

FREE STUDENT

THE DRAFT

Its History, Class Nature, and You



On September 10, 1963, President Kennedy issued an executive order placing married men 19 to 26 years old in the lowest pool of those classified 1-A. The opinion at that time was that "with the 1-A pool containing 1,700,000 men and the Selective Service System drafting only 6,000 men a month...the quotas could be filled by unmarried youths during the foreseeable future." At that time the generals were promising that the troops would be home from the Vietnam war by Christmas 1964.

However, the Vietnamese people refused to play dead for the invading U.S. armies, and in less than two years the foreseeable future came to an end with a White House announcement last summer that manpower reserves of single men were nearly exhausted and that a call-up of married men was inevitable. Now this source is also drying up and the Selective Service System head, Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey has announced his intention to make students available for involuntary military servitude.

What determines who is drafted?

The history of the draft provides an insight into this question. In 1792 a law was enacted requiring every free white able-bodied male citizen to be responsible for military service in state militias. Also embodied in this law was a clause permitting exemption from enrollment on payment of an annual fee. The effect of this was compulsory service for the poor and uninterrupted profit-making for the rich, a pattern the draft has followed ever since.

This system lasted until the Civil War, when both armies found it necessary to use centralized draft systems. The Confederate army allowed those who could afford it to buy substitutes at prices as high as \$10,000. By December 1863 substitutes could no longer be provided, and shortly afterwards 'free' Negroes and other free 'persons of color' were declared draftable. As a last desperate resource, the southern ruling class offered freedom in return for military service to the very base of its system of exploitation, the black slave. The burden of the draft fell heaviest, however, on the poor white farmer; the sons of plantation owners officered the brass-heavy army.

In the North compulsory military service began in March 1863. The act provided that a draftee could either furnish a substitute or pay the government \$300 to find one.

While the workers of America were giving their lives, those who were able to buy their way out, such as Philip Armour, Andrew Carnegie, Jay Gould, J.P. Morgan, Jim Fisk and John D. Rockefeller, lived for the mammoth profits to be taken from war contracts. Philip Armour made \$2 million by selling pork short to the army, buying at \$18 a barrel and selling at \$40. Morgan is reputed to have made a fortune selling condemned rifles to the government. Young James Mellon, of the Philadelphia banking family, who took his father's advice not to enlist, wrote admiringly of friends who were making millions through speculation in wheat. "They continue growing richer," he wrote his father, "and don't care when the war ends."

FREE STUDENT NEWS

Black Workers Form Ghetto Union

By Mike Flug

Maryland Freedom Union

On Feb. 9, 1966 the owner of the Lincoln Memorial Nursing Home in Baltimore, Asa Wessells, called nine of his eighteen day-shift workers into his office. One by one he began firing those suspected of union sympathies. As other workers saw their friends fired, four of them walked out. When they began picketing outside some thirty minutes later, the Maryland Freedom Union was born.

The story of the strike at Wessells' nursing home spread very quickly all over the West Baltimore ghetto. Even for the Baltimore ghetto, where the retail and service wage scales are from fifty to ninety cents an hour, the wages at Lincoln seemed a nightmare. The striking workers had been getting 35c an hour, and working a sixty-hour week. Scheduling was so arbitrary that workers often put in 25 days without one day off. In addition to exploiting his workers, Wessells provided the worst kind of conditions for his patients. The place is infested with rats and roaches, heat often goes off for ten hours straight and unauthorized people often have to prescribe and administer medicines. When all this hit the front-page headlines of the Baltimore Afro-American on Feb. 11th, and when neighborhood people saw the pickets on TV, support grew rapidly.

On Sunday, Feb. 13 the strikers spoke at churches all over the ghetto, asking for the parishioners' support on the picket line and with the pocket-book. Everywhere people gave generously and Monday morning the line at Lincoln was more than fifty strong.

That morning, more than two miles away, at Bolton Hill Nursing Home, workers came to the job with copies of the Afro-American and talked about the Maryland Freedom Union. Just as at Lincoln, the workers were black, exploited and angry. They made fifty cents an hour and worked 56 hours a week. At 8:30 a.m. they held their own meeting right on the floor and walked out to picket. Twenty of the 29 day-shift workers voted to join the MFU and called the office. The organizers hurried over, signed them up and the MFU had doubled its size in five days.

The strikes settled down to the hard work of picketing and organizing community support. At Lincoln, the negotiating committee tried four times to meet with Wessells, but every time he refused to talk.

Meanwhile, student sympathizers in six Baltimore colleges (Johns Hopkins,

Morgan State, Goucher, Loyola, Towson and Notre Dame) began to picket with the workers and collect money for strike benefits. About 175 students have participated in different strike activities, with thirty active on a regular basis. Some of these are engaged in a new project undertaken at the request of the strikers, to survey the retail trade wage scales, profits, and business in the ghetto, to provide background for boycotts and organizing.

The workers decided to try and work together to break Wessells first and then go on to Bolton Hill. When the negotiating committee was refused again on Feb. 18, eighteen people sang and sat down in the doorway of Lincoln and were arrested. Police dragged one student down the stairs head first. For the workers, it was their first time in jail, but they kept their spirits.

Then the students picketed Wessells' \$60,000 house in the suburbs, and told his neighbors all about his nursing home. The next day he got an injunction against picketing of the nursing home and said he'd negotiate only if the injunction could be voided.

Finally after days of picketing and great fundraising by workers and supporting students to keep workers and their kids alive, the court head On March 14 the court ruled that picketing was not to be enjoined. Now negotiations are underway at Lincoln. Workers demand \$1.50 an hour, a forty-hour week, time-and-a-half for overtime and no more than seven days consecutive work. Soon negotiations will start at Bolton Hill. But the MFU will go on to organize the exploited service and retail workers in the Baltimore ghetto, whom the AFL-CIO won't touch.

The workers in the MFU want to build a union where workers make all decisions, and one which will fight for anybody who's down—including the supermarket, laundry, hardware store and clothing store workers in the Baltimore ghetto who make fifty to ninety cents an hour and who know unions only as something that white workers somewhere far away get into.

Contributions to aid the work of the Maryland Freedom Union are urgently needed. They may be sent to:

Maryland Freedom Union
322 N. Schroeder St.
Baltimore, Md.



BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Register to Vote- for Whose Boss?

By Courtland Cox—SNCC

Since 1961 Negroes in the South have been encouraged to register and vote. They were encouraged by good citizens, civil rights groups and the United States government. Negroes were told that they should risk life and limb so that when they get the right to vote they would be able to throw off the shackles that previously held them bound. Many poor blacks in the rural and urban areas felt that if they would register to vote and exercise that right they could do something about poor education, unpaved roads, sheriff brutality, the economic and political intimidation, the everyday social injustices, and, the whites might even stop calling them "boy."

It even became fashionable in many areas to stand up for the right to vote for "qualified" Negroes who had been disenfranchised. After much pressure by the white community and many thousand gone in the black belt communities, the Congress of the United States passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as a result. A few Federal registrars were sent to the South, and many Negroes across the black belt, turned out to register and vote (to become first-class citizens, to exercise their right to the franchise, and to participate in the American dream.) Many asked, "Now that the Negro has the right to vote, could he desire anything else?" Others asked, "What would it profit a man to have the vote and not be able to control it?"

Integration is a Cruel Joke

What would it mean for a poor Negro in the black belt to say, "I have the vote and now I can vote Democrat or Republican?"

"How can my vote be used to get the things I risked life and limb to gain?"

If we look at the political situation of the Negro as it has developed as a result of protest, many whites are willing to accept Negroes. But they are willing only to accept Negroes who are considered "qualified" by them. That is to say, Negroes who are of good education and middle-class economic background. What has developed and is developing in the South is what is known as bi-racial politics. Whereas before only whites dominated the political scene, today bi-racial politics intends to gather moderate whites and middle-class Negroes to define the art of the possible—politics. To many in this country, this integrated image is considered good development, however if we look at the reality, this is a cruel joke.

Let us look at two communities in the North, where as in the black belt, Negroes are in a high concentration, live in poverty, are the excluded of the society, and have been promised participation in the American dream (in the South by voting and in the North by definition of its being north). In New York "image Negroes" are put up to be borough president, to serve in many committees, judgeships and on many visible and high positions. After the appointment of Negroes to high places many sit back and admire the progress "they," the included, have accomplished. They say, "What could you people possibly want?" In Watts its the S.O.S. (same old song). And the Negroes riot.

The fact of the matter is the Negroes, North and South, are not only black but more importantly, at this stage of the game, poor. They riot because in many instances this is the only political expression left open to them. The tragedy is that when Negroes riot they are politically seen but not heard. So the story of the plot often remains the same. And they are continually excluded.

Minority Rule Must Go

The question that faces those who work and live in the South is can the pointed exclusion and fruitless striking out be avoided?

Are there any new forms that can be developed to give the poor black a chance to make decisions and control his own political life?

It is now time for the protest movement to enter the realms of politics. And by protest movement, we don't mean the narrow definition that is given to (CORE, SNCC, SCLC), and other such groups. The energy for this political thrust has to come from the victims of this country's political exclusion. It now becomes necessary to develop a political environment where the organization and organizational participation of people becomes more important than the politicians' platform. As it now stands, politics is defined as the art of the possible, inclusive of few, exclusive of many. The right of people to make decisions about their own lives is the most fundamental right that a member of a democratic society can have. And this is the perspective from which the concept of freedom organizations evolved. The Lowndes County Freedom Organization, alias the Black Panther Party, attempts to be such a group.

Lowndes County has a population, according to the 1960 census of 15,417 people. Of these 12,425 are Negro, or 81 per cent of the total county population. Previous to March 1965 no Negroes in that county were able to register to vote. After the passage of the Civil Rights Bill 2,000 Negroes were registered to vote under the Federal registrar. However, the whites having only 1,900

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5,000 demonstrate outside the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in NYC as Lyndon Johnson accepts a Freedom House award inside. Banner in background—Columbia University Independent Committee.

Southern Strikers Build Their Own Future

Jim Dann

Over the past few years it has become increasingly hard to make a living in Mississippi. This is especially true for the tenant farmers and day laborers who continue to depend on a cotton crop which simply fails to support them.

The increased yield-per-acre in cotton production and the development of foreign cotton producers has forced the American cotton market into very competitive business, with the result that the government has had to regulate more and more the production of cotton. In line with a November cotton producers' referendum there will be about a 30 per cent cut in the cotton acreage allotments in 1966 by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

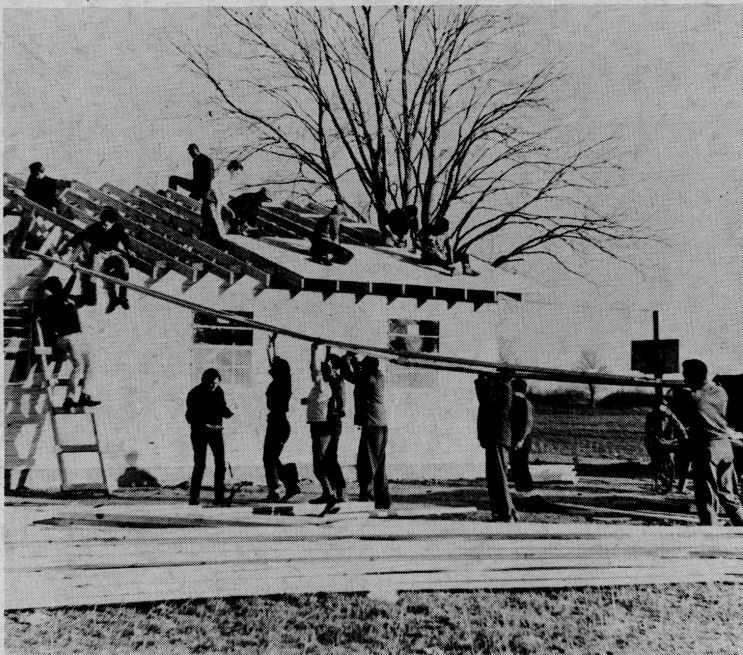
The result of this cut will be the eviction of at least 30 per cent of the day-labor force and the on-farm work force. Using the 1964 figure of an agricultural work force of 200,000, this means that in 1966 about 60,000 more people will have no work and no money. The farm owners will receive price support payments so that they can let up to 35 per cent of their land lie idle and be paid for doing it. For the farm workers, however, no provisions have been made.

Until about five years ago, it was still uneconomical for farmers to mechanize. Even if they could buy mechanical cotton pickers with FHA loans, they still needed laborers around to chop or weed the cotton in the spring. To buy a cotton picker and still incur the expenses for the laborers living there during the winter months did not pay. But with the recent perfection of chemical weed killers by the Department of Agriculture, it is now economical to put the laborers off the land and buy herbicides and mechanical pickers.

The picture is clear. Plantation owners have reasons for putting black farm workers off the plantations, even without their increased activity for the right to vote, for higher wages, and for other civil rights.

All activity on the plantation is oriented around the cotton cycle. When the cotton is ready for picking, the kids are taken out of school. It is impossible, at \$2.50 per 100 pounds of cotton, for a family of 12 to make enough money to survive unless the whole family takes to the fields. Schooling just has to wait. The same is true of chopping in the spring. Even when families want to keep the children in school, some plantation bosses have forced parents to keep them out.

In the everyday farming situation



PEOPLE'S WAR ON POVERTY—"AIN'T NOBODY GONNA DO IT FOR YOU"
Black people and students in Strike City, Mississippi build new housing for workers.

the power to make the real decisions about how the people will live and work is reserved for the boss. Matters of whether to buy 7 or 10 tons of fertilizer, whether the workers will have bathrooms in their houses, whether the kids will go to school, are settled by the boss. Decisions about pay, time, when to plant, where, etc; are never shared by the workers.

But in the Spring of 1965 black farm workers in Bolivar County, Miss. formed the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and went out on strike during the chopping season. The demand was \$1.25 an hour for all laborers as opposed to the prevailing wage of 30c an hour for choppers and 45c-50c an hour for tractor drivers. The strike spread sporadically to parts of neighboring Washington and Sunflower Counties. Even Senator Eastland's 6000-acre plantation was struck for a time. In areas like Shaw in Bolivar County, which was hard hit by the strike, plantation owners raised wages slightly to 40c an hour for choppers and \$7, \$8 or even \$9 per 12 hour day for tractor drivers. But the union members held out stubbornly for \$1.25, resulting in many evictions.

A group of tractor drivers and their families were evicted from the Andrews plantation near Tribbett in Washington

County. They got some land and formed "Strike City." While continuing the strike they had to look for ways to support their families.

A few days after they had been evicted some of the men found jobs in the nearby city of Greenville. They had been working only a few hours when a foreman fired them, saying, "After what you did, it will be a long time before you can find work in this state." Some of them tried to get the federal surplus food commodities which they had been getting for years during the winter months when there had been no work. But without their powerful plantation bosses, the program was not open to them. Neither the job foreman, nor the woman who distributes the food had to answer to anybody for the mistreatment of these people—because these people didn't count anyway.

When the men went on strike they knew they were jeopardizing their food and their lives. They knew they would be evicted, but by going on strike they wrested from the hands of that boss man' the power to make decisions about their lives. They took from him the power to decide when they would get up in the morning and when they would eat dinner.

Neighborhood Developers, Inc.

formed last summer by Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party members is trying to help the people in Strike City and those people left behind on the plantations to get hold of the tools they need to move against poverty. It will receive funds from public and private sources to be given as grants to people for the costs of building homes, to develop and finance literacy and vocational training programs and to seek contracts to develop viable communities. It is necessary to do this because the people with whom they will be working have not been able to fit into existing programs because they have no incomes.

In today's "poverty" programs, in today's banking structure, in America, there is no money for people who don't already have money or "some reasonable expectation" of being able to repay. Thus the people in Strike City have no expectation of getting any money except by their own efforts.

The business to be developed can hire people and can be called upon to help make needed improvements in the community such as playgrounds and adult recreation facilities. One example is the Freedom Now Brick Co. People receiving grants from Neighborhood Developers will be able to buy building materials at cost from the brick factory. The brick factory will, in turn, serve to stabilize a community by providing jobs.

The Freedom Now Brick Co. and Neighborhood Developers were formed by the black people of Mississippi themselves to do something about their poverty. The plans materialized this winter in the building of eight homes in Strike City.

Work on the houses in Strike City began on January 17th and is going on now. There is a commitment from one individual for the cost of all materials for the houses. The skilled labor will be hired and some volunteer labor has been offered. The men in Strike City are working on the building for as long as the daylight holds out. What is still lacking is the \$6,000 that it will take to install an artesian well to serve the houses and the community which will develop around Strike City.

The people of Strike City are asking help for them to get started. Donations can be sent to P.O. Box 2421, Jackson, Mississippi.

In the spring a general strike is planned. Its success depends greatly on how the black farm workers view those in Strike City who stuck their necks out the year before.

ALABAMA FREEDOM CHALLENGE

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eligible voters, have 2,500 eligible voters in the books, or over 130 per cent registration.

Most of the Negro families in Lowndes County make less than \$1000 a year. Most of them are engaged in sharecropping and tenant farming. The median school years completed by Negroes, again according to the 1960 census, is 5.1 years.

Negroes in Lowndes County have all the elements of deprivation associated with being a poor black.

In an attempt to satisfy their needs—involving education, decent law enforcement, paved roads, decent housing, good medical facilities, and all things that they hope for them and their posterity—they looked to the county court house. The question was how to get people into the political offices that control the court house who would be responsive to their needs.

The Republican Party is non-existent; the Democrats, although officially removing their motto of white supremacy from the register, made no other changes in their long standing policy of racism. In fact, the Chairman of the Lowndes County Democratic Executive Committee, Dickson, announced that the qualifying fee for the Democratic primaries would be raised 900 per cent from \$50 to \$500 for the offices of sheriff, tax assessor, tax collector, and from \$10 to \$100 for the offices on the board of education. The Chairman of this Democratic Executive Committee is a defendant in a federal court suit seeking an injunction preventing Lowndes County landlords from evicting Negro tenants for registering to vote.

Although Negroes are the numerical majority in Lowndes County, the Democratic party only provides them with white candidates who will adhere to a policy of less racism. The Negroes of Lowndes County want a political grouping that is controlled by them. They want a political grouping that is responsive to the needs of the poor, not necessarily the black people, but those of low income, that is to say, those who are unqualified in this society. To do this they had to form a group on the county level, that represented their

own interests.

It is going to attempt to go into areas where no one has bothered to go before, and to talk to people who up until now have not been considered worthwhile to deal with or represent. And the idea wants to be made real and take shape in the form of control of the court house, so that they will be the distributors of any state and federal resources, the taxers of any industry in their county (for example Dan River Mills in Lowndes), the determiners of the quality of education and the money spent for county schools. If they can put this program into action, a program sympathetic to the needs of the poor, tremendous amounts of state or even Federal money can be unleashed for use in construction of houses, roads, etc.

There has been some criticism of the concept of the freedom organization. First, that it will split the Negro vote. Yet, this vote will always be split if Negroes vote in their own economic and political interests. In the past, poor Negroes have always formed the base of a pyramid on which those who are qualified were able to gain all the advantages of the Negro vote. Freedom organizations hope to destroy this practice.

The second criticism is that the freedom organization, because of the Black Panther as a symbol, and because the majority of the grouping is Negro, is said to be Black Nationalist. The only symbolic importance of the panther, is its determination to be powerful and aggressive. The major emphasis is to bring to the poor and excluded, political power on the county level; the color of skin is incidental. To the extent that blackness is seen as a problem is one of the manifestations of a sickness of our segregated and racist society.

There are those who say that these people are illiterate, uneducated, barbaric, and ill-equipped to run a government. We say that these people know their needs and too long have they been ignored. If they cannot find political expression in what is considered a legitimate process, they will express themselves "illegitimately."

(Courtland Cox, a SNCC field secretary, is organizing political bases in Lowndes County for the "Black Panther Party.")

Berkeley High Students Force Vietnam Debate

By Damon Ulnic

Berkely High School (Calif.)

Three hundred students from Berkeley High participated in discussions on American foreign policy in Vietnam during their lunch hour, February 9th. During the day all of the history and sociology classes were devoted to discussion of the Vietnam war.

The Vietnam Study Day at Berkeley High was initiated by the Student Committee of Concern (SCC) and aided by the Young Democrats.

In organizing the discussions, a number of issues were brought to light. Students of the high school wrote a leaflet to inform the student body of the reasons for the Vietnam Study Day, and the plans being made to carry it out. A letter to the faculty was written, demanding that teachers go along with the plans by supporting free discussions in each classroom.

The school administration, however, thought otherwise about free discussion on the U.S. government's war and



SCC organizers talk to fellow high school students.

tried to stop the discussions on the grounds that such discussion belongs on the TV and radio and not in the public school. What failed to occur for them is that the war is relevant.

Our high school records are turned over by the administration to the Selective Service Board. School authorities, citing Public Law 8464, stated, in effect, that no political literature may be passed out on school campuses,

and the leaflet and the letter were confiscated. The school principal called the leaflet "propaganda" and described SCC members as "soliciting for the VDC."

Melanie Robinson, co-chairman of the SCC, at this point informed the principal that although a demonstration was not planned, there would be one if the administration did not cooperate. The principal quickly saw the

point and promised everything if we kept the whole thing quiet.

The noon hour discussion-rally was held on campus, outside the administration office. Members of the administration were surprised to see 300 students holding hot discussions without the influence of outside "agitators." In fact, the only outsiders present were F. B. I. agents, and three patrol cars of police arrested six students for jaywalking.

This demonstration won the right for students to voice opposition to the U.S.'s war in Vietnam. As long as high school students have to face the draft and as long as they are denied access to the political expression of their outlook and power, there will always be a great amount of unrest on the high school campuses. This will grow and spread beyond the control of the administrators who conceive of their job as "containing" students within the bounds set by a lost older generation.

THE DRAFT

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Another result of the legislation and the profiteering was one thousand casualties and \$1.5 million damage during four brutal days of riot in New York City. The "mob" which filled the streets was mostly composed of workers who vented their wrath on targets representing those who had exploited them in peacetime and were now trying to use them as cannon-fodder for the war—draft officials, the police, the railroads and other industries. The protesters were fired on and beaten by police and troops.

The first draft must have been very disappointing to those running the war—although 292,000 were called, 40,000 failed to appear and 164,000 were given physical disability exemptions and the like. That left only 88,000, and of these only 9,800 actually entered the army. The others were wealthy enough to buy their way out of danger.

For the next several decades the ruling class (those who own the means of production and their political brokers) found that it could maintain its expansionist policy without resorting to conscription. However, the industrialists soon found that as their overseas interests expanded they needed a mass army to protect and extend their colonies. The Civil War experience and mass resistance at home had an effect on the methods the ruling class used to procure this army when America's rulers were about to throw the people of the United States into World War I.

There can be no doubt that the majority of the workers and students in the U.S. were against spilling their blood for the profits of the rich. The National Grange in November, 1916, went on record as emphatically opposed to the proposed draft act. Matthew Vall and Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, John P. White of the United Mine Workers and other labor leaders stated their opposition. Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi demanded a draft of wealth to parallel the conscription of men. Socialist leader Eugene Debs, president of the American Railway Union, declared that the "ruling class in each country has the same goal—to extend the domination of their exploitation, to increase their capacity for robbery, and to multiply their ill-gotten riches... With all the colonial countries divided up among the imperialist powers, any attempt at redivision must result in war." Thousands across the nation flocked to hear when Debs and others spoke against the war and the draft.

In 1916 Woodrow Wilson won reelection on the slogan "He kept us out of war." In less than a year the workers and students were to be shown the de-

ception and face the methods the ruling class would use to insure the continuance of their exploitation at home and abroad. The wealthy had much to lose in "neutrality"—the repayment of over \$2.5 billion depended on an Allied victory.

In 1917 Congress passed a new conscription act. An elaborate system of review boards replaced financial exemptions. The review boards were made up of those with the time and money—one fifth received no pay—to spare. Draft boards were given great autonomy, which they still have, and exemptions were provided for men indispensable to war industries.

The dissidents now were engulfed in a wave of official repression and popular hysteria fostered by the imperialist-owned press. Parades and rallies were broken up by mobs led by soldiers. In May, 1917, two Columbia University students were arrested and charged with having written a pamphlet urging draftees to choose prison instead of army service. Although the pamphlet had not been distributed, the press carried sensational headlines about nationwide conspiracies. A few hours later police and soldiers broke up an anti-draft rally at Madison Square Garden. There were similar incidents elsewhere, but they did not prevent anti-draft riots among miners in Michigan and Montana, in Oklahoma and on Indian reservations, where men excluded from citizenship were being drafted to save their exploiters' hides.

It was evident to the ruling class, which was profiting enormously from war contracts, that new methods were needed to make the masses "willing" to spill their blood for imperialism.

In June, 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which made it a crime to speak or act against the war. In its first year more than a thousand men and women were prosecuted under it. Although the new law made agitation against the draft difficult, active opposition did not end. Army figures show 363,000 desertions and the Justice Department resorted to dragnet "slacker raids" to round up the numerous draft-evaders. These raids caused so much indignation and opposition among the people of New York that an investigation of the department was begun.

People in all walks of life felt the pressure of ruling-class war efforts. Students were expelled from school, ministers lost their pulpits and teachers and professors lost their positions. Thousands of workers who opposed the war and the draft were blacklisted from jobs. On April 12, 1919, Eugene Debs was sentenced to ten years in prison for anti-draft statements in a

wartime speech.

Just prior to World War II, which was obviously a different type of war than World War I, a similar conscription system was revived, with one important difference—this time, 95 per cent of draft board members were unpaid. The "peers" who chose the draftees could afford to work full-time for the duration of the war without pay. There was again much opposition. At first the service term was only one year, but in early 1941 it was extended six months. While the people wanted the boys back, the soldiers were even more bitter. The slogan OHIO—over the hill in October—appeared on the walls of military installations everywhere. The AFL and the CIO pointed out the vast differences between the \$20 a month paid draftees and the huge profits capitalists reaped from war orders.

This opposition survived the war, and reappeared in late 1945 as soldiers held massive demonstrations demanding to be returned home. These protests were brutally smashed by military police. U.S. imperialism still needed its armies—it was about to begin the 'Cold War.'

It was for this conflict that the Selective Service Act was revived in 1948. The needs of the military were smaller at this time, and the bill did not call for universal military training until it was revised in 1953. Truman had asked for this provision in the 1946 bill, perhaps scenting the U.S. aggression against Korea in the near future.

With the onset of the Korean War, it once more became evident that students would have to be inducted, because few were running to get in on the "police action." In May, 1951, the first deferment examinations were given. Class standing was the criterion for student exemptions, but a mark of 70 on the test was also acceptable. But these were only 'guidelines' for the local boards, whose autonomy gives them virtually complete say over "who's in and who's out." The test system was abandoned several years ago, but is now being revived. A sample question from the old exam shows its character.

...Which of the following offers the best contemporary example of a new career for an old form?
a) atomic bomb b) national armies c) agricultural methods d) United Nations e) British monarchy.

The answer is e. It seems that the atomic bomb and national armies are serving the same old function. The questions are stacked in favor of those

in math, science and engineering—Gen. Hershey admitted this in a speech at Columbia March 17th. As in 1917 and after, the draftlords are to drain their manpower sources to the limit. Black people, workers and now humanities students are to provide the grist for their deadly mill. They will be the cannon fodder with which U.S. imperialism tries to crush the people of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and other countries, while the military leaders sit in the Pentagon and calculate how they can best sustain world capitalism. The science students will be channeled into the production of war materials. They will manufacture the shells, the napalm, the gas; they will build up the industry Washington fights so hard to preserve. Future teachers will also find loopholes provided, for to them falls the task of bringing up the next generations of Americans to serve the same system. For all students the increased draft will mean a complete change in the atmosphere on campus. Students will be forced to abandon all activity other than grubbing in order to stay out of the war. Dialogue will disappear from the classroom in favor of fact-cramming, and all concepts of academic integrity will become meaningless in the face of a singleminded determination not to be sent to kill and die in Vietnam.

Students are not the only ones facing inequities in the draft. Puerto Rico, with a population one-seventh that of California, has the same draft quota—and those taken are made to fight for the same U.S. imperialism that keeps their homeland a colony. At home the draft falls heaviest on working-class youths who can't afford to seek refuge in college. In Vietnam the proportion of black soldiers is higher than in the U.S. population, and they have an even higher fatality rate. The government talks openly of the draft's 'beneficial' effects in lowering unemployment—by drafting those the ruling class has no job for except to die—the exploited of the ghettos, the dropouts and the unskilled. And the draft boards which choose these men to die are staffed by businessmen, lawyers, government officials, ex-military officers and the like, who all have much to gain and nothing to lose in the pursuit of war. These men usually live outside the ghettos from which they draw men to kill and maim those who fight for freedom from such exploiters in their own lands. The people—students, black people, workers—expected to shed their blood in Vietnam have far more in common with the struggle of the Vietnamese people than with the 'responsible' leaders of this nation.

INDEPENDENT POLITICS AND THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM

The Scheer-VDC Campaign: Pro and Con

A New Front Against Liberalism

By Jerry Rubin

Vietnam Day Committee

Vietnam protest activity for the past eight months in Berkeley has combined a radical direct action style and moral content. Actions have included teach-ins, troop train demonstrations and massive marches of 15,000 confronting thousands of armed policemen. Leaflets have called on citizens to realize their moral responsibility and oppose their government's inhuman war.

These activities, all organized out of the five-room house of the Vietnam Day Committee near the University of California, have had the effect of a school wave. They have given hope and inspiration to the national and international movement against the Vietnam war. In Berkeley they have moved literally thousands of people to feelings ranging from anxiety to crisis. The VDC succeeded in challenging the government for leadership of the morality of this area. But once the demonstrations ended, the VDC offered the marchers nowhere to go.

Mobilizing a New Front

The VDC found that its success in mobilizing had advanced the needs of the peace movement—at least in Berkeley—beyond the VDC. An infatuation with moral protest and with crisis politics meant that the VDC as an organization was unable to direct the peace movement to a new front.

What is that new front? The new front must include new means of reaching people—means which include large demonstrations but which place the demonstrations within a political framework and which aim at more effective communication. The new front must make room for thousands of new people—people who consider themselves liberals and who could not accept the raucous style of the VDC.

The new front should also include new means of mobilizing people and challenging the administration. A political campaign against an ADA-type liberal who supports the war seemed to many of us a logical next step. The election then could be a kind of Vietnam referendum. It is for this reason that we encouraged Bob Scheer to run in the June Democratic Party primary race for Congress in Berkeley and Oakland against incumbent Jeffrey Cohelan.

What are the new means for reaching people? The following ideas have been proposed as possibilities for the Scheer campaign: daily streetcorner rallies in the community combining music, puppet shows, dramas, and political speeches; a sensationalist newspaper of the left, modeled after the New York Daily News, to be given out free in the community; free rock-and-roll shows and dances for teen-agers based around Vietnam protest; mass media publicity putting forth startling radical slogans; a multi-issue teach-in; student organizers working closely with community groups; exhaustive door-to-door work; and the projection of a program which tries to make connections among three issues: Vietnam, the Oakland ghetto, and middle class conformity.

One intent of the Scheer campaign is the development of a new style of approaching people, of breaking through communication barriers—using popularized newspapers and imaginative forms of expression—a style new in electoral politics, and geared especially to bringing radicals into contact with "the people."

These ideas point to some direction for our movement, and they need not be tied to an election campaign, or to Scheer's campaign. But the Scheer campaign has the potentiality for engaging more people and talent in political protest than any similar activity in memory in Berkeley. The offices are besieged by hundreds of people—different sorts of people—people wearing suits, people with sorority pins, people over 30. If it is the task of radicals to be where the people are, the Scheer campaign is the place today in Berkeley.

The seeds of a radical political organization—a far-flung, multi-issued, mass-based organization—lies within the appeal of the Scheer campaign.

The chances of such an organization coming out of the Scheer campaign are endangered by lack of time since the campaign ends in June. However, present plans call for an independent write-in campaign in the November election if Scheer loses in June.

The chances of such a radical organization are also lessened by the fact that the radical left, including members of Students for a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, Progressive Labor and Independent Socialist Club, are not participating in the campaign because it is in the Democratic Party primary.

The Radical Left: Principle or Copout?

The absence of the radical left has robbed the campaign of much valuable imagination, talent and potential leadership. It has given liberals—and radicals who act like liberals—much responsibility and control. This tends to reinforce those things which make the Scheer campaign look like any other electoral campaign—including emphasis on the name of the candidate, registration of voters into the Democratic Party without any sustained discussion of the nature of the party, search for the most efficient means to get votes, and the putting forward of limited demands because that's where the people are.

Scheer himself is a radical. He is running in the primary only because it is virtually impossible to get on the ballot as an independent, and a serious effort demands one's name on the ballot. He says publicly that the Democratic Party must be destroyed; that it is impossible to reform. Yet Scheer does not feel that the Democratic Party is the main issue in this campaign. He sees the main issue as the failure of liberalism to solve the problems in Vietnam and in the ghetto. He believes that radical changes are needed in America. He is not a "peace" candidate—his critique strikes at the root of American society, at the root of power and ideology in this country.

Though Scheer and the content of the campaign is as radical as was FSM or VDC, the radical left is out of the campaign because they feel that a campaign in the Democratic Party primary—any campaign—reinforces the two-party mystique. So it may. But the civil rights demonstrations in Berkeley three years ago reinforced the mystique of private ownership of hotels and auto industries. The Free Speech Movement was a fight for civil liberties within the system; it reinforced liberal bureaucratic control of the university. The VDC as a protest organization was geared to force the administration to change its policy, thus reinforcing the system. Yet it was these activities which led to the radicalization of large numbers of people in Berkeley.

A campaign like this—radical candidate, radical program, radical goals, and independence from the Democratic Party structure but use of its primary as a forum—will disillusion more people with the Democratic Party than a hundred speeches on the party's nature. People will learn from this experience. They will find that radical changes cannot be made within the system.

Democratic Primary—People Secondary

By Steve Cherkoss

Member, Steering Committee, VDC, Progressive Labor Party

The size of protest demonstrations against the war in Vietnam continue to grow. But the U.S. government escalates the war. 100,000 people go to jail in the civil rights struggle. But this has little effect on the day-to-day brutality in the lives of the black working class. Campuses are marked by broadly based FSM-type protest movements. But the basic nature of the University and the education we receive remains the same. And sections of the movement that have grown out of these struggles and have been educated by them begin slowly to realize that they must fight for power—that we're not going to achieve the demands for peace with freedom and an end to exploitation of man by man until we get hold of the machinery of government and realize these demands ourselves. The crucial question is, how to do this?

Recently, Robert Scheer, author and expert on foreign affairs, announced that he will run in the Democratic Primary against incumbent Congressman Jeffrey Cohelan this June. The district covers Berkeley-Oakland, California.

A key debate has grown up around this campaign and its ties to the Democratic Party—one of the two parties that together rule this country. The advocates of this campaign claim that they are only using the "broader" appeal of the Democratic Party to expose it and win over people from it, that it is "virtually impossible to get on the ballot as an independent," and anyway it's just a tactic which will be abandoned before November's regular election.

'Politics of the Possible' or Struggle?

The Democratic Party is not only a prime supporter of racism in this country, but is also the Party that under two "liberal" Presidents has launched imperialist attacks on Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, Cuba, and so on. Its power is based on racism and imperialism and the profits made off of them both. To trick the people it usually takes on the "liberal" role, while the other party takes on the "conservative" role. They really differ little.

The Democratic Party is the political arm of our enemy (U.S. imperialism). It is not an ally in any way, shape or form. It is not to be reformed, but destroyed. You can't destroy it by telling people to join it and work to build it; but this is what the logic of Scheer's campaign leads to. Jack Weinberg, a leader of the Vietnam Day Committee (where the main debate over the campaign has taken place) and former FSM leader, exposed the fact that the Scheer campaign committee had issued letters urging young people to join and work for the Young Democrats and the so-called "grass roots" (California Democratic Council—asking them, in effect, to leave the radical protest movement (VDC, etc.) and go to work for the "liberal" arm of the imperialists and racists. So much for who is using whom.

The 'Two Party' SYSTEM

It is not "virtually impossible" to run as an independent in Berkeley-Oakland. It is just difficult—you must spend most of your time talking and working with large numbers of people instead of producing spectacles. To be on the ballot as an independent you must get a number of registered voters to sign your petition to be on the ballot (not of support) equal to 5 per cent of the total vote in the last election. This means about 7800 signatures in this case. But you can't sign such a petition if you vote in one of the two parties primaries. So, in fact, running as a Democrat makes an independent campaign later on much more difficult.

Bill Epton, running for State Senator in New York City, as an open Communist and chairman of the Harlem club of the Progressive Labor Party, got 9,000 signatures on his petition (some were not registered voters). And the State Senatorial district is smaller than a Federal Congressional district. Jose Fuentes running as an independent on the Lower East Side of New York got 5 per cent of the vote, though it was very difficult to find his name on the bottom of the ballot (in Epton's case, the levers next to his name were removed on 90 of the 150 voting machines in his district—we shouldn't put anything past this government) and most of his supporters were Puerto Ricans, most of whom don't vote at all.

So this "virtually impossible" situation turns out to be a fear and reluctance to build the new independent base needed to make it a virtual possibility. The election should not be the end in itself but a means by which to organize the independent base in a power situation capable of confronting this government.

It is also a mistake to make electoral work the center of our activity. When independent electoral activity is carried out, it can be an excellent educational and organizing tool for reaching many new people. But firstly many of the most exploited people in the United States do not and have never voted. They look cynically upon the whole process of the vote and the two party system. In the north most of these people (mainly of minority groups and workers) can not first be reached on an electoral platform.

And secondly, certain other struggles in specific situations are more important than the electoral. These include: trade union struggle to defeat the present phony union leadership, organizing the unorganized, and self-defense in the communities and ghettos against the terror of the slumlords and the government.

We should not go into political organizing with the get-rich-quick attitude that many approach electoral work with. No matter how good the intentions of those involved are, this amounts to opportunism and can lead to reformism and selling-out the real demands and needs of the American people.

We agree with Bob Scheer's call for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and his attack on former Senator Knowland's power machine in Oakland. However the function of raising these demands in the Democratic primary campaign simply provides a camouflage of liberalism for the "other party of the imperialists."

We must prepare to end this murderous system, not make peace with it. We have to build a powerful independent political force that will be able to end imperialist wars, racism, poverty and the cultural and moral decay that is choking our people. We cannot fight for the people by entering into coalitions with the political brokers for all these conditions.

We must build a multi-issue movement with independent political power. A movement that will be powerful enough to end all oppression—confront and destroy its roots—U.S. imperialism. In this struggle we will be joined by the majority of the people in the world. This united force cannot lose.

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The Vietnam Draft

Hundreds of thousands of college students now face the possibility of being drafted because the U.S. government is expanding the Vietnam war. Along with the millions of draftable men not in college, we don't want to go to Vietnam. Despite twenty years—a whole lifetime—of cold-war propaganda, we don't want to risk our lives to "fight Communism."

We realize with varying degrees of awareness that this is not our war. Some students feel guilty about their unwillingness to fight, and say that we can better "serve our country" at home. But "serve our country" in this context means help the war effort and keep things running smoothly, so that even more men will be sent to Vietnam.

Some of us know why we don't want to fight in Vietnam. We don't want to burn down peasants' houses or spread chemicals on their crops. We don't want to help the U.S. government in its attempts to stop popular revolutions around the world, and to win back North Vietnam and China into its empire.

Many people, as in the Korean war, will dodge the draft by running away. But this is difficult for most men who are tied to jobs, schools or families. For draftable men collectively, it is no solution. The government will try to fill its ever-larger quota from those who are still available.

The only way we can limit that quota is to increase our opposition to the war. More people united around the clear demand, "U.S. Get Out Of Vietnam," makes it more politically costly for the government to throw more men into Vietnam. If the Vietnam war is the kind of war we shouldn't be drafted for, it is the kind of war we should oppose.

It won't help to try to get only ourselves—students—out of it. If the rest of the population saw students, who comprise the bulk of the anti-war movement, attempting to put them in uniform to replace us, they would correctly think we were against them, not against the war. Army enlisted men would rightly believe not that

GRADING FOR DEATH—

The War Is Campus-Bound

By Earl Silbar and Steve Baum — Roosevelt University SDS

The war is beginning to make itself felt on the campus in many ways. The projected involvement of faculty and administrators in draft procedures raises fundamental questions as to the nature of a university, decision making in our society and the nature of the war.

On a more personal level we see the draft procedures as divisive in four ways: 1) the 2-S deferment separates students from the rest of the non-student population, especially in wartime; 2) deciding deferments on the basis of grades and ranks tends to make students feel 'safe' and 'unsafe,' depending on their understanding or ignorance of the real world of an Asian land war against people fighting for national independence; 3) this system of giving deferments 'naturally' tends to drive individual students to the books in the desire to stay out of the draft and the war, thus placing priority on grades before commitment for social change; 4) the national 'voluntary' system of testing tends to divide students of the humanities from those of the natural sciences.

The university is ideally a place where knowledge is passed on, new knowledge discovered and people are able to develop their critical abilities amidst intellectual pluralism. Grades are supposed to function as a technique for judging students' comprehension of course material.

The cooperation of administrators in turning in grades, ranks or transcripts to local draft boards constitutes a distortion of the university. No longer are grades the imperfect technique to judge comprehension. Under the system of giving a 2-S on the basis of grades, grades become the balance of life itself. Administrators and professors become conscious agents in this process.

Fighting for a Say...

At Roosevelt University (Chicago) we ran three candidates for the Student Senate. The platform stressed our support for the principle of self-determination. We explained self-determination to mean the participation of people in the decisions that affect their lives; we specified the fight by working with people to organize unions to struggle for power over the economic decisions that affect them on the job (wages and working conditions), the rights of peoples to national independence (specifying the Dominican Republic and Vietnam) and the right of students to have a powerful voice in the running of the university—at all levels of power.

We outlined the distortion which is involved when a university turns over grades to local draft boards. Then we demanded that the administration refuse to send in such information. This highlighted the lack of student power.

Following a 5 day campaign (\$5 spent on 2,000 leaflets), we polled 180 votes and got a generally positive response from people previously neutral or 'anti'. Our next step was to get out a leaflet using much of Milburn P. Akers article in the Chicago Sun-Times of 3/6/66 which analysed the many arbitrary and anti-democratic facets of using grades as a determining factor in the draft. Response was excellent. We set up a table with anti-war literature and a strongly worded petition demanding that the administration refuse to send any such information to local boards.

...in What Happens to Us

A question frequently raised is "shouldn't the administration send in grades if an individual requests it?". Our response is NO, for the following reasons: 1) If we allow the administration to take such a position it will mean that local boards will simply send the student a letter demanding his grades, class rank or transcript under penalty of receiving an immediate 1-A delinquent rating 2) The administration thus puts the responsibility on the individual student, who is not in a position to make an uncoerced decision. It forces the student to accept a classification system based on grades. Furthermore, letting the administrators do this is to allow them to escape the consequences of their actions: on both students and the University itself.

While making clear the distortion and responsibility involved in this process, we must not forget the profs. This system of drafting students would be impossible without their participation. Without the grades they give, it could not continue. Profs must be confronted with the fact that when they give a grade under this system, they are not only judging a student's academic work but are laying the basis for judging a person's eligibility to live, or die.

We argue that the introduction of this draft system into the university can easily lead to an intolerant atmosphere such as marked the McCarthy era of the '50s. Moreover, it will bring really vicious competition for grades. The sad fact is that we will be lucky to get students out of the library unless we can mobilize and meet this challenge!

It is necessary for students to see past today's possible refuge in grades. Government announcements of expanded fighting into Laos and Cambodia, plans for a 2-7 year war, and an increase of 300,000-700,000 men in Vietnam can only mean that many more Americans will be drafted. Since the categories of single and married non-students have been 'cleaned-out', the increased man-

we want them out of Vietnam, but that we want them there instead of us. Black workers, the most oppressed people in our society, who most clearly understand that their fight is here, not there, would not ally with us against our common enemy.

At a time when the anti-war movement must continue spreading to black people, workers and soldiers, we would be isolating ourselves and splitting the movement. This would allow Johnson to step up the war more easily. In the end, more of us would be drafted. Even in the short run, the position is immoral and hypocritical. To fight for our own interests, we must fight against the war, and against anybody's being drafted because of the war.

But what if you are drafted? How do you choose between two dreadful fates—five years in jail or entering the army? Some men will choose jail, and the strongest support should be given to their stand against the Vietnam war.

But given this choice, at this time, most men will join the army. The government wants us to equate induction with total defeat. But we cannot accept the premise that once we are in the army we become robots programmed to carry out the will of the U.S. government, no matter how repugnant. If we are drafted, we owe it to ourselves to look for ways to oppose the war while inside the army. To say that this is impossible is to say that the government has the ability to turn millions of ordinary American young men, including ourselves, into monsters who won't even struggle in their own interest.

We don't believe this. As the war continues, the struggles of GI's, black people, students and workers will limit the government's ability to expand the war and the draft. They will lessen the number killed and maimed on both sides. They will hasten the day when the U.S. government, facing the combined pressure of the Vietnamese and American peoples, and the people of the whole world, will have to get out of Vietnam.

The Test: The Real Question

The tests are another sorting device for the government, another means of determining who can "help" most here, who is expendable there. It is another way of pitting student against student, making it more difficult for us to fight together for our common interests.

The tests should not be given only to students, but to every young man in America. And the only question on the tests should be, "Do you want to fight in Vietnam?"

power requirements will be taken from today's students. Thus, grade categories are not 'safe' refuges—rather they create pools of unwary fish which the government can scoop up at its leisure.

This is true for grade, class rank or test based deferments. To allow this system to become established means to cooperate in the degeneration of the university. It also means to allow the Selective Service System (SSS) to pit students against each other in their competition for grades. If not opposed, this process sets the basis for the destruction of possible student mobilization against the war itself. Conversely, to oppose the cooperation of administrators and profs with such a system means that many students can get involved in struggle for their own self-determination—as a group in terms of their enlightened self-interest.

These struggles build consciousness of the war and its nature as our analysis has been the basis for the development of concrete programs relevant to students problems. Furthermore, these programs expose the character of the liberal administration that acts "in the students' interests."

Adopted nationwide, these programs could eliminate the possibility that any one student body will be singled out and victimized. Such nationwide student programs could force the government to make tangible the underlying reality—the fact that hundreds of thousands of students are NOT 'safe.' Success in bringing administrators and profs not to cooperate will force the government to either stop drafting students (an unlikely prospect) or to draft students randomly. This random draft could be concrete evidence to a mobilized student movement that students must unite with other forces in society (e.g. Black Nationalists, organized labor insurgents over wage freezes and inflation) to oppose the war—if only to continue their education.

Many schools have begun some actions on these problems. Columbia U. Independent Committee on Vietnam picketed Gen. Hershey March 17 when he spoke on campus, and the two hundred students involved held a counter class afterward; U. of Michigan groups plan a demonstration and C.D. against administration cooperation. At Roosevelt we plan a demonstration and C.D. at Science Research Associates—the IBM subsidiary making the 'voluntary' tests (both on March 25th as part of the International Days of Protest March 25-26).

Clearly time is of the essence. We present this analysis and our limited and encouraging experiences in the hope that they can clarify some of the problems involved and will lead to the adoption of similar programs on your campus soon. Comments and criticisms welcome:

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May Second Statement

(Continued from page 8)

protection to civil rights workers who are enforcing its laws. It is the federal government whose money pays for Negro removal in northern cities, that sponsors "welfare" as a substitute for doing something about slum housing and the horrible school systems which generate the social disintegration and misery of ghetto life. One might say that the government's intent in all of its programs is to ward off revolt by repression, removal, and bribery while preserving the slums as profitable investments. The government does not act to curb police brutality; it suppresses the revolts which such brutality produces and conspires with the producers. The federal government does not produce a minimum housing statute or build decent housing for the poor. It simply reduces the living space of the ghetto via middle income projects. Rather than directly confront those who profit from the overcrowding, rats and roaches, which drives youth to live more or less on the streets, the government tries to remove the youth from the streets by "job corps," Haryou, etc., in order to reduce police problems. From this point of view, the draft is just another means to remove "corner kids" who cause "trouble." If ghetto conditions produce broken homes, prostitution, druggism, alcoholism, drop-outs and structural unemployment due to lack of skills, etc., the federal government offers a little unemployment relief and other handouts to the victims. If in spite of all these measures, "riots" occur, the government "rehabilitates the business districts within the ghetto."

The federal government's policies are fooling fewer and fewer people in the freedom movement, north and south. Those who have worked on voter registration only to see share croppers thrown off their land for registering, those who have seen J. Edgar Hoover giving Governor Johnson a pat on the back for his police work in Mississippi, those who have seen a Mississippi racist appointed by Johnson to a key judicial post in civil rights cases, who have seen Bill Epton's name fraudulently kept off his hard won place on a NYC ballot, who have seen Julian Bond denied his elected seat by racist legislators—all of them have been instructed that unless the social basis of the U.S. power structure is reversed, racial equality is a myth.

The new radical consciousness in the freedom movement results, as in the peace movement, from education through struggle and the casting off of some of the old, ham-stringing concepts.

Firstly, the gradualist-integrationist leadership of the movement has failed to direct the struggle towards satisfying the basic economic demands of the black working class. Johnson talks "poverty wars," but conditions for black workers worsen; their demands cannot be met by civil rights acts or voting concessions. Birmingham, Harlem and Watts are heroic reminders. The concept of working within the two party framework is losing ground; a third party movement (MFDP, Black Panther Party) is growing. Furthermore, the enrollment of black working class forces in the movement has facilitated the struggle against the more debilitating pacifist ideas of the middle class leadership. The emergence of the Deacons, the Birmingham black militia, and the great popularity of Malcolm X before his assassination, indicate the rejection of the notion of non-violence (for black people).

Secondly, the rise of independent African states, and the participation of the African peoples in the anti-colonial movement, has been an important factor in radicalizing black political consciousness in America. This consciousness has replaced servility and fear with pride and militancy. It calls for black leadership. Its demands for jobs, housing and education continue to sharpen the conflict between the black population and a profit-based capitalist economy. Also, for the first time, the Freedom Movement is turning its attention to foreign policy. SNCC's statement, condemning the war in Vietnam, protesting the discriminatory draft, which sends the black poor off to kill other colored people on behalf of the white rich, and stating its determination to win freedom here is a great contribution to the peace and freedom movement and a slap in the face to those who are still actively working to bring both movements under the shirt tails of the Democratic Party.

AN EVALUATION:

Let's summarize the changes that have taken place.

1. The U.S. government is expanding the war against the Vietnamese people, and has stepped up the intensity of its counter-revolutionary activities around the world.

2. Black workers and others are increasing their pressure for liberation at home.

3. The old reformist leadership of the peace and civil rights movement has been partly discredited by its "token" politics and its inability to win meaningful reforms, concessions, or peace.

4. As a result, favorable conditions have emerged for the development of a mass, radical student movement. This development has already begun. Within the movements there is heated debate over the content and perspectives of the politics and ideology that are needed to enable the movement to continue its growth, break out of its relative isolation on the campus, and become a potent political force. The debate and the programs advanced which reflect the differing points of view, is as open as it is heated.

The May 2nd Movement has contributed its share of the analysis, discussion, activity and criticism to the debate. At the same time, we did not develop into a mass movement.

We failed to work sufficiently on domestic issues, whereas the civil rights and community organizations have expanded their orientation to include foreign affairs. SDS and SNCC have grown because of their gradual development of anti-imperialism on a broad range of issues. They have benefitted from an organizational looseness which permitted new members to develop their ideology gradually as they gained experience on a campus chapter or summer project and then to politically mature within the organization. Our insufficient domestic programs and projects meant that we could never function well off-campus. We had a series of chapters which took a very radical stand on foreign policy and a national newspaper which reflected that stance. There was little room for a student, whose radicalism did not go beyond a vague feeling that U.S. foreign policy or even domestic policy was not in keeping with liberal ideals, to come into a May 2nd chapter and gradually mature as a result of experience and struggle. We recruited from the minority that was already quite radicalized and thus at the end of a process of experience and reflection which produces alienation from the mainstream and a commitment to building socialism in America.

Thus we tended to become a cadre organization for those students who were at once too radical in ideas and sometimes too inexperienced in organizational work to function well in the other existing organizations. With this drawback, we served two limited but important functions. We gave our members experience in publishing, organizing rallies and holding forums. In many chapters people became experienced in writing research papers and speaking before mass meetings. Quite a few intellectuals were dragged out of their apartments, dorms and coffee houses into real political work for the first time. The consciousness of many of us was raised by these efforts. We began to gain a realistic impression of what the political level of students was and the forces that produced that level. Finally, our members saw what it was to be known as radicals and how that affected their lives.

Besides our self-development, we helped improve the political understanding of the students at our campuses, especially through our newspaper, the Free Student and position papers. We showed by deed that anti-imperialism can be advanced in America.

Taking modest account of our work, the key question for all of us is very clearly: "How can we, given the new, favorable circumstances in the movement, best make our contribution to building and uniting it around effective, radical politics?"

We had two choices: 1) To continue to build M-2-M. 2) To dissolve M-2-M and work as members and activists to build the existing "mass" organizations that are changing and becoming radicalized through struggle.

Over the February 4-6th weekend, a conference took place in NYC, at which representatives of the chapters of M-2-M that were actively functioning on the East Coast voted to dissolve M-2-M. This decision was approved by other regional meetings. The choice was made based on a favorable estimate of the new organizations and the need for us to throw all our energies into their development as the radical "student movement" in America. This favorable estimate was made with the understanding that the struggle for political definition and aims is going on now within the movement and has by no means been resolved in favor of socialist, left, or anti-imperialist perspectives. On the contrary, many of the old, opportunist ideas and approaches are actively contending in the movement. There is no reason to expect the new movement to leap over the Great Wall of bourgeois ideology all at once.

The notion that piecemeal reforms can lead to satisfactory over-all change persists, but it is pitted against a growing socialist consciousness, which asserts that no basic reforms can be won without defeating the social power of monopoly capitalism. Our radicalism is based on the belief that the student movement cannot survive or grow without a socialist perspective.

The decision to dissolve M-2-M was a decision to fight for the politics that we believe will strengthen the movement and enable it to achieve mass proportions.

Our experience in mass work is limited, and the content of our radicalism has been blunted by its relative isolation. The conditions in the new movements have opened many areas of militant struggle; we can stand aside only at the expense of our own development as radicals; we would give up our aspirations to be fighters and become only critical critics.

Were we at this point to maintain an essentially competing organization, what would be the result?

Marxists would find a haven in our organization, where they could relax in the comfortable surroundings of a group that shared their views, and thus relieve themselves of their responsibility to put their ideas to the test of struggle and to sharpen and consolidate the positions which will strengthen the movement on the basis of the tests of practical experience. Rather than join in the task of building a strong, mass student organization where Marxist analysis and program could forge a specifically

American content, the development of this content would be retarded by the allegiance of its proponents to a more secure but isolated environment.

We choose to work in and build the existing radical organizations—our goal is the development of a mass socialist student movement in America.

To accomplish these ends:

1. We dissolve the May 2nd Movement.

2. The Free Student newspaper will continue to publish. It will try to a) Serve as a center of active debate, of radical views and analysis, Marxist and non-Marxist, on the key ideological and programmatic questions before the movement. b) Encourage and participate in a full scale student assault against the establishment universities which, as the ideological prep schools for U.S. imperialism, have refined the techniques of mis-education, rote learning, compartmentalization, and total control over the students' lives, in an effort to turn out faithful and fully alienated servants of monopoly capital. The newspaper will continue to have an anti-imperialist editorial line. The present editorial board will continue until they are joined or replaced by others of the movement.

We have definite ideas as to where the movement should go. The only way these ideas can be developed further is through experience and the analyzing of that experience. In this process we all must participate. We ask all those who agree to join together with us and unite in a struggle around these ideas:

A. The movement must further develop a clear ideology based on an understanding of U.S. imperialism overseas and domestic racism, exploitation, and cultural and intellectual degeneracy.

B. Students and intellectuals alone can not be the motor force for fundamental social change (revolution). We will work to strengthen the process that has already begun in the radical movement to forge ties and alliances with the growing movements of the workers and the poor of this country, both black and white.

It is these groups, along with students and intellectuals as allies that will bring about the changes necessary to satisfy the material and social needs of our people.

C. Intellectuals and artists must ally themselves with the workers and the poor and not with the exploitative ruling class. They must turn their energies and talents towards the workers and the poor and towards the movement. Only in this way can their lives be meaningful and socially productive.

D. We must develop independent political electoral activity, independent of the racist and imperialist Democratic and Republican Parties. This activity must be based on a clear understanding of the class nature of the State—i.e. that we won't be able to elect in the changes we want (that no ruling class will abdicate power to the ballot alone). Independent electoral work is both educative and a good organizing tool. Certain limited gains can be won in this form of struggle.

E. We must expose the class nature of University administration, its ties to business and the government. We must carry on direct struggle with the administrations and demand and fight for student and faculty control of the University in all its aspects.

F. We must expose the U.S. government as the chief enemy of peace in the world today and as the supporter of racism and exploitation at home and imperialism abroad. We must expose the lie that the U.S. government is different, that it is the neutral arbitrator of societies' disputes. We must maintain our uncompromising opposition to U.S. imperialism as the root cause of the evils that this movement is fighting. We must engage in struggle to expose and eventually to defeat U.S. imperialism.

We will continue our support of national liberation struggles. They are our greatest ally against our common enemy. We will advance socialism as the alternative to monopoly capitalism.

These are our reasons, that is our voice, and this is our program. We are enthusiastic to start working directly with those who have been our friends for many months. More unity, greater determination, ultimate victory.

FREE STUDENT continues as the national newspaper of the left student movement, bringing you news and analysis from groups and activities across the nation and around the world.

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A STATEMENT ON THE DISSOLUTION OF M2M

Build And Unite The Movement

Two years ago, the existing student organizations represented a variety of unsatisfactory choices for many radicals who wished to take an active part in politics. Thousands of students, motivated by genuine radical consciousness, sought through "the movement" to fight against racism, poverty and aggressive war. But too often the movement's "respectable" leadership soured their radicalism with its accommodating, liberal postures, and its constant overtures to the establishment. Many who perceived the ultimate social identity of the merchants of death in Vietnam and Mississippi and the peddlars of the "new frontier" and the "great frontier," who saw American capitalism as the ultimate sponsor and perpetrator of both domestic reaction and foreign counter-revolution, many of these radicals—whether they called themselves communists, Marxists or anti-imperialists, found themselves without a satisfactory vehicle for social struggles.

The Peace Movement was led by nuclear pacifists and others who never failed to condemn the socialist camp when announcing their opposition to U.S. aggression. In the midst of Marine interventions, armed invasions, CIA coups, infiltrations and assassinations, their cry of "a plague on both your houses" benefitted only the aggressor.

The peace movement leaders misled many. They smothered support for the peasants and workers of the oppressed nations who are slaughtered peacefully by poverty and violently by the dictator's police and army, and channelled protest into the dead end of "ban the bomb" politics.

The peace groups' "third campism" was reinforced by red-baiting. The leadership of SANE capitulated to government intimidation and carried out sweeping purges of its ranks. The "neutral" national administration chuckled as SANE got rid of the reds and wiped out its sizable student following in the process.

The Civil Rights Movement was developing the tactics of direct action based solely on the goal of equal civil rights for black people. Despite its limited perspectives, the movement captured the imagination of millions; thousands of students became involved in struggles that called for personal courage and sacrifice.

However, the old line middle-class leadership of the integration movement again acted as a brake on the militancy of the activists. They clung to the national Democratic Party, supported the aggressive foreign policy of the national administration, fought against attempts to link up the freedom fight here with the world anti-colonial upsurge, preached the concept of gradualism and were satisfied with token reforms.

Many young radicals, disregarding their dislike for the liberal-conservative leadership in both peace and civil rights groups, joined up nonetheless, and fought with conviction against compromise and vacillation. Others, put off by the leaders' continued red-baiting and political opportunism, were discouraged and stayed away.

Outside of these movements were a number of youth groups attached to various left-wing parties. Although each party had definite revolutionary ambitions, they were all characterized by their failure to develop a perspective of mass work. Instead of actively seeking out ways to bring revolutionary ideas into the existing areas of struggle, they concentrated upon building up a nucleus of cadre around sectarian and non-revolutionary ideology. Those who were put off by the backward leadership of the movements and who rejected the non-revolutionary politics of the left parties, could only work as individuals trying to organize or simply persuade their friends and acquaintances.

Following a Socialist Conference at Yale University in March of '64, a group of radicals, some associated with the Progressive Labor Party, organized for demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. The successful demonstrations, which took place in a number of cities on May 2, 1964, called for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and an end to U.S. aggression. The size of the demonstrations convinced the organizers and many of the participants that an organization was needed to bring together the scattered forces in the peace movement, to build a principled, radical peace movement, with an anti-imperialist outlook and leadership.

In its early months, the May 2nd Movement concentrated its organizing work on mobilizing and developing opposition to the Vietnam war. Through rallies and marches, films, forums, publications and perhaps most deeply through man to man contacts and struggles on the level of individual discussions and shared experiences and friendships with others in the movement, we molded and put forward our ideas. With the publication of Free Student in February 1965, the movement enlarged its focus, with analyses and critiques of the domestic consequences of imperialism, particularly the role of the universities as service centers for the establishment, the impact of big corporate trustees on educational policy and content, and the suppression of radical thought and action in curricular and extra-curricular spheres. Ours was the first coherent factual presentation of a position which supported the victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, and expressed root opposition to all manifestations of the imperialist foreign policy of the American government.

The activities and propaganda work of M-2-M, although limited to not more than 20 campus chapters,

were modestly effective in publicizing an anti-imperialist politics and sometimes influential in helping to formulate and express the ideas and mood of the campus peace movement at large.

However, the founding and growth of M-2-M was only one of a range of reactions, responses and changes that were beginning to shape the "New Left."

By 1964, stepped-up revolutionary action around the world and intensified reform struggles at home were reflected in an upsurge of radical activity and thought that swept through the movements. The Kennedy administration had neatly scooped the peace movement with the partial test ban treaty of July '63. While liberal cheers rang out, Kennedy was already giving the orders for stepped-up U.S. aggression in Vietnam, increasing the numbers of U.S. troops and the flow of U.S. arms.

Atrocity stories, concentration camp tactics, chemical warfare, napalm—all familiar aspects of counter-revolutionary war—began to arouse the attention of Americans. At this juncture, the peace movement, still playing out its one-sided love affair with the national Democratic Party administration, questioned the "propriety" of certain U.S. tactics and faithfully condemned the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong for terror and aggression.

But Vietnam was not the only arena in which the carefully constructed peace-loving image of the U.S. government was crumbling. The Cuban revolutionaries had stopped Kennedy at the Bay of Pigs. Others were not so fortunate. Thousands of Congolese dead—slaughtered by Anglo-American mercenaries—aroused shouts of indignation and world wide protest at the fraudulent and cynical white man's humanitarianism. Millions of U.S. dollars were spent in Laos to undermine a national coalition government to sustain warlords and feudal fiefs. Military coups and dictatorships in Latin America and Africa were openly encouraged and supported by Johnson as a sure guarantee of the status quo and a stable environment for U.S. investment expansion.

These events had begun to clarify the nature of the conflict between the revolutionary aspirations of the "Damned of the Earth"—their pressing demands for independence, economic self-sufficiency and socialism—and U.S. imperialism's plans for the "American Century"—a world empire of exploitation and profit. The American Century was no mere whim of a particular administration or party. 20 years' history of cold and hot war against the world's poor could not be written off to policy mistakes. The more the U.S. government tries to cloak the far-flung corporate ambitions that determine its policy under the mantle of a fight for freedom, the more Americans have begun to question and reject the paranoid cliches and political racketeers of "anti-communism."

Johnson's Marine intervention in the popular revolt in Santo Domingo (set against the background of his top advisers' fingers deep in the Dominican sugar bin) killed thousands to prevent a takeover by 57 reds, but opened millions of eyes in America and recruited new thousands to militant opposition.

Finally, the U.S. attack on North Vietnam, the daily bombing of that country, the systematic attempt to destroy its infant industries and terrorize its people into submission, interspersed with outrageously pious calls for peace and threats of more aggression, spurred the growth of protest and radical consciousness.

The unfolding panorama of war and destruction, unleashed by the U.S. in its profit-motivated drive to dominate the people, labor, resources and markets of the world, has served to educate the new movements. Many began to realize that "peace" was not merely for the asking, that it was "not enough to be for peace," especially the more LBJ insists: "I'm for peace, too."

The lesson of relying on SANE or "responsible leadership"—Johnson in the '64 elections—has been driven home to many who supported him at the urging of the responsible peace leadership.

And the understanding that peace will not be won by test-ban treaties—disarmament conferences—or U.N. "peace keepers"—these are only some lessons that our movement has begun to learn. The anti-imperialist perspective that is beginning to emerge is the result of these lessons. It is the result of the failure of narrow compromising—and unprincipled approach of the past to mount any effective opposition, to curtail expanding U.S. aggression. Anti-imperialism has appeared in the movement in response to the experiences which demand a politics that is capable of engaging millions of Americans in sharp and total conflict with the foreign policy of the government that aims to stop.

Changing Movements:

The emerging consciousness, product of the global crisis and conflict, is reflected in the growth of the New Left organizations in the last two years. Students for a Democratic Society, the Independent Committees to End the War in Vietnam, the Vietnam Day Committee and other groups have overcome some of the weaknesses imposed by the liberal-conservative leadership of past movements. The emphasis on the need for internal democracy and rank and file control has given the new movement a flexibility and toughness that seemed altogether lacking in the fifties. Red-baiting, the principle ideological weapon of U.S. imperialism, has been rejected by many elements in the new movement—although by

no means decisively defeated.

The new organizations broke away from the pattern of inaction and token protests that were the hallmark of the conservatively-led cold-war peace movements. Through marches on Washington, draft-card burnings, attempts to stop troop trains, pickets in front of SS boards, teach-ins, they developed a whole series of tactics that began to direct opposition to the Vietnam war towards condemnation of the national administration, its domestic as well as foreign policy. Thousands of students have enrolled in the new movements, because its politics and conduct often voice their own feelings of anger, disgust and frustration with the government's wars abroad and cynically conceived "poverty wars" to win support at home.

Although the new peace movement has grown and considerably broadened its following, it is still grappling with some of the old problems. Conservatives in the movement are fighting hard, with considerable help from Vice-President Humphrey, et al, to take the edge off the movement's effectiveness by attaching its demands to some of the phony peace concessions that Johnson periodically offers. If the peace movement could be persuaded to limit its slogans to: "Stop the war now," without raising the essential demand of "U.S. get out of Vietnam," Johnson would too gladly embrace and smother it with his unctuous "me too."

The struggle for political and ideological clarity in the peace movement has taken many forms. The M-2-M, through the pages of Free Student, leaflets and forums tried to advance what it considered to be a position of principled, radical politics. This outlook meant the exposure and criticism of certain slogans and positions which would, if adopted, lead the movement down the wrong track or derail it altogether:

1. "Negotiations" in Vietnam; i.e., the Vietnamese people should give up their struggle for liberation and negotiate the conditions of their servitude with American aggressors.

2. The "Peace Offensive"—a frantic public relations job to sell the notion that the U.S. government is seeking peace while it actively expands its war of atrocities.

3. U.N. intervention as "arbiter" in Vietnam. After the U.N. "arbitrated" the death of Patrice Lumumba and the preservation of Belgian and American business interests in Katanga and Kasai, it is only reasonable that the U.N. should bring "peace" to Vietnam and the Dominican Republic as well.

4. The Peace Corps as the place for the idealism of American youth. Millions of peasants and workers are condemned to starvation, slavery and death by the interests of U.S. business. This status quo is enforced by the State Department, the CIA, and the Pentagon, who now cordially invite all those who are guileless and worthy of security clearance to administer band-aids and CARE packages as tokens of the unbounded generosity of the U.S. government. Those who volunteer and are deemed fit will receive \$2,000, draft deferral, and the gratitude of the government for staying out of the peace and civil rights movement at home.

5. "Peaceful Alternatives to the Draft." Those who do not wish to incur the risks of serving the American business empire in the imperial army may help the war effort by training a small number of the poor to fill the gap in the supply of skilled labor, or otherwise by helping to reduce the social welfare costs flowing from capitalist organization of urban slums and rural mechanization.

6. "Foreign Aid" The U.S. government offers upon receiving the surrender of the National Liberation Front, to build a brand new police state which will have none of the technical deficiencies of its predecessors and to include irrigation projects for the landlords, hydroelectric installations to service prospective American investors and improve the lighting in Saigon bars.

7. "Peaceful Coexistence." The U.S. and Soviet governments are prepared to cooperate in maintaining their respective hegemonies. But National Liberation movements, and certain socialist countries (like China), should understand that to struggle for liberation from U.S. imperialism and exploitation creates the danger of war and nuclear destruction. The rich get richer and the poor...

8. "Evolution not Revolution." The legal monopoly of violence in the oppressed nations ought to remain where it is now; since if the peasants and workers attempt to defend themselves and remove their oppressors, and the U.S. government tries to maintain or restore itself, what will become of Peace?

The criticism of these slogans, positions, and the programs advanced by their partisans, are elements of an anti-imperialist perspective, or more positively, are essential to a politics that squares off the peace movement with its main enemy, the U.S. government. Two years ago, the M-2-M advanced this politics, when other groups could not do so because of the stranglehold of timid and tired leadership. Today, however, a serious struggle is going on within the new movements, between the old and the new, conservative and the radical, the "respectables" and the revolutionaries. The upheaval in the peace groups has its counterpart in the great changes taking place in the civil rights movement.

The government by its acts has helped to educate the freedom movement. It is the federal government that has failed to enforce its own laws in the South. It is the federal government that has failed to offer adequate

(Continued on Page 7)