

SDS & THE BPP

The attack made by Chairman Bobby Scale and Chief of Staff David Hilliard on SDS in the August 9, 1969 issue of the Black Panther paper has resulted in widespread confusion and distrust in the minds of many SDS people and others. The situation is a product of the fact that the Panther attack was founded on faulty information about our position on the community control of police petition, and also on account of the attack's vehemence and wide circulation in the movement press.

We are reprinting here the NIC statement passed July 21, 1969 in San Francisco and originally printed in NLN July 23 in an attempt to set the factual record straight. People should take special note of the sentence: "We support completely control of police in the black and brown communities, AND WILL HELP BY BUILDING SUPPORT FOR THAT DEMAND IN THE WHITE COMMUNITIES," For further elaboration of the statement, see Mark Rudd's article in the July 23 NLN.

A meeting was held on August 16 between Bobby Seale and David Hilliard and several SDS national and Bay Area Regional people, including Mark Rudd from the NO. Our position was laid out at that meeting, and the Panthers agreed with our criticism of the way the attack/criticism had been carried out, especially since they saw it was partially based on false information. We were not able at that time, however, to answer the question of whether SDS would circulate the petition in the white communities, since the NIC had decided to wait for more information from local areas concerned before taking a position.

This question has to be resolved at the NIC meeting to be held in Cleveland on August 31 - September 1.

By the way, as a result of the way they handled this controversy, we suggest that the Guardian be renamed the Guardian-Enquirer to appeal even more to the political voyeur, sensationalist audience. More Time-magazine cover-stories running three full pages long about differences between revolutionary organizations!

NIC STATEMENT again

Meeting in open session on the morning of July 21 following the UFAF conference, eight members of the NIC, Mark Rudd, Jeff Jones, Bill Ayers, Mike Klonsky, Bob Avakian, Noel Ignatin, Howie Machtinger, and Phoebe Hirsch (who as first alternate to the NIC has replaced Barbara Reilly, who has resigned), passed the following statement:

SDS participation in the UFAF conference was based on our complete support of the black liberation struggle and of the leadership of that struggle, especially the Black Panther Party. At a time when the black and brown peoples and the Panthers and other organizations are facing increasingly brutal fascist attacks by the ruling class and their agents, the police, all revolutionarles must defend those who are leading the anti-imperialist struggle. Strategically this defense, this attack on fascism is accomplished by continuing to build the anti-imperialist movement; our part of the task is to involve the white working class in the struggle against imperialism. This can only be done by winning whites to support and fight on the side of black and brown people within this country, and on the side of all oppressed and colonized peoples abroad.

In order to build the anti-imperialist movement, SDS has committed itself to the strategy of building a revolutionary youth movement among white youth of the mother country. The key to the development of revolutionary internationalist consciousness, we feel, is the attack on white supremacy, the defeat of the ideology of racism, and of the practice of accepting privileges for being white. Without this attack on white supremacy, there can be no true working-class solidarity, but only the continuance of chauvinism and racism.

The one concrete program presented at the United Front conference was that of petition campaigns for community control of decentralized police forces in the black, brown, and white communities. These campaigns are an attack on fascist pig forces which function to protect the state and the class behind the state, and in addition the petition also raises the issue of self-determination for black and brown colonized peoples (including the right to political separation) through autonomous control of community institutions, very similar to autonomous black study programs. This demand raised in the black and brown nations and explained and agitated around in the white mother country can be key to fighting both fascism and white supremacy.

The demand for community control for white communities, however, has the effect of deflecting the issue from that of fascist repression against black and brown people and from the struggle for self-determination in the colonized nations to a kind of parity among communities which are not, because of white supremacy, equal. It also disregards the reality that whites, because of the ideology of racism and the desire to hold onto their "privileges", are often the oppressors of black people. "Community control" cannot be put forward as contentless—for the whites, it should only mean control by a class-conscious working class. But this is not in the petition. The petition evades the issue of white supremacy, choosing somehow to side-step it. "White" community control does not challenge the conception of "whiteness", of being part of the oppressor nation, and is no substitute for the concept of working-class control. This flaw in the petition not only undermines the fight against white supremacy, but might even reinforce the racism that would use police forces to "protect" whites



MARIE MA

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from blacks, in the same way that racism now serves the imperialist ruling class.

We support completely the demand for community control of decentralized police in the black and brown communities, and will help by building support for that demand in white neighborhoods. At the same time we cannot support the demand for "white community" control, and we therefore urge local and regional SDS organizations to work within the National Committees to Combat Fascism to change the wording of the petition. This will also be done on a national level.

We also urge that SDS chapters undertake campaigns around pig repression and have added to the petition demands such as the following:

-demands for disarming the police, for ending pig brutality, for pigs out of working-class neighborhoods and out of the schools and for an end to the use of pigs against strikes and other struggles of the people;

-demands that pig institutes in colleges and community colleges be shut down;

--attacks on demagogic politicians (both "liberal" and "conservative") who encourage racism while they provoke and plan out police repression.

SDS chapters will also have to deal locally with problems we would face with any petition campaign. While we do not raise principled opposition to all forms of legal struggle, we should understand that at this time smashing the illusion of reform through voting and other capitalist channels is a priority in the building of a revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. The level of struggle is being raised and should continue to be raised among white youth. This is a necessity in building the "fighting force" which will eventually defeat imperialism. If the petition is used in local work, it should not be a substitute for other forms of struggle, such as throwing pigs out of the schools and building anti-pig resistance and armed self-defense contingents; the petitions should instead be a part of these other struggles. Lorraine Rosal - Columbus SDS

"Practice is higher than theoretical knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality but also of immediate actuality."

Lenin - "Conspectus of Hegel's The Science of Logic"

"The truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings but by objective results in social practice. Only social practice can be the criterion of truth. The standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge."

Mao - On Practice

The Ohio Summer Project is "Weatherman" in practice. Although specifics about organizing against chauvinism and male supremacy were in "Weatherman", it incomplete importantly emphasized the need to bring women into the movement by organizing them to fight racism and imperialism; that women's liberation will come through the fight for international communism; that the Third World women's liberation front is the vanguard force of all women's liberation; and that it is racist of white women not to fight the struggles led by the women of Cuba, China, Vietnam, and the black and brown colonies of the US. White American women must not win their liberation by feeding on the blood of the colonized women of the whole world.

project, and particularly in the women's caucus, our growing liberalism had bad effects on our attempts to deal with male chauvinism and male supremacy. Firstly, we dealt with chauvinism simply by attacking chauvinist and paternalist remarks by men. Our criticisms were handled liberally and personalistically. Mao writes: "To enter into an argument and struggle against incorrect views not for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly, but in order to make personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite, or seek revenge. This is the fifth type of liberalism." (Combat Liberalism), Secondly we began defending each other in political discussions because we were women, not because we were politically correct. Often if a man criticized a woman for a counter-revolutionary action or statement, another woman would react in a man-hating way against the manwho made the criticism. We failed to act upon our understanding that what side any person is on in an ideological struggle should be determined not by one's sex, but by one's understanding of the political differences involved. Thirdly, we often did not criticize each other in front of the rest of the collective. Mao writes: "To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague, or an old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are

Stanly company screws you,

An all women's party of young working-class girls, a party where the exploitation of women was crystal clear; there couldn't have been a better push for us. It was the first time we had really organized around women's liberation, and we made lots of mistakes. We were too liberal and we didn't put the women, particularly the representative from the Stanly company, up against the wall. Our fear of being too aggressive falled to polarize the group, and therefore the whole evening lacked any dynamics of struggle. Also we spoke only about consumption, the family, and women's poor wages and working conditions. We didn't attack racism when it came out in the conversation, and failed to speak strongly enough about white privilege.

However, despite our terrible raps. it was a very important event in our development. Our women's caucus that night was out of sight. For the first time we had criticism/self-criticism based on practice. We criticized each other as political women doing political work, and set up more concretely what our caucus must be. We began to see the caucus working within the larger collective as a place for women to share organizing experiences and to develop an analysis of male chauvinism and supremacy as tools of the ruling class, an analysis of the relationship between white working class women and the international proletariat, an analysis of the economic ramifications of the oppression of women, particularly young women, caused by the crisis in imperialism, and so on. In light of this, the caucus took responsibility for researching and writing on the women's

women to do not just good, but exemplary revolutionary work. The kids we began organizing came in contact for the first time with strong women whose purpose in life was not to have a home and bables, but to pick up the gun and fight in a communist revolution.

Moving out in our organizing collectives (high school, college, and street), on the job (small restaurants, McDonalds, laundromats, etc.), in parks and at community and recreation centers, we organized and raised struggles. On the Fourth of July we answered Governor Rhodes' call for all "patriotic citizens and our military boys to celebrate this great holiday of freedom in the parks of our cities" by charging through the parks with an NLF flag, leafleting and rapping. In the following weeks slogans painted in red appeared on the walls and steps of 5 high schools-Free Huey, Fuck US Imperialism, Off the Pig, Vietnamese Women Are Fighting, Viet Cong Will Win, etc .- carloads of pigs, heated discussions, leafleting, and high school contacts resulted. And in job after job, racists were put literally up against the walls. The political polarization that has occurred through these struggles has been the basis for our organizing success, Every day it becomes clearer that struggle is the only way to build a fighting movement.

Then came our actions aiding the black rebellion of July 21-23. Our hard raps, especially after the arrests, pig harassments, etc. of the last 2 weeks, where women played an all-important role, have forced guys we have been organizing to combat their chaovinism, to understand more clearly the fight for women's liberation, and to begin to

"A Woman Who Took a Rifle to Moncada Had to Be a Liberated Woman"

One of our major self-criticisms of the Ohio Project has been that we were internal ---- i.e., did not practice--- for too long after the beginning of the project. All of us, both men and women, came off our campuses timid, physically afraid of moving in the streets, but more importantly psychologically afraid of the people. The more we dwelt on our fear, the more we made the people into monsters; the more we doubted our own ability and knowledge to organize and raise an anti-imperialist, anti-racist consciousness; the more we felt unable to live up to our international duty, and accept our role as urbar guerrillas concretely aiding the liberation struggles of the Third World. Mao writes precisely on this problem in On Practice: "I am not sure I can handle it.' We often hear this remark when a comrade hesitates to accept an assignment. Why is he unsure of himself? Because he has no systematic understanding of the content and circumstances of the assignment, or

harmed. This is one type of liberalism." (Combat Liberalism) The result of these three things was that we began to use chauvinism as a bludgeon. And this served to hamper the development of political trust and led to disunity within the collective. The woman's caucus we formed had become nothing but a tea group.

Our correct fighting instincts led to a few fistfights when the men's chauvinist baiting reached an unbearable level. Such fights led the men to take us more seriously at first, but because they were in the context of no practice, the political content of such struggles became more and more unclear.

The turning point came one night when the women were invited by a neighbor to a "Stanly" party. Stanly parties for women are run by the Stanly company at which they push their products. The woman who gives the party gets a certain number of points for giving the party and extra points if her guests buy Stanly products. If you accumulate a certain number of points you get a free gift. The more you screw your friends by getting them to buy products they can't use, the more points you get and the more worthless products you acquire; i.e., the more the

question. In addition, we decided that women would train in self-defense along with the rest of the project, but that the caucus would see itself as an affinity group, learning how to move well in the streets, and serving as an exemplary fighting unit. Because there are only six women in the Columbus project, we do not see ourselves setting up a women's collective at this point, but plan to use the caucus as a basis for forming such a collective in the future. The caucus will also be responsible for collecting study material on women's liberation for the study sessions of the whole project.

This first organizing experience proved exemplary for the men and forced them to begin dealing with us as political people. It served as a real impetus for all of us to form political collectives, go out into the streets and the parks, etc., do mass work aroundthe national action, and do some real heavy and consistent organizing. Because of the women's continuing practice, we began to really assume leadership positions. see their role in aiding that liberation. The fact that one of us, Elizabeth Stanley (no relation to the Stanly company) was in jail on an inciting to riot charge (felony, 1-3 years, \$25,000 bail) because she had aided the black struggle did more to organize against racism, did more to combat male chauvinism and bring the idea of female revolutionary leadership home—both to the kids we were working with and to the men in our own project—than all the discussions, criticism sessions, etc. that we had bad about racism and male chauvinism all summer.

Through our practice and struggles we ourselves have felt more liberated and have begun to build a women's army within our own movement. We have rejected our programmed bourgeois roles as the bastion of conservative forces in the home, on the job, and in the community; we have attacked our being used as a surplus labor force for imperialist, racist dogs; we have attacked our role as chattel, scabbing on the international liberation struggle. Instead, we have accepted a new rolea role of dignity-a role as members of a women's army, fighting not just for our own liberation, but for the liberation of all the people.

because he has had little or no contact with such work and so the laws governing it are beyond him."

The result of our fears and internal emphasis led to all the pitfalls of reactionary liberalism. In the Columbus For the first time, we could really dig on the concept laid down by the women of Long Bow, China, that the best way to combat chauvinism is for





SOME PEOPLE HAVE IT, SOME PEOPLE DON'T

WE DON'T

-50,000 copies of the mass newspaper are waiting to be picked up at the printers. Cost: \$2700.

-There are four new pamphlets photographed and ready to go on the press, but we need three tons of paper at \$400 a ton before we can run them.

-General operating expenses, as well as the costs of

Sen. Long on SDS

From the Congressional Record of June 4, 1969, this dialogue between Senators Long (D-Tenn.) and Byrd (D-Va.):

LONG: "Has the Senator ever heard of the Students for a Democratic Society?"

BYRD: "Yes, I have heard of that group."

LONG: "Does he agree with me that they are about the scum of the Earth?"

BYRD: "I do not know whether I would use the same phraseology the Senator uses."

LONG: "They're about the most

contemptible people I know of. They're the most overprivileged group in this country, Is the Senator familiar with the fact that the parents of these people have put up the money to pay all their expenses and buy soap for them? But they refuse to take baths. That they have put up the money to buy razor blades? But they refuse to shave. That they have put up the money to buy food for those children? And they spend it on marijuana. They are the most sorry, contemptible, overprivileged people in the world and I say those people are a good element for the Communists to move in on."

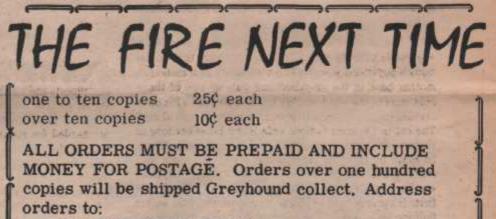
THE FIRE NEXT TIME

Last week's issue of New Left Notes was actually the new SDS mass paper THE FIRE NEXT TIME, All those printed besides those sent in the membership mailing do not say "NLN".

There was one serious political error contained in the article "Who We Are and Where We're At". While the watchful editorial staff was sleeping, Max Frost snuck in and inserted a paragraph at the end of the article implying that older working people are bought off and unable to relate to a revolution that means "giving up everything to create something better". Fortunately the paper was printed in two runs by our printer, and it was possible to eliminate the errant paragraph from the bulk orders being sent to organizers around the country and from all copies of THE FIRE NEXT TIME with the exception of the membership run and the bulk shipment to New York.

Bulk orders of the paper are still available from the national office at a revised rate of 10¢ each for orders of more than 10 copies. Due to the fact that the paper cost us thousands and that the NO is completely busted, we are requiring that half of each order be prepaid, and that the rest be paid when the papers are sold. Unless we receive payments for the bulk orders that have been and will be sent out, it may be impossible to publish the two more issues before the national action that we have planned.

Besides money, we also need people to send criticisms, suggestions, articles, and evaluations. We especially need to know how you have used the paper, and what kind of work it has helped you most with (street, factory, campus). Without money and criticism, it will be impossible for us to build a bigger and better FIRE next time.



THE FIRE NEXT TIME/sds 1608 W. Madison St. Chicago, Illinois 60612

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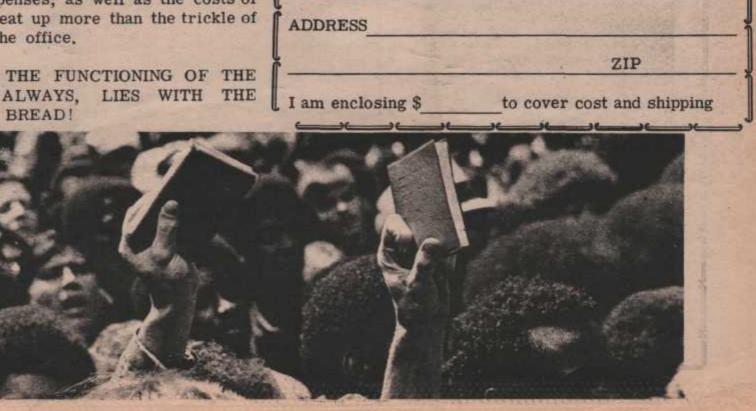
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setting up the action, eat up more than the trickle of bread that comes into the office.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF THE ORGANIZATION, AS ALWAYS, LIES WITH THE MEMBERSHIP. SEND BREAD!



BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME



Reprinted from RISING UP ANGRY

Down by the lake a few weeks ago, we ran into a bunch of guys from out by Racine and the River - Bridgeport, where Fat Face Daley lives. They were drinking quarts of Hamms' (with the new labels) and listening to some tapes by the Iron Butterfly playing out of a beautiful black 1953 Buick convertible. We got into a rap with one of the guys and he asked if we knew about any reefer. We told him things were pretty tight up on the North Side where we hang out. He said the same for the South Side. Then he said he figured he'd be getting some pretty heavy stuff soon. We asked him where from? 'Nam', he said, 'I'm leaving in two days'.

The war's still going on. We know it every time somebody's buddy goes. We know it every time somebody's boyfriend goes. We know it everytime somebody's mother back in the neighborhood puts up one of those gold stars in the window. We know it because a lot of us are fighting and dying in that war. But what's it all about? The cat in the song (whose wife Ruby takes her love to town every night) calls it 'that crazy Asian war'. What's he mean by that? A crazy war in Asia? Or, a war with crazy Asians? Maybe he means a little of both. Anything we don't know much about seems a little crazy to us at first. It's pretty hard to understand what and who we are fighting over there. The newspapers (with all their lies about kids, dope, gangs, and cops) can't be trusted. Same for TV. And the radio's not much better with a couple of words every half hour sandwiched in between Zit cream commercials and old bald-head Clark Weber telling you about looking up young girls' dresses during your lunch hour. So when guys go - they're not sure why they're going. Some don't go at all. There was a guy who hadn't been around the neighborhood for a long time. He went to one of the city junior colleges for a semester. And then

he dropped out. We figured the Uncle got him. Uh-Uh. Somebody any him in Canada. He lives there now. Some go, but stand up against the army bullshit. (The stockades from Ft. Dix in N.J. to Ft. Ord in California and even in Saigon - are filled with guys who are fed up and willing to do something about it). But guys still go in. Why? A lot of them figure it's not worth the hassle not to. Some of them figure they're going to 'save America' from some big Red Monster or something. Some of them figure that if those Viet Cong are gonna be killing off guys we know-guys like us - then we've got to stop them from doing that. You can't let somebody shoot at you with out you shooting back.

But why is America there in the first place? It's pretty obvious that if we didn't have troops in the Nam none of our guys would be getting it. But that still doesn't say what the war is about. Some people say that if we don't win in Vietnam, we'll lose control of the rest of the 'free world'. Dig it. How come the American government is the cop of the world? How come they can use us to patrol the beat while they sit in the station house writing reports and making phone calls. They're safe in their fat-ass padded offices in the Pentagon Pig Station - we're the ones who get shot at. It's crazy. The same guys who get hassled for standing on a corner, for drinking a little beer in the park, for smoking in a high school john, guys who are yelling 'lay back, pig - this corner is ours, this street is ours, this park is ours - and we want you off it '! - these same guys put on a cop-of-the-world suit and go off to hassle the Vietnamese.

And what is it the Vistnamese want? The same things. The Vistnamese are yelling at the United States 'lay back, pig - this land is ours - and we want you off it'! The people of Vietnam <u>must</u> be against the United States. How else could the Cong not only surround, but get inside Saigon. Why else would tens of thousands of South Vietnamese soldiers desert, taking their guns with them? Why else would the US have to move people away from their homes and towns into 'strategic hamlets' with barbedwire fences and concentration camp rules and regulations.

Are they trying to keep the VC out or the people in? Why else did the US have to hold an election ('free' they call it) at gun point and only let people form big cities wote? Are they afraid of the poor and working people of Vietnam? Of course they are.

Because the poor and working people of Vietnam are like the poor and working people of America. The presidents and generals and the chairmen of the board, not only own the regular people of America, they make their millions from us. And we don't complain (not to them at least). And we don't fight back (not a lot - yet). But the people of Vietnam are fighting back. The Viet Cong is made up of poor and working men and women. People who want their country, their towns, their land and their houses back. A long time before the US got into Vietnam, France owned it like a colony. In WW2 the Japanese moved in. The people of Vietnam drove them out. After the war there was a deal with the French that the people could have their freedom. But France copped out and a war started. The Vietnamese drove them out in 1954. That's when the US got in. After a few years of the Americans juggling boundries, promising elections, and generally jiving the people, the Vietnamese started to fight back like they had before. They still wanted their houses, their land, their towns, their country. And they were still ready to fight for them. People fighting for space to live in, space to move in. And the cops-ofthe-world saying, 'Sure you can have space. But only this much. And I'll tell you how to move around in it.

So, what's the crazy Asian war about? It's about people. It's about space. It's about people living their lives in that space. It's a war we shouldn't be fighting. Not in Vietnam, at least. Or in Thailand. Or in Laos. Or in Africa. Or in South America. Those wars are peoples' wars - people rising up angry against the things that put them down. The Viet Cong should win. Not by killing more American soldiers - but by American soldiers leaving Vietnam for the Vietnamese and bringing their guns back home. That war about people and space is in the streets of America. Bring the war home.



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BRINGING THE WAR BACI LESSTALK, MORE NATIONAL

by Kathy Boudin, Bernardine Dohrn, and Terry Robbins, SDS National Action Staff

The National Action is building fast, All over the country, from Detroit to Houston, from Miami, through the cities in Ohio and out to Denver, Colorado, people are digging on the action-and digging on SDS. For the past two months, the National Officers, the National Action staff, and the National Office staff have been busting ass to get out propaganda, develop a scenario with other organizations for the action itself, build contacts throughout the country, get people in motion, and develop an overall strategy for building the action in the next couple of months, in this report, we want to fill people in on what's been going on-and talk about what should be going on-in cities, chapters, and regions in order to build the action, and the Revolutionary Youth Movement.

POLITICS AND STRATEGY: BRING THE WAR HOME!

One of the most important reasons for calling the National Action lies with the decision SDS made in Ann Arbor last winter that it was possible and necessary to build an anti-imperialist, working class youth movement in the mother country; a movement that allies with and provides material aid to the people of Vietnam, of the black and brown colonies, and to all oppressed people of the world.

Over the past year, our understanding of the nature of imperialism and the capitalist system has increased tremendously: building the RYM is a programmatic response to that understanding. We know now that the failure of the white mother country movement to expand beyond the limits of bourgeois student consciousness came at least partly from the class base of our movement, and therefore from our own liberalism. We were afraid to bring our politics to the people; afraid to raise the key issues of imperialism and racism in a consistent, aggressive way. Instead, we hid behind the security of "student power", or economism, or "bread and butter issues". On campuses and in communities, we thought that if we could trick the people into any kind of struggle-and any level of struggle, no matter how low-they would see the naked teeth of the capitalist monster and join the revolution.

It didn't work. And what became clear to peoplethrough the struggles at Columbia and Chicago, at San Francisco State and at Kent State-was that putting forward our politics in an aggressive way was the ONLY way to organize the masses of people in this country. That only by dealing with the issues of white supremacy, the black liberation struggle, Third World struggles, and the fight against imperialism, only by challenging the consciousness of the people could we ever develop

a movement capable of helping topple the imperialist state.

Key to all this is the need for militancy, the need for struggle. A look around shows that the Man understands this. Events like the Woodstock gentleness freak-out and the demonstration at Nixon's home in California indicate that as long as militancy isn't a threat, pig and ruling class approval is forthcoming. But we learn from every organizing situation that people change from being challenged, and that it is in situations of sharp conflict that people are forced to act. Nixon's polity of Law and Order is the modern-day version of McCarthyism: all those who are orderly, polite, and well-behaved are welcomed to imperialism and will be absorbed.

Our strategy of building a fighting force is being put forth openly for the national action, as well as for local organizing, Because national demonstrations have their major impact on the political issues and tone which is carried back for ongoing work, we put forward a struggle scenario of the action. Because we know that revolutionaries are created in struggle and not through protest or persuasion, we say clearly that this is an action not to register a complaint or up the percentage points in public opinion polls, but to make a difference, to create the solution.

And more. We must build struggle's not only because they are the way to build our own movement-but also because they are the only concrete way to relate to the vanguard struggles of black and brown people in this country, and of colonized people throughout the world. Chicago last year did more damage to the ruling class, helped build our own movement, and aided the Vietnamese in a more concrete and significant way. than any mass, peaceful gathering this country has ever seen.

The National Action was conceived to speak to the need to build a mass action that ups the level of politics and ups the level of struggle. In the action we will direct ourselves not only against the war, but against the imperialist system that created the war in the first place; not only in support of withdrawal of US troops, but also in support of the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people, the NLF and the PRG, to defeat imperialism and win freedom and independence; not only to demand an end to racism, but in support of the black liberation struggle as part of the world-wide struggle of oppressed colonized peoples.

The National Action is one of the key ways of talking to young people in this country about building a class conscious revolutionary youth movement which has asits primary task the establishment of another front in the international class war-not only to defeat the imperoalists in Vietnam but to BRING THE WAR HOME!

Chicago is the site. It is here that thousands of young

people faced the blind terror of the military state; where dreams of grandeur and new life turned into the slaughter of innocence. And it was also here that those same people began to fight back-to struggle against the betrayal, the lies, the oppressiveness and the brutality of the state.

We are coming back to turn pig city into the people's city.

THE SCENARIO

As approved by the last NIC meeting, the action will take place over a four-day period, October 8-11. The scenario as it now stands will look like this :

The action will start on Wednesday night, October 8, with a memorial rally for Che Guevara, who was murdered by CIA pigs October 8, 1967, and Nguyen Van Troi, the Vietnamese hero murdered by the US October 15, 1964 for attempting to kill Macnamara. A rally for Che and Troi and all other revolutionaries who have died in the struggle.

On Thursday, October 9, we will join with kids from high schools, community colleges, trade schools, etc. here in Chicago in an offensive against the schools. The action will be something around the idea of a "Jailbreak", and people in the Chicago region are already working with several high schools in the city to develop cadre who will help work out and co-ordinate this action. The need for tactical flexibility on this day is crucial, but it could be one of the most important actions of the week, involving thousands of local kids and getting the word out to thousands more about who we are and what's going on.

Either on Thursday or Friday there will be a women's action, planned by women from functioning political collectives all over the country. Unlike other women's actions-which focused on the symbols of cultural oppression-this action will be an attack on the institutions of racism and imperialism, combatting male chauvinism in large part by being an exemplary women's army.

Thursday night we'll have a youth-rock music festival. (October 9 is the anniversary of the day when Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicked over a lantern and burned half the damn city down.) Fuck hippie capitalism. Build culture in struggle.

Friday we go after the courts. The trial of the "Conspiracy" will be going on at the Federal Building in the downtown Loop area. Our slogan for this action should be "Stop the Trial". Like the slogan "Stop the Convention" last year, it must indicate our commitment to fight back when the Man comes down with repression, to force the ruling class to pay an increasingly heavy price for the farce of "trying" the Conspiracy or any other political prisoners in this country.



K HOME: LACTION

And finally, on Saturday, October 11, we'll have the big march. We're starting to work on a route for the march, and will be seeking permits from the city. The permit, however, even if we get it, will be no guarantee of safety. As on all the other days, we must be prepared to defend ourselves in the event of any vicious attacks by the Chicago pigs.

Talks have been held concerning the possibility of a rally around "FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS" to be held at the Cook County Jail on Thursday or Friday evening. In large part, this depends on our discussions with other groups in the Chicago area.

As the scenario for the four days' actions is now laid out, it builds politically and in militancy toward the October 11 march. The choice of targets for the different days, plus the systematic educational work that will be done in Chicago and in other areas that are really using the National Action as their organizing focus for the summer, will mean that a large number of people, especially young people never before touched by SDS, will know about what is happening and will in some way be relating to it. The plans for the four days are of course not finalized. Changes will undoubtedly take place; some probably will happen when Daley and the Chicago pigs begin their all-out offensive against the action. In building an action like this one, many factors will remain unknown until the actual event. But if the general strategic outlook for the demonstration is sound, we will be able to use anything that happens between now and October 8 to our own advantage.

SELF-DEFENSE

Recently, both here in Chicago and in traveling around the country, we've started to get feedback on the plans for the action. Of all the things being said, the one that presents the most serious problem is one that the pig has been spreading. The rumor has been that we are organizing white youth to bring guns to Chicago to provoke an armed confrontation. What this obviously does is give the pig the excuse to bring out his shotguns and shoot people down in the streets like they did in Berkeley. That people in and out of SDS around the country actually believed such bullshit is amazing. Even though SDS has recognized the correctness of Mao's slogan, "Political Power Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun", we have little experience with armed self-defense and have very little strategic understanding of how the RYM is going to move to the level of armed self-defense. The streets of Chicago are obviously not the place for that to happen.

Our tactics in Chicago this year will grow from the struggles we have been engaged in for the past year. We move in tight groups, taking care of each other while taking care of business, acting in an essentially defensive manner within what is actually a political offensive. This October, we must be the best we've ever been. That means that people who are committed to the action, who are organizing around it in local and regional areas, are going to be the ones with the major responsibilities for leadership in the streets of Chicago. Groups of people should form into affinity groups. Spending the summer learning karate (not for beating a pig with a gun, but for physical and mental conditioning), learning first aid, and learning how to move in the streets by organizing build-up actions in local areas to turn people on to coming to Chicago.

We must begin immediately to put together serious groups on the local level that will work self-consciously to build the action and come to it as a group, When we talk to new kids about the action we should try to get them to come as groups rather than individuals. This involves political implementation deeper than pure tactics. We no longer organize people to participate in actions as individuals because we no longer act out of individual anger or alienation. We reach out to groups because we are building a collective response to collective oppression. In a mass action made up of many types of groups, there is naturally a wide range of experience. Some are heavy, disciplined collectives, people who are engaged in full-time movement work together and who have gone through demonstrations together before. Others might be just groups of kids who hang together, go to school together, who might never have undergone a self-conscious political experience as a group. What we have seen is that those who have experience in the streets (and other tactical situations) usually provide leadership for the action as a whole. That leadership develops within the situation, and is made real by the fact that in general people's instincts are correct: people follow others who have shown themselves to be together and trustworthy in the context of real struggle. In every action we soon learn whom to look to for leadership. And one of the qualities of street leadership is a sensitivity to the level of struggle of the mass of people. No one except a pig is going to lead people into a slaughter situation because people don't follow leadership that moves beyond their level of militanev



One young Yipple hangs on to a lamp pole and vents his anger at advancing National Guard across from Hilton.

and self-confidence. At the same time, correct leadership does not underestimate the level of struggle that the people are willing to engage in.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

It is our hope that the National Action will be as broadly based and widely supported as possible. Since the National Convention, we have contacted and spoken with many organizations, asking for their support. The basis for participation in the action by other organizations has been based primarily on willingness to participate in a militant, anti-imperialist struggle.

Soon after the National Convention we met with representatives of the Mobilization Committee and we sent representatives to the Mobilization conference in Cleveland. We laid out what we were attempting to do politically with this action, and we laid out our criticisms of Mobilization actions in the past. We asked for Mobilization support for this action. What followed was a request for co-sponsorship—speakers, marshals, and a "joint" negotiating team to meet with the city.

and a "joint" negotiating team to meet with the city. The Mobilization has come to symbolize and represent the twice-yearly Sunday afternoon anti-war movement. We're not saying that some of those Sunday afternoons weren't heavy, like the Pentagon and Chicago last year. What we're saying is that a movement must be built with people who will fight imperiatism at home as well as at national actions. The politics put forward through the Mobilization these past years will not be sufficient this year. The request for co-sponsorship and the request for marshals (who were weak in Chicago and pigs in Washington at the inauguration) could not be met without completely changing the politics of the action. Therefore we declined their offer of support.

Of extreme importance have been our discussions with the Illinois Chapter and National Office of the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Organization, and the Young Patriots, an organization of working class youth from Uptown Chicago. Of these, only the Patriots were totally opposed to the action, and through discussions with them significant political differences emerged.

The Patriots argued essentially that SDS was a "student" organization that waşn't interested in the people (white people), and "objectified" the people. They criticized the action for "disrupting" their local work, and complained that SDS was only interested in fucking up Chicago, and not in building a movement

"national-local" argument, as well as with the Patriots' incorrect assessment of where SDS is at, and their tendency to ignore the issue of white supremacy and white-skin privilege in their work.

In our first discussions with the Panthers and the Lords, they raised strong reservations about the action, saying that white people did not have to go through mass struggle in the streets in order to build a revolutionary consciousness. However the National Panther Party, through Bobby Seale and David Hilliard, indicated that they would support the action—though not work actively on it—and discussions with the Illinois Chapter, as well as with the Young Lords, will continue.

What is critical to understand here is that the level of struggle in the black and brown liberation movements is totally different from our own; that black and brown people have reached a level of consciousness where mass demonstrations are no longer so necessary. However, the white movement, riddled by timidity rather than a wealth of experience in struggle, MUST seek to escalate its seriousness and power at this time through the tactic of mass confrontation.

Also, there are hundreds of thousands of kids who are not in SDS, reached by us or able to relate to our politics, but who nonetheless are pissed off, fighting, tearing up the schools, the pigs, their parents, or the army. Many of these kids will be reached in our summer organizing projects. As well, the Yippies are supporting the action, and will be helpful in bringing many of these kids to it. They will be setting up an office in Chicago and producing mass propaganda around the action.

At the September 1 NIC, we will propose that both the Yippies and possibly the Conspiracy, who have also indicated support, co-sponsor the action along with SDS.

Other groups who have indicated support for the action include MDS, Youth Against War and Fascism, and several high school groups around the country. Discussions are in process with others.

ORGANIZING FOR THE ACTION

The National Action is now less than two months away. Two months. It is critical that if people have not yet begun to organize for the action—as is the case in many cities and chapters without summer programs —that they do so immediately. And, if people have begun to do work, they should intensify their efforts three times over for the heavy month ahead.

In the city. We strongly disagreed with this continued on next page labor day weekend CALL (216) 361-0130 or (216) 361-1852 in Cleveland august 29- september 1 for further information. MIDWEST NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE & NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE MEETING

The major conference on the action at which plans will be developed more fully. Discussion will center on high schools, street people, women's brigade, organizing for the action, GI rights and rebellions, self-defense, etc. Cleveland, Ohio, Friday, August 29-Sunday, August 31

To be followed by a meeting of the National Interim Committee Sunday evening, August 31, and Monday, September 1.





IN IS AN ADDRESS WARMEN OF AN ADDRESS

Schools will be re-opening. We've got to get into every high school, every junior college, every college in every city in the country: flooding them with propaganda and actions relating to October 8-11.

We've got to leaflet every factory, every National Guard Armory, every place that GIs congregate or pass by,

We've got to hit every beach, drive-in restaurant, and park, reaching youth everywhere and turning them on to the action.

In many cities, people have opened up National Action storefronts. Other places have held a series of city-wide meetings to bring in other organizations and new people. Still others have planned rock festivals, not only to get kids turned on, but to raise needed ball funds for potential arrests.

And, perhaps more important, cities and regions are planning to engage in local struggles during September that will help build the enthusiasm, confidence, and seriousness of the National Action.

When we go to Chicago we must set up a communication network so that the people who stay home won't have to rely on the bourgeois press for all of their information. The actual organization of such networks will vary; a possible model is the establishment of a news center in conjunction with the local underground press which would receive information from our people in Chicago; the contacts which we have left behind in schools, hospitals, shops, streets, welfare centers...would come to the news center to get the news—perhaps in the form of a wall poster—and take it to the people. This network is also important because it gives people who aren't in Chicago a way of being involved in it—by spreading the news.

In the past couple of weeks, we've heard enthusiastic reports from Detroit, Cleveland, Columbus, Denver, Chicago, and Houston. The National Officers and action staff have recently spent time in Boston, Baltimore, Atlanta, New Orleans, Seattle, San Francisco, and Milwaukee. And, in Chicago, where successful organizing for the action is critical, 15 people are working collectively full-time building up the troops.

Particularly helpful in getting ideas for working on

Police display weapons confiscated from demonstrators during Chicago riots. Among the more lethal were live black widow spiders, golf balls with nails impaled therein, metal spears, knives, bottles, rocks, bricks, and noxious chemicals.

(also distributed through LNS) has been sent out and used by many papers around the country. As we go to press, another supplement is in the works. BUILD THE FALL OFFENSIVE

The people of Vietnam have won the war. With the militancy, genius, and political will of a nation fighting for its liberation, they have forced the US aggressors and their lackeys onto a totally defensive holding operation. What remains is to get the US out of Vietnam.

Our task is to provide material support in ending the war by building class struggle in the streets, schools, and shops of the imperialist mother country. The National Action is part of a larger Fall Offensive designed to aid the Vietnamese and build our movement on every possible level. Other parts of the fall offensive include : —an action at the conference of imperialists, the International Industrialists' Conference in San Francisco September 12-14;

-the November 8th Movement, called by SDS, to bring the struggle against the war and imperialism to every region and city, attacking the local institutions of power across the country;

-the mass mobilization in Washington on November 15, called by the New Mobilization Committee; and

-the Venceremos Brigade, of people who will join with the Cuban people for three months to help with the 10,000,000-ton 1970 sugar harvest.

Building from the motion of the National Action and the entire Fall Offensive, we move into the fall with the potential for increasing our numbers, our militancy, and our effectiveness; for ending the war in Vietnam, and bringing the war home!

MORE LITERATURE, MORE ACTION

The following new literature has been produced by the national office:

-Bring the War Home

to

- -Occupation Troops Out
- -Free All Political Prisoners
- -Independence for Puerto Rico

The above "shotgun" pamphlets are designed especially for use in organizing for the October action. Order them in bulk at \$5 per thousand.

-Man and Socialism in Cuba, by Che Guevara: 35¢ each

— "Imperialism/Chicago October 11" poster: 50¢ singly; 10¢ orders 10 or more — The Fire Next Time, mass distribution newspaper: 10¢ each, orders of 10 or more (to be sold at 25¢ when you re-distribute them)

Additional literature, posters, and buttons are being designed and will be announced when they are ready.

Address all orders to Lit Secretary, SDS, 1608 West Madison, Chicago 60612. All orders must be prepaid and include money for postage. Bulk orders will be shipped Greyhound express collect.

the action is a Midwest National Action Conference, scheduled to be held right before the NIC on August 29-31 in Cleveland. People from Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin have already indicated that they're coming. And probably people from every region in the country should be there —to help plan stuff and generally get into it.

PROPAGANDA

The National Office has been working hard and heavy, producing literature for the action. So far, we've got the basic shotgun "Bring the War Home" (reprinted in the last issue of NLN); a shotgun on "Occupation Troops Out" and two posters.

We've got copy for stuff on political prisoners, independence for Puerto Rico, and GI rights and rebellions, and we're seeking material for a shotgun on each one of the other demands. At this point, though, we're broke—and out of paper. People should send in bread—pay for unpaid back orders, or pay for new orders. Without it, the lit will never get printed. (The price is \$5 for the shotguns.)

Also, several key underground newspapers recently set up the Revolutionary Press Movement, which sees as its initial function publicizing the action. The first of several centerfold supplements for the RPM papers

Kick the Ass of the Ruling Class

The leading imperialists of the world plan to meet in San Francisco in September to formulate plans to tighten their stranglehold on the throats of the people. The people have other ideas.

During the week of September 15-19, 500 corporate leaders from over sixty countries will meet for the Fourth International Industrial Conference (IIC). At the meetings, high level executives plan to discuss the problems and techniques of the international expansion of multinational corporations.

Although the Conference's theme is "Closing the World's Income Gap," Conference sessions will deal with such topics as "coordinating the development efforts of private business and governments," "improving the public image of private enterprise," "obstacles to foreign investment," "safeguarding international investments," and "developing feasible alternatives to free collective bargaining and strikes."

IIC policy board members include David Rockefeller (general chairman of IIC); John H. Loudon, chairman of Royal Dutch Shell; Roger Blough, chairman of the Board of Directors of US Steel; and many of the other controllers of International Big Business.

A number of organizations including the Brown

Berets, the Red Guard, the Asian- American Political Alliance, Los Siete de la Raza and SDS and affiliated organizations will demonstrate to the Super Pigs that San Francisco will not be used to plan the further plunder of the world, while the international criminals sit around gazing serenely at the Bay Bridge and playing grab-ass with the topless dancers.

General mobilizations are planned to meet the Japanese fleet on September 5th and Spiro Agnew on the 9th. Activities specifically around the IIC will take place on the 15th, when the Conference begins. People will hold a rousing welcome for Superpig Nixon when he arrives on September 18th.

In organizing around the Conference, we will emphasize the connection between the policies of global imperialism carried out by the corporations and local repression and economic exploitation. This will be especially apparent here in Wall Street West, where Third World people are being driven from their homes to make way for expansion of the home offices of those imperialist forces reaching out from San Francisco into the Pacific.

No more ruling class conferences in San Francisco . . . or anywhere! Power to the People!

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Black Manifesto

In the past four months, representatives of the National Black Economic Development Conference have appeared at white churches across the country to demand reparations for 400 years of slavery and oppression in America. The demand has been made at churches in New York, Richmond, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Nashville (Tennessee), Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, Capel Hill (North Carolina), and Boston, among other places. Church offices have been occupied for periods of up to 2 weeks, and Westminster Press, a United Presbyterian publishing house, has been asked to publish 5 million copies of the Manifesto. In New Orleans the "Manifesto Five" each face 2-year jail sentences for reading the Manifesto to a white congregation.

In a country where religion has long been the "Opium of the people", the demand for reparations is not without an economic basis. In the United States, the value of land and buildings owned by churches amounts to about \$80 billion—more than the combined assets of the nation's 5 largest corporations. At least \$2 billion in denominational pension funds is invested on Wall Street; tax-deductible contributions to churches exceed \$7 billion; and through subsidiaries and feeder corporations churches own billions of dollars of commercial property.

Below we reprint the text of the Black Manifesto, and the speech given by James Forman at the founding conference of the National Black Economic Development Conference on April 26 for the benefit of all SDS members, and especially those in areas where the NBEDC is active.

Presentation by James Formas, delivered and adopted by the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan on April 26, 1969

TOTAL CONTROL AS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BLACK PEOPLE

Brothers and Sisters:

We have come from all over the country, burning with anger and despair not only with the miserable economic plight of our people, but fully aware that the racism on which the Western World was built dominates our lives. There can be no separation of the problems of racism from the problems of our economic, political, and cultural degradation. To any black man, this is clear.

But there are still some of our people who are clinging to the rhetoric of the Negro, and we must separate ourselves from those Negroes who go around the country promoting all types of schemes for Black Capitalism.

Ironically, some of the most militant Black nationalists, as they call themselves, have been the first to jump on the bandwagon of Black Capitalism. They are pimps: Black Power pimps and fraudulent leaders, and the people must be educated to understand that any black man or Negro who is advocating a perpetuation of capitalism inside the United States is in fact seeking not only his ultimate destruction and death, but is contributing to the continuous exploitation of black people all around the world. For it is the power of the United States Government, this racist, imperialist government, that is choking the life of all people around the world.

We are an African people. We sit back and watch the Jews in this country make Israel a powerful conservative state in the Middle East, but we are not concerned actively about the plight of our brothers in Africa. We are the most advanced technological group of black people in the world, and there are many skills that could be offered to Africa. At the same time, it must be publicly stated that many African leaders are in disarray themselves, having been duped into following the lines laid out by Western imperialist governments. Africans themselves succumbed to and are victims of the power of the United States, For instance, during the summer of 1967, as the representatives of SNCC, Howard Moore and I traveled extensively in Tanzania and Zambia. We talked to high, very high, government offocials. We told them there were many black people in the United States who were willing to come and work in Africa. All these government officials who were part of the leadership in their respective governments said they wanted us to send as many skilled people as we could contact. But this program never came into fruition and we do not know the exact reason, for I assure you that we talked and were committed to making this.a successful program. It is our guess that the United States put the squeeze on these countries, for such a program directed by SNCC would have been too dangerous to the international prestige of the US. It is also possible that some of the wild statements by some black leaders frightened the Africans. In Africa today, there is a great suspicion of black people in this country. This is a correct suspicion, since most of the Negroes who have left the States for work in Africa usually work for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the State Department, But the respect

for us as a people continues to mount, and the day will come when we can return to our homeland as brothers and sisters. But we should not think of going back to Africa today, for we are located in a strategic position. We live inside the US, which is the most barbaric country in the world, and we have a chance to help bring this government down.

Time is short and we do not have much time and it is time we stop mincing words. Caution is fine, but no oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they were ready to fight, to use whatever means necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer.

We have heard the rhetoric, but we have not heard the rhetoric which says that black people in this country must understand that we are the Vanguard Force. We shall liberate all the people in the US, and we will be instrumental in the liberation of colored people the world around. We must understand this point very clearly so that we are not trapped into diversionary and reactionary movements. Any class analysis of the US shows very clearly that black people are the most oppressed group of people inside the United States. We have suffered the most from racism and exploitation and from cultural degradation and lack of political power. It follows from the laws of revolution that the most oppressed will make the revolution, but we are not talking about just making the revolution. All the parties on the left who consider themselves revolutionary will say that blacks are the Vanguard, but we are saying that not only are we the Vanguard, but we must assume leadership, total control, and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the US. We have suffered and we understand suffering. Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese, for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts, our souls, and all the compassion we can mount go out to our brothers in Africa, Santa Domingo, Latin America, and Asia who are being tricked by the power structure of the US which is dominating the world today. These ruthless, barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to imperialism. We no longer can just get by with the use of the word capitalism to describe the US, for it is an imperial power, sending money, missionaries, and the army throughout the world to protect this government and the few rich whites who control it. General Motors and all the major auto industries are operating in South Africa, yet the white-dominated leadership of the United Auto Workers sees no relationship to the exploitation of black people in South Africa and the exploitation of black people in the US. If they understand it, they certainly do not put it into practice, which is the actual test. We as black people must be concerned with the total condition of all black people in the world.

But while we talk of revolution, which will be an armed confrontation and long years of sustained guerrilla warfare inside this country, we must also talk of the type of world we want to live in. We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich people and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean when we say total control. And we mean that black people who have suffered the most from exploitation and racism must move to protect their black interest by assuming leadership inside of the United States of everything that exists. The time is past when we are second in command and the white boy stands on top. This is especially true of the Welfare Agencies in this country, but it is not enough to say that a black man is on top. He must be committed to building the new society, to taking the wealth away from the rich people such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, the DuPonts, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and all the other rich white exploiters and racists who run this



world.

Where do we begin? We have already started. We started the moment we were brought to this country. In fact, we started on the shores of Africa, for we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves, and now we must resist the attempts to make us capitalists. It is in the financial interests of the US to make us capitalists, for this will be the same line as that of integration into the mainstream of American life. Therefore, brothers and sisters, there is no need to fall into the trap that we have to get an ideology. We HAVE an ideology. Our right is against racism, capitalism, and imperialism, and we are dedicated to building a socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the State, and that must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of the world, And, therefore, we obviously are different from some of those who seek a black nation in the United States, for there is no way for that nation to be viable, if in fact the United States remains in the hands of white racists. Then, too, let us deal with some arguments that we should share power with whites. We say that there must be a revolutionary black Vanguard and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership. For that is the only protection that black people have to protect ourselves from racism rising again in this country.

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Racism in the US is so pervasive in the mentality of whites that only an armed, well disciplined, black controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. And that is why we plead with black people not to be talking about a few crumbs, a few thousand dollars for this co-operative, or a thousand dollars which splits black people into fighting over the dollar. That is the intention of the government. We say ... think in terms of total control of the US, Prepare ourselves to seize state power. Do not hedge, for time is short and all around the world the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the US, It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people. We work the chief industries in this country, and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets. This will take some long-range planning, but whether it happens in a thousand years is of no consequence. It cannot happen unless we start. How, then, is all of this related to this conference?

First of all, this conference is called by a set of religious people. Christians who have been involved in the exploitation and rape of black people since the country was founded. The missionary goes hand in hand with the power of the states. We must begin seining power wherever we are, and we must say to the planners of this conference that you are no longer in charge. We the people who have assembled here thank you for getting us here, but we are going to assume power over the conference and determine from this moment on the direction in which we want it to go. We are not saying the conference was planned badly, for the staff of the conference have worked hard and have done a magnificent job in bringing all of us together, and we must include them in the new leadership which must surface from this point on. The Conference is now the property of the people who are assembled here. This we proclaim as fact and not rhetoric, and there are demands that we are going to make, and we insist that the planners of this conference help us implement them,

We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this. We have the same rights, if you will, as the Christians had in going into Africa and raping our Motherland and bringing us away from our continent of peace and into this hostile and alien environment where we have been living in perpetual warfare since 1619.

Our seizure of power at this conference is based on a program, and our program is contained in the following manifesto:

manifesto

We the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan for the National Black Economic Development once are fully aware that we have been forced Co. to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as

pay reparations to black people in this country. We are

(Liberation Will

demanding \$500,000,000 from the Christian white churches and Jewish synagogues. This total comes to \$15 per nigger. This is a low estimate, for we maintain there are probably more than 30,000,000 black people in this country, \$15 a nigger is not a large sum of money, and we know that the churches and synagogues have a tremendous wealth and their membership, white America, has profited and still exploits black people. We are also not unaware that the exploitation of colored peoples around the world is aided and abetted by the white Christian churches and synagogues. This demand for \$500,000,000 is not an idle resolution or empty words. Fifteen dollars for every black brother and sister in the United States is only a beginning of the reparation due us as people who have been exploited, degraded, brutalized, killed, and persecuted. Underneath all of this exploitation, the racism of this country has produced a psychological effect upon us that we're beginning to shake off. We are no longer afraid to demand our full rights as a people in this decadent society!

We are demanding \$500,000,000 to be spent in the following way:

1) We call for the establishment of a Southern land bank to help our brothers and sisters who have to leave their land because of racist pressure for people who want to establish cooperative farms, but who have no funds. We have seen too many farmers evicted from their homes because they have dared to defy the white racism of this country. We need money for land. We must fight for massive sums of money for this Southern Land Bank. We call for \$200,000,000 to implement this program.

2) We call for the establishment of four major publishing and printing industries in the United States to be funded with \$10,000,000 each. These publishing houses are to be located in Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York. They will help to generate capital for further cooperative investments in the black community, provide jobs and an alternative to the white - dominated and controlled printing field.

3) We call for the establishment of four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual networks to be located in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and Washington D.C. These TV networks will provide an alternative to the racist propaganda that fills the current television networks. Each of these TV networks will be funded by \$10,000,000.

4) We call for a research skills center which will provide research on the problems of black people. This center must be funded with no less than \$30,000,000.

5) We call for the establishment of a training center for the teaching of skills in community organization, photography, movie making, television making and repair, radio building and repair, and all other skills needed in communication. This training service shall be funded with no less than \$10,000,000.

6) We recognize the role of the National Welfare Rights Organization and we intend to work with them. We call for \$10,000,000 to assist in the organization of welfare recipients. We want to organize the welfare workers in this country so that they may demand more money from the government and better administration of the welfare system in this country.

7) We call for \$20,000,000 for the establishment of a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund. This is necessary for the protection of black workers and their families who are fighting racist working conditions in this country.



Come from

8) We call for the establishment of the United Black Appeal (UBA). The United Black Appeal will be funded with no less than \$20,000,000. The UBA is charged with producing more capital for the establishment of cooperative businesses in the United States and in Africa, our Motherland. The United Black Appeal is one of the most important demands that we are making, for we know that it can generate and raise funds throughout the United States and help our African brothers. The UBA is charged with three functions and shall be headed by James Forman:

a) Raising money for the program of the National Black Economic Development Conference.

b) The development of cooperatives in African countries and support of African Liberation Movements. c) Establishment of a Black Anti-Defamation League which will protect our African image.

9) We call for the establishment of a black university to be funded with \$130,000,000 to be located in the South. Negotiations are presently under way with a Southern university.

10) We demand that IFC allocate all unused funds in the planning budget to implement the demands of this conference.

In order to win these demands we are aware that we will have to have massive support. Therefore:

1) We call upon all black people throughout the United States to consider themselves members of the National Black Economic Development Conference and to act in unity to help force the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to implement these demands. 2) We call upon all the concerned black people across the country to contact black workers, black women, black students, and the black unemployed, community groups, welfare organizations, teachers organizations, church leaders and organizations explaining how these demands are vital to the black community of the U.S. *(Revised and approved by Steering Committee) of the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. All black people should act boldly in confronting our white oppressors and demanding this modest reparation of \$15 per black man.

3) Delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference are urged to call press conferences in the cities and to attempt to get as many black organizations as possible to support the demands of the conference. The quick use of the press in the local areas will heighten the tension, and these demands must be attempted to be won in a short period of time, although we are prepared for protracted and long-range struggle.

4) We call for the total disruption of selected church sponsored agencies operating anywhere in the U.S. and the world. Black workers, black women, black students, and the black unemployed are encouraged to seize the offices, telephones, and printing apparatus of all church sponsored agencies and to hold these in trusteeship until our demands are met.

5) We call upon all delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference to stage sit-in demonstrations at selected black and white churches. This is not to be interpreted as a continuation of the sit-in movement of the early sixties, but we know that active confrontation inside white churches is possible and will strengthen the possibility of meeting our demands. Such confrontation can take the form of reading the Black Manifesto instead of a sermon or passing it out to church members. The principles of self-defense should be applied if attacked.

6) On May 4, 1969 or a date thereafter, depending

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white Americans will demonstrate concretely that they are willing to fight the white skin privilege and the white supremacy and racism which has forced us as black people to make these demands,

8) We call upon all white Christians and Jews to practice patience, tolerance and understanding, and non-violence, as they have encouraged, advised, and demanded that we as black people should do throughout our entire enforced slavery in the United States, The true test of their faith and belief in the Cross and the words of the prophets will certainly be put to a test as we seek legitimate and extremely modest reparations for our role in developing the industrial base of the Western world through our slave labor. But we are no longer slaves, we are men and women, proud of our African heritage, demanding to have our dignity.

9) We are so proud of our African heritage and realize concretely that our struggle is not only to make revolution in the United States, but to protect our brothers and sisters in Africa and to help them rid themselves of racism, capitalism, and imperialism by whatever means necessary, including armed struggle. We are and must be willing to fight the defamation of our African image wherever it rears its ugly head. We are therefore charging the Steering Committee to create a Black Anti-Defamation League to be funded by money raised from the International Black Appeal. 10) We fully recognize that the revolution in the United States and Africa, our Motherland, is more than a one-dimensional operation. It will require the total integration of the political, economic, and military components, and therefore we call upon all of our brothers and sisters who have acquired training and expertise in the fields of engineering, electronics, research, community organization, physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, military science, and warfare to assist the National Black Economic Development Conference in the implementation of its program.

11) To implement these demands we must have a fearless leadership. We must have a leadership which is willing to battle the church establishment to implement these demands. To win our demands we will have to declare war on the white Christian churches and synagogues, and this means we may have to fight the total government structure of this country. Let no one here think that these demands will be met by our merely stating them. For the sake of the churches and synagogues, we hope that they have the wisdom to understand that these demands are modest and reasonable. But if the white Christians and Jews are not willing to meet our demands through peace and good will, then we declare war and we are prepared to fight by whatever means necessary. We are, therefore, proposing the election of the following Steering Committee:

Jim Brerdan Althea Alexander Calvin Marshall Mitz Rolling Howard Fuller James Forman John Watson Fannie Lou Hamer Ken Cockrel Julian Bond Mark Comfort Earl Allen

Robert Brown Vincent Harding Haywood Henry Caine Felder **Reverend** Lucas Mike Hamlin Len Holt Michael Wright Muhammed Kenyatta Mel Jackson Harold Holmes

Brothers and sisters, we no longer are shuffling our feet and scratching our heads. We are tall, black, and proud.

And we say to the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, to the government of this country, and to all the white racist imperialists who compose it, there is only one thing left that you can do to further degrade black people, and that is to kill us. But we have been dying too long for this country. We have died in



saying that this is the road we want to take, It is not, but let us be very clear that we are not opposed to force and we are not opposed to violence. We were captured in Africa by violence. We were kept in bondage and political servitude and forced to work as slaves by the military machinery and the Christian church working hand in hand.

We recognize that in issuing this manifesto we must prepare for a long-range educational campaign in all communities of this country, but we know that the Christian churches have contributed to our oppression in white America. We do not intend to abuse our black brothers and sisters in black churches who have uncritically accepted Christianity. We want them to understand how the racist white Christian church with hypocritical declarations and doctrines of brotherhood has abused our trust and faith. An attack on the religious beliefs of black people is not our major objective, even though we know that we were not Christians when we were brought to this country, but that Christianity was used to help enslave us. Our objective in issuing this Manifesto is to force the racist white Christian church to begin the payment of reparations which are due to all black people, not only by the church but also by private business and the U.S. government. We see this focus on the Christian church as an effort around which all black people can unite. Our demands are negotiable, but they cannot be minimized, they can only be increased, and the church is asked to come up with larger sums of money than we are asking.

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every war. We are dying in Vietnam today fighting the wrong enemy.

The new black man wants to live, and to live means that we must not become static or merely believe in self-defense. We must boldly go out and attack the white Western world at its power centers. The white Christian churches are another form of government in this country, and they are used by the government of this country to exploit the people of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, but that day is soon coming to an end. Therefore, brothers and sisters, the demands we make upon the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues are small comands. They represent \$15 per black person in these United States. We can legitimately demand this from the church power structure. We must demand more from the United States government.

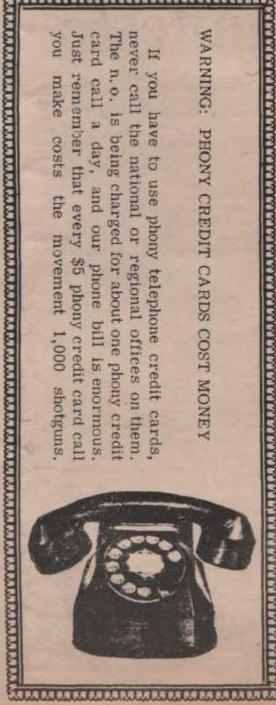
But to win our demands from the church which is linked up with the United States government, we must not forget that it will ultimately be by force and power that we will win.

We are not threatening the churches. We are saying that we know the churches came with the military might of the colonizers and have been sustained by the military might of the colonizers. Hence, if the churches in colonial territories were established by military might, we know deep within our hearts that we must be prepared to use force to get our demands. We are not

Our slogans are:

ALL ROADS MUST LEAD TO REVOLUTION UNITE WITH WHOMEVER YOU CAN UNITE NEUTRALIZE WHEREVER POSSIBLE FIGHT OUR ENEMIES BELENTLESSLY VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE LIFE AND GOOD REALTH TO MANEIND REVOLUTION BLACK POWER WE SHALL WIN WITHOUT A DOUBT

RESISTANCE TO DOMINATION BY THE WHITE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND JEWISH SYNAGOGUES





FLASH: CHAIRMAN SEALE BUSTED

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA: Chairman Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party was arrested last night (Tuesday, August 19) while driving in the vicinity of Panther National Headquarters. Seale was returning from Panther Minister of Education Raymond "Masai" Hewitt's wedding when 12 carloads of FBI pigs with shotguns and .357 magnums surrounded the car. The FBI told Charles Gerry that Seale was charged with conspiracy to murder and kidnap, and also with murder and kidnapping (4 charges). Bail was set at \$25,000. The Panthers posted bail Wednesday morning and Seale was released and then immediately re-arrested and held on a fugitive-from-justice warrant from the state of Connecticut. An extradition hearing has been set for sometime next week.

CHICAGO PANTHERS BUSTED, FRED FREED

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: 5 Chicago policemen were wounded July 31 during an attempt to seize and destroy the Chicago office of the Black Panther Party. Pigs shot through the door, smashed office equipment, stole \$500 from the Panther treasury, and burned down the third floor of the Panther office, including thousands of Panther newspapers and hundreds of dollars of food for the Breakfast for Children program. Three Panthers were held on \$20,000 bail on charges of resisting arrest and 5 counts of attempted murder and aggravated battery. This was the second attack on the Chicago Panther office in recent months, but in the week following the attack Illinois Panthers refurbished the office and opened a new office on the South Side. Also from Chicago: Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton was released from jail on bond totaling \$55,000 from 2 frame-up cases.

GUNS AND AMMUNITION STOLEN

FORT LEWIS, WASHINGTON: There are lots of rumors about Fort Lewis, near Tacoma, Washington, but the only confirmed facts are that one man is dead, and a number of weapons, including a machine gun, have been stolen. Rumors have it that the man was shot while guarding either an arms room or an ammo dump, and there are reports that the action was initiated by hippies or black revolutionaries. Or perhaps it was a few GIs getting ready to turn their guns around.

NEW GI COFFEEHOUSE PLANNED

WEST BERLIN: American SDS members who have been publishing an anti-war newspaper named "Where It's At" for over a year in West Berlin have been threatened with prosecution for allegedly calling for desertion from the army. The group, made up of American students, workers, and former soldiers, are planning to open a GI coffeehouse soon, and say that if the army deports them, American soldiers can be expected to continue the job they have begun.

FT. RILEY STOCKADE REVOLTS

FORT RILEY, KANSAS (LNS): Moon landing notwithstanding, military officials at the Fort Riley stockade in Kansas decided to bypass the national holiday and ordered the prisoners to work. Since the prisoners had been forced to work the previous Saturday to make up for the holiday, the prisoners protested the order quickly and strongly. Two barracks refused to go out, trash bins were set on fire, and GIs ignited one of the guard towers. The prisoners chased out guards with barrages of rocks and bottles, and pelted the commanding general of the base with eggs and rocks when he attempted to speak to them over a bullhorn. After it was all over, a few prisoners were put in segregation, and many were threatened with sentences as high as 80 years, but so far only one man has been officially charged, and it appears that his charges will soon be dropped. The stockade rebellion followed several similar revolts at army stockades across the country. At Fort Riley 90% of the prisoners are there for AWAOL, nearly 50% are black or Third World people, the food is often inedible, and prisoners are occasionally beaten by a few sadistic guards. The stockade was built to hold less than 300 prisoners, but at the time of the rebellion there were 584 prisoners being held there. Although the prisoners gave up the stockade peacefully after 7 hours, the next night over 300 prisoners resumed the action, and again took over the stockade.

PUERTO RICANS REVOLT

We must take the warnings to neart and prepare to meet force with force if necessary. But on the other hand we must more to bring the American Dream to the ghetto (- Richard Nixon)



NATIONAL ACTION TRAINING PROGRAM BEGINS

DENVER, COLORADO: Chanting "One More War, Revolution!", "Turn the Guns Around—Bring the War Home!", and "Free Susan!", 200 people marched on the Denver City Jail on August 8 to demand the release of 3 Black Panthers being held for refusing to talk at a Federal Grand Jury investigation. The pigs tried to follow the march as it wove its way up and down one-way streets, but the march was also followed by numerous passers-by, including a number of GIs, who came to the jail and stayed to hear speeches by the Black Panthers, the Crusade for Justice, and SDS. The speakers called for the release of all political prisoners, the immediate withdrawal of all US occupying troops from Vietnam and the rest of the Third World and from black and brown communities, support for the NLF, and an end to exploitative taxes. The march was the beginning of Denver's Bill Haywood Regional SDS training program for the October 8-11 national action in Chicago.

DEMONSTRATORS SUPPORT FT. DIX 38



NEW YORK: 400 demonstrators massed in front of Penn Station August 2 to support the 38 Fort Dix GIs who face courtmartials for having participated in a stockade uprising in June. The protesters called for the elimination of all army stockades and the freeing of all GI and other political prisoners. Demonstrators passed out thousands of leaflets to pedestrians and drivers as they marched down 8th Avenue to a Veterans Administration building. Although the march tied up traffic, cab and truck drivers, and people going home from work were sympathetic for the most part. After the demonstration, which was organized by the American Serviceman's Union and SDS, Military Police arrested a soldier who held up an NLF fiag while in uniform.

BLACK YOUTH DEMAND JOBS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: A coalition of 61 black organizations has demanded 10,000 construction jobs in the city of Chicago, and has shut down 20 construction sites involving \$80,000,000 worth of construction since mid-July. Although there are 100,000 construction workers in Chicago, only 10,000 of them are black, and most of these are unskilled laborers. In a city where 50% of all high school students are black, only 6% of the union apprentices for skilled construction jobs are black. The demand for 10,000 jobs has been enforced by picketing construction sites and asking the workers to walk off their jobs, and the bulk of the demonstrators have been members of black Chicago street gangs. This past week they have demonstrated at the construction site of a Science and Engineering Building at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus, and SDS members have joined these demonstrations and tried to build support for the demands among white students at Circle. The Chicago Building Trades Council now has an injunction to limit gatherings outside construction sites to six persons and banning interference with workers, and the SCLC is reconvening its annual convention in Chicago and promises massive demonstrations in support of the demands.

FIVE JAILED IN SEATTLE

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON: Last May hundreds of students at Seattle Community College joined a rebellion against university expansion and for community control

PASSAIC, NEW JERSEY (LNS): The Spanish-speaking people of Passaic, an old and decaying city 10 miles from New York, staged a militant uprising in early August against the rent-gouging landlords and high-priced stores which exploit their community. Gun battles with police, widespread looting of white-owned stores, street fights, and firebombings marked a week of intense struggle by the Puerto Rican population in this city of 58,000 who feel their very lives threatened by recent rent jack-ups. The rebellion was one of the first explosions of a Puerto Rican ghetto to follow the scenario of the black uprisings of the last few years. The outbreak began on August 3, when 400 residents of the Dundee section, where most of Passaic's 9,000 Puerto Ricans live, marched on City Hall to protest the eviction of a 27-year-old Puerto Rican woman and her 11 children from a \$150-a-month apartment, and their relocation in a more expensive basement flat, with two bedrooms separated by a boiler. The eviction was only the latest in a ghetto where rents have doubled, and tripled over the last few months. The march was angry and militant, and later that night 1,000 youths mounted a violent attack on shops exploiting their neighborhood. Four nights of rebellion saw over 100 arrests, curfews, state police, looting of many stores, and the firebombing of the City Hall.

SNCC WORKER SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS

NEW ORLEANS: SNCC worker Walter Collins has been sentenced to 5 years in jail and fined \$2,000 for "refusing the draft" 5 times. Twice Collins was thrown out of the induction center for distributing anti-war literature and bringing friends along to demonstrate against the draft, and finally he was tried for draft refusal. Charges of draft resistance have long been a favorite Southern way of locking up SNCC workers, such as Cleveland Sellers, whose "crimes" have obviously been much more political. of the college. After occupying buildings and fighting pigs, the university sought an injunction and then charged 6 people under it. On August 16, the 6 were sentenced to 5 months in jail, with 4 months of the sentence suspended. The prosecution had recommended 30-day suspended sentences for 3 of the protesters, and 60 days with 50 suspended for the rest, but the judge decided that that wasn't enough.

COLUMBUS REPRESSION ROLLS ON

As part of the continuing harassment and repression against Columbus SDS, 8 people were arrested last week for "vagrancy", and bail was set at \$2,500 each. A lawyer later got the bail lowered, and all 8 have been released. The Columbus pigs are still seeking 5 SDS people for "inciting to riot", stemming from events during the Columbus black rebellion last month. Pigs are constantly tailing the SDS people, harassing them on the street, and the threat of arrest for more bullshit charges exists every day. Nonetheless, SDS continues to work in Columbus, particularly organizing kids around the National Action. At an Ohio Regional Conference last week, 10 more people from the Ohio summer program were sent to Columbus, and members of the summer program were assigned to travel to Cincinnati, Dayton, and Toledo to recruit people for the Midwest National Action Conference in Cleveland August 29-31.

SEATTLE RIOTS

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON: A week of rebellion by students and street people near the University of Washington has been ended with tear gas and pigs. After weeks of pig harassment on the beaches and "the Ave" (University Way), a beach arrest on August 10 led to the burning of a police car, and later that week windows were smashed, stores logted, and pigs bombarded with rocks and bottles as rebellion against the pigs and against the merchants of the area flared. 60 people were arrested, and although the rebellion had little explicit political direction, the local press tried to blame it on SDS and on "black militants".