES AGAIN

FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS: the SSOC chapter at the university of arkansas held a sit-in against dow recruiters followed by an anti-dow, anti-war rally attended by a hundred folks. campus organizers had preceded the demonstration with an educational campaign well in advance. (a series of four different leaflets was used.)

MIAMI, FLORIDA: the editor of a local underground paper had been barred from distributing it on the campus of MIAMI DADE JUNIOR COLLEGE. students tested the ban by taking the paper on campus and distributing it themselves. the administration ordered them to stop and called the cops. the students were beaten by the cops and arrested for inciting to riot. (get that "inciting to riot".) students are organizing protest rallies; asking the justice department to investigate the administration for conspiring to deny them their civil rights; demanding that the board and all other officials be suspended until students' rights are guaranteed; and suing all involved in the arrests and beatings for damages.

ATHENS, GEORGIA: over five hundred students at the UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA held a two-day sit-in to demand equal rights for women students. university officials have gone to state court and obtained over four hundred temporary restraining orders to enjoin the students from doing just about anything. meanwhile the students are fighting the injunctions and continuing their campaign, which is getting a tremendous response on campus.

KENTUCKY: students at MOREHEAD STATE COLLEGE in the mountains are continuing their free-speech fights and their anti-rote campaign as well as publishing a new campus paper. in addition, they've formed a new campus party—students united for action—to raise a host of issues in the student government elections.

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA: fifteen hundred DUKE UNIVERSITY students out of a student body of forty-three hundred boycotted classes for three days to protest the school's treatment of non-academic employees and its support of racial discrimination in durham. the boycott began when three hundred students took over the university president's house, demanding that he grant the worker's call for a \$1.60 minimum wage; that he issue a statement against racism and for open occupancy; and that he resign from his racist country club. after an overnight sit-in at the house, the students were joined by twelve hundred others for the three-day sit-in, sleep-in at the quadrangle on campus. students are continuing to boycott the cafeteria; the board of trustees has agreed to the minimum wage demand by the summer of 1969; and divinity school faculty members have voted to renounce future pay raises on the proviso that they be used to increase salaries of non-academic employees. members of almost-all-black local 77 of the american federation of state, county, and municipal employees have been waging a struggle for seventeen years at duke while the trustees of the university continue to look upon the school as a personnel factory for upper management in southern industry. trustees from burlington mills, haines, and other large firms have a clear interest in preserving the traditional southern upper-class norms at duke and have fought the workers as well as the black citizens of durham and the students on campus year after year. for background on this struggle see the pamphlet written on local 77 in 1966 by SSOC (1703 Portland, Nashville, Tennessee).

The '68 "Civil Rights" Act

by William Higgs and Guy Smythe
Liberation News Service

commentary

Lest the point not be obvious from the point-by-point analysis that follows, it should be clearly stated that a) the new law's sweeping anti-riot provisions, had they been in effect during the recent "disturbances", would probably have made all those arrested or participating in the "disturbances" guilty two or three times over of a Federal felony carrying penalties ranging up to five years in prison and \$10,000 fine; and b) the very limited open-housing provisions are largely unenforceable (for example, economic intimidation carries no criminal sanctions at all), mostly do not take effect for two years, and are generally weaker than the 1866 law now before the Supreme Court.

Moreover, and most importantly, the new law brings almost all civil disturbances within the jurisdiction of Federal law. This crucial fact means that under 10 US Code 332 and 333 (2) the President now has the power—under the cover of enforcing Federal law—to directly move into and take over any state or local area with Federal troops regardless of the feelings of either the authorities or the people of that state, precisely as the troops were sent to Little Rock, Oxford, Birmingham, and—around the turn of the century—Eugene Debs' Chicago.

analysis

1) Under the new civil rights protection law the US can't prosecute for violation of civil rights unless the Attorney General first certifies that "A prosecution by the US is in the public interest and necessary to secure substantial justice." (Section 101a)

2) The new civil rights protection law prohibits only acts "by force or threat of force". Economic intimidation is not covered. (Section 101a)

3) The so-called civil rights protection law a) includes provisions making it a felony (one year or \$1,000) to interfere with the operation of a store or business during a civil disturbance (Section 101a); and b) exempts all law-enforcement officials, including troops, from its prohibitions against violating the civil rights of citizens.

4) Apparently, it is a separate felony to use either phone, radio, or TV and then or at the same time be involved in a riot in any way, including looting or even violating curfew. The penalty is \$10,000 and or five years. (Section 101a) The Attorney General is directed to immediately prosecute under this law or explain to Congress why not. Labor organizing is exempted. A "riot" or "civil disturbance" is defined as a public disturbance involving three or more people together with an act of violence or a threat thereof. It's a crime to even publicly state that it is a right to riot.

5) Indian courts are given tribal jurisdiction only for crimes up to six months and/or \$500. All usual (for Americans) Bill of Rights limitations are imposed on the Indian courts. The new law states that it will not interfere with any treaty made by the US with the Indians!

6) Fair housing gradually covers about 80% of all housing by 1970, but large exemptions are left in respect to sale of owners of up to three houses. (All housing is now covered by 42 US Code 1982, an 1866 civil rights law now before the Supreme Court. That law simply states: "Section 1982. Property Rights of Citizens. All citizens of the United States and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property.") The enforcement procedure is first to conciliate, then to allow local agencies first shot. The Secretary of HUD then can move only if he certifies that his action is necessary. If the Secretary doesn't act, then the aggrieved person can go to the US District Court if and only if there is no state or local procedure. Even in Federal court, the court can delay the case during conciliation efforts. Relief is limited to injunctions, actual damages, and attorney's fees. Violent intimidation is punished by criminal statute. Economic intimidation is subject only to civil relief without criminal penalties.

7) Teaching someone how to make an explosive or incendiary device (especially a Molotov cocktail) or technique capable of causing injury or death (such as karate) and having reason to know that it might be used in a civil disorder or riot is made a felony carrying a five-year and/or \$10,000 penalty. Also, interfering with firemen or policemen is put in the same category.

L.A. SNCC Busted

by Jim Osborn
Los Angeles Free Press

Los Angeles, April 12th (Liberation News Service)—The Los Angeles office of SNCC was broken into Friday evening, April 5th, while most of its members and volunteers were at a community-wide meeting of black people to plan events in tribute to Doctor Martin Luther King.

The vandalism was thorough. The lower half of a rear door was completely chopped away. Next to it, the glass in a garage door was broken. Inside, piles of paper were strewn around the floor. Two mimeo machines were damaged. Files of contributors, volunteers, and members were taken. Two hundred copies of a poster of Warren B. Carlson, "Wanted for the Murder of Gregory Clark", were gone. Even a board with message memos disappeared. Three tubes of mimeo ink were squirted around on the floor. One

hundred tickets for a benefit showing of "The Battle of Algiers" were taken. A large bottle for distilled water was broken, the glass left scattered.

Three SNCC members were in the office when the raid occurred. Their arrest by police keeps the invasion from being a mystery. The above vandalism was perpetrated by police from the University Division under the ruse of searching for weapons. Reportedly, one member of SNCC had brought a rifle to the office. The weapon, as far as can be determined, was carried legally (that is, unloaded).

What gives the lie to the police claims is their behavior. Although a rear door was half chopped down, the front door was unlocked. In addition to the vandalism and larceny mentioned above is one other hostile act. A SNCC member had brought spaghetti to the office to be eaten when the members returned from the meeting. When they returned they found upholstery tacks dumped into a two-gallon kettle.

the n.o. has not yet recieved a hundred pounds of potatoes from the university of maine ■ as luck would have it, other foodstuffs are available ■ the n.o. has also not recieved some \$1,175 in other n.c. pledges, and as luck would have it other dollars are not available ■ our creditors sense a widening of the credibility gap and would, i am sure, join us in asking you to send those fucking pledges as soon as possible ■

This article, via Wisconsin, was sent by a student in Berlin, as an eyewitness account.

On Thursday, April 11th, Rudi Dutschke was shot at near the SDS office on Ku-Damm. One bullet got into his brain. The operation took five hours. Now Rudi is surprisingly well. It is reported that his reflexes are normal, that he recognized his father and brother, and that he demanded to talk to a specialist. I just heard that he is now out of danger.

incited by Springer

I heard of the shooting on the radio about 6:30 p.m. My friend and I immediately rushed to the Auditorium Maximum at TU (the Technical College), where the meeting of the Kampagne zur Demokratie und Abrüstung was to take place. The "Audi Max" was awfully crowded. There were at least three thousand persons, most of them students. At first various speakers tried to analyze the reasons for the shooting. It is quite clear that behind this deed there is Springer. Nobody claimed Springer had hired the gunman, but the guy had been

and I got there at 11 p.m. A large crowd was already there and a lot of cops as well. Some windows got smashed and the fire-hoses came. Soon the cops were allowed to use their clubs. (However most of them refused to do so, as we heard next day.) Then we saw a fire. It was not big and in no case as dangerous as it looked in newspaper photos. Someone had set fire to some of Springer's cars.

demands

Next day we met for discussions on what to do in the Audi Max. After several solidarity declarations from various persons and groups we discussed what we should demand. Here are the demands:

- 1) Abdication of the present Senate and constitution of a new one which should, together with extra-parliamentary opposition, take the first steps toward creating democratic conditions in Berlin.
- 2) Immediate dispossession of Springer and creation of a committee consisting of workers and students which should plan how to use means of production for a democratic public.
- 3) This committee is to make a plan for democratizing the radio corporations. For American-controlled radio station RIAS, we (the extra-parliamentary

Police Terror

The march to Schoneberg was planned in order to stress these demands. There were two groups of demonstrators: One started at TU, the other one at Lehniner Platz, the two to unite at Kranzler Eck. The march had already turned into a battle on Ku-Damm when police tried to stop the demonstration. They barred the surrounding streets and came with fire-hoses and clubs and even on horses. They went right into the crowd with the horses. Then I really saw what police terror means. Fortunately, there were enough nosy tourists that the cops could not tell who was a demonstrator, and so somehow most of us got away. We started a new march toward Schoneberg. Somewhere on the way we came across a bigger group of us and joined it. There were thousands of demonstrators.

A delegation was supposed to go into the town hall, deliver our demands to Schutz, and discuss them with him. But he gave his answer before he had read the demands. He had the town hall barricaded, and the demonstrators surrounded by cops.

The head of the march managed to break through the police chain and get onto John F. Kennedy Plaza, and there we were in the kettle. Everywhere around us, cops. They asked us to leave the Plaza immediately, however they did not tell us how. (Every street was barricaded by them.)

After three minutes they came in with the fire-hoses. We got pretty wet, and went home shivering. Many stayed and had fights with cops and were kicked down. One group of demonstrators managed to get out and went to the RIAS building, where they broke some windows. Of course cops arrived soon.

At 7 p.m. most of us were back at TU for more discussions. In order to carry out our plans we decided to use TU as headquarters and formed several committees: a committee that was responsible for the practical aspect—that police did not get in, that the porter did not throw us out, that there were mattresses and blankets for the people who stayed overnight (There had to be always about a hundred persons in the building to guard it from the police.); an information committee, which got all information and had to find out which was true and which only rumor and give information to the press and to the pamphlet committee, which was occupied with making and delivering pamphlets; a Springer committee; a radio committee;

and a committee which had to co-ordinate the others.

Of course soon the police and Senate knew where these radical elements were to be found, and Neubauer gave the order to clear TU. At this point the principal of TU interfered and presumed on his domestic authority and declared the students could stay as long as they did not damage anything. Poor cops had to go.

Friday night there was again a demonstration against Springer, and more of his cars were burned. Students barricaded the streets with their cars to prevent the delivery of Springer papers. However the Fire Department appeared and put the cars away, so that many of them were badly damaged. Next day at Audi Max money was collected for the cars.

worker committee

In the discussions it grew clear that the students could not change the conditions all by themselves, but that they had to try to find support of the workers. So the extra-parliamentary opposition must pay more attention to the working class. They have to talk in more understandable terms (What worker knows what is meant by alienation or manipulation, et cetera?); deal less with abstract problems (like Vietnam, the Third World, Greece) than with problems relevant to the worker (like

SDS . . .

incited both by Springer's constant agitation against the student movement and by his more or less open call for self-help. Josef Bachmann, a 23-year-old house-painter from West Germany, said himself he had shot Rudi "because he was a Communist". Well, who told him this, and who told him Communists had to "disappear"? We were at one that steps had to be taken against Springer and the Senate, which agitated against the students as well. (Have you heard of (Berlin Mayor) Schutz's pro-American demonstration, at which he (Schutz) said: "You just have to look at these types, you just have to look into their faces, and you know what they are." Well, Rudi was one of these types.)

Then there was a vote as to whether or not we should go to the Springer Haus, and almost everyone wanted to. Margret

opposition) demand an immediate supersedure of the American control by an elected and always-removable control. Representatives of extra-parliamentary opposition are to be voted immediately into the boards of directors of the radio corporations on condition that these boards meet publicly.

4) For the period up to May 1st we demand one hour of radio time a day in order to discuss the economic and political state of Berlin and the possibilities for change with the working population of this town—so the population will be able to decide whether the so-called Freiheitskandgebung or a socialistic demonstration will be in their interest.

Solidarity in N.

(April 18th, Liberation News Service)—"Down with Springer"... "Springer Must Go"... "Rudi Dutschke" chanted pickets in dramatization of their solidarity with the German SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund) April 17th. The demonstrators, from the Students for a Democratic Society, Youth Against War and Fascism, and Student Mobilization Committee, took to the streets in combat against the Springer publications and for Rudi Dutschke, leader of the German SDS.

More than a hundred students demonstrated in front of the Associated Press building at 50 Rockefeller Plaza, which houses the New York Bureau of Springer.

At the same time in Washington DC, a dozen demonstrators marched illegally on the grounds of the West German embassy, crying "Rudi Dutschke—True Voice of the German People", while flames consumed a copy of the Springer paper Die Welt and a home-made flag with a swastika. Three police cars and a paddy wagon were called to the scene, but no arrests were made. A delegation met with an Embassy official, and the other

Thru Sprin

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE APPEARED

In Berlin Westend Hospital doctors are struggling for the life of Dutschke. And who has shot at him? Not Chancellor Kiesinger, not Berlin's Regierender Burgermeister Schutz, and also not Springer.

The committer is a 23-year-old repeatedly convicted worker from the Federal Republic. In his apartment in Peine Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" was found.

The fanatic Left radical Dutschke has become the victim of a half-crazy Right radical.

But for his friends the three bullets that hit him seem to be only a welcome occasion for new acts of hate and violence.

Martin Luther King's fellows adjured the colored minority of America after his death: "Let no violence come over us!" However Dutschke's followers call for violence, even now that he has become the victim of the hatred spread by him.

They set fire to cars. They demolished editors' offices. They asked neither for the committer



THIS WELL-KNOWN PHOTO IS OF DUTSCHKE WITH ONE OF HIS CLOSEST COMRADES, CHILEAN GASTON SALVATORE.

the expected rise of rents); move into factories and get in touch with apprentices; and talk with the working people in their neighborhoods. Therefore another committee was founded.

Leaders of the Protestant Church declared themselves to be on the side of the students in their fight against Springer (although there's a question of methods). Dahrendorf declared himself to be willing to speak at a demonstration with representatives of the students. After long discussion a vote was taken establishing the conditions under which the students were willing to talk with him and perhaps with representatives of trade unions. The conditions were:

1) It must not be a demonstration, but a discussion, in which students would be able to refute him or make him get to the point.

2) Besides the students he invited there had to be a representative from SDS chosen by SDS.

3) The discussion had to be in public so that other students as well could ask their questions.

4) It had to be broadcast either by radio or TV so that more people would know about the ideas of the students.

On Saturday and Sunday the discussions were continued. There were questions of organization and the main topics: violence and the isolation of the students. More about this later.

Y. & D.C.

Demonstrators eventually left the Embassy grounds. They refused, however, to picket where the police told them—500 feet from the Embassy grounds. The Washington demo was organized by the local at-large chapter of SDS, which did not know a similar protest was taking place in New York.

In Manhattan, the chief security officer of Rockefeller Center, J. Levender, informed demonstrators that the plaza was private property. He told them to move onto the sidewalk around the corner. He threatened them with arrest, but before the demonstrators decided whether or not to move, and then ordered the cops to seize two demonstrators who were burning a home-made flag with a swastika. A fight broke out as police charged into the crowd, pushing, knocking, and kicking protesters aside. Levender joined the fray, throwing several punches at the protesters. More cops came and the crowd scattered. There were at least 12 arrests.

from Peter Cawley

Springer's Eyes

IN "BILD", A SPRINGER PAPER.

nor for his motives. They intentionally ignored that Kiesinger, Schutz, and Springer have nothing, nothing at all to do with a man who has got a Napoleon and Hitler fancy.

They nominate Dutschke a victim of the middle-class democratic society. And so they tell themselves a lie.

For it was not this society that sowed hatred and violence, but Dutschke; not the people who screamed "We need more Vietnams!", but Dutschke.

Bild has already once appealed to the politicians and judges of this country: Stop the terror before it is too late! Bring to trial for acts of criminal violence the ones who abuse our democracy!

Today Bild repeats this appeal.

We need the political difference of opinions. But terror in the streets with Molotov cocktails is not discussion but uproar and breach of public peace.

One of the world's biggest industrial nations must not become a Hottentottenland in which everybody who feels treated unjustly throws stones, sets fires, or takes a gun.

Saturday afternoon a small group was supposed to stop the traffic three times for ten minutes. They decided to stay longer and to avoid any confrontation with the police. However they were encircled, fire-hoses came, and a new fight arose. Many were arrested, however a lot of them were tourists who were just watching the water games of the cops.

On Saturday and Sunday cops guarded the Amerika-Haus all day—in vain! Nobody came, but everybody laughed at them.

I almost forgot: There was another committee for go-ins. Saturday night go-ins into theaters and cinemas were planned and probably took place. Saturday morning there was a go-in into Gedachtniskirche.

On Saturday I even bought Bild and Bild-Zeitung (two of Springer's tabloids). Springer's agitation has grown worse than ever. When you just glance at Bild, the huge headline "Terror in Berlin" jumps right into your eye. The whole paper consists of descriptions of burned cars, smashed windows, and hurt policemen. And again you can find the invitation to self-help; a big headline in the paper announces: "Neighbors Helped with Water Buckets". Superficial things like burning cars or a burning police motorcycle, red flags, pictures of Che, Rudi, Karl Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg, shouts of "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh", "Springer Morder", and the like were not only exaggerated, but were the only thing written about. No word about the long discussions in TU, no word about the demands. I bought Welt as well, and there is the same in it as in Bild, just in a more intellectual way. Typical seems to me an article the translation of which I include (and which appears in this section). It was in Bild, on the front page.

Ku-Damm talk-ins

Saturday night and all day on Sunday students were standing on Ku-Damm discussing with the passers-by. I think this action was rather successful. Around each student there was usually a large group of people talking with him and among themselves. Of course there were many who cursed the students and kept yelling, avoiding any form of reasonable discussion. But many also were really interested and glad that they could hear what they wanted from the students for

a change, and not, as usual, from a Springer paper.

They agreed with us in many respects, however they strongly disapproved of the "violence". And this is a point about which we had long discussions. In TU all of us agreed that there are different sorts of violence. Violence directed against persons (as it is advocated by Springer and carried out by the cops) and violence against things (like setting fire to cars). The system's violence is an ACTION to which the students only REACT. So violence as a reaction directed against things was the point we discussed. The arguments of the advocates of this violence were: that you have to be as uncomfortable to the system as possible; that no changes were ever carried out without violence; that the population of Berlin is so stubborn you can't win them with arguments anyway, the only language they understand is violence; and that the non-violence of Doctor King has not gained anything. I do not believe the final point to be at all true, but let me talk about the others a little.

Right now the students are almost completely isolated in Berlin. You need not be Left-wing; the mere fact that you are a student or look like one (beards have become dangerous!) makes them want to send you to a KZ. But I think that in order to carry out changes the students need the support of the people. They always say they want socialism from below, not from above. But for this we need the mass of the population.

the question of violence

Delivering pamphlets on Sunday morning in Moabit we had very interesting discussions with the people. There was (though they were not at one whether to send us back to the West, to the East, by which we were paid, whether to put us into a KZ, a jail, or a work-house, or whether to shoot us). But there were people as well who really got mad about the ones who talked that way. They agreed with us that steps against Springer had to be taken and that the conduct of Schutz was wrong, but they told us they could not approve of the burning cars, the broken windows, and so forth. They said more people would be on our side if we stopped

this. I really do not know what to think. Sometimes I think violence is necessary; sometimes I think this violence and the red flags are just helping Springer's agitation. This question is more or less theoretical for me, for I know I'd probably never set fire to a car. But why wouldn't I do it? Because I'm too yellow, because of my damn middle-class education, or because I am really convinced of non-violence? I just can't find an answer.

I wonder whether we shouldn't just try to win as many people as possible by making it a little easier for them, that is by sticking to our ideas and goals, but by different means. But would they really see us then?

There is one thing we have learned: There is no use in trying to convince the old people; it is impossible just to have a rational discussion with them. Our hope is the middle-aged, and especially it is the youth. Even this will be a very, very hard task, as we have seen.

The demonstrators who were arrested were taken to Polizeischule Spandau. Sunday morning we got the information that cops were putting barbed wire around the building. Someone had to take a picture of this, and so Margret and I went there. It looked too funny: the barbed wire and the cops guarding it, similar to a KZ. Approaching the house we heard the well-known "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh". I guess the poor cops really had a hard time with them.

In the afternoon cops again practiced state of emergency, and Ku-Damm was blocked for some hours. These actions are to go on until first steps against Springer are taken.

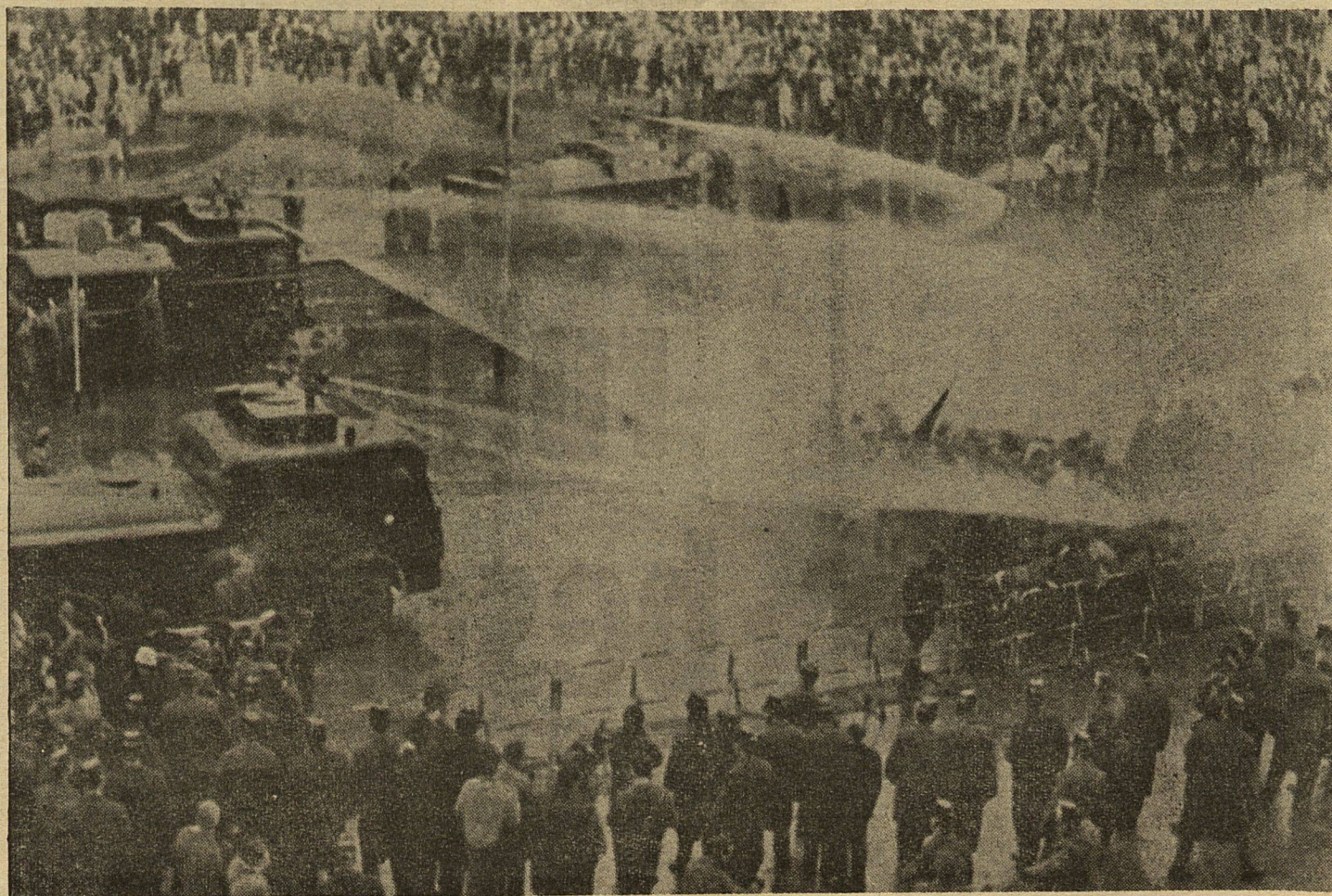
Demonstrations took place not only in Berlin, but all over Germany and in many European capitals. I have heard about them on radio and read about them in our local paper, but both speak only of student terror, and so I do not trust the information too much.

In the papers you can read only about the hurt cops, nothing about the knocked-down demonstrators. So the students have been gathering information on police brutality and have printed pamphlets.

I probably have forgotten to tell you about a lot of things, but I can't think of more now.

PAX

IN GERMANY



FIREHOSES IN ACTION AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS IN J.F.K.-PLATZ, IN BERLIN

Freeing Ourselves to

The second and final part of an article outlining some of the strategic changes we must make in our use of organizing manpower.

"Professionals" and Community Organizing

The Movement desperately needs organizers in neighborhoods at this time. Yet the present situation finds most campus-based radicals either critical of slow, in-depth organizing ("it's not where the action is at"), or afraid to attempt the transition into the mystery of non-student, non-hip neighborhoods. The situation is understandable; we are only now beginning to comprehend the need for a long-range perspective, and conceptions of what life is like as a neighborhood organizer conjure up images of communal houses and peanut butter and jelly survival. Even though that view is false, in reality most students won't move into neighborhoods as organizers, nor should they, even though more than are currently making the break should. Given that many of our number will become some variety of "professional", it is important that we begin to think how people with certain so-called "professional" skills can relate to neighborhood organizing, and to the Movement as a whole.

A serious danger that threatens future "professionals" who now consider themselves to be in the Movement is absorption by the corporate-liberal ogre. It's a problem that hurt the Left before in this country, and it faces the Movement today. Too many well-meaning and potentially radical people get taken in by the "salvation through service" ethic, the "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country" syndrome, the "help us and we will build a new America" of the current McKennedy situation.

The liberal wing of the corporate power structure (the ruling class) are good at co-opting (or taking over and using for their own non-human ends) the human concern that moves many of our generation. Too many future professionals who now think of themselves as radicals will end up working for and strengthening top-down government and privately financed liberal Welfare programs. VISTA; the Peace Corps; and OEO (War on Poverty), Ford Foundation, and Citizens Crusade Against Poverty programs—Welfare, health, housing, education, jobs, and so forth—are but a few examples. These programs provide services for people: they are basically about pacifying people, controlling them, keeping things cool at home while America rapes the world. Such programs are not about helping us develop a movement that may someday transform the basic nature of social, political, and economic relationships. The Movement must encourage the future professional to tie into local organizing efforts that develop indigenous leadership, and build radical local bases of people seeking to control, shape, and change their own neighborhoods and institutions.

While presently there are not enough neighborhood organizing efforts for large numbers of professionals and future professionals to hook up with, we can assume that the number of projects will

increase. Following from a basically local organizing perspective, just how do professionals tie in? At this stage, I think the professionals must think about providing services to those who have taken a step into the Movement, who are now beginning to develop new life-styles, new ways of relating to each other, and alternative ways to handle, in a more humane way, basic societal functions. Professionals are of course an integral part of this body of people, helping others, and being helped by others as well as themselves. More importantly at this time the "pioneer professional" must see himself or herself as also being an organizer—turning people on, breaking them out, opening them up, helping them grow.

Teachers

Transforming the nature of America's vulgar educational system must be one of our major tasks. Teachers are the largest single group in the work force; they are exploited; all the groups we talk of organizing are linked in some way to the educational system. We are obviously not now prepared to develop enough "counter" schools to make a significant difference in the education of the people, nor will we ever be. We must look to Movement schools like the Children's Community in Ann Arbor ("kids power"), and the elementary school now being set up in Chicago's Uptown. Such schools help us to develop creative approaches to education; they are an important Movement service for committed Movement families; and they act as catalysts influencing students, parents, and teachers connected to "straight schools". Yet by and large, we will have to work inside the schools.

Richie Rothstein, one of the first SDS people to work in a poor white community, is presently working along with other radicals in a stable working-class and lower middle-class suburb outside of Chicago. They are using some techniques used in poor neighborhoods, modifying others, and developing new ones in an attempt to radicalize people in a setting where radicals have not worked before. This kind of suburb is found all around the country—places like Levittown, Long Island; Roseland, Gage Park, Maywood Shiller Park, and Bellwood around Chicago; Somerville, Massachusetts; and Anaheim, Dunbar, and Fremont, California. The list of such suburbs is endless and growing.

Suburbs like these, as well as neighborhoods in cities where the population's socio-economic composition is similar, provide many issues and institutions to organize around. Some of these issues are like those in poor and transitional working-class areas; others are new. Such issues and institutions include the Draft, the War, crisis educational situations, high schools and junior colleges, consumer problems (such as credit gyms), food prices, pharmaceutical and food-buying co-ops, and race.

Too many so-called radicals will "put down" organizing in such places:

"it's not radical" or "it can't be radical". They forget that organizing is a process of pointing out contradictions, inter-relationships, and root causes; of helping people understand, accept, and live the truth. (People are not consistent; they are full of contradictions. That is one reason we organize. It is interesting that in racist Cicero, the response to an anti-war petition has been good.) Do college students, or poor whites, or even blacks have a monopoly on being the agency of change, on being able to understand how they get screwed? Hell no! Radical neighborhood organizing among stable workers and lower middle-class white-collar workers hasn't been tried before in any serious way. More importantly, if we ever hope to make real our revolutionary and democratic ideals, we had better figure out how to reach people in these kinds of neighborhoods and suburbs, because there are a helluva lot of them.

The question here is not with what "kind of people" the organizer works, or where the organizer works, but how the organizer works. If the organizer is radical, he or she will work around issues that provide people with important educational experiences, where collective action brings results as well as reveals the fundamental nature of presently-felt problems. People can come to understand the nature of contradictions in their own lives, and the inter-relationships between seemingly separate or isolated problems. People become radicalized over time by going through this process, and then helping others go through it. Remember that it can only happen by radicals' helping to make it happen. It won't happen by radicals' sitting together talking about those "white fascist pigs" who are going to vote for Wallace, Nixon, Johnson, McCarthy, or Kennedy. A recent article by Rothstein discussing their new organizing efforts is important reading for all Movement people. ("Consumer Organizing in the Heart of America", New Left Notes, February 12th, 1968, or Radicals in the Professions Newsletter, Number 2, Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107)

Another organizing project well under way is Chicago's 49th Ward CIPA (Citizens for Independent Political Action). CIPA is located in a primarily middle-class ward where there are many young professionals, white-collar workers, a liberal alderman, and a number of those SDS people who disappeared two or three years ago.

CIPA began by running an independent electoral campaign for two state legislative offices. Its focus has shifted from just an electoral perspective to a multi-issue neighborhood organizing approach. CIPA prints (in its own print shop) a bi-weekly newspaper; ran the most radical aldermanic campaign in Chicago's wave of independent (mostly black) candidates last year; opened a teen-age coffee house that was temporarily closed by the police in front of seventy teen-agers; operates a nursery school; is developing a pharmaceutical co-op; conducts a very active Draft-resistance union; maintains a radical women's group; and has fostered the growth of a sizeable anti-war movement in the Ward. A detailed picture of CIPA's work and plans appears in the May issue of The Movement (449 14th Street, San Francisco, California 94103, \$2 a year).

Based on the example of radical teachers in several cities, let's think how the future teacher might think about working and living. Radicals coming off the campus into teaching should try to locate in neighborhoods where there is radical organizing underway or planned. Radical teachers should be better

teachers, for they should be more humane and have both a better understanding of and a better approach to subjects being taught. Radical teachers should work inside the teachers' union, moving other teachers and the union itself to the Left. If the union is rotten, radicals might work with others to start an insurgent union (or if there is no union, help organize one).

Radical teachers would also connect in-school problems with out-of-school problems being raised by radical groups in the neighborhood. An example would be teachers working together with parent groups to point out that the reason why kids are "messed up" at an early age is not "bad parents", but bad housing, jobs, cops, health conditions, urban renewal, and so forth.

Finally, and probably more important, radical teachers should live in the neighborhoods where they teach. They should raise their families there in the years to come, and they should participate in many ways in the building of a radical movement in that neighborhood.

Those people now on the campus who see themselves teaching in a college should think about junior, community, or state colleges, rather than Berkeley, Wisconsin, or Harvard. There are plenty of junior colleges where the student body is drawn from neighborhoods where local organizing should be undertaken. Given the need for "radical teachers", college-level teachers and people into campus organizing should think hard about getting into state teachers' colleges. It's extremely important that we reach people there, and we aren't doing that yet.

Doctors

America has a lot of doctors, but medical care for large segments of the population is rotten. Hospitals and clinics are inadequate, sub-standard, and often prison-like. Many who can afford medical treatment are still subjected to the hassle of the Blue Cross syndrome and the money hustles of most doctors. Radical doctors and medical students working with organizing projects can provide a valuable human service to those people who have changed their lives and become a part of the Movement. The radical doctor can and should be an organizer, raising health issues with people in the neighborhood to put pressure and demands on local, state, and federal governments for health facilities run and controlled by the people they are supposed to serve. The radical doctor, who should live in the neighborhood, might also help the organization develop pharmaceutical co-ops. (A recent survey of seventeen drug stores in Chicago found that for twenty penicillin pills wholesaling for from 25¢ to \$1.92, the stores charged from \$1 to \$9. Finally, radical doctors can, by working with groups like the Student Health Organization and the Medical Committee for Human Rights, subvert the legitimacy of the conservative, powerful, and money-minded American Medical Association that controls the health care and training institutions of the medical profession.

Lawyers

We had a bad experience in Chicago last summer. Three young guys were busted for jack-rolling. They robbed someone who, as usual, was poor "cause rich people carry checks". These guys had come a long way and were—or were like—people who will provide leadership in movements developing in poor and transitional working-class neighborhoods. We couldn't get a lawyer: the best Movement leaders in the City were over-over-over-loaded, and the typical ACLU liberal types of course refused

Overthrow the Ogre

to take the case. ("They did it, didn't they?") They failed to understand that that organizing is a process that demands going through slow changes with people, even when in the short range it's against one's principles (especially since they weren't going to be paid).

Another bad experience in Chicago was an attempt to set up a "Citizen's Alert", so that young guys becoming involved in the Movement would have lawyers, doctors, and photographers available in cases of police brutality. The operation was structured to give control to the young men, providing some in each neighborhood with jobs, cars, and money for "community alert" patrols (to follow the cops around). Organizers and radical young guys saw it as possibly an important organizing tool. Unfortunately, it hasn't gotten off the ground—no money, and more revealing, far too few doctors and lawyers. Needless to say, the castrated enthusiasm of the young guys who attended meetings for two months set back organizing efforts.

The Movement needs more and more full-time lawyers, not just people who work straight jobs and then help out in their spare time. Like the radical doctor, the lawyer can provide a service to people becoming radicals, by being the lawyer or legal advisor for members of a neighborhood organization who have problems with credit gyms, the Draft, cops, landlords, and jobs. The lawyer, who should live in the neighborhood, might also run with the young guys, raising legal points, backing guys up, in general being an organizer. Radical lawyers, working in neighborhoods or in many other ways, are a must. The Movement had better think hard and take some steps to make sure we have a big batch.

Research

The Movement speaks of setting up research arms to find out the many things we need to know for both now and the future. The organizer cannot take the time to keep up on developments in the War on Poverty, Federal housing, Welfare legislation, the educational system, and so forth. But others who like to do research, even in academic settings, can and must begin systematic efforts to find out what we've got to know.

In the summer of 1967 the Chicago movement developed a research operation, the Center for Radical Research. The Center involved 80 students doing research for the Movement, both full-time and part-time. Those involved attended a free university. Research consisted of things like finding answers to questions and specific needs of organizers in the field: "Who owns the 25 buildings in the 4500 block of Magnolia? We're thinking about having rent strikes there." Informational data was gathered on, and from, the institutions with which neighborhood organizations must deal. Straight-looking chicks, "doing college papers", interviewed members of the Police, Welfare, and Urban Renewal Departments. The Center also did specific studies on neighborhoods organizers were already working in, or planning on going into—precincts, building ownership, power structures, the patronage jobs of the local arm of the political machine, and so forth.

The Center is no longer operating. A problem of concern to most participants was their lack of contact with the organizers and organizations they were doing research for, which were mostly black. Another attempt like the Center may not have that problem, in that many more white organizing efforts are beginning to be undertaken.

The main reason that the Center closed is that most of the most active participants are now organizing full-time in Chicago—in working-class white neighborhoods, factories, and high schools; around the Draft, and so forth. Other people returned to school and are active in the campus movement. Most of the people recruited were not bent on doing research so much as being a part of the Movement, but had hang-ups about leaving school and going into a neighborhood. The Center turned out to be a transitional phase for about 25 people, which was good. That doesn't mean that a research operation more permanent in nature can't be developed.

of poor and working whites. Just what are corporations planning in terms of regional planning and decision-making? Local, national, and international research is important, and we need it now, both in terms of planning and just to be able to talk about it while organizing.

Some Suggestions on Internal Education

So far I've talked about certain organizing attempts (models), and suggested ways present and future

education happen. Some ways to start would be to bring in speakers from projects mentioned here, initiating discussion groups about different places and groups to organize with, and about different approaches to organizing (Movement, Alinsky, OEO). Labor support and research groups like those in Boston and Berkeley should happen many places; Movement activists know more about black history than about the labor movement, and they should start to become aware of what is going on in the labor movement today (insurgent movements, rank-and-file revolts, union officials' collusion with Government and business, and so forth).

Radicals planning on becoming professionals might consider developing discussion groups like a "Future Radical Teachers of the Bay Area", thinking hard about how and where they will work as radicals, finding out about organizing efforts underway or planned that they can plug into, starting to work as organizers by getting to other future teachers. Similar groups might be started for those planning on other professions. Radical professionals already active might be brought in as speakers, as with a teacher talking to future teachers about what's happening in the American Federation of Teachers, what problems face the radical teacher, and so forth.

People interested in research should push organizing projects about what needs to be done. They should force those professors who say they are friends of the Movement to let them do research papers on specific things that the Movement needs to know. They should find out about the work done by people like Jack Minnis, and groups like NACLA and REP.

Future professionals should be tied into groups like the National Lawyers Guild, Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, Student Health Organization, and Medical Committee for Human Rights. They should read papers like The Movement that report in detail on organizing efforts underway, and newsletters like "Radicals in the Professions Newsletter" and "Radical Teachers".

What is important at this time is the development of a picture of where people are going to work, and how. We will need a division of labor where people in different areas understand how they are working together. Networks of people must evolve within a profession (law or medical school, et cetera) involving more and more people planning together on how to tie into the Movement now and in the future. These networks must then link up with other networks of radicals working in other areas, whether they be communities, factories, or other professions.

In 1966, at the Convention in Clear Lake, Iowa, SDS people discovered that we couldn't just be a bunch of radicals on a campus saying: "We're radical; come to us." We began to understand that we had to reach out. We can't expect people to just pop up and come to us, to come to the Movement. We've got to go out there and get them, bring our thing to them, changing it as we go along because we learn and grow through cross-cultural-professional-occupational scene-background fertilization. The year is 1968 already, and it's getting faster. We had better be about starting to "get it on". The time is now, so let's do it now.



"It is important that we begin to think how people with certain so-called 'professional' skills can relate to neighborhood organizing, and to the Movement as a whole."

It's up to people who are serious about the task, and seek to do it in conjunction with others working in different ways. (For a detailed report on the conception of the Center, see Rennie Davis's "Radical Research: A Role for Whites" (The Movement, August 1967).

Other kinds of radical research are important. For example, people in the National Community Union are interested in learning about projected migration and investment patterns for urban areas: Where are the regional growth centers and projected areas of migration-induced urban unemployment that the Government talks about? These things have some importance for those considering organizing in cities where there are, or are going to be, large concentrations

professionals might consider becoming an integral part of them. The suggestions and types of professions discussed are only intended to provoke thought. The Movement must think creatively about involving many others—business students, engineers, social workers, social scientists, city planners, journalists, criminologists, theater students, artists, film-makers, radio technicians, chemists, and so on. The list is endless, and we have the ability to come up with ideas that reach out to people in a myriad of places. We must begin being about doing it.

Organizers on the campus must take serious steps toward making internal

LETTERS

(continued from Page 2)

Anti-Draft Suit

(continued from Page 1)

your Draft board or the place where you may eventually be ordered to report for induction. The effect of filing this complaint will be to demand that you not be drafted pending the Federal court's determination as to your constitutional right not to go. If, while the suit is pending, your local Board attempts to proceed with the processing of your induction, you should:

1) Be in touch with a Draft-counseling service or Draft-resistance groups and should pursue your administrative remedies before your Board.

2) If notified to report for induction, contact your local Draft group or attorney (in many cities legal panels are being set up to handle Draft cases) to attempt to postpone induction while this suit is pending in the courts.

You should not tell people who sign the case as a plaintiff that there is a guarantee of a delay in induction. Lots of things can go wrong, and the case is at best just another move in our list of things which may work to help. But since it probably will help and it is a good collective attempt, it is a good organizing tool. You should be able to tie it in with recruiting for the summer. If they sign they will want to be kept informed about the state of the case, and if their own induction is coming up, they will want to help on how to use the case want help on how to use the case to get a delay. If you have work to offer them for the summer, you can be even surer of keeping in touch with them. The long-time problem we have had in keeping in touch with folks we counsel on the Draft has at least a partial solution in the case and recruitment for summer work.

The Law Center for Constitutional Rights, attorneys in this CO suit, will be happy to supply any information requested about this suit to your Draft group or attorney to assist in protecting you while this action is pending.

Articles on the use of the case and about kinds of summer program will be appearing in New Left Notes. If your chapter is planning something, it should be written up and sent to us. If nothing is going on this summer, recruit anyway, have people get in touch with the NO, and we will try to find a place to put them to work.

Working-Class

Organizing Conference in Iowa

The conference on working-class organizing in Iowa City May 3rd, 4th, and 5th will include the following speakers individually, on panels, and otherwise:

- Rennie Davis, National Mobilization Committee
- Ritchie Rothstein, editor, The Small Print
- Staughton Lynd, teacher, organizer, and director of Mississippi Freedom Schools 1964
- Dovie Coleman, National Treasurer, Welfare Rights Organization
- Bob and Diane Lawson, Cincinnati organizers
- Steve Fox, editor, The New Rank and Filer
- Junebug Boykin, Chicago organizer
- Peggy Terry, editor, The Firing Line
- Tom Livingston, The People's Theater
- Jeff Sharlett, editor, Vietnam GI
- Dovie Thurman, The People's Theater
- Virginia Bowers, Chicago organizer
- Michael James, Chicago organizer

the citizenry down the primrose path.

Not only that, the radical in electoral politics usually is among the most productive of campaign workers. His or her commitment and knowledge of historic forces make for a more intense incentive than other workers have. Thus the radical, out of a position of respect, is able to influence his or her co-worker. These co-workers know that something is amiss, but have not been exposed to the true cause.

Going back a generation, it was the radical element in the Political Action Committee of the CIO that gave vitality to the fledgling labor movement...It was only by using "red herring" tactics that the power structure was able to discredit radicals in the labor movement, establish subservient leaders, and thus destroy the idealism, hence value, of organized labor. Today the radical in a mass struggle is more fortunate: the "red herring" gimmick is old fish. It backfired on LBJ up in New Hampshire against McCarthy.

To sum up, then, the radical in electoral politics can accomplish three things:

1) He or she can learn how the mass mind functions—how it responds to events, leaders, and ideas.

2) The radical can reveal the true meaning of events as they occur, while they are still fresh in the minds of the electorate. He or she can touch on the true structures that cause these events, and explain how political leaders are merely figureheads put up to preserve vested interest and its offspring—imperialism.

3) The radical can influence and teach his or her co-workers; can become sensitive to their misgivings and disillusionment as events develop and guide them toward true solutions—like establishing new SDS chapters.

The moral dilemma that inspires the unexposed to enter electoral politics is a first step. If exposed to dedicated radicals during this period, the unexposed will have an eye-opening experience. They will gain an insight into the true nature of the plight of capitalism, imperialism, and their political tools.

David Tonbee
Putnam Valley, New York

nac minutiae

APRIL 16TH, 1968

members present: Jon Dunn, Clark Kissinger, Loyola Chapter, Alan Sacks, Boe Shomer

members absent: Northwestern University Chapter, Hank Williams Chapter

1) West Virginia Peace and Freedom Party requests West Virginia Chapter Contact List: list given

2) Library of Sacramento State College requests "SDS Bulletin" free: request denied

3) Chapter Contact List offered to distributors of Joan Baez's Stop-the-Draft film

SCHEDULE FOR ST. LOUIS REGIONAL CONF AT WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

April 26th: Cuba panel and discussion at 8 p.m.

April 27th: workshops on high school organizing, women's liberation, the Draft and Draft-resistance, working class organizing, the world revolution, newsreels (hopefully), and summer program

For details contact Guy Nassberg, in care of T. Koch, 5877 Nina Place, St. Louis 63112 (314-862-2732)

if you're moving this summer...

Every N L N that is returned undeliverable (they can't be forwarded) costs the N.O. 10¢ — and automatically ends your sub.

Last summer it cost us well over \$1000 in return postage.

Send this form about a week or two before you move, to :

SDS, 1608 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO 60612, ILL.

OLD ADDRESS:

Name _____

Street & City _____

State & Zip Code _____

NEW ADDRESS

Street & City _____

State & Zip Code _____

NEW LEFT NOTES
Room 206
1608 West Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612
RETURN REQUESTED

Second class postage rate paid in Chicago, Illinois

Stuart Do wty
532 S. First Ave.
Ann Arbor Mich
4810 3

67

Trinity's Anti-War Symposium

PANEL DISCUSSIONS
WORKSHOPS, LECTURES, FILMS

(with a little help from our friends Nick Egleson, Father David Gracie, Michael Ferber, Father James Woodruff, Carl Oglesby, Michael Walzer, Vernon Grizzard, Arnold Lockshin, Gene Tounour, Paul Potter, Arlo Tatum, Norman Birnbaum, Jeff Shero, and Stephen Minot)

APRIL 23RD AND 24TH

PRINT SHOP CARPENTER

The Print Shop has enough work to keep a radical carpenter (or any kind of carpenter—but we still have like no money) busy for a few days. He would make tables and shelves and put in some darkroom sinks. Write or call Tim or Jon at the NO Print Shop—666-3874.

JOIN PAMPHLETS

For those who dug the JOIN pamphlet on Vietnam (prepared by the JOIN staff committee on internal education and reprinted by SDS), other pamphlets are available. The NO has pamphlets on Urban Renewal and The Press (Establishment). Git 'em!