

# sds new left notes



Vol. 4, no. 17

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

May 1, 1969

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THE AWAKENED COMMUNITY  
WILL SEE ITS DEMANDS  
REALIZED



## RIGHT ON...

The awakening of the community to fight for just demands broadened again this week: There were hundreds of revolts as high school and college youth continued to intensify the struggle against the class and colonial oppression of the U.S. education system. Militant actions took place in every part of the country—at state universities, community and junior colleges, working class high schools and at the Ivy League institutions. On top, black and white high school students in New York fight city pigs. For a story on the crumbling New York high schools and reports on a sampling of other campus battles, see pages 4-5.

Oppressed people throughout the world rallied on May 1st demanding that Huey P. Newton be set free. The May Day rallies were a signal that the people were reclaiming May 1st, which the ruling class had stolen and tried to transform into "Law Day". Just above, members of the Black Panther Party ring the Criminal Courts building in New York. See story p. 3.

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P69

# LETTERS TO THE LEFT

## Split With SSOC: Yankee Meddling?

Severing fraternal relations with SSOC is one of the stupider things SDS has ever done. When it is seen as the parting blow of the worker-student alliance faction, it even becomes ludicrous.

Of course, it's never been entirely clear what the benefits of fraternal relations with SDS have been. Does this now mean that SDS will try raiding SSOC chapters, detailing in what ways it is more radical than SSOC? Potential recruits for the left will no doubt be impressed by this spectacle. So would

J. Edgar, if he had a sense of humor. SSOC's emphasis on the South as a distinct region with a distinct culture predated black power by quite a while. It had to do with organizing whites to join the then interracial struggle to liberate the South. It also had to do with dealing with the missionary northerner, found in the white student community in the South, as well as in the Mississippi delta.

It has also to do with the established, if unadmitted, fact that Northerners consider the South Hicksville, of which Southerners are painfully aware. Watch Andy Griffith or the Beverly Hillbillies—or listen to a national officer of SDS say in Lexington, Ky., one year ago, "act straight and be careful of the rednecks."

### Rational Discussion

Whether or not SSOC ought to be more "radical" is a different question; it seems to me that if SDS ever did have real fraternal relations with SSOC, that could have been discussed in a rational manner and criticisms offered. Putting SSOC on the chopping block and then axing it, in the circus atmosphere of an NC, is a travesty of the phrase.

The resolution offers some criticisms which simply cannot be made general ones of SSOC. SSOC does denounce Northern capitalism; it also denounces Southern capitalism. It makes the point that there aren't many Southern capitalists, which is true. But I never heard SSOC fail to attack J. P. Stevens textiles or Reynolds Tobacco. There have been SDS chapters in the South which have been found wanting, too. At West Virginia University, students recently gave up on forming an SDS chapter and switched to SSOC, with spectacular results. SSOC does accept foundation money, but there are also state organizations which finance their own operations completely from student support. One of these is North Carolina.

One interesting coincidence is that in the previous issue of NLN, just before the NC, there were articles including two struggles in N.C. which involved white, SSOC-organized support: at Duke and Chapel Hill. One was written by Mike Klonsky, who according to NLN took a position against SSOC; he and the other anonymous writer failed to note that SSOC was involved in those struggles, to the point of being tear-gassed, if that's what it takes to convince people. SSOC also held a very useful conference on women's liberation not long ago. Another on radical southern history is scheduled this week, and one in NC a while back on the New Left included SDS speakers.

To show northern members what effect this will have on the Southern movement, there are already rumors that Lyn Wells was physically attacked by an SDS member at the NC (Southerners say she bested him in an argument), and some SSOC students are afraid that SDS members are planning to break up the history conference by force.

The whole situation would be funny, if it weren't so tragic. The bitterness which will be a factor in the South for a long time to come can only be alleviated if SDS offers friendship and an apology as soon as possible. The whole thing smacks so obviously of Yankee meddling that even Wallaceites may be moved to sympathize with SSOC. And many young Southerners will

undoubtedly decide that if this is the humanistic wave of the future, count them out. If only SDS had listed criticisms of SSOC or just tried organizing in the South, it would be one thing; but most students will only see "severing relations" as a pronouncement of moral superiority—a position forced down the South's throat by the North for too long.

Suzanne Crowell

## Doubts About China

Bernardine Dohrn's somewhat hysterical diatribe in your Feb. 28 issue was interesting, but hardly served to clarify the issues on the struggle going on in Vietnam.

That the NLF-led movement is a manifestation of an overwhelming sympathy on the part of the Vietnamese people that the U.S. should get out is obviously clear. That this struggle will decisively break Vietnam away from the imperialist domination of Western capitalism is also clear. On these bases, that struggle, the military victory of that movement, deserves the unequivocal support of the Left.

However, to blur over real and basic issues is not, I repeat, to clarify anything. Dohrn is, for anyone in SDS who doesn't already know it, directing her attack against PL, who themselves have a line entirely consistent with their pro-Chinese politics. Dohrn launches a non-political polemic against this faction within SDS without at all coming to grips with the fundamental issues; for to do so would be to question the political and ideological presuppositions of both the National Office and PL.

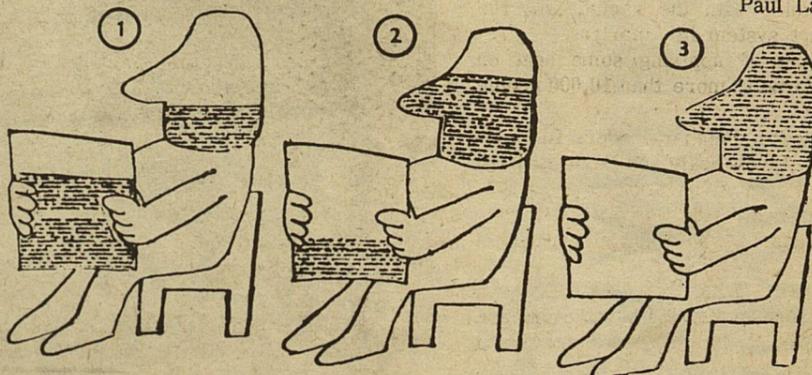
When PL attacks the movement in Vietnam, they are being consistent with Mao's attack not long ago on that same movement. I think, if I remember correctly, that he used the same catch-all term to describe it—"revisionist". Of course, this ultra-Left position is hardly consistent with the positions adopted in the past by China. It was fairly well-known, for example, even among "liberal" diplomatic circles that back in 1954 China and Russia both were pressuring the Vietminh to come to the conference table and end their anti-imperialist struggle. It was also interesting that, due generally to the trade relations maintained with the government of Indonesia's ex-President Sukarno, the Chinese-oriented Communist Party of that country maintained their coalition with the "progressive" government—one which contained reactionary generals later responsible for massacring peasants and workers in the C.P.! And just talk to Zengakuren students in Japan about how the (formerly) Chinese-oriented C.P. used to break strikes of anti-war workers and students because these strikes had a tendency to spread to the factories of "progressive capitalists"—that is, those who, not very coincidentally, maintained trade relations with Mao's illustrious

"People's Democracy."

No, if Dohrn and those in SDS alienated by the intimidation of PL-inspired factionalism wish to get to the heart of the issue, then they will have to go back to the roots, as Marx might have said. They will have to deal with the ideological and political issues involved seriously, and this means doing so without engaging in emotionalistic and often personal attacks on opponents.

And perhaps then they will begin to stop labelling as "anti-communist" those in the movement who have deeper doubts about the "socialist" character of the Eastern bureaucratic regimes. For to be anti-Mao is not, therefore, to be anti-communist. It's merely to be anti-Mao.

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Paul Lauter

## More on AGE

Your article on the American Council on Education and their questionnaires is fine, but a little incomplete.

1. The Council has been actively collecting information about students, especially activists, for a couple years now. They are using this information, as "Hard Times" correctly reported, to construct a "profile" of "protest-prone" students, to be used by admissions deans to screen out radicals.

2. We already know from hard evidence at Chicago and Oberlin that admissions people are already, in fact, using political criteria to reject students. (It would be very useful to have hard evidence from other places, which suggests that admissions files might make interesting reading.)

3. Rejection of middle-class radicals at various prestige institutions won't make much difference; they have the "credentials" to get in one place or another. But as working-class and black radical students are barred, and as the practice spreads, as it very likely will, to public institutions with any admission criteria, more fundamental problems will arise. What these institutions want to do, obviously, is separate potential cadre from potential constituency, and channel the activists out of their precious ivy.

4. This suggests that if people are still working on student power demands, admissions, access to records, and control over criteria remain relevant.

5. Another insight into how the man's information suckers work may be provided by the following: there is some

## The Next NO

Many changes have taken place in our organization since its last convention in June 1968, and I would like to discuss the meaning of some of these changes. The last two NCs clearly demonstrate a new kind of discussion taking place within SDS. Due to the internal collision of forces we have finally become a consciously political organization.

Most of us realize that PLP has used Marxism-Leninism as a purely rhetorical device, and their dogmatic, sloganistic approach to the contemporary political scene has never failed to instinctively anger most SDS organizers. However, facing up to this challenge to our style and to our programs necessitated a thorough study of our Marxist forerunners.

The division within SDS, reflected organizationally by Fred Gordon's split with the NO collective, helped us to become more adept and facile at handling the Marxist classics. This has led several of our organizers to become manic text quoters, especially when confronted by PL dogmatists.

But, as Mao says somewhere, we should fight fire with water and not with fire. The only successful attack on PL's opportunist line will be provided by a valid and clear analysis of our own situation and a definite notion of how we must proceed to change it.

This cannot be replaced by a complete reliance on Marx, Lenin, and Mao, nor by the development of an alternate but equally dogmatic line. In building a mass movement we must use the classics of Marxism as our points d'appui, but the strategy must be clearly our own and must be explained to our people in plain terms—not in quotes and slogans.

This points out the characteristics needed in the NO next year. The Klonskys were historically correct in stressing a hard, Marxist rhetoric. This had the effect of stimulating education and taking the wind out of PL's rhetorical sails. However, the new national officers will have to face the problem of turning the Revolutionary Youth Movement into a movement.

We must now begin to meet our people face to face, and we must be able to explain our Marxism—not merely to quote the relevant passages. People should be giving some thought to the new qualities that will be required of our national office, and to the renewal of the office of Educational Secretary.

Chris Robinson  
New School SDS

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# HUEY STILL NOT FREE

Thousands of people around the world rallied on May Day in support of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party.

Despite the people's demand to free Huey, Judge Alphonso J. Zirpoli sat on the bench in his federal court and bullshitted his way out of making any decision on setting bail for Huey.

After the District Attorney protested about the "unprecedented" nature of this kind of decision by a federal judge, Zirpoli decided not to decide whether or not the state had cause for denying bail.

Huey Newton has been in jail now for more than a year since he allegedly offed an Oakland pig in defense of the black community. A racist jury in Oakland refused to convict Huey on the frame-up charge of murder, but sentenced him to 2-15 years in jail on a manslaughter charge in an act of compromise with the racists who run the court system in America.

In hope of applying some heat on Judge Zirpoli, more than 10,000 people gathered in San Francisco to hear speeches by Panther leaders Kathleen Cleaver, Bobby Seale and David Hilliard and representatives from the rest of the movement in the Bay area, including Tom Hayden, who was introduced as "the founder of SDS."

Speakers from the TWLF, Brown Berets and women's liberation groups also spoke at the rally. A large group of children from the Panthers' "Breakfast for Children" program attended, chanting and singing in support of Huey.

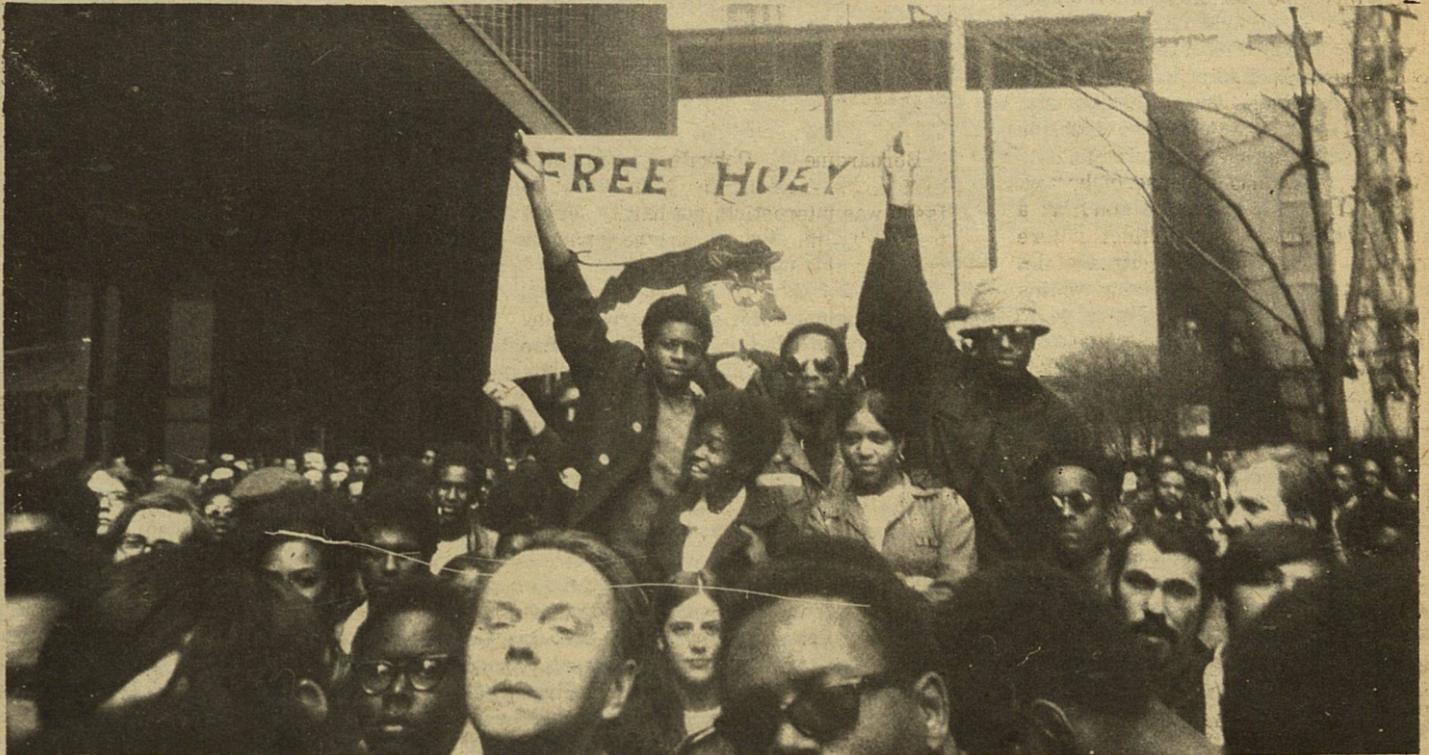
In Chicago, 2,000 people mobbed the area surrounding the Federal Courthouse around banners that read "Free Huey!" Speakers included Panthers Bobby Rush, Choka and Bob Lee. Mike Klonsky, SDS National Secretary, and Eileen Klare from Chicago Circle Campus SDS gave solidarity speeches, as did Cha Cha Jiminez, leader of the Young Lords, Preacher Man from the Young Patriots and Obed Lopez from the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO).

Besides demanding Huey's release, the crowd demanded that all political prisoners in Chicago be released and that the real criminals, the pig ruling class, be jailed. At present, there are dozens of Panthers in jail or facing long sentences following a wave of repression against the black and brown movements in Chicago. Panther Mickey White is still in prison for supposedly conspiring to purchase explosives and guns from a local pig. At Mickey's bail reduction

hearing, Judge Abraham Lincoln Marovitz (B'nai Brith Man of the Year) raised his bail from \$75,000 to \$100,000 in order to keep him off the streets.

As NLN goes to press, reports are coming in of rallies in New York, Detroit, East Lansing, Denver and Los Angeles, as well as in Europe, where students stormed U.S. embassies, demanding that Huey be set free.

FREE HUEY!  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Free Huey rally in Chicago

## KATHLEEN CLEAVER REPLIES TO LESTER

(Last week NLN reprinted an article by Julius Lester from the Guardian which criticized the SDS resolution of support for the Black Panther Party passed at the last NC. This article was printed to inform SDS members and to encourage discussion within the organization. The credit line and reason for reprinting the article were inadvertently omitted in last week's issue. For the same reason we are reprinting this week a response to Lester by Kathleen Cleaver, secretary of communications of the Black Panther Party, which also appeared in the Guardian.)

The continuous insinuating drivel that the Black Panther Party has been subjected to in Julius Lester's column in the Guardian, "From the other side of the tracks," supposedly some form of political criticism but actually an inconsistent, illogical and unwarranted stream of abuse, so turned me off I quit reading his mutterings. However, his column in the Guardian's April 19 issue, whose cover featured a beautiful photograph of New York party members lined up against a courthouse wall underneath the engraved title, "The Ultimate Justice of the People," was brought to my attention while I was in New York trying to pull together a defense committee for the New York 21 (the 21 Panthers charged with conspiracy) and obtain an overall view of the legal and political situation the party is facing in New York.

Standing in stark contrast to the generally positive and supportive coverage given the Black Panther party by the Guardian, such as the April 19 issue which features an editorial supporting the party, a positive article on the Chicago bust of party members, and an excellent resolution supporting the party from SDS, Julius Lester's article is a devious attack on the Black Panther party in the guise of a racist criticism of SDS. Why doesn't he attack the editorial which makes similar statements to the resolution?

The entire apparatus of U.S. pig law enforcement, coordinated out of

Washington by the FBI, CIA, Department of Justice and Department of Defense, is waging a full-scale campaign to destroy the leadership and organization of the Black Panther party across the country, and radical white groups along with black people all over the country are moving to defend the Black Panther party. Now Julius Lester raises his whine in chorus with the opposition.

It was never quite clear to me what the title—"From the other side of the tracks"—he gave to his column meant until I read this last article. He is definitely on the opposite side—opposite to the Black Panther party, which stands firmly rooted on the side of serving the basic needs and desires of the people in the black community. It becomes relevant, in view of his latest attack on the Black Panther party, to question exactly on whose side this black employe of Time Magazine is on, because it is clearly not the people's side.

### Wrong Image

Lester's lightweight doubletalk in the April 19 Guardian column attacks SDS, the Black Panther party, the operation of a functional coalition between black and white radical organizations, endorses cultural nationalism, the stagnation of racism, and creates a mythical confusion. It ends up with a view of the relationship of both SDS and the Black Panther party to the black movement that does not exist, and an image of a relationship between SDS and the Panthers that could not exist. I cannot be so naive as to think, having worked with Julius Lester in SNCC, that Lester does this through bumbling ignorance. This distortion of the actual situation is not only deliberate, but highly professional and insidious. It bears the mark of a snake groveling in the grass, patiently awaiting the opportunity to poison the first unwary traveler.

The real activities of the Black Panther party, in the black community and in relationship to white organizations, speaks for itself, and no amount of word-twisting by Lester can discredit or deny this. It is important to analyze the blatant flaws

in his argument to bring some clarity to his motivation for putting such ornate lies in print.

Having been intimately involved in organizing the Black Panther party for the past two years and directly connected, both in theory and in practice, with establishing our functional coalitions with white groups, I see Julius Lester's contorted criticisms as stemming from some source other than a sincere desire to facilitate the tremendous tasks that we have laid out before us. I read Lester's assault before I read the SDS resolution, and I was shocked at the discrepancy between the resolution SDS presented and the one Lester attacked.

The thrust of Lester's argument against the resolution is that SDS, being a white organization, has no right to evaluate or criticize or form any opinion regarding any black organization, specifically, to insist that any black organization is in the vanguard of the black liberation struggle. Lester states, "That right belongs to the black community and the black community alone." For him these are mere words. For the Black Panther party, this is practice. For without the sustained support of the black people in black communities across the country, the Black Panther party could not have grown into a national organization of 45 chapters in the two short years following the attempted murder and jailing of Huey P. Newton by the Oakland police force in October 1967.

### Vanguard Party

SDS did not designate the Black Panther party by fiat as the vanguard party, but merely recognized the objective reality of the black colony. That same reality is recognized by J. Edgar Hoover and his pigs across the country, state legislatures and local police forces, and is viciously attacked by them. If Julius Lester is somehow antagonized by the vanguard position of the Panthers, he cannot blame SDS for recognizing it, nor can he bring back to life the 15 members of the Black

Panther party who have died at the hands of pig violence, whose blood placed the party in the vanguard of the people's liberation struggle. For SDS to recognize the true role the Panthers play in the black movement is no "insult" to black people, as Lester would have his readers believe, but only valid insight on their part.

Lester then goes on to discuss SDS's position on the Black Panther party 10-point program. I was somewhat baffled by the wording, "essentially correct," but cannot find reason to attack a resolution on its semantics when it was not written for me but for the membership of SDS. Apparently the fact that SDS, a white organization, produced this resolution for its white membership, with its own explanation of its reasoning for the enlightenment of SDS members, completely escaped Lester. He seems to think some decision regarding the black community's interests is being made here, when, in fact, a reading of the resolution makes it crystal clear that it contains a decision made by a white organization concerning that organization's interests.

But then, after taking SDS's right to make any decision or observation about any black organization's relationship to the black community away, reserving that right exclusively to black people—as if black people need a viper like Julius Lester to reserve rights for them—he also denies them the right to support a position taken by black people in the Black Panther party on cultural or reactionary versus revolutionary nationalism.

This position was first articulated in May 1968 by Huey P. Newton, and was printed in "An Interview with the Movement," most recently reprinted in Tricontinental magazine, published in Havana by the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. For SDS to agree with Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther party does not seem to be any abrogation of black people's rights. It is a necessary (continued on Page 6)

# NY SCHOOLS GO UP

by Nick Freudenberg

On April 21 the high school students' spring offensive hit the N.Y. City high schools. In a week of escalating struggle thousands of high school students battled cops, took over schools, and tore up cafeterias. Though the specific demands varied from school to school, all demands related to the 15-point program of the High School Council of Black and Puerto Rican Students, the 10-point program of the Black Students Union, or the 10-point program of the High School Student Union, a primarily white group.

A partial list of the struggles:

**Springfield-Garden High School:** On Monday morning, pigs attacked a demonstration in support of the B.S.U. demands. Three students and one dean were arrested. The cops chased rebels into a church, where the students held a rally. On Wednesday, students took over the school's auditorium for several hours.

**Clinton High School:** On Monday morning 500 students walked out of the school. After a calm rally, a fire broke out in the school library. Another 2,500 students walked out of the school and skirmished with pigs. Three kids were busted. Later fires broke out in the cafeteria.

**Erasmus High School:** Action has been heaviest at Erasmus—the largest school in the city, 45% black, and in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn. A few hundred students, black and white, held a peaceful demonstration Monday morning. Their demands included a black studies program, an end to suspensions, and pigs out of the school. Around 10 a.m. cops charged the demonstration and clubbed student leaders. At the same time, small fires broke out throughout the school, and two small bombs exploded. Immediately

the principal shut the school down. As thousands of students poured out of the school, a full-scale street battle broke out between a couple hundred pigs and rock and egg throwing students. About 25 students were arrested and some were seriously beaten. On Thursday the battle resumed, but this time pigs outnumbered people. Over 30 kids were busted, some on very heavy charges: inciting to riot, riot, assault, etc. In the middle of the battle, students seized a restaurant (owned by an exploitative petit bourgeois who hated kids) which they used as a source of supply for weapons (forks and knives to throw at mounted pigs) and as a first aid station.

**Tilden High School:** After the principal refused to allow Les Campbell of the Afro-American Teachers Association to speak to students, black students proceeded to tear apart the school, breaking windows and setting fires. The principal shut the school down.

**Jackson High School:** On Wednesday 400 students took over the school cafeteria in support of their demands. The next day students escalated by seizing the auditorium. 17 kids were busted. Friday, 1500 students walked out of the school.

**Bushwick High School** in Brooklyn had fires, rallies, and was shut down for two days. At Canarsie in Brooklyn, black students had a sit-in in the auditorium. Fires broke out at Lincoln High School, where a physics lab was destroyed, and at Morris High School in the Bronx. At least 25 other schools have had disturbances of one kind or another. As the struggle escalated, so did repression. On Thursday 42 kids were busted and total bail was almost \$20,000. Mayor Lindsay made a law-and-order speech on Friday calling for more pigs, more expulsions, and heavier legal actions. But actions in the schools go on. Now it's a real question whether there will be a school system in New York by June.

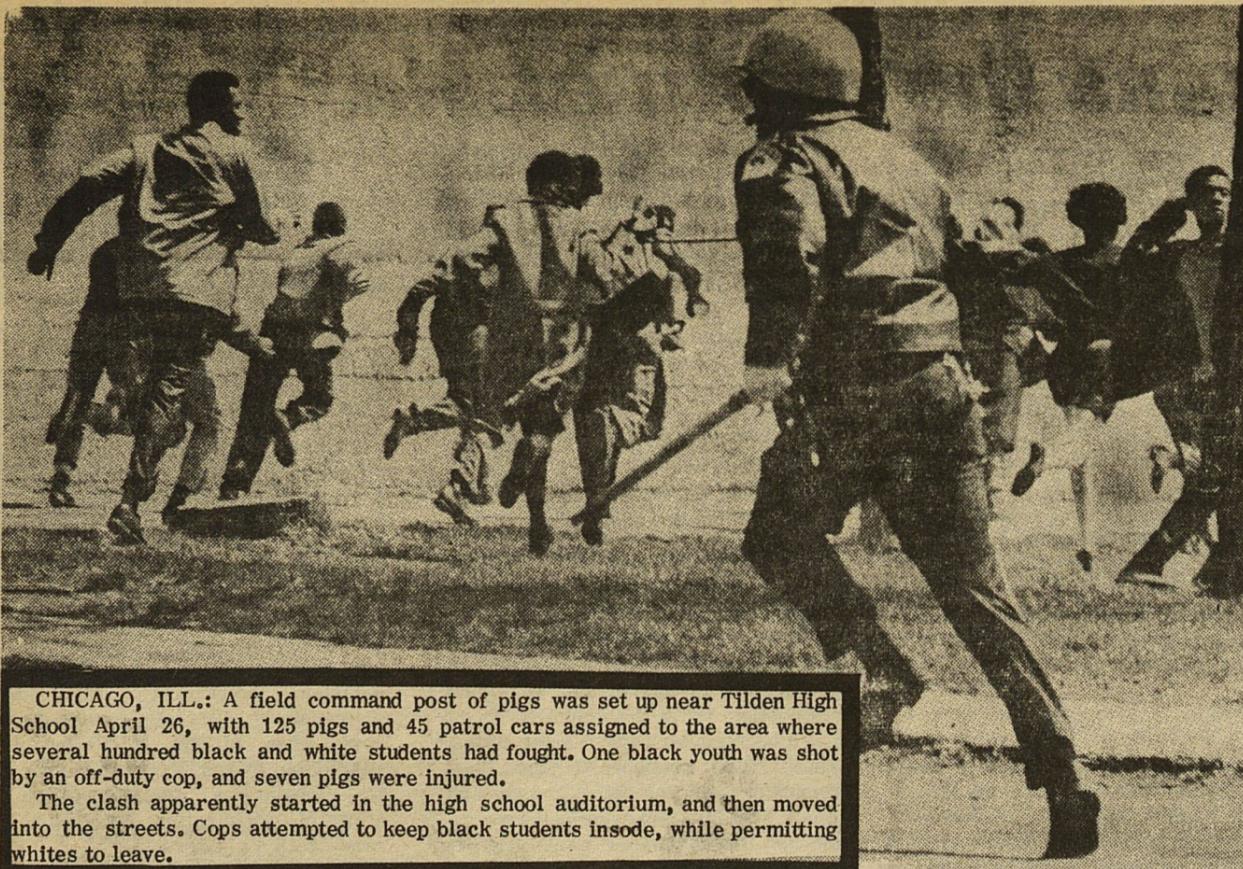
## Black and Puerto Rican City-wide High School Council Demands:

1. No more automatic suspensions of high school students.
2. No more police and police aids inside of city high schools.
3. Strict adherence to fire regulations — doors to schools must be left open.
4. Open the schools daily to parent observation.
5. Community rehabilitation centers should be allowed to set up programs to treat known drug addicts.
6. Elimination of general course of study (bottom track).
7. Because of the total chaos in education this year, the suspension of all Regents exams this June.
8. Recognition by all New York City schools of the two black holidays: May 19, Malcolm X's birthday, and January 15, Doctor King's birthday.
9. Immediate alteration of teaching population and examination to supply black educators proportionate to the student population.
10. Complete examination of all books and educational supplies used by the schools.
11. The creation of school clubs along ethnic lines with facilities and funds from the school government organizations.
12. Improved conditions for the students in school, such as music in the lunch room, more dances, improved athletic programs with rifle clubs and self-defense classes.
13. Teachers who are teaching a course should have a background related to the course.
14. Creation of a student-faculty (equal representation) council in each school which would make binding decisions on the following matters: curriculum, school staff, discipline, rules and regulations, etc.
15. The reorganization of high schools by Sept. 1969 along community lines so that black students will not be forced to go to hostile communities to seek an education.

## Demands of High School Student Union

We demand:

1. No more suspensions or involuntary transfers.
2. No cops in schools.
3. No program cards.
4. An end to general and commercial diplomas.
5. Open admission to college.
6. Jobs and decent housing available for every high school student who drops out or doesn't want to go to college.
7. No more military recruitment in the schools.
8. Black and Latin departments controlled by black and Latin students.
9. Community control of schools and other public facilities (schools, hospitals, welfare, and transportation).
10. Power.



CHICAGO, ILL.: A field command post of pigs was set up near Tilden High School April 26, with 125 pigs and 45 patrol cars assigned to the area where several hundred black and white students had fought. One black youth was shot by an off-duty cop, and seven pigs were injured.

The clash apparently started in the high school auditorium, and then moved into the streets. Cops attempted to keep black students in inside, while permitting whites to leave.

CHICAGO, ILL.: Classes were cancelled at the Southeast campus of Chicago City College for three days in a row due to demonstrating students demanding the firing of a prof, a new campus, and dropping of all charges against students.

MIT, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.: War research laboratories were picketed by more than 300 students and faculty members April 22. When the lab's director refused to talk to the demonstrators, they marched to the office of MIT President Howard Johnson and sat in until he arrived to debate the issue. Students demanded that a moratorium be called on all war research until MIT's entire research program could be democratically reviewed.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, N.Y.: Black students have decided to keep their guns and are dissatisfied with concessions won after last week's armed occupation of the student center. Thomas Jones, a spokesman for the Afro-American Society, said Cornell still practices "racist policies," and black students "could not take part in the community until the university showed efforts to end racism."

A faculty committee did agree to the demand that earlier penalties against five students be rescinded.

PALESTINE: Aida Ikhsa Saad, 18-year-old Arab liberation fighter, was sentenced on April 13 to 20 years in prison for hurling two grenades at an Israeli military vehicle which was patrolling her homeland. The Israelis are quickly learning that Arab women are often in the forefront in the struggle for the liberation of their land.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Edith Green (Oregon) and her House Committee on Education are investigating SDS. SDS folks have been asked to appear, and the word is that the Black Panther Party will also be investigated. So far no subpoenas have been issued.

SEATTLE, WASH.: More than 600 University of Washington students demonstrated against military and corporate recruiting, fought right-wing students and attempted to shut down the career planning and placement center at Loew Hall.

The anti-recruiting demonstrators were heckled by counter-demonstrators, and in the confusion a man let loose several hives of bees on all concerned. The building was taken until the pigs were called, when everyone split.

## Conjugation for Subjugation

I restructure  
 You restructure  
 He restructures  
 We restructure  
 You restructure  
**THEY CONTROL**

## Conjugation for Liberation

I strike  
 You strike  
 He strikes  
 We strike  
 You strike  
**THEY LOSE**

from the Harvard strike



Armed black student occupies building at Voorhees.

VOORHEES COLLEGE, DENMARK, S.C.: Armed black students seized two buildings here last week with 11 demands, including a black studies program and placing blacks in charge of each academic department. They also demanded passing grades for all students who had flunked a course under a white professor. They were arrested Wednesday after 200 National Guardsmen stormed the campus. They have been charged with riot and unlawful assembly and taken to the state penitentiary in Columbia for arraignment.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, N.Y.C.: Several hundred SDSers took two buildings at Columbia around the demands: free the Panther 21, end ROTC, open admissions, and support of black student demands. The buildings were vacated Thursday morning warrants are out for several persons.

CITY COLLEGE, N.Y.C.: The administration of CCNY has granted three demands of the black and Puerto Rican students who are still holding the southern part of the campus and have forced the entire school to close. The demands of the struggle include black and Puerto Rican studies, an admissions policy reflecting the racial composition of New York high schools, black and brown control of preparatory programs, and required courses in black and Puerto Rican history and the Spanish language for all students seeking teaching degrees.

TOKYO, JAPAN: Thousands of students battled police in wide-ranging skirmishes that left parts of Tokyo under a cloud of tear gas, as students demanded the return of Okinawa from U.S. rule. Reports said 65 police were injured and six hospitalized. Over five hundred of the more than 5,000 students participating in the action were arrested.

RACINE, WISC. AND CAIRO, ILL.: Military occupation of black ghettos intensified around the country this week. Racine was put under curfew twice in ten days. The National Guard often walked the streets of Cairo, in an attempt to squelch black resistance to the white police town. A white vigilante group—the White Hats—has attempted to terrorize the black community, aided and abetted by the pigs.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, N.Y.C.: Demonstrating against ROTC, students and some faculty occupied the office of the school president. "No negotiations, no committees, no referendums, no deals," they demanded, "ROTC must be abolished now." After holding the office for 24 hours, they left leading a long march around the campus to a mass meeting about the issues.

SUFFOLK COMMUNITY COLLEGE, SELDEN, N.Y.: SDS forced marine recruiters to leave the campus last week after a sit-in of 400 students. One of the SDS leaders is a Marine vet. The administration agreed to call off all campus recruiting until students and faculty could vote on the issue. Anti-ROTC demonstrations were also held at Dartmouth and Tulane.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA.: Over half the student body occupied a building last week to protest paternalistic administration policies and defend two popular faculty members. Result: the president closed down the school completely, locking the dorms and shutting down the cafeterias. As one student put it, "I'll just have to take a diploma in insurrection."

MERRITT COLLEGE, OAKLAND, CALIF.: Chicano students here won their demands after a week-long struggle. The students barricaded the faculty into a meeting room and threatened the same to the trustees before winning the demands, which included naming Froben Lozada as head of a Mexican-American studies department, free textbooks and meals for needy students, and increased hiring of third world people.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY, MILWAUKEE, WISC.: Anti-ROTC protestors occupied a campus building April 22. More than 70 persons were arrested when police were called in to break up the sit-in.

NEW YORK CITY: Community colleges moved last week, as 700 students at QUEENSBOROUGH sat in against the political firing of a professor who is a member of the Progressive Labor Party.

At NASSAU COMMUNITY COLLEGE, 30 SDS folks marched on the site of Marine recruiters, scuffled with about 100 members of the Veterans Association and turned the action into a teach-in debate on the war and imperialism. Many of the students at Nassau are vets, and a major effort has been launched to win their support.

At STONYBROOK, students who had led an anti-imperialist attack on military research were tried in a student court and won a major victory by conducting a political defense which focused on imperialism, racism, and the university. The student court decided that justice, not their phony "legal system," would prevail.

MAHWAH, N. J.: The United Black Brothers caucus succeeded in shutting down production at the Ford assembly plant April 25, when black workers, with good support from white and Spanish-speaking workers, went out. UBB, with help from the Black Panthers and SDS, massed in front of plant entrances as the night shift came on.

Demands include removal of racist supervisors, reinstatement of workers who were provoked into action and were fired by their supervisors for these actions, and an end to kangaroo court tactics used by the company with the union's approval when a man comes up on charges.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.: Former SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown, still appealing a five-year sentence and fine of \$2000 for allegedly transporting a weapon across state lines, has won a significant initial victory. The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals refused to overturn his conviction, but returned the case to the original judge for a hearing to "determine the relevance of conversations electronically recorded by the FBI."

CLEVELAND, OHIO: A United Front for Political Defense has been formed to provide defense for political prisoners. One of the organizations of this front is the July 23 Defense Committee, which represents segments of the black community and is defending black militant Ahmed Evans and his four co-defendants against a police frame-up growing out of the death of three cops and seven black people in Cleveland last July.

On the first day of the trial, the court ordered no picketing or leafleting in the entire block of the court building. The United Front had been leafleting, informing the people of the frame-up charges.

The jury, all white as usual, is not composed of Ahmed's peers. It is again a case of a police frame-up to cover up the truth and destroy a black man. The police in Cleveland have harassed Ahmed and his followers for years: he was fired from his job, denied his railroad pension, and virtually blacklisted from gainful employment. Now the pigs are trying to blame the deaths of pigs on him. Contributions to help with his defense can be sent to the July 23 Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2404, E. Cleveland, Ohio 44112.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. (LNS): Max Rafferty has conceived a statewide plan for spying on high school militants with the help of local officials. The state superintendent of schools has asked for names of activists from local superintendents and reports of any contacts with the Black Panthers, Black Student Union and SDS. This is being opposed by the San Francisco American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

YPSILANTI, MICH.: Eastern Michigan University SDS prevented the Marines and Navy from carrying out a public relations recruiting effort. The next day SDS presented its demands—support of black students' demands, open admissions, severance of University ties with the military, and an end to police training.

WASHINGTON: The U.S. escalated its repression of GI resistance last month when they kidnapped a black soldier who planned to refuse duty in Vietnam and forcibly took him to the war zone. Pvt. Isaac Barr, a member of the American Servicemen's Union, was taken from Ft. Lewis on March 17, forced into a plane by six armed sergeants, and secretly taken away.

WRIGHTSTOWN, N.J.: Organizers trying to open a coffee house in Wrightstown across the road from Ft. Dix have been fighting pressure from military intelligence since last December. Last week troopers stopped two organizers, searched them, towed their car away, and arrested one of them.

FORT ORD, CALIF.: The "mutiny" trial of 14 Presidio GI's is now in its third week. The defendants have testified, insisting that the sit-down demonstration they staged at San Francisco's stockade last October was not an act of mutiny, but a desperate protest against the conditions in the stockade.



FORT DIX, N.J.: Pfc Terry G. Klug, an organizer for the American Servicemen's Union, was sentenced to three years, forfeiture of all pay, reduction to the lowest rank and a dishonorable discharge on the charge of desertion. Klug, who went AWOL in June 1967, voluntarily returned to the U.S. in January from Paris where he was working on resistance inside the army. He said he came back because "I feel that I must return to resist and fight for what I believe in, and where my struggle will be most effective. That to me is inside the U.S. Army, as an ASU organizer, and inside the United States of America."

# Cleaver

(continued from Page 3)

step in breaking down the prison of racism that keeps both black and white people fighting separately against capitalist exploitation and perpetuates the very capitalist-imperialist-neo-colonialist empire that has black people as its foremost victims. Ideas are not the property of a racial group, but belong instead in the realm of the true or false.

Finally, Lester commits the very crime for which he attacks SDS—not defining either cultural or revolutionary nationalism (after an involved defense of cultural nationalism)—but merely taking a position on their value and relationship to the struggle. Lester comes to the crux of his argument; he states, "No white organization has the right to condemn cultural nationalism, because no white person can be a cultural nationalist. No white person has the right to support revolutionary nationalism, because no white person can be a revolutionary nationalist."

## Dangerous Ideas

Here is the poison that makes Lester's ideas so dangerous. They have no logic and only manipulate racism to serve the ends, not of black people who are victims of racism, but of everything standing in the way of revolutionary nationalism and the triumph of the people's liberation struggles around the world. Che Guevara and Panther Apprentice "Bunchy" Carter both died at the hands of monsters who share thought patterns very similar to those articulated by Lester.

First of all, let's deal with logic. The same logic would endorse the statement, "No black organization has the right to condemn white nazism because no black person can be a white nazi." This is a patent absurdity. The same logic would endorse the statement, "No African or European organization has the right to condemn Chinese feudalism because no African or European can be a Chinese feudal lord." This is the height of insanity. Moral and political judgment is to be suspended for all but members of the racial group in question; only blacks can condemn or support blacks; only whites can condemn or criticize whites. Racism under any name is just as foul and irrational—and this argument is patently racist.

According to this line of thinking, when black cultural nationalists murdered Bunchy Carter and John Huggins on the UCLA campus, no white person could support or condemn this atrocity because they could not be members of US (a Los Angeles black cultural nationalist group, members of which have been accused of killing Carter and Huggins) or the Panthers, cultural nationalists or revolutionary nationalists. We don't have to be Chinese to decide whether Mao Tse-tung or Chiang Kai-shek is a better leader of the Chinese people, to support one or condemn the other. But this is the stagnation that Julius Lester's thinking would lead us to.

With his adept use of words, Lester

tries to confuse the classic distinctions between different ideological principles represented by the terms cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. Fanon put an end to that debate with his statement, "The only culture worth holding onto is revolutionary culture." But for those who don't relate to this terminology, there will always be distinctions between those who move to serve the needs of the people (revolutionaries) and those who move to manipulate the people (cultural or reactionary nationalists—like Papa Doc Duvalier and Tubman) and to replace the white oppressor with a black one.

The life of Che Guevara puts the lie to all of Lester's madness—for he was a true revolutionary internationalist. He was neither a racist nor a black man, but a human being and a revolutionary on whose principles the Black Panther Party is based.

Lester just becomes inane when he accuses SDS of racism, based on the grounds that they quoted a phrase used by the Panthers: "porkchop" nationalism, coined by Huey, is used to describe the phenomenon of black people using their blackness to better sell out their people to the pigs. SDS may be due an indictment of being racist, but not on these grounds, and not on the grounds of anything stated in their resolution, which is right on time.

## Endorsement of Party

The whole accusation Lester tries to make is that SDS is involving itself in the internal affairs of the black movement by virtue of their resolution, which is essentially a 100% endorsement of the Black Panther party. If any indictment of SDS is to be made, it must be based not on the content of its resolution but on the nature of its actions.

But really, in this article, SDS's resolution merely serves as a vantage point from which Lester can attack the Black Panther party, for all he disagrees with in the resolution is the agreement with the politics of the party. He uses contradictory reasons to back up each point. In fact, he states, in a very derogatory manner, that the resolution sounds like it came out of the Panther newspaper.

What is really astounding, and shows how far out of touch with the black movement Lester has gotten, is his statement that most black people who are not Panthers "will, of course, be offended and insulted" by the SDS statement.

Bullshit! Most black people don't even know what SDS is, much less read the Guardian, and have far more basic reasons to feel offended and insulted than because some white organization printed a resolution supporting the Panthers in a white radical paper. Then Lester really goes whole hog and gives SDS the power—as a result of some words on paper, a resolution—to set the black movement back. He states, "By presuming to know what programs, ideology, military strategy, and what



Kathleen Cleaver

Photo by Corland

particular organization best serve the interest of the black community, SDS has set us back." Who exactly "us" is, is not clear.

However, SDS does seem to have a clearer idea of what's going on than Lester in regards to the Black Panther party. This has nothing to do with SDS's motivations for putting out their resolution. Neither SDS, the FBI, CIA, US, ABM or any other force will set black people back; the inevitable birth of the black revolution is in the stages of labor now and the child is going to be delivered shortly. If the New York 21 indictment doesn't set black people back, and it doesn't, how can SDS's resolution set us back?

All this resolution does is represent some active recognition and endorsement of the Black Panther party coming not only from black people, but also from white radicals. And all Julius Lester does is waste newspaper space with his narrow-minded, pseudo-intelligent and devious argumentation backed up with nothing directed to serve the people's needs—not one act of defense against police brutality, against racist manipulation in the courts, against indecent housing, improper medical facilities, poor education, or the starvation of black children.

Perhaps if Lester would come out of his act for a day, come across to our side of the tracks and help us run a breakfast program for the children, or a political education class, or a day-care center, or a mimeograph machine to put out leaflets for the May 1 demonstration for bail for

Huey Newton, he might learn something about serving the needs of the people and might put that paper column to some worthwhile use.

Until he does that, he will find his time consumed with contriving arguments against white organizations which support revolutionary nationalism and all other sorts of trivia which don't relate to the needs of black people or of radical journalism, and he might as well go print his shit in some reactionary rag which would delight in his mentality—because black people don't have time for his bullshit. He is even too cowardly to attack the Black Panther party directly, but has to hide behind a white organization to deal his dirt. And if he feels we have no right to attack cultural nationalism while cultural nationalists are killing and starving black people, if he feels no one outside of the black community has the right to support revolutionary nationalism as exhibited in the daily work of the Black Panther party, not only is he counter-revolutionary, he is a fool and a disservice to the people, and needs to peddle his madness to people who will buy it, because we don't want to hear it again.

I don't know who Julius is writing to or for, but he doesn't speak for or to any masses of black people—who can't understand his language—nor any political position. So exactly what's over there on that side of the tracks I don't know, but I have a feeling it's a bunch of punks, sissies and cowards, so f--- them and f--- Julius Lester. All power to the people!

## Summer Program Conference

SDS summer program plans are now being finalized all over the country. In Detroit, plans are much more specific for how study groups should function, what the goals of various political collectives (GI groups, high school groups, women's groups, etc.) should be, as well as where people should live and work. In Ohio, groundwork is being laid in two cities—Cleveland and Columbus—for groups of chapter people to develop a summer program. We're in touch with half a dozen other regions where summer programs are becoming a reality.

We're calling a national summer program conference in Detroit for May 17 and 18 in order to get people together who are working on summer programs in various regions to exchange ideas and information. Tentatively, we're planning to have presentations by a few different regions which would emphasize their goals for the summer as well as their current plans, the specific problems they face, a description of the city, and what their recent practice has taught them. This should lead into a general discussion and exchange of practical information and theoretical goals.

We also hope to have presentations and discussions concerning racism, black industrial workers, revolutionary youth, and labor struggles. These should lead directly to problems and possibilities for the summer. (If you have any suggestions, ideas, questions, etc., or if you plan to come, write SDS, P.O. Box 625, Ann Arbor, Mich., or call (313) 761-1320. Also watch for the box in the next New Left Notes, which will give specific information and details of the conference. Any materials you want to present to the conference should be mimeographed in advance and brought to Detroit.)

## NC Site

We're still looking for a place to have the national convention, scheduled for June 9 to 15. People on campuses in or around the Midwest should find out whether they can get the required facilities (large meeting room for plenaries, workshop rooms, housing for up to 2,000 people) and contact the National Office about the possibility of having the NC at their school.

## S. ILLINOIS

Regional Conference

May 9, 10, and 11 at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

Registration at the Student Activities Office, Southern Illinois University.

## hospital fund

Jeff Sharlet, who founded Vietnam GI, one of the best GI newspapers, after returning from a tour of duty in Vietnam, was just operated on for cancer of the kidney and will have to be bedridden for the next month and unemployed for a long time afterward. Some of his friends are collecting money to help him get through the next few months. Anything you could send would help. Make checks out to The Jeff Sharlet Hospital Fund, c/o Shel Sklare, 516 S. Woodlawn Ave., Bloomington, Ind.

For those who would like to send cards or greetings, the address is Jeff Sharlet, c/o Veterans Administration Hospital, Rm. 611, Ward 6-C, Miami, Fla.

# Critique of Schools Resolution

by Dave Burak

Ithaca-Cornell SDS

(Second in a two-part series.)

Turning now to demand #4, a conglomerate which is very disturbing in its lack of theoretical unity, one must note first the weakest tactical aspect of that demand, i.e. "that schools end cooperation with recruitment for those American corporations which rule and exploit the people..." This stems from a very serious theoretical error, which can be characterized as "ivory towerism" in that its implication can suggest that not all American corporations exploit the people and will continue to do so in a very effective way until the bourgeois state is smashed.

One might argue that the above criticism fails to recognize the admission on the part of the authors to the effect that many of the demands are not realizable under bourgeois rule. However, examining this argument with the aid of practice, this writer feels that said admission results in little more than lip service to the need to smash the bourgeois state—in the context in which such a demand is usually presented.

Before giving a concrete example of the above problem, it is necessary to present in brief an alternative method for "using recruitment" to fight imperialism and build a revolutionary movement (specifically, at this time, SDS). To begin, commonly it is the not so weird combination of the emotionalism of radical liberals and the adventurism among the revolutionaries (who usually possess an unconscious "great nation chauvinist" bias), and a lack of understanding of dialectics which leads SDS chapters to seriously consider the termination of all recruiting as a meaningful goal to struggle for. It seems clear that recruiting is essential to the ruling class and will continue to exist while the bourgeoisie holds state power. Whether the recruiting is done on or off campus, as was noted above, is peripheral to the development of a revolutionary communist movement.

But in terms of consciousness raising, it is clearly true that struggles against certain SPECIFIC recruiters are correct actions. Since the majority of SDS members understand that the principal contradiction in this historical period is between imperialism and the Third World, it logically follows that, usually, the correct tactic is to attack the most vicious and blatant of the imperialists—that is, to attack the weakest links in the chain of imperialism, to attempt to isolate them and provide fighting and financial assistance to the peoples liberation armies fighting against them. This is what the proposal relating to South Africa, also passed at the Austin NC, attempts to do.

## Concrete Assistance

This can and must be understood as much more than consciousness raising. It is struggling in a way which can directly hurt the imperialists. Thus the revolutionary understanding of the struggles against ROTC on campus is that which points to the struggle as a concrete form of assistance to the NLF. Struggles against Chase Manhattan, Bank of America and GM recruitment should similarly be construed, not as anti-recruiting struggles per se, but as part of attempts to aid the struggles of the revolutionary movements in Southern Africa and to push the dialectical process to bring about objective conditions within the US which will be conducive to a revolution succeeding here. It is absolutely essential to emphasize the dialectical necessity of aiding Third World liberation struggles to build a revolutionary communist movement in the US. Once again, one may refer back to Marx's analysis of British imperialism and the Irish.

If this dialectical necessity is not made the prime tactical concern, then it is almost inevitable that the attacks on certain recruiters will fail to raise anti-imperialist consciousness, and will probably be construed as attacks against recruiting "by criminal

corporations at Universities which are supposed to be good." That liberal quote comes from an explanation put forth by a relatively new SDS member (as are most SDS members throughout the country) in reply to a question by a Business School student the day after about 300 blacks and SDS people forced the Chase Manhattan recruiter off campus.

## Ivory Tower Line

The context was a discussion in which about 10 SDS members and blacks had been invited to come to the Business School to talk with a 200-student class about the Chase action. Although some of us made strenuous efforts to push a hard line stressing the need to build a communist movement in the US, the focus of the discussion continually shifted back to a general line on recruiting. The low point was hit when another relatively new member said that SDS would be satisfied if Chase was banned from recruiting on campus. Rather than developing an understanding of the need to fight the imperialists whether they are on or off campus, it became clear, after intensive investigation among the "rank and file'ers" of SDS, that they tended to push an "ivory tower" line, despite paying lip service to the anti-imperialist nature of our struggle against Chase.

Although much more can be said about demand #4, both for and against, limitations of time and space deem it best to move on to demand #5, which is one of the most complex and difficult to deal with. To begin, the only way a revolutionary can correctly struggle against the colonial oppression of black, brown (red and yellow) people in the US is by fighting for "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," as this was understood and described by Lenin. Thus, the demand for unlimited admissions for colonized peoples attains revolutionary significance only if it is integrally linked with the demand for or existence of a Department, or better yet, an independent (but affiliated) College of Third World Studies (this term seems much better than Ethnic Studies, which can be easily misconstrued as applicable to Italians, Poles, Jews, etc., thus obfuscating the anti-colonial nature of such demands as those for a School of Black Studies controlled by Black Students.)

If revolutionaries fail to concretely intertwine the power demand with the unlimited admissions demand, the latter will almost inevitably result in the emphasis being put on "methods to alleviate and compensate for discriminatory practices." This would only serve to obfuscate our prime task at this time—the fighting of imperialism. It must never be forgotten that rampant in SDS is a sometimes conscious, but often unconscious, anti-communism and liberalism (increasingly militant in form, but castratingly liberal in content) which will seize upon any proposal which can be used to evade the need for total revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat.

In closing this article's comments on

#5, it facilitates matters to also treat #6, which is summed up in the final sentence, which declares, "We demand free education and we oppose all tuition increases." This clearly indicates the favorable bias toward higher education in America which pervades both #5 and #6. It also indicates an inability to differentiate dialectically between revolution in which the proletariat seizes state power from the bourgeoisie and the cultural revolution which will continue after the seizure of state power. It seems clear to this writer that the demand for universal higher education which is free is meaningful only after the power of the bourgeoisie has been smashed. Furthermore, to put forth that demand (the very act of which suggests it might be winnable under capitalism despite the authors' protestations to the contrary) before the seizure of state power is to implicitly convey the devastatingly dangerous message that education can be neutral or good under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

## Best Demands

Demands #7 and #8 are the best in the whole resolution, and will not be discussed in this article, except insofar as to say that struggles around these demands should be engaged in and/or intensified now. Also, although it may be redundant to point this out, it is always necessary to stress that the cultural revolution which will achieve women's liberation and the total destruction of male chauvinism and supremacism, while it must be waged with great intensity now, will not be completely won until capitalism is obliterated.

Demand #9, which can be generalized as a demand for courses which will help push people toward an understanding and embracing of communism, is misleading in the same way that #5 and #6 were pointed out to be in the above analysis—i.e. it implies that education in a capitalist system can teach the truth. It is these types of implications which are most dangerous to SDS at this time, due to the fact that they reinforce that usually unconscious anti-communism discussed above.

This is not to say that courses intended to develop in people an understanding and embracing of people

are not worth struggling for. Certainly they are, but only in specific situations. This demand cannot be struggled for in a general way. Rather, we must put forth exactly who we want to teach us certain subjects (for instance, Boorstein or Hinton). Otherwise we would end up fighting to make things even more difficult for real revolutionaries—by providing a professor's podium for liberals or revisionists.

## Violence Necessary

Even if that were not a danger with demand #9, the way it is worded represents a major obstacle to the development of a revolutionary consciousness. Nowhere in the demand is it pointed out that to gain and maintain a pro-communist course in bourgeois academe it will almost inevitably be necessary to use violence and engage in protracted struggle to protect that "liberated area." This omission again plays into the hands of the liberals and revisionists who comprise the majority of SDS members at this time.

This article will terminate here, for to deal at all adequately with the Panther's 10-pt. program would require additional writing about twice the length of what has already been put forth. But in passing let it be understood that this revolutionary supports fully the efforts of the Panthers, and conceives of it in the fashion described in the Austin resolution—as the vanguard communist party in America.

In concluding the analysis of the other nine demands, we must say that it is crucial that we recognize and combat a tendency within us—a tendency to succumb to that constant query put forth by critics from all the sectors of the political spectrum, especially liberals: that goading "Why don't you SDS people ever do anything constructive? All you want to do is to destroy. You always fight against things, and not for constructive alternatives." In refuting this argument we must hold true to the stance which stresses the dialectical necessity to destroy the power of imperialism and capitalism before building socialism. The "Schools" resolution tries to put forth a mass line which obfuscates this need, which errs in trying to be constructive, and which does not deal with the need for revolutionary violence.

## Louisiana SDS

May 10th and 11th, 1969.

Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

Especially important for SDS people from New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Hammond and Lafayette, La. All Southern SDS people invited. Registration 9:00 AM at Tulane's University Center. Registration Fee \$1.00. Floor space available; bring sleeping bags. Workshops on Nationalism, Women's Liberation, Southern History and Economy, Structure & Function of SDS Regions, etc. For more information write Pam Geraci, 2201 Green Acres Road, Metairie, La. 70003 or call (504) 887-4681, 524-5382, or 865-7711 (Ext. 7315). Build SDS in the South!

## regional conference

## MOVING?

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Last year this cost us well over \$1000.

That is well over \$1000 more than we can afford.

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# SPRING VICTORIES!

(The following article, dealing with the NLF's spring offensive, is excerpted from a communique issued on April 6 by the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces Command.)

The powerful spring offensive and uprising of our armed forces and people which broke out simultaneously on the night of February 22, 1969 has been going mightily and continually over the past five weeks on all the battlefields of South Vietnam, from the Ben Hai river to the point of Ca Mau, from towns to the countryside. All the People's Liberation Armed Forces, standing shoulder to shoulder with the people, have dealt repeated thunder blows at the U.S. and its puppets and satellites, inflicting heavy losses on them and scoring very glorious victories.

According to still incomplete figures, during 35 days of dauntless and vallant fighting, our armed forces and people —killed, wounded or captured more than 104,000 enemy troops, including 52,000 G.I.s and over 4,000 Thai, Australian, and Pak Jung Hi mercenaries;

—wiped out or heavily decimated 35 battalions and mixed units of battalion size and 160 companies of U.S., puppet and satellite troops;

—shot down or destroyed on the ground 1,600 planes of various kinds and wrecked 2,900 military vehicles, among them 1,440 tanks and armoured troop carriers; and

—sank or set afire 275 vessels and combat launches, destroyed 530 cannon and heavy mortars, blew up 70 bridges, burnt down or exploded 270 depots of war supplies containing hundreds of tons of bombs and ammunition and hundreds of millions of litres of petrol.

## Steady Gains for NLF

The glorious achievements of our armed forces and people in early spring this year are characterized by the following:

1. We have simultaneously attacked almost all cities and towns, many of which were attacked repeatedly. The self-defence forces among the townspeople have developed incessantly and have become proficient in both independent and coordinated fighting, striking with force and accuracy at enemy dens, repeatedly punishing cruel enemy agents and closely coordinating actions with the people in many large-scale struggles for the overthrow of the Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration.

2. We have hit very hard and with high precision at many major military bases and headquarters of the U.S. and its puppets and satellites.

3. The most striking feature of the attacks this time is that in the said 35-day period more American troops were wiped out than in forty-five days of the last spring offensive.

4. Heavy losses were caused to a series of major supply bases and storages of bombs, ammunition, fuel and other military equipment and important airfields and harbours of the enemy.

In the first 35 days of this spring we destroyed 20 per cent more vessels and combat launches and 80 per cent more heavy artillery pieces than in the corresponding period last year.

5. Alongside military attacks, the popular uprising broke out widely and stirring in enemy-controlled areas. In thousands of villages from the coast of Trung Bo to the Mekong delta, our people, among them minority nationals and religious believers, rose up furiously, punished cruel enemy

agents, broke the enemy's control and took in hand their own destiny.

These initial and big victories and these striking features of the battlefield have underscored the important significance of the general offensive and uprising in this spring. These victories have deeply affected the balance of forces and are exerting an over-riding influence on the general situation on the battlefield in a direction very favourable to us and very unfavourable to the enemy.

## U.S. on the Defensive

In the face of our army and people's repeated military and political attacks, the U.S. aggressors have over the past year concentrated on perfecting their plans of defending the towns, bases and communication axes by an elaborate defence in depth system of enclaves, fire support and operational bases and through the carrying out of preventive operations, clearing operations and police operations, and the "accelerated pacification" program, etc. In addition they have made the maximum use of air and artillery, especially of B-52 missions, in an effort to prevent our attacks and with the intention to massacre our people.

While the U.S. puppet clique are striving to make public opinion at home and abroad believe that they already have the means and ways to maintain the status quo and are turning over the table and hurling back the liberation forces, our spring offensive and uprising broke out simultaneously, widely and uninterruptedly, striking hard and with precision at almost all the cities and towns, nerve organs, airfields, storages and important communication arteries which the enemy had taken great pains to defend.

All through the five weeks when they came under repeated attacks the enemy at no time could go to the rescue of one another. Big-force counter attacks being impossible, they had to defend themselves as best they could and, more often than not, had to retreat from important theatres to recoil behind urban defences. As a result, the defeats in their strategic battle order have become more serious than ever and, despite the deployment of over one million troops and big stores of sophisticated war means, they were unable to ward off heavy attacks.

Faced with these hard realities, the U.S. has had to make a thorough revision of the "clear-and-hold" strategy and defensive plans as well as its scheme to gain a "position of strength" which had taken it a lot of money and time to work out. This is a new strategic deadlock of the U.S. aggressor army.

The attacks come at a time when the U.S.-puppets, mustering all their efforts, had just completed an elaborate defensive plan, in the hope of using more than one million troops and millions of tons of bombs and shells to defend a few dozen hideouts.

The U.S. troops sustained heavy losses of life and material just when it was resorting to every machination military, political and diplomatic, to keep its casualties from rising, and just when Nixon and company were trying to lull the American people with honeyed words about "war expenditures cuts" and "imminent withdrawal of U.S. combat forces," etc.

The spring setbacks were so heavy for the U.S. that the new Defense Secretary, back from his first inspection tour of South Vietnam, had to complain: "It is not the time to talk about American troop withdrawal," meaning that U.S. withdrawal would instantly result in the collapse of the puppet army and administration, and he asked for more money for the Vietnam war.

It is also clear that the successful attacks of the South Vietnamese people in spring 1969 have pushed the U.S. deeper in the whirlwind of its inherent contradictions: to take heavier losses while trying to avoid further losses.

To be driven into a weaker position while trying to seek a "position of strength" through a prolonged war. To have the puppet army and administration collapse at a quicker pace while trying to beef them up by prolonging the war of aggression.

To have to spend more American lives and more American money while trying to "de-Americanize" the war by clinging to a group of impotent and thoroughly rotten puppets. To desire a new team of henchmen while fearing collapse of the puppet regime. To incur stronger hatred by committing more heinous crimes while trying to win a strong political situation. To make the public more indignant while trying to soothe it.

The spring attacks by the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces have shed more light on this truth: though having failed in their schemes, the U.S.-puppets remain very stubborn, but the greater their stubbornness, the heavier their setbacks. They absolutely cannot get out of the vicious circles, i.e. obduracy—defeat—greater obduracy—greater defeat, till they meet with complete fiasco. Whatever their bellicosity, obduracy and craftiness, the U.S. aggressors cannot break free from this exacting rule set by the 1968-1969 military situation in Vietnam.

The South Vietnam revolution has been launched at the right moment and in a very creative manner. It has given the fullest play to the might of invincible people's war; the people's war line has overwhelmed and will certainly crush the U.S. policy of war of aggression.

## People's War

The spring victories of the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces have made it clearer that the latter's initiative of action and combined force are developing more successfully than ever before. The South Vietnamese people's combined force derives from the invincible force of people's war, from revolutionary heroism, from the

inexhaustible strength of all the three kinds of people's armed forces, from the high tide of uprising of the masses, and from the close combination of the armed attacks, the political struggle and political agitation among enemy ranks. Nixon is trying to gain a "position of strength," but the position of U.S. and puppet troops is now more critical than ever.

The U.S. and its puppets are seeking ways and means to get out of their desperate situation. It is obvious that the Nixon Administration is obdurately intensifying the war of aggression. It is still unwilling to bring U.S. forces home. It is stubbornly clinging to South Vietnam and the Thieu-Ky-Huong clique of lackeys. The U.S. and puppets are feverishly rounding up the population, pushing up forcible conscription and the "accelerated pacification" program, intensifying air and artillery strikes including B-52 raids to an unprecedented level for the massacre of the population.

## Warning to Puppets

All these frantic war moves of the U.S.-puppets have exposed the fallacy of their claim for "private talks" and "restoration of peace," which in fact are but a smokescreen for their aggressive and traitorous designs.

The South Vietnamese people warn the U.S.-puppets that should they refuse to accept defeat now they will meet with much heavier defeat in the days to come. Should they try to avoid defeat in Vietnam by extending their aggressive tentacles to other regions, the U.S. aggressors will have to deal with many more Vietnams, and will be defeated in many more Vietnams.



North Vietnamese soldiers express solidarity with the NLF.

NIC Meeting

May 9, 10, 11